CHAPTER IX

Freedmen's Aid: the character of the movement in Scotland

The important, wide-ranging considerations which were so constantly presented as incentives for Scottish support of the freedmen's aid movement might indeed seem to have been well fitted to ensure for the cause a generous response from a broad spectrum of Scottish society. Through the scope of the information, suggestions, and exhortations put forward both by deputies from United States freedmen's aid associations and by native Scots, there was intentionally built up the general impression that quite aside from the strong philanthropic motivation, it was also in the best interests of all Scotsmen, from those who had unwisely sympathized with the Confederacy during the Civil War to those who had long been numbered amongst Britain's most stalwart anti-slavery spokesmen, to contribute as freely as possible to the American appeals. Yet, although there was clearly a very considerable effort at several levels to involve the Scottish people in the campaign to provide for the material, educational and spiritual wellbeing of the emancipated Negroes, it nevertheless remains virtually impossible to determine with any exactitude the extent to which a real interest and concern in the matter was instilled into the mass of the population.

Certainly, the Scottish newspaper press adequately did its part to bring the cause to the attention of the general public. The journals of Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as those of smaller towns in Scotland, invariably published remarkably detailed reports of local public meetings held on behalf of the freedmen's fund, for instance; and the most widely read of those which catered for the four largest cities all devoted some measure of editorial comment to the issue of freedmen's aid during the hey-day of the movement in Britain. It is not easy, however, to estimate whether the hard information which did filter through to the rank and file of the Scottish

people stirred a significant proportion of them into active sympathy for the freed Negroes' plight. In the absence of concrete evidence of an impressive, spontaneous practical response from the lower-middle and working class sections of the community (a feature of revealing importance in itself), it becomes necessary to form tentative conclusions regarding the social class aspect of Scotland's support for freedmen's aid from certain specific illuminating facts and from the overall temper of the campaign as it developed in the country. Assessing the situation on that basis, there emerges the strong probability that the vast majority of the population never became consistently and enthusiastically caught up in the movement. Discounting the impact of certain Presbyterian denominations in successfully soliciting support from their members it would seem, if the contribution lists which appeared following public freedmen's aid meetings are a valid guide, that sustained awareness of the cause and a sense of active commitment to it were states of mind shared predominantly by those who constituted the usual source of Victorian philanthropy, namely, the comfortably well off, socially conscious (and status conscious) middle class.

That the mainspring of tangible Scottish support for the American appeals should have been grounded in that particular social stratum was perhaps entirely predictable, and it meant that the predominant pattern of Scottish involvement was simply in line with the pattern of involvement in England.[1] At the same time, however, it would be inaccurate to conclude that in every aspect, the country's response was totally identifiable with the English model. So far as the basic, general character of freedmen's aid activity in Scotland is concerned, it can be suggested that there evolved certain trends which were either peculiar to the Scottish situation or which assumed a heightened importance in the Scottish context. As a result, the movement tended to function in a fashion somewhat different from that of England.

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1 See Bolt, British Attitudes to Reconstruction, p. 20.

I. The relative lack of formally organized freedmen's aid activity in Scotland and the extent of the independent assistance given by individual ministers, religious denominations, and other interested elements

The most fundamental dissimilarity in the nature of the campaigns within the two societies was represented by what would appear to have been a considerable disparity in their relative degrees of organization. From the foundation in April, 1863 of the first formally constituted freedmen's aid Society in the country,[1] through to the establishment of the National Freedmen's Aid Union (NFAU) in February, 1866 and on until the final meeting of that body at the end of 1868, the movement in England, it might be argued, came to operate on the basis of a fairly tight, comprehensive organizational framework. Local bodies carrying the explicit designation of "Freedmen's Aid Society" and possessing a definite internal structure comprising office-bearers and committee members sprang up throughout the country, forming through their several organized efforts the effective driving force behind the general public's contributions. And as befitted those who were recognized as leaders of the movement at a national level (men such as Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Arthur Albright, Thomas Phillips, Aspinall Hampson and Joseph Simpson), there was amongst them from an early stage a strong, persistent concern to secure ever closer association and co-operation between the scattered and separate freedmen's aid organizations.

They achieved a positive advance in that direction with the establishment of the National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Aid Association in May, 1865, and the NFAU less than a year later; and although neither of these central organizations perhaps succeeded as well as had been hoped in bringing about a vigorous, fruitful national unity,[2] it is nevertheless significant

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 22.

2 For an analysis of the aims and the ultimate vagaries in fortune of the National Committee and the NFAU, see ibid., pp. 61-90, 146-249.

in itself that there existed in England sufficient independent but fully-fledged local Societies to make viable even the concept of a centralized executive body. The measure to which both the National Committee and the NFAU did, in practice, prove to be workable suggests that even allowing for the debilitating rivalry and antagonisms which caused the London Freed-Men's Aid Society to separate from the National Committee and to remain permanently outside the NFAU and for the concern of Societies which did become affiliated to the latter body to retain a fair share of autonomy, there did exist a fairly common readiness to recognize the advantages which could accrue from a centrally organized, nationally linked effort. The apparent prevalence of that spirit among English freedmen's aid advocates,[1] and the substantial degree of formal organization at local Society level, must rank as central features in any consideration of the character of the movement in England.

Within Scotland, a somewhat different pattern emerged. There, the various efforts on behalf of the freedmen were in no sense and at no time strictly co-ordinated. Nor, as significantly, would there appear to have issued from any quarter earnest exhortations to fellow Scottish workers in the cause urging them to form themselves into distinct organizations which would be in close working contact with each other and, through affiliation to the National Committee (or, later, the NFAU), with freedmen's aid Societies in England. It can even be suggested, indeed, that the main impulse for the Scottish people's knowledge of and support for the cause did not derive from the exertions of formally constituted local freedmen's aid Societies: as will presently be seen, Scotland would seem to have been singularly lacking in such bodies. Rather than being an institutionalised movement which sought to reinforce its strength and to increase public awareness of itself

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1 No less than forty freedmen's aid associations chose to become affiliated to the NFAU - see ibid., p. 201. Included in that number there would appear to have been only one fully constituted Society from Scotland, the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society - see below, pp. 64-105.

through displays of national unity and carefully organized activity, the Scottish campaign for the freedmen operated more on the level of separate groups and individuals each making their own distinctive contributions to it, and doing so independently and in their own way.

Accordingly, there are, for instance, strong signs that it was specific, familiar Scotsmen, delivering their appeals from the public platform and having themselves no formal connection with a freedmen's aid Society or committee, who tended to assume a critically important role in successfully bringing the cause to the attention of the general public. To make that deduction is not, of course, to depreciate in any measure the tremendous importance of Sella Martin and his American colleagues in publicizing the needs of the freed Negroes. Clearly, the deputies from the United States Societies (representing as they did the closely organized sphere of freedmen's aid activity) had a very real and special impact upon their audiences and, considering the general nature of their reception, succeeded in arousing a sympathetic as well as a vivid appreciation of the former slaves' requirements. But certainly coming extremely close to these, and perhaps even equalling them as effective mediators of the freedmen's cause to the Scottish people, were such homespun personalities as Thomas Guthrie, Norman Macleod, and W.E. Baxter.

We have already frequently observed the strong impression which those Scots made upon their fellow countrymen at public freedmen's aid meetings, and there can be no doubt but that their open, vigorous advocacy of the cause was an invaluable, if not an indispensable, pillar of support for the American deputies. The central, most significant fact about these men, and the one which places them somewhat apart from run-of-the-mill platform speakers on such occasions, was that they were exceedingly well known in Scotland and enjoyed a very considerable degree of popularity. This was especially true of Guthrie and Macleod, both of whom had by the 1860s become

prominent national figures as well as having achieved prestigious status within their respective denominations. For all its claim upon straightforward philanthropy and humanitarianism, the American appeal on behalf of the freedmen remained a prey to a measure of outright criticism and indifference, and given these circumstances, the value which it must have derived from outspoken endorsement by these two leading Scottish churchmen cannot easily be over-estimated. The freedmen's aid cause in Scotland was indeed fortunate in being able to draw on their active support for in both cases, a significant proportion of their fame and popularity was based in the force and intensity of their oratory, and the appearance of either on a public platform was virtually enough to ensure an excellent attendance at the meeting in question.

Guthrie in particular was widely renowned for his stirring eloquence. A retrospective (and probably fairly representative) assessment of "pulpit eloquence" in mid-century Edinburgh singled him out from amongst the other great orators, Candlish, Cunningham and Begg, as the most persuasive speaker of them all: "intensely dramatic in action,...Guthrie might have been a Garrick. A grand tragedian, steeped to the soul in the spirit of his mission, playing to the emotions at will with marvellous versatility, he swept his audience along with him".[1] But as early as 1864 indifferent health had caused him to retire from the ministry, and we have already noted[2] that only a deep personal interest in the cause influenced him to give his services on behalf of the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland.

In fact that movement was, it might be suggested, doubly lucky inasmuch as it only just managed to make use of the assets represented by Guthrie

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1 Alexander I. Shand, Days of the Past: A Medley of Memories (London, 1905), pp. 107-108.
It has been claimed that Guthrie's eloquence and popularity as a speaker was "invaluable" to the nascent Free Church during the Disruption period - see DNB, Vol. 8, p. 824.

2 See above, Chapter VIII, p. 383.

and Macleod, and thereby only just benefited from the peculiarly strong public repute of what was a vanishing species of Scottish minister. Neither of the famous men survived beyond the early 1870s; Macleod died in June, 1872, and Guthrie some eight months later. It is probably valid to conclude that their deaths, along with the death at around that period of several other of their most prominent, dynamic and popular clerical contemporaries,[1] did symbolize the passing from the Scottish scene of a distinct type of churchman. Moulded and influenced to a large extent by the religious ferment which had gripped Scotland at the time of the Disruption, the clergymen who dominated the country in mid-century were men who possessed formidably positive - and clearly articulated - religious principles; the ability to lead and guide their respective denominations without creating around themselves an unhealthy and unpopular clerical oligarchy; immense oratorical powers; and, in many instances, a notable gift for remaining essentially plain, familiar, "folksy" figures in the eyes of the Scottish people.[2] They were, in short, men of a commanding public presence.

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1 Of the eminent and widely known Scottish ministers who showed some personal concern in the freedmen's aid cause, the Rev. Dr. Robert Candlish died in 1873, the Rev. Dr. Patrick Fairbairn in 1874, and the Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan and the Rev. William Arnot in 1875. All four belonged, of course, to the Free Church.

2 The ability of the most prominent ministers to appear as exceedingly human, right-minded personalities was probably a vital requisite for their survival as leading, influential men of the cloth in Scotland, for while mid-nineteenth century Scots had a deep religious sense, they also had a natural tendency to seize on the hypocrisies and natural failings of the clergy. James Adam, editor from 1822-1862 of the Aberdeen Herald, liked to say that "there are two books that bother the clergy - Burns and the Bible" (see Cooper, op. cit., p. 295), and his unrelenting and forthright recognition of Scottish ministers' shortcomings was almost certainly shared in greater or lesser degree by a large proportion of his fellow countrymen. There is a strong likelihood that the ministers who reached the top of their calling in Scotland tended for the most part to be those who were eminently acceptable to the public in respect of their personal "common man" character as well as in respect of their professional qualities and capacity.

Schooled in a calmer, more settled religious atmosphere, their successors would indeed appear to have lacked the tremendous force of character and scope of public involvement which made Guthrie, Macleod, Candlish and others household names in Scotland for over three decades. It was not merely a mood of gloom brought on by the loss of old companions and old, retrospectively stronger, religiosity but also a keen perception which prompted the Rev. Dr. George Gilfillan to declare after Guthrie's death that

> [T]he lights of our Scottish horizon [are] going out one after another. First there was Norman Macleod...Then there was [William] Anderson[1]...And now Thomas Guthrie...[W]ho shall guide us in the perilous times, and in the deep waters which are before the Church?...The giants are gone! The thunderers sleep upon their quenched bolts - the grand old oaks are down; and behold what a crop of mushrooms are growing in the now unshadowed pastures![2]

With the notable exception of the United Presbyterians' David Macrae (ordained in 1872), none of the younger ministers within the various Scottish denominations played an outstanding part in publicly advocating the freedmen's aid cause. In the Free Church, it may have been that those who were ordained a fairly considerable time after the Disruption years and who, through the emergence of a new world of workers' organizations, changing labour relations and increased government action on social measures, were beginning by the 1860s to be confronted with the erosion of their Church's old role as paternalistic guardian, philanthropist and guide of the Scottish working classes[3] were in general less ready than the older churchmen loudly and unreservedly to proclaim the paramount importance and necessity of individual philanthropy as the remedy for the world's ills. But whatever the reasons, it was predominantly the old stalwarts of Scottish Presbyterianism who took it upon themselves enthusiastically to attempt to stir up Scottish support

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1 The Rev. Dr. William Anderson, John Street U.P. church, Glasgow had died in September, 1872.

2 Gilfillan, William Anderson, p. 285. Gilfillan himself died in 1878.

3 See Marwick, "Paternalism in Victorian Scotland", p. 53.

for the freedmen's fund. For the most part, they were indeed recruited for the task by a freedmen's aid Society (in the shape of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society) or by a committee of freedmen's aid workers; but the prevalence of independent, individualistic action which tended to characterize the course of the movement in Scotland was reflected in the fact that these personalities did not become formally attached to any organized body. Instead, they chose to appear on public platforms very conspicuously in the role of "guest speakers" and to campaign on behalf of the freedmen simply in their capacity as concerned, well known individuals.

On quite another level, Scottish ministers also displayed their readiness to support the freedmen's cause in their own personal way, outwith the dictates of an organized, integrated appeal. Occasionally, there appeared in Scotland Americans who were not deputies from a transatlantic freedmen's aid Society but who apparently operated on an independent basis; and in mounting their public appeals, these invariably received the active backing of one or more churchmen. An early example of the manner in which an obscure American advocate of freedmen's aid could thus be enabled to bring his information and his requests to the attention of the Scottish people was afforded by the lecture given by one Albert L. Post of Montrose, Pennsylvania. Arriving in Edinburgh in February, 1866, Post was granted the use of the Baptist Chapel in Bristo Street for the purpose of delivering a lecture on "The present condition and prospects of the coloured people in America". His talk was a respectably competent and comprehensive one, devoted largely to the conventional, inevitable themes dwelt on by the majority of the speakers from the United States - the victory of the anti-slavery movement, the freed Negroes' tremendous desire for education, their willingness to work, and the perilous future which nevertheless faced them due partly to the regrettable spite of many planters in preferring to allow their land to lie waste rather than to hire the freedmen and pay them. At the end of the address, he

called for donations from the audience.[1]

Post's performance represented, perhaps, an essentially isolated, and consequently an essentially minor contribution to the general store of appeals for the freedmen by Americans in Scotland, dominated as that field was by the agents of the American Missionary Association and (to a lesser extent) those of other United States freedmen's aid associations. Yet at the same time, his lecture should not be summarily dismissed as totally insignificant since presumably it did have some positive effect in increasing Scottish awareness of the American Negroes' plight and of the need for British aid in relieving it. It might be suggested that every public effort on behalf of the cause, however small and seemingly unimpressive, had a fair measure of intrinsic value in helping to keep the subject in the forefront of attention and in deepening a sense of Scottish sympathy and responsibility. And as in the specific case of Albert L. Post, so other solitary Americans who wished to deliver their message to the Scottish people were usually provided with the opportunity to do so through the facilitations of ministers of religion.

Hence in the summer of 1868, for instance, the Rev. Hugh McMillan of St. Peter's Free Church, Glasgow, lent his pulpit one Sunday to the Rev. J.L. McCartney of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States, who was thereby placed in the happy position of having a captive audience, as it were, for his account of the progress and abilities of the Southern Negroes. Informing the congregation that the American Reformed Presbyterian Church had three years before selected a number of coloured youths from schools and asylums in the South and placed them on a perfectly equal footing with other students in an Ohio college, McCartney (himself a pastor at the college) furnished convincing evidence of the black scholars' high level of attainment.

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1 Report of speech by Albert L. Post on "The present condition and prospects of the coloured people in America" in Baptist Chapel, Bristo Street, Edinburgh, 15 Feb., 1866, in Edinburgh Courant, 16 Feb., 1866.

He was (as might well have been expected under such salubrious circumstances) listened to with "marked attention", and his reception was the more significant insofar as his comments were apparently intended primarily to make his listeners favourably disposed towards an imminent event within their own Church. Thus, in concluding, McCartney interestingly indicated that he was not going to make an appeal for money from the congregation but that he had delivered his statements "by request", in the light of the collection for the assistance of the freedmen which was to take place throughout the Free Church in September, as directed by the Commission of the Free Church General Assembly in May of that year.[1]

Through the initiative of at least one Free Church minister, then, a visiting American clergyman who had close personal experience of the Negroes' progress during the early Reconstruction years and who was anxious to impart his information was not only given the coveted chance to have his say but was also simultaneously put to direct practical use as an instrument for arousing congregational support for the Free Church's own impending effort to help the freedmen. As a general rule, however, the individual Americans who sought to present their appeals in Scotland and who in their efforts secured the sympathy and assistance of Scottish ministers were not concerned with issuing new incentives for support of pre-existing Scottish freedmen's aid schemes but rather with introducing a new direction for Scottish philanthropy, centred on a specific freedmen's cause of their own. The straightforward pursuit of that type of personal, particular objective was well exemplified in the campaign of Louis Smith, an ex-slave who made his way to Scotland in the summer of 1869.

The first public intimation of Smith's visit and of the nature of his

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1 Report of remarks by the Rev. J.L. McCartney in St. Peter's Free Church Glasgow, 16 Aug., 1868, in Glasgow Herald, 22 Aug., 1868.

mission appeared in the general notices column of the Scotsman, where on 10 June, 1869 it was announced that "Lewis (sic) Smith, a Man of Colour, once a Slave in Kentucky, United States [of] America, will give an address in Whitefield Chapel [Edinburgh]...this evening...He has come to this country to collect money toward the building of a Chapel for his freed brethren". A collection was to be made at the door.[1] Whitefield Chapel was a Baptist place of worship and it may have been partly as a mark of respect for his host, partly with a shrewd eye to the likely predominance of Baptists in the prospective audience, that Smith in the advance notice of that particular meeting took care to define his goal in terms of the establishment of a Chapel for freedmen. But it was not only ministers of the Baptist faith who accommodated him during his time in Edinburgh: from within the ranks of the Congregational Church, the Rev. Dr. John Kirk put his Brighton Street church at Smith's disposal, and it was there on 14 June that the visiting American delivered his second public address in the city.

Significantly, the press announcement pertaining to that occasion did not limit the scope of his appeal to the concept of a new Chapel. Indeed, considerably more detailed information was furnished on the nature and content of his forthcoming talk, the general notice - printed under the heading "Freed Blacks of America" - stating that

> Louis Smith, the ransomed slave, will deliver an address in Brighton Street church on Monday evening, the 14th inst., giving a sketch of his life, and descriptive of the Freed Men's condition in the United States; in particular to draw public attention to their thirst for knowledge and instruction; above all to hear the Gospel through a Christian Ministry unto them.[2]

And the collection was to be taken for "Coloured People's church and schools situate in the Free States side of the Ohio River, where the Black People

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1 General notice in Scotsman, 10 June, 1869.

2 General notice in ibid., 12 June, 1869.

cross going North seeking after remunerative labour".[1]

Apparently no section of the Edinburgh press considered Smith's visit interesting or newsworthy enough to warrant reporting on his speech at the Brighton Street church. Nevertheless, he clearly gathered sufficient public support to judge it worthwhile to remain in the city for several more weeks. And at the beginning of July, he achieved his most important platform appearance when in the presence of the Rev. Dr. Robert Candlish, the Rev. Dr. James Begg, and the Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander he gave an address in the Craigie Hall. Smith having secured, prior to the meeting, the patronage of so impressive a trio of Edinburgh ministers, the notice of his talk carried the succinct but pertinent message that "The friends of the Emancipated Slaves are earnestly requested to attend". Once again, contributions were to be received for "coloured peoples' church and schools", institutions which had, it was added, been "destroyed by slaveholders during the late war".[2]

A cause which had successfully attracted the sympathy and support of such prominent Edinburgh personalities as Candlish and Begg could perhaps hardly be totally ignored by the capital's leading newspaper, and following the Craigie Hall meeting, Smith's mission was finally given a measure of recognition in the Scotsman. From the report of his address, it emerged that Smith had previously undertaken a fund-raising trip to the United Kingdom. In 1860, having already redeemed himself, his wife and three children from slavery in Mason County, Kentucky, he had gone to Britain to plead for money to buy off four of his children who were still slaves, and had received around £1,000. The specific object of the 1869 visit to England and Scotland was to get assistance for the replacement of Negro schools and a church burned down by slaveholders during the war at Ripley, Ohio, where Smith lived. As the public announcements of his various speeches indicated, however, Smith did

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1 Ibid.

2 General notice, headed "Louis Smith's Mission" in ibid., 7 July, 1869.

not confine his remarks strictly to descriptions of the particular needs and deprivations existent in his home community but ranged his address wider to give some further insight into the condition of the freedmen in the United States as a whole.

By thus disclosing that while in some states the freedmen were progressing "tolerably well", in others extreme poverty had obliged them to return to their old places of employment and to a position almost as bad as slavery, he must have brought to the audience in the Craigie Hall an increased realization that the achievement of truly satisfactory provision for the freed slaves of America would be a sadly protracted business. Something of the impression which the address made in respect of generating sympathy for both the immediate object of Smith's appeal and the position of the black population throughout the United States was reflected in the chairman's resolution, moved and adopted at the end of the proceedings, "That this meeting having heard Mr. Louis Smith's statement, deeply sympathise with the cause of the freedmen in America in the present crisis, and especially in the case of the Ripley, Ohio, congregation in the destruction of their (sic) chapel and school-rooms, and cordially recommend it to the support of the Christian public".[1]

Smith's last publicized effort in Edinburgh on behalf of his project for the freedmen in Ripley was an appearance in the Free Church's Barclay Church (the charge of the Rev. James Hood Wilson) where in mid July he gave "an interesting account of the condition of the coloured population of the Southern States, and the means adopted for their moral and social elevation

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1 Report of meeting addressed by Louis Smith in the Craigie Hall, Edinburgh 8 July, 1869, in ibid., 9 July, 1869. Chairman at the meeting was Colonel Davidson, a regular attender at earlier meetings on behalf of the freedmen.

The Scotsman printed only a bare outline of the meeting, so that there was no report of comments by Candlish, Begg and Alexander, although in the general notice of 7 July they were scheduled to "take part in the meeting".

and Christianisation". [1] Thereafter, he would appear to have transferred his activities to Glasgow, and was by the end of the month winning valuable support from friends of the freedmen's cause there. Hence at a meeting held in the Religious Institute Rooms on 30 July, his campaign was duly given the sort of solid initial backing which was vitally necessary if it was to achieve any appreciable subsequent success in the city. Addressing the meeting, the Rev. James Wells of the Barony Free Church, Glasgow, explained the nature of Smith's mission and expressed his confidence that it only needed to be known about in order for it to inspire "genuine interest". The fact that leading Scottish ministers had already been sufficiently impressed with the specific appeal to accord it tangible support was demonstrated by Wells' intimation that Smith had brought with him "excellent testimonials" from "some of the most distinguished Christian men in London and Edinburgh". [2]

Smith was fortunate in that he could be assured of receiving at least some degree of active sympathy from members of Glasgow's religious fraternity, too. Wells himself was personally pre-disposed to look kindly on all efforts to advance the cause of the freedmen in the United States. Along with the Rev. Dr. Patrick Fairbairn, he had in 1867 gone as a Free Church deputy to visit the Presbyterian Churches of America, and had during his trip formed a favourable impression of the black population's general character and potential. Speaking in support of Louis Smith's mission two years later, he informed his Glasgow audience that he had seen a little of the work being conducted among the emancipated slaves in the South and that he had been greatly impressed by the "devotedness" of those Negroes who were Christians, and by the tremendous anxiety of the freedmen to acquire education. It was his stated belief that the same eager desire for " the benefits and blessings"

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1 Ibid., 16 July,1869.

2 Report of speech by the Rev. James Wells at a meeting held in the Religious Institute Rooms, Glasgow, 30 July, 1869, in Glasgow Herald, 31 July, 1869. The Herald's report was headed "Mission Effort amongst the freed slaves in America".

of learning was not to be found within any class in Britain.[1]

Following Wells, Smith himself addressed the meeting, his speech assuming the same form as those delivered in Edinburgh. The extent to which, despite his solitary status, he had by then become capable of being regarded as a figure representing the entire freedmen's aid cause was illustrated in the character of the comments offered by David Macrae in his task of winding up the meeting. That Smith was not formally attached to the AMA, the American freedmen's aid organization for which Macrae had the greatest respect and for which he was prepared personally to campaign, in no way dulled the latter's interest and enthusiasm in advocating the ex-slave's mission. Having moved a resolution which expressed "deep sympathy" with the cause of the American freedmen in "their present crisis" and especially with the community in Ripley, and which commended the cause to the public's support, Macrae went on to voice the hope that Smith would go back to the United States "with tangible assurance that the interest of Scotchmen in those who had been slaves had not diminished, and that Scotland had not only a heart to feel, but a hand ready to give".[2]

The focus of Scottish involvement in freedmen's aid was thus discreetly but explicitly widened beyond mere concentration on the immediate objective of Smith's appeal, and Macrae contrived to direct his listeners' attention to the broader aspects of the freedmen's cause throughout the United States by reminding them of two vitally important facts relating to the general American efforts on behalf of the freed Negroes. The first of these was that emancipation really represented only the beginning of a lengthy, extremely difficult programme of work amongst the former slaves. Secondly, it had to be borne in mind that Britain was just as responsible for the condition of the freedmen as America was. Combining these two considerations, Macrae

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1 Ibid.

2 Report of speech by David Macrae, in ibid.

concluded his speech with a strongly worded call for a more satisfactory Scottish response to the whole concept of assisting the freedmen.

The Negro race, he maintained, would have a long, hard struggle before it could adequately assert itself in the United States. Drawing on his recent personal experience of the situation in that country, he professed himself "perfectly astonished" at the intensity of prejudice still existing there against the coloured people. The Democratic party remained so influential and so strong in its opposition to the emancipated Negroes that the latter would need the sympathy and support of "the whole Christian world" in the fight before them. And it was his contention that Britain was not doing all it should to fulfil its obligations in that connection. Giving voice to an uncharacteristically sharp note of censure, Macrae declared that up until 1869, the "friends of the negro" in America had given far more help and exerted themselves far more nobly than the British people had done. As against American contributions of £1 million every year, Britain, he stated, had raised only £½ million in money and goods since emancipation in 1863.[1] It was therefore clearly as part of a much wider Scottish drive to increase the volume of British support for American freedmen's aid schemes that Macrae urged the citizens of Glasgow to give Louis Smith's mission all the help they possibly could.

We have already noted that the Church into which David Macrae was to follow his father as a minister, the United Presbyterian, was itself one of the most active agencies in Scotland in raising contributions for the freedmen inasmuch as it achieved over the Reconstruction years a notable degree of congregational involvement in their cause.[2] Individual ministers of the denomination would, however, appear to have been relatively less conspicuous

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1 Ibid.

2 Details of the U.P. involvement are given below, pp. 207-227.

attenders at public freedmen's aid meetings than were their counterparts in the Free Church; and since such prominent figures as Guthrie, Candlish, Arnot, Buchanan and Fairbairn all, on occasion, actually addressed audiences on behalf of the cause, as platform speakers on that theme the Evangelical clergy totally eclipsed the Voluntaries. In terms of denominational responses, however, it still seems probable that the Free Church produced most of the public noise in the freedmen's aid movement while the U.P. Church produced most of the money.

But while the gathering of substantial financial aid through concerted congregational effort certainly constituted the principal approach of the U.P. Church towards assisting the freedmen's aid movement, the Voluntaries were not exclusively limited to that line of action. For instance, as late as 1876, the sect demonstrated publicly that if other Scottish Presbyterian Churches no longer considered it worthwhile to make specific exertions to keep alive Scottish interest in the American freedmen, it was still prepared actively to support any measure which might serve to reactivate some sense of involvement in the spiritual wellbeing of the former slaves. The opportunity which thus presented itself at the very end of the Reconstruction era was the visit to Scotland of the Rev. D.J. Sanders, a coloured clergyman from the Freedmen's Church of the United States. Sanders' presence in Glasgow in March,1876 gave U.P. ministers in the city a chance to contribute their own small part towards the still considerable task of bringing a satisfactory appreciation of Christianity to the mass of the black population in the Southern states. Hence on one particular Sunday, the visitor from Wilmington, North Carolina, preached in no less than three different U.P. churches - at the Rev. George H. Dick's church in Eglinton Street in the morning, at the Rev. Dr. Dobie's church in Shamrock Street in the afternoon, and in the evening,

at the Rev. J. McEwan's church in Sidney Place. On each occasion he provided information regarding his work amongst the freedmen, and collections were made at the end of the services.[1]

Nor did the sympathy and co-operation afforded by individual ministers represent the full extent of U.P. support for Sanders. In May of the same year, he addressed the annual sitting of the U.P. Synod, bringing to its notice the claims of Biddle Institute, North Carolina, an establishment at which young freedmen were trained for mission work in Africa.[2] His appeal was duly commended to the Home Mission Board, and in the period from 1 January, 1877 to 31 December, 1879, a total of £41:18: 0 was raised within U.P. congregations for his scheme.[3] In view of the colossal number of demands made on members of the U.P. Church in respect of missionary effort in all parts of the world, and considering the essentially modest sums contributed at that same time by Quakers throughout the whole of Britain,[4] the amount donated by the Voluntaries was perhaps more impressive than a superficial judgement would suggest.

It has been amply demonstrated[5] that certainly by the mid-1870s (and possibly somewhat earlier) general widespread British interest in and concern about the condition of the American freedmen had substantially waned. With

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1 General notice of services to be taken by the Rev. D.J. Sanders on 12 March, 1876, in North British Daily Mail, 11 March, 1876.

2 Proceedings of the U.P. Synod, May, 1876, in United Presbyterian Magazine Vol. 20, June, 1876, p. 274.

3 See Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, Vol. 7, No. 148, 1878, p. 110; Vol. 7, No. 160, 1879, p. 468; Vol. 1 (new series), No. 4, 1880, p. 125.

4 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 251.

5 See ibid., pp. 228, 251; Bolt, British Attitudes to Reconstruction, pp. 375-378.

specific reference to Scotland, the relative absence of formally organized labours on behalf of the cause means that the extent of the decline in public support can be charted with less accuracy and certainty than can that of England. In general terms, however, the noticeable falling off in press comment on the condition of the freed Negroes and the absence of reports of public freedmen's aid meetings after the late 1860s suggests that Scotland did not retain into the later Reconstruction era a significantly greater degree of involvement in assisting the emancipated slaves of the United States. Nevertheless, helped, perhaps, by the unchronicled exertions of old dedicated supporters of the erstwhile freedmen's aid movement, the claims of the American Negroes were not allowed to fade completely from the attention of the Scottish public. The warm reception accorded by the United Presbyterians to the Rev. D,J. Sanders in 1876 did not represent the only noteworthy manifestation of a continued thread of concerned interest in the freedmen and of a continuing desire in some quarters actively to aid in their elevation. Appropriately in keeping with what had always been the characteristically sporadic course of freedmen's aid activity in Scotland, there occurred at Aberdeen in the late summer of 1877, for example, an isolated instance of an appeal based on a straightforward description of the black population's position in the United States in the years following the Civil War.

For the citizens of Aberdeen, the difficulties which had beset the freedmen during the Reconstruction era so recently ended were vividly recalled to mind by one E.T. Anderson, an escaped slave from Virginia. On 26 August, 1877, Anderson addressed an evangelistic meeting in the Christian Institute Hall, and was listened to with rapt attention by an audience which filled the hall to overflowing.[1] The main purpose of his visit to the city

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1 See Aberdeen Free Press, 27 Aug., 1877.

was to raise funds "to enable him to prosecute his studies at Edinburgh University"; and on the following evening at the same venue, he gave a talk on "Freedmen in the Southern States" at the close of which a collection was made on his behalf.[1]

Testifying to at least a temporary revival of interest among elements of the local population in the subject of Anderson's talk (and perhaps even to the persistence of some degree of consistent concern for the welfare of the ex-slaves), this second meeting was also extremely well attended. And despite the lapse of more than a decade since the end of the Civil War, Anderson did not hesitate to offer his large audience a comprehensive resume, beginning with the war years themselves, of the character, condition and prospects of his race in the South. Nor, significantly, was his confidence in the popularity of his style of lecture misplaced. At the very outset, he won enthusiastic applause from his listeners by recalling the exemplary conduct of the slaves in the Southern states during the war. Having thus established an essentially sympathetic atmosphere, he went on to relate how returned Southern soldiers had terrorised and murdered freed Negroes, and he brought the information up to date by declaring that even in the late 1870s, atrocities were being perpertrated in the United States which were worse than those engaged in by the Turks in the then current Russo-Turkish war.[2]

The main burden of Anderson's address was, indeed, apparently to impress upon his audience the excessive obstacles, injustices, hatreds and dangers under which the freedmen had had to labour throughout the whole of the Reconstruction era, in their attempts to improve their condition. In view of the character of his personal objective in addressing the Aberdeen meeting, he was naturally particularly concerned to convey an impression of the extent

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1 Ibid.

2 Report of talk by E.T. Anderson in the Christian Institute Hall, Aberdeen, 27 Aug., 1877, in ibid., 28 Aug., 1877.

of the difficulties which continued to face the emancipated Negroes in their earnest quest for learning. It was his basic contention that the coloured race in America had "never had the chance to be anything". Citing several examples of slaves who had risen to eminence after receiving an education, he maintained that the post-Civil War American policy of continuing to oppress the Negroes had prevented them from giving adequate proof of their intellectual capabilities. And passing beyond the grim facts of the situation which had continued to exist in the United States, Anderson ventured to imply that there was little prospect of early improvement: the Americans were prejudiced against the freedmen, he suggested, not because of their colour but because, as oppressors, they had insisted that the Negroes would never prosper outside of slavery.

The provision for his Scottish audience of what was in effect a new, uniquely up-to-the-minute account of the freedmen's unhappy position within the "reconstructed" Southern states paved the way for Anderson's explanation of why he himself had chosen to further his education in a country other than America. Indicating (to loud applause) that he had escaped from slavery during the war and had subsequently succeeded by sheer "hard study" in gaining a fair extent of knowledge, he stressed that he could have studied in the United States but that he much preferred to study in Scotland, even if it meant "living on bread and water" instead of "all the luxuries of the land". His decision was based on positive considerations. White students, he asserted, oppressed black students in America, whereas in Scotland such a circumstance would certainly not obtain. It was his firm conviction that Scotland had in time past been "a true friend to suffering humanity", and a country which had openly recognized that "although a man is dark he is a man for all that".[1] At least so far as E.T. Anderson was concerned, Scotland's reputation as a seat of broad egalitarian principles had been preserved

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1 Ibid.

untarnished down through the years.

The warm approval shown for specific key themes in Anderson's speech suggests that his Aberdeen audience was for the most part composed of individuals who did already possess a certain informed appreciation of the sort of trials and deprivations which had confronted the American freedmen during the Reconstruction era. That the meeting was fairly obviously not attended predominantly by the merely curious but by a section of the local community which had maintained a direct interest in the progress of the ex-slaves in the South tends to foster the impression that there existed into the late 1870s even in the less conspicuously active centres of recent freedmen's aid activity a substantial remnant of latent Scottish sympathy and concern for the freed Negroes. In keeping the subject of that concern before the attention of the Scottish public throughout the later period, the individual Americans who visited the country with a view to raising funds for particular freedmen's causes of their own obviously played a role of critical importance. Yet, it will also have become evident that but for the exertions of individual Scotsmen - most usually ministers of religion - working independently of all British freedmen's aid organisations (the local bodies had in any case become defunct by the beginning of 1869 and the NFAU itself had ceased active operations at that time), these American personalities would have had little outlet for stating their claims and, consequently, there would have been proportionately less information regarding the developing post-Civil War condition of the freedmen and proportionately less public interest in the subject circulating in Scotland during the advanced stages of American Reconstruction.

The vital importance for the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland of active participation by individuals unattached to formally constituted freedmen's aid Societies was paralleled by the importance of the efforts made by diverse bodies which acted in their own special fashion, and largely independent of

each other, to advance the cause. A major element of Scottish involvement on a collective level was of course represented by the corporate structures of the leading Presbyterian denominations. None of these, it would appear, operated directly through British freedmen's aid organizations regarding the transmission of contributions to America; and each had its own manner of approach to the whole issue of fund-raising. As we have already observed,[1] the Church of Scotland, for instance, received deputies from the AMA at every one of its General Assemblies from 1866 to 1869 and strongly commended the freedmen's cause to the sympathy and assistance of its members, but made absolutely no move to launch a formal collection throughout the parishes or to establish a special procedure for gathering contributions.

The response of the Free Church was relatively more complex. Like the Established Church, for four consecutive years it warmly welcomed at its General Assemblies deputations from American freedmen's aid Societies, the Rev. Sella Martin and the Rev. Dr. W. Patton appearing as the first representatives in 1866. Thanking them for their addresses to the Assembly in that year, Candlish expressed regret that, unlike the U.P. Church, the Free Church could not appoint a collection for the freedmen because to do so would be inconsistent with the Church's rules. The prominent minister had chosen to pinpoint what he clearly saw as a critical factor governing the character of his denomination's response to the American appeals. And having thus recognized the restrictions upon the scope of action in that sphere, he felt free to assure Martin and Patton that within the range of its capabilities, the Free Church would present the case for freedmen's aid "in the strongest possible way" to its members and recommend them to respond with the "utmost liberality".[2]

In the spring of the following year, the spirit of Candlish's stated

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1 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 604-605.

2 Report of speech by Candlish at the General Assembly of the Free Church, 2 June, 1866, in Procs. Free Church G.A., 1866, p. 323.

limitation on the extent of Free Church involvement in the freedmen's aid movement was substantially reflected in the attitude of no less a person than the Moderator who had presided over the 1866 General Assembly, the Rev. William Wilson of Dundee. Having received in March, 1867 a letter from William Smeal (in his capacity as secretary to the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society) requesting information on the collections which, it was understood, the Free Church had by then made,[1] Wilson replied by rather brusquely emphasizing that the GFAS was evidently labouring under certain basic misconceptions regarding the Free Church's position on organised collections:

> I have no means of knowing what was done in the Free Church at large. You are in error in supposing that the General Assembly [of 1866] directed Collections to be made for the Society [presumably the AMA] in all churches of the denomination. All the Assembly did was to commend the matter to the prayers and liberality of the people of this Church.[2]

Candlish himself later reinforced the essentially amorphous nature of the Free Church's support for freedmen's aid when in referring to the Rev. J.A. Thome's appeal on behalf of the AMA at the 1867 General Assembly he pronounced himself "quite willing that the General Assembly should make the strongest recommendation in connection with this Society".[3] This pattern of an exceedingly sympathetic but fundamentally vague response to the freedmen's cause having once been established, the Free Church did not, however,

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1 At the committee meeting of the GFAS on 27 Feb., 1867, it had been agreed that Smeal should write to the Moderator of the Free Church and the U.P. Churches' General Secretary requesting information on the nature of the arrangements for the collections which they had made on behalf of the freedmen's fund, the amount which had been raised, and the manner in which it had been disposed of - see report of committee meeting of GFAS held in Cobden Hall, Glasgow, 27 Feb., 1867, GFAS Minute Book, Smeal Collection.

2 Rev. William Wilson (Moderator of Free Church, May 1866 - May 1867) to William Smeal, Dundee, 22 March, 1867, ibid.
Wilson also informed Smeal that in his city of Dundee, the Free Church as a denomination had certainly made no contribution to the freedmen's aid cause and that the money and clothing which had been forthcoming from there had been donated by the community generally.
Wilson wrote in 1880 a biography of Candlish.

3 Report of speech by Candlish at the General Assembly of the Free Church, 27 May, 1867, in Procs. Free Church G.A., 1867, p. 77.

remain strictly consistent in adhering to it. Hence in May, 1868, the General Assembly took the step of recommending the Deacon's Courts throughout the Church to appoint a Sunday in the following September or October for a collection on behalf of the freedmen.[1] In view of Candlish's assertion two years earlier that such an authorised procedure would contravene the laws of the denomination, the move was a significant and surprising one. Perhaps by 1868 a decisive number of influential ministers had come to regard freedmen's aid as worthwhile and urgent enough to warrant the waiving of certain rigid stipulations in the constitution of the Free Church which, on a strict interpretation, debarred the Evangelicals from a centrally directed effort for the cause.

Yet, the actual form and results of the organized collections which presumably did take place in the autumn of that year are by no means clear. We have noted the way in which at least one visiting American clergyman, the Rev. J.L. McCartney, was used for the purpose of encouraging a Glasgow congregation to respond generously to the Free Church's project;[2] but the ultimate measure of congregational enthusiasm aroused, as well as the real scope of the effort, remains obscure.[3] The temper of the 1869 General Assembly's approach to possible participation in a strictly organized scheme for freedmen's aid suggests, however, that the Free Church's originally cautious attitude towards full and formal denominational involvement in practical moves to support the appeals had not been substantially altered by

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1 Ibid., May, 1868, p. 100.

2 See above, p. 11.

3 The fact that no details appear in the 1869 issue of the Free Church Missionary Record relating to sums raised at the proposed collections suggests that the national Scottish response was too modest to merit record or - a development not altogether outwith the bounds of possibility - that the scheme did not in the end materialise on any fully organized, comprehensive congregational level.

the 1868 decision to mount collections. It was David Macrae who in 1869 addressed the Free Church General Assembly in the capacity of deputy of the AMA, and his specific concern on that occasion was to interest the Evangelicals in contributing to the campaign launched by the U.P. Students' Missionary Society to raise funds for sending ten thousand Bibles to the freed Negroes. Presenting a persuasive appeal, he maintained that if the Free Church gave a donation through that Society, the resolution would be sure to be endorsed by all its congregations; and he concluded his address by calling on the sect to "do something practical" for the AMA.[1]

Clearly, it was Macrae's aim to secure a firm commitment of support from the denomination, as a denomination. But the Free Church was not prepared, it would seem, to meet fully his hopes and expectations in that regard. Although extremely generous in his remarks on Macrae's contribution to the proceedings at the General Assembly, in setting down his Church's position on activities designed to advance the freedmen's aid cause the Moderator, the Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, nevertheless confined himself to expressing confidence that all the Free Churchmen present would be ready to assure Macrae and the AMA of "cordial co-operation" through sympathy, prayer, and "such other help as we may see our way to furnish".[2] His statement reflected a reversal to the exceedingly guarded, non-committal approach of the Free Church to the entire issue. Far from taking immediate steps to participate in the U.P. Students' Missionary Society's venture, and thereby to offer the sort of tangible support which Macrae had referred to, there was even a gentle hint in the Moderator's comments that the ministers of the Free Church were not going to be bullied by Macrae into

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1 Report of speech by David Macrae at the Free Church General Assembly, 28 May, 1869, in Procs. Free Church G.A., 1869, pp. 217-218.

2 Report of speech by the Moderator, the Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, in ibid., p. 219.

involvement in schemes for assistance beyond those which they themselves were cautiously prepared to embark on.

It therefore becomes evident that there existed within the Free Church a very considerable fund of genuine and strong sympathy and concern for the welfare of America's ex-slaves (the depth of such sentiments being to some extent influenced, perhaps, by the denomination's intense concentration on improving relations with American Presbyterians) but that as a corporate religious body, it was not prepared to translate that sympathy and concern into sustained practical action. Apart from the resolve to collect contributions from all the congregations of a single Sunday in the autumn of 1868, the only other notable organized activity on behalf of the freedmen which can be positively identified as having been arranged exclusively by the Free Church was a public meeting held in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, on 2 July, 1866. That event was marked by the presence on the platform of an impressive array of some of the denomination's most renowned personalities, including the Rev. Drs. Candlish, Blaikie, Begg and Andrew Thomson, and the Revs. William Arnot and Thomas Smith (Begg's biographer). Guthrie himself was in the chair and the principal aspects of his lengthy, eloquent speech on that occasion have already been considered.[1] The stated purpose of the meeting was to hear appeals from Sella Martin and W. Patton, and at the end of the proceedings, Candlish (encouraged, perhaps, by the large, capacity audience) moved the adoption of a resolution to the effect that copies of the American deputies' addresses be sent to all Free Church ministers "and otherwise widely circulated in order to get a universal contribution in all the congregations to this great object", and that a committee be appointed to carry out the resolution. His proposal was carried

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1 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 354-355, 434-435.

by acclamation.[1]

But the main burden of conveying in public the Free Church's concern about the general welfare and elevation of America's former slaves rested squarely on individuals, both clerical and lay. Partly, at least, through regard for the rules which governed the actions of the denomination, but most probably as a result of many inter-related factors which cannot positively be discerned (one of which would, however, appear to have been a lack of enthusiasm in the higher echelons of the Church for a collective response), there were never more than one or two isolated attempts by the Evangelicals to engage in a unified denominational effort on behalf of freedmen's aid.

Very different indeed was the response of the United Presbyterians to the American appeals for assistance in dealing with the problems concerning the freedmen. As in the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, the merits of the freedmen's aid cause were first formally laid before the U.P. Church in May, 1866, when Patton and Holbrook of the AMA addressed the U.P. Synod. On the basis of that initial hearing of the American Missionary Association's aims, work, and needs, the Voluntaries immediately took steps to set in motion an organized scheme which would represent collective U.P. support for the freedmen's aid appeals. Thus in according thanks to Patton and Holbrook, the Rev. Dr. Robson moved not only that the Synod, having heard their appeals with "great interest", should agree to express 'cordial sympathy" with the "great object" and recommend it to the liberality of the people, but also that it should authorize a collection to be made as early as possible in all U.P. churches "to aid them [the workers in the AMA] in their philanthropic efforts for the physical, intellectual, and religious improvement of the negro".[2]

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1 Report of a meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held under Free Church auspices in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, 2 July, 1866, in Scotsman, 3 July, 1866.

2 Report of speech by the Rev. Dr. Robson at the U.P. Synod, May, 1866, in United Presbyterian Magazine, June, 1866, p. 276.

Robson's resolution was duly adopted and a committee, with the Rev. George C. Hutton of Paisley[1] as convenor, was appointed to draw up a statement for the churches. When the committee had completed its task and the relevant proposals and information had been sent to all U.P. ministers throughout Scotland, the July, 1866 issue of the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church helped to acquaint the Church's rank and file membership with the document by printing extracts from it which were strongly commended to the readers' attention. We have already noted[2] that a critical statement contained in the published extracts was one which declared that the denomination would be betraying its past traditions and its unrelenting opposition to slavery if it did nothing to help the freedmen. And it is clear that the committee's acceptance of the United Presbyterians as constituting a sect notable for its missionary zeal and its concern for the oppressed was a view which decisively influenced the whole temper of its statement to the ministers.

Hence even from the mere extracts in the Missionary Record it is possible to detect in the committee's message a sense of inescapable U.P. obligation, a sense of particular need for action, and a sense of great urgency. The ministers were informed, for example, that it had been unanimously agreed at the Synod meeting on 17 May that "in the exceptionally important and interesting circumstances of the case of the American freedmen" there should be an appeal made to the Scottish U.P. churches on their behalf. Having outlined the work of the AMA, and laid stress on the tremendous need for British help, the statement indicated that the Synod had recommended that a collection be taken in all the congregations before the beginning of July. Ministers were therefore "earnestly requested to bring this matter before the sessions

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1 For some detail on Hutton's position within the U.P. Church, see above, Chapter V, p. 638.

2 See above, Chapter VIII, p. 584.

without delay" in order to allow time for collection arrangements, and they were also asked to read the Synod's appeal to their congregations, "accompanying it with such personal recommendation of the object as they may judge expedient to enforce its claims".[1]

The Synod committee's statement setting forth the decision to involve United Presbyterians at congregational level in the freedmen's aid cause constituted a clear, authoritative, and enthusiastic directive from the Church's highest council for an organized course of action. It was just such a positive directive which was so conspicuously lacking from both the Free Church's and the Church of Scotland's approach to participation in the movement. And there is no question but that the U.P. Synod did come to the decision to institute a collection in all the churches purely on the basis of Patton and Holbrook's appeals, and quite independently of extraneous persuasions: it was clearly not pressurized or unduly influenced by importunities from secular Scottish freedmen's aid organizations. Indicative of its strictly independent mode of operation was the fact that the secretary of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society, William Smeal, could be totally mistaken about the date of the U.P. collections and also, perhaps, somewhat inaccurate in his understanding of the actual procedure followed in arranging these. In early August, 1866 he wrote, for instance, to Aspinall Hampson, secretary of the NFAU, informing him that at the meeting of the U.P. Synod in Edinburgh it had been agreed to hold church collections on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause in October of that year, and that before then, the U.P. ministers were going to draw up a statement which would be "read from each pulpit of the denomination".[2]

Smeal's letter merely reflected the misunderstanding which flourished

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1 Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 1, July, 1866, p. 142.

2 William Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 4 Aug., 1866, A-sl.P., C120/37.

within the GFAS as a whole regarding the details of the scheme formulated by the U.P. Synod in mid-May. Indeed, the central reason for his communicating with Hampson at the beginning of August was to provide a report on the GFAS' committee meeting which had been held a month previously and at which the U.P. proposals had been discussed in relation to the Society's own plans and recommendations regarding future public meetings on behalf of the cause, At the meeting, the members present had gone so far as to measure their own policy decisions against their basically mistaken perception of the U.P. timetable. Hence in deciding not to hold a public meeting in Glasgow during the summer months, they readily cited as confirmation of their wisdom the U.P. Synod's resolution to make its congregational collections for the freedmen in October.[1] In fact, as we have observed,[2] the collections were from the very outset scheduled to take place shortly before July, and they were ultimately made only a little later than the proposed date, during, that is, the month of July itself. Yet, by early 1867 the GFAS was still clinging to the erroneous belief that the U.P. effort was supposed to have occurred in October and that it was only a change in the original plan which had caused it (unknown to the Society at the time) to be made in July.[3]

Conducted, then, on a strictly internal, denominational basis, the July, 1866 collections in the U.P. churches were extremely successful - not only, it may be suggested, in respect of the total sum which was immediately raised but also in respect of the stimulus which they would appear to have provided for further contributions throughout the remainder of the year. In reply to queries from William Smeal regarding the U.P. effort, the General Secretary

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1 See report of GFAS committee meeting held in the Cobden Hotel, 2 July, 1866, GFAS Minute Book, Smeal Collection.

2 See above, p. 30.

3 See report GFAS committee meeting held in the Cobden Hotel, 27 Feb., 1867, GFAS Minute Book, Smeal Collection.

of the Church, David Crawford, stated that to 31 December, 1866 a total of £692:3:11 had been donated for the freedmen; and incidentally testifying still more to the Voluntaries' independent style of operating, Crawford disclosed that the money already disposed of (£641:18:6) had gone directly to the AMA by way of Sella Martin. [1] The gross amount raised to the end of December, 1866 represented the yield of merely a few months' contributions, elicited by only one of Scotland's Presbyterian denominations, working completely on its own and making its very first organized effort in that particular missionary sphere. As such, it was an impressive achievement, judged in terms of the general scale of contributions to the British movement for freedmen's aid. And the highly creditable result of the collection project was rendered the more significant in that it testified to the U. P. Church's success in involving in the cause people from literally every corner of Scotland. [2]

Over the following year (1867) contributions continued to flow in, although on a notably diminished scale, from all parts of the country; and the fact that the great majority of these came from towns and districts which had not figured on the 1866 contributions list, coupled with the substantially reduced volume of total donations, suggests that the 1867 list represents for the most part remittances from areas which had been slow in forwarding the amount of their 1866 collections. [3] Further congregational contributions to the fund were recorded for January to December, 1868, but the total amount received over that period showed a dramatic drop compared even with the previous year. [4] It was therefore probably with a view to halting the

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1 David Crawford to William Smeal, 9 April, 1867, ibid.

2 See detailed list of contributions for 1866 which illustrates the geographical spread of U. P. participation in Missionary Record of the U. P. Church, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 16, April, 1867, pp. 292-293. The regional response to the 1866 collections is considered in more detail below, pp. 208-209.

3 See below, pp. 209-210.

4 For details of amounts contributed in 1868, see below, p. 211.

apparently ever increasing decline in rank and file concern about freedmen's aid that the U. P. Theological Hall Missionary Society launched in the autumn of 1868 the denomination's most ambitious and impressive attempt to arouse and reactivate widespread interest in and support for the cause.

The Theological Hall was the designation of the institution in which U. P. students trained for the ministry, and the objective of the scheme initiated by its Missionary Society was quite simply to raise enough money over one year to send ten thousand bibles to the AMA for distribution among the American freedmen. Although somewhat confusingly referring to it as being conducted by the "U.P. Student's Missionary Society", it was nevertheless on behalf of this same scheme that David Macrae specifically appealed to the Free Church General Assembly in May, 1869.[1] It is extremely likely that Macrae himself was by 1869 a serious student in the U. P. Theological Hall: he had in fact first entered it in 1859 but had not gone on at that time to complete his course and become a licentiate, preferring instead to occupy himself throughout the 1860s in literary work. He did eventually take his licence in 1871, however, and it is therefore highly probable that in 1869 he was closely associated with the Theological Hall.[2]

What <u>is</u> certain is that he assumed a prominent role in the operating of the Missionary Society's project in aid of the freedmen. As well as addressing the General Assembly of the Free Church in May, 1869, it was Macrae, for instance, who two months later had the task of publicly acknowledging on

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1 See above, p. 27.

2 Basic biographical material on Macrae is singularly scarce. The common source for such data, Small's <u>History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church</u>, Vol. 1, is exceptionally unforthcoming in this instance, the entry on him being dominated by details of his bitter quarrel with the U. P. Synod over revision of the Westminster Standards and his ultimate dismissal as a minister of the Church. It was necessary to include Macrae in his <u>History</u>, but the Rev. Robert Small would certainly appear to have held him in too much contempt to provide more than the barest information on his life and career before the enunciation of his "heretical" views.

behalf of the Society contributions totalling £237:19:5 from seven individuals and fourteen church congregations in various parts of Scotland.[1] And in early August, at a meeting of those actively concerned in running the scheme, Macrae was on hand to move the stirring resolution that "whereas...we find that our efforts on behalf of the emancipated slaves in America have already been crowned with a success unparalled in the history of the Society", they recognized in that success "the special blessing of God and the profound interest of the Church in the evangelisation of the freedmen", and found in it a stimulus to renewed activity during the few remaining weeks of their effort.[2]

On the occasion when Macrae felt satisfied enough to move a resolution of that nature, Simpson and Bogue, the two superintendents of operations in, respectively, the Eastern and Western districts of Scotland submitted reports which revealed that since the start of the endeavour, 210 meetings had been held under U. P. auspices and over £1,200 collected - more than twice the amount ever raised at that stage for any of the Society's previous schemes.[3] Yet these figures did not represent the final measure of the Society's achievement. Macrae's exhortation to look upon the success already gained as an incentive for a final burst of energetic action on behalf of the cause was apparently willingly heeded, so that by the end of September, 1869, by the end, that is, of the full year's effort, the amount recorded at the beginning of August had been considerably improved upon. Thus when the U. P.

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1 See detailed list of contributions in North British Daily Mail, 29 July, 1869. Macrae acknowledged receipt of the sums on behalf of the"U. P. Students' Missionary Society": his persistent use of this alternative title reflects, perhaps, his characteristic inclination to dispense with grandiose, cold and impersonal forms of approach and to introduce a commoner, more human element into United Presbyterianism.

2 See ibid., 11 Aug., 1869.

3 Ibid.

students ultimately wound up their campaign they were able to claim the credit of having organized 284 meetings and of having raised, through collections and contributions from individuals, a grand total of £1,488:10: 9¾. After deductions for various expenses, the net balance for use by their Missionary Society was £1,353: 1: 3, and of that sum, the National Bible Society received £250 for the provision of the ten thousand bibles for the freedmen, and a further £103: 1: 3 for supplying additional testaments and Gospels. The remaining surplus of £1,000 was remitted direct to the AMA.[1]

If it is borne in mind that the whole object of the exercise had been merely to raise enough to purchase ten thousand Bibles, the full dimension of the U.P. Students' actual achievement becomes apparent. The students themselves were almost certainly astounded by what was clearly an unexpectedly generous public response to their scheme. A distinct sense of somewhat incredulous delight at a result which must have exceeded even the most sanguine expectations pervaded the 1868-1869 Annual Report of the U.P. Theological Hall Missionary Society, and was perhaps most conspicuously reflected in the emphasis placed upon the wholly unprecedented scale of the Society's accomplishment:

> In view of a success like this, unparalleled in the history of our Society, well may we thank God and take courage...We are thankful that the desire of our hearts has been granted, that we have been furnished with the means of sending the word of God to the cabin of many an emancipated slave. We are thankful that the unexampled result of our collection enables us largely to assist the true-hearted Christians of America, who are confronting so nobly the great social and religious problem they have been called upon to face.[2]

It will be noted that certain of the sentiments contained in the Annual Report and the manner in which they were expressed are markedly similar to the content and style of the resolution moved by David Macrae at a meeting

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1 See treasurer's Report on "Collections on Behalf of the Emancipated Slaves of North America, Session 1868-1869, in the following Presbyteries" in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 52, 1870 p. 88; And General Abstract of Receipts, in ibid., p. 88; and treasurer's accounts for 1869, in ibid., p. 115.

2 Extracts from Annual Report of the Theological Hall Missionary Society for year ended September, 1869, in ibid., pp. 87-88.

of the Society in early August, 1869.[1] This fact, plus the inclusion of a generous tribute to the workers in the AMA ("the true-hearted Christians of America") suggests that Macrae may have been the author of the tremendously encouraging 1868-1869 Annual Report. There unfortunately exists no record of Macrae's official standing within the U.P. Students' Missionary Society at that time, but undoubtedly his importance in respect of its effort on behalf of America's freed slaves would have been considerable. Perhaps his vitality, enthusiasm, and strong sense of sympathy for the work of the AMA and for the freedmen's aid cause in general were in themselves pervasive influences, and invaluable assets in bringing about the resounding success of the Theological Hall Missionary Society's project.

Yet, when the significance of individual contributory factors has been taken into account, the students' year-long effort to rouse and revive widespread denominational support for the freedmen's cause represents in essence another striking instance of an immensely successful organized U.P. venture. And it also represents (like the Voluntaries' church collections in 1866) an organized venture planned and conducted exclusively from within by members of the U.P. Church. It was certainly the case that from the very outset, the Theological Hall Missionary Society intended sending the Bibles which it hoped to purchase to the AMA for distribution among the Negro population, and that the eventual surplus fund of £1,000 which it accumulated was transmitted for use by that same transatlantic association. But these stable connections in no sense embodied a formal commitment on the part of the organizers of the U.P. scheme to advancing the specific interests of the AMA, no more than had the earlier U.P. policy of remitting the proceeds of the 1866 church collections to Sella Martin. The Students' Missionary Society campaign was conceived, as former organized U.P. efforts had been,

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1 See above, p. 35.

quite independently of association with the existing remnants of the officially established freedmen's aid movement in Britain, and independently also of all binding associations with American freedmen's aid Societies.

Having by 1870 thus proved itself exceedingly capable of amassing large sums for the freedmen entirely by its own solo exertions, the U.P. Church of Scotland went on throughout the later years of Reconstruction to raise equally impressive contributions to the cause.[1] As befitted a denomination so consciously imbued with a missionary spirit, it tended always to fashion its involvement in Christianizing and elevating the American Negroes on the basis of looking upon that specific endeavour as but one more missionary cause in its long list of missionary causes, and this form of approach was naturally conducive to a self-contained method of raising funds. The U.P. Church's remarkable success in gaining its members' tangible support for its schemes provides a striking illustration of the way in which the freedmen's aid cause benefitted in Scotland from the efforts of groups and individuals who were essentially unconnected with freedmen's aid Societies as such.

While as a religious sect, the United Presbyterians had every reason and every incentive for pursuing their own independent, denominational response to the American appeals, there was perhaps much less apparent reason for such a body as the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society to choose to maintain a strictly autonomous status in conducting its activities on behalf of the freedmen. In view of the fact that old stalwart British abolitionists (comprising as they did a close coterie with a record of involvement in the cause of the American Negro which stretched back over three decades) still dominated the personnel of both the ELES and the English freedmen's aid Societies at local and national level in the 1860s, there existed, in terms of mutual understanding, sympathy, and old friendships, a broad enough basis for formal

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1 For details of the later U.P. donations, see below, pp. 221-226.

collaboration between the members of the Edinburgh body and the national co-ordinating organizations for the advancement of the freedmen's aid cause. Yet, providing still further evidence of the reluctance of Scottish elements to form official links with the mainstream of the British freedmen's aid movement, the ELES (as will presently be demonstrated) elected instead to take its own course in campaigning for public support, in collecting contributions, and in remitting money and goods to the United States; and rather than becoming formally constituted as a proper Freedmen's Aid Society, it simply made its efforts on behalf of the freed Negroes under the old structure and appellation of an Emancipation Society.

But with regard to purely indigenous organized activity, not even the separate, individualistic responses of the three leading Presbyterian denominations and the chosen policy of the ELES represented the full extent of Scotland's relative independence from the dictates of the London-based freedmen's aid associations. A vital factor making for the Scottish avoidance of the organizational tentacles of the national co-ordinating bodies was the basic lack of a really stable, unified regional approach within Scotland itself. Even in the cities of Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen, where public freedmen's aid meetings were held and collections taken, there would appear to have been no definite, permanent organization in the form of a Society specifically geared to formulating policy and making arrangements for local efforts on behalf of the cause. Only Glasgow had a formally constituted Freedmen's Aid Society strictly affiliated to the National organization.[1] Much more so, it might be suggested, than applied to the English situation, the Scottish response was an essentially sporadic and autonomous one, devoid of even the semblance of a central connecting force. The NFAU was, for instance, the constant and unalterable focal point for only the GFAS and the

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1 The details pertaining to freedmen's aid activities in Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and Glasgow are considered in detail below, pp. 64-152.

committees in Edinburgh and Dundee which had charge of public contributions in these cities.[1] In other cases, Scottish donations found their way to America through independent means - sometimes, indeed, eventually through the medium of the NFAU (the ELES did occasionally use that body as an outlet for its collected funds, for example), but more often not.

Bearing in mind most especially the nature of, and the public response to, the U.P. Church's successive bids to marshal support for the freedmen, it would appear that at least to some extent basic cultural differences between Scotland and England were responsible for the diversities in the character of the countries' relative approaches to the cause. The relevance of that aspect is increased by the consideration that a possible factor helping to account for the conspicuous lack of a strong Scottish organizational structure was the notable absence within the country of significant Quaker activity on behalf of the freedmen's cause. Compared to England, the total number of Quakers in Scotland during the 1860s and 1870s was admittedly small, but a similar disparity had obtained during the abolitionist era and it had not prevented members of the Society of Friends from assuming a predominant role in the Scottish anti-slavery agitation. In view of the sect's immensely active and influential involvement in that earlier campaign, it might have been expected to take a lead in directing a spirited Scottish effort to assist the emancipated Negroes. But in fact the scale and importance of Quaker participation in the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland was relatively modest.

The fundamental lack amongst Scottish Quakers of a strong, collective concern about the condition of the American freedmen, and the concomitant lack of a collective determination to aid and elevate them was demonstrated in, for instance, the Edinburgh Friends' consistent failure to make any

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1 See below, pp. 65-66, 72-75, 107-109, 135-137.

reference to that cause in the course of their monthly meetings.[1] Certainly, there did persist within Quaker circles a very considerable tendency to view active involvement in helping the free black population of the United States as a logical and necessary extension of active involvement in the anti-slavery cause. But it was quite clearly only individual members, and not a significant collective body within the Society of Friends in Scotland, who possessed a commitment strong enough to act as an incentive for engagement in positive, practical activities to advance the freedmen's cause. Thus, figures such as the Smeals in Glasgow, Eliza Wigham and Elizabeth Pease Nichol in Edinburgh (and on a lesser scale, the Grays and the Cruickshanks of Aberdeen) gallantly persevered in providing vital examples of continuing Quaker effort on behalf of the American Negroes; but there is an overwhelming impression that they represented, essentially, the last surviving remnants of a band of abolitionist stalwarts, and that their numbers were too seriously depleted by the Reconstruction years to make the Quaker influence an important one in Scotland in respect of freedmen's aid.[2]

In England, it had been the Society of Friends which in early 1863 had set on foot the first organized appeals for the cause, and its members went on to

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1 See reports in Edinburgh two monthly meeting, numbers 1848-68, and numbers 1868-85, MSS. CH10/1/7 and CH10/1/8 respectively, SRO; reports in Monthly meeting of Edinburgh Women Friends, 1861-1884, MS. CH10/1/22, SRO.

2 With regard to the strength of Scottish Quakerism in general during the early to mid nineteenth century, George B. Burnet, The Story of Quakerism in Scotland 1650-1850 (London, 1952), pp. 179-183, has indicated that as a religious body, the Society of Friends in Scotland was already by the early 1830s fairly irreparably fragmented, although displaying a "zeal and vigour" in respect of social reforms and humanitarian causes which was totally disproportionate to the smallness of its membership. A minor improvement in the Quakers' numerical position within the country occurred around the mid-1840s, when, for instance, the Edinburgh Meeting had about 110 adherents and experienced the most successful period of its history. By 1851, however, there remained only four Meetings for worship in Scotland, and in 1860, with the halcyon days of the Edinburgh Meeting over, the Glasgow Meeting, with a mere fifty or sixty adherents, could be reckoned the largest in Scotland.

constitute a prominent force within the national movement as it developed throughout the mid-1860s.[1] And the Friends who thus involved themselves in freedmen's aid activities and who came to assume highly important positions within the executive of the NFAU (as well as within England's various regional freedmen's aid Societies) were, to be sure, also for the most part individuals who had earlier been identified with British anti-slavery agitation. But the crucial factor which differentiated the English situation from the Scottish one in this connection was the relative numbers of such individuals who remained to bring their influence to bear on rousing public support for the freedmen's cause.

In terms of the impact wielded upon the community by the efforts of a single religious body, then, it is perhaps valid to regard the U.P. Church in Scotland as having taken the place of the Society of Friends in England as the prime force generating a public impulse to provide support for freedmen's aid. Certainly, the zeal of the United Presbyterians' efforts in that sphere was intensified by a specific outlook towards the freedmen's cause which was closely paralleled within Quaker circles, for both religious bodies shared a strong missionary concept of the work.[2] Yet it can be suggested that even in respect of the labours undertaken by these two groups, the basic position of the Quakers in England was more conducive to producing a satisfactory financial response from the public than was the basic position of the Voluntaries in Scotland. Central to that contention is the fact that the Society of Friends commanded a substantially larger membership in proportion to the total English

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 6-8, and passim.

2 Bolt, British Attitude to Reconstruction, p. 350 has argued that in the long term, the Friends were primarily concerned to help secure a full Christian education for the freedmen, and that they regarded freedmen's aid as a great missionary labour, intent as they were on assisting the Negroes so that they might become able to assume true independence and responsibilities and to demonstrate their collective capacity for making the most of freedom.

population than did the U.P. Church in proportion to the population of Scotland. The relatively greater strength of English Quakerism therefore meant that in its efforts on behalf of the American freedmen it had the built-in advantage of having an extremely firm, widespread source from which to solicit support.

Thus it would almost certainly have been largely as a result of the particularly vigorous and flourishing condition of the sect throughout the country that the Friends in England succeeded in establishing a permanent organized framework of their own for raising contributions for freedmen's aid. And in turn, because of these factors, the Society of Friends was in a position to bring great benefits to the organizations which aimed at national co-ordination of the freedmen's aid movement. It was no mere accident that the Quakers (despite the initial chariness of many of their number regarding the loss of autonomy in conducting the freedmen's aid programme[1]) should have assumed a prominent role in both the National Committee of British Freed-Men's Aid Associations (formed May, 1865) and its more structurally formal successor, the NFAU.

But whatever the comparative strengths and weaknesses of the various action groups in Scotland and England, whatever the apparent merits of their different approaches to their task, for each of them the crux of the entire effort was, of course, the ability to stimulate public support. And so far as Scotland is concerned, it is important to recognize that it was not only the U.P. Church which made headway in involving the people in the cause (although admittedly that denomination did exhibit the most impressive ability to arouse widespread concern). As we have already frequently noted, public meetings on behalf of the freedmen's aid fund were invariably well attended;

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 65-67.

indeed, capacity or near capacity audiences were not uncommon.[1] What certainly was lacking, however, was sustained, significant involvement of the public at an institutional level.

Yet, there is no real basis for assuming that the existence of a network of local freedmen's aid Societies necessarily guaranteed a more continuous, healthier regional response to the cause. Despite the tight organizational framework in England, there are clear indications that at least in some areas, there were persistent difficulties in arousing public interest in the aims of the movement. In early 1865, for instance, Edward Brewin of Leicester was advising Aspinall Hampson that no money would be raised from a public meeting held there at that time, and commenting that "The practical difficulty here is a want of sympathy with the Negroes".[2] A year later he was still writing in the same vein, in a letter which stated that the members of the Leicester Freedmen's Aid Society were of the opinion that it would do no good to have a public meeting in the town, "such is the prejudice against the Negros (sic)".[3] With the elapse of another three months, he was candidly admitting to a chronic apathy and lack of interest within the actual committee of the Leicester Society, disclosing that at the committee meeting on 17 April, 1866 only four out of the seventeen invited members had attended.[4] Nor was Brewin alone in experiencing utterly disheartening responses to his call to provide active support for freedmen's aid. Also writing in mid April, 1866,

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1 See, for instance, report of meetings held on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause at Dundee, 26 Sept., 1865, in Dundee Advertiser, 27 Sept., 1865; Aberdeen, 29 Sept., 1865, in Aberdeen Free Press, 6 Oct., 1865; Edinburgh, 5 Dec., 1865, in Scotsman, 6 Dec., 1865; 2 July, 1866, in ibid., 3 July, 1866; 19 Dec., 1867, in ibid., 20 Dec., 1867; Glasgow, 27 Jan., 1868, in Glasgow Herald, 28 Jan., 1868.

2 Edward Brewin to Aspinall Hampson, Leicester, 17 Jan., 1865, A-sl.P., C117/98.

3 Edward Brewin to Aspinall Hampson, Leicester, 19 Jan., 1866, ibid., C117/99.

4 Edward Brewin to Aspinall Hampson, Leicester, 17 April, 1866, ibid., C117/103.

James E. Hargreaves, secretary of Carlisle Freedmen's Aid Society, complained to Hampson that he had been "repulsed" in his efforts to interest the leading gentry in the neighbourhood, and he felt further constrained to regret the "great coldness" towards the movement which existed in Carlisle.[1]

Yet, when the ineffectiveness and failures of the formally constituted Societies in England have been acknowledged, it remains a fact that to some considerable extent, there were also serious shortcomings in the overall pattern of Scotland's response. Lack of a clear Scottish commitment to fully organized activity helped to increase the disposition to treat the freedmen's aid cause as the object of occasional philanthropy, so that for the most part it tended to elicit significant practical sympathy only when American deputies appeared on public platforms and issued their direct appeals. At other times (apart of course, from the notable support given to the U.P. Church's efforts), the tangible response from the Scottish public would appear to have been fairly muted. Part of the reason for the country's failure to register a sustained level of enthusiasm (at least throughout the earlier years of Reconstruction) may have been that, even taking into account all the incentives to participate which we noted in the preceding chapter, it still remained all too easy to regard freedmen's aid simply in terms of just one other philanthropic cause, to be heeded and contributed to when special attention was drawn to it but otherwise to be deserving of no particularly persistent practical support. The same casual, occasional approach had not, of course, been so feasible with regard to the anti-slavery campaign, because

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1 James E. Hargreaves to Aspinall Hampson, Carlisle, 18 April, 1866., ibid. C118/85.

See also William W. Brown to Hampson, Evesham, 13 Nov., 1865, ibid., C117/122, in which it was stated that "there is a great deal of apathy on the subject [of freedmen's aid] and in fact very little thought about it". Original emphasis.

It is possible that Scots were relatively less ready than their English counterparts to admit a lack of sympathy for the American freedmen, preferring always to stress Scotland's traditional role as the Negroes' friend.

abolitionism had been a burning, emotive issue and one which demanded an ideological rather than a practical financial commitment.

II Freedmen's aid as an appendage of the abolitionist crusade: a facet of the Scottish public's response, and the mentality of the old guard Scottish abolitionists who participated in the movement

Through recall of the tremendous intensity of Scottish endeavour on behalf of the earlier abolitionist cause, the question arises, indeed, of how relatively important the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland really was, even to some of those individuals who were actively involved in it. In attempting to discover some pointers to this, it would seem to be significant, for instance, that in Glasgow, where from late 1864 to late 1868 there was certainly a formally constituted Freedmen's Aid Society, an association so designated was never listed as a recognized functioning philanthropic organization in the city's Post Office Directory, while the Glasgow Emancipation Society (formed in 1833) was still being annually recorded there until 1887-88.[1] And the impression that freedmen's aid as such tended in general to be rated as a comparatively minor, incidental and unimportant cause is perhaps equally forcefully conveyed in relation to the apparently modest position which it was seen to have occupied in the lives of some of the more notable Scotsmen who publicly advocated and supported it.

Thus despite the very considerable interest and concern which Guthrie, Macleod and Arnot displayed in freedmen's aid during the 1860s, none of the respective biographies of these three ministers refer to their association with the movement.[2] By striking contrast, however, their anti-slavery

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1 See Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1865-1888 .

2 With specific regard to Thomas Guthrie, the failure of his biographers (his sons David and Charles) to record his involvement in the freedmen's aid campaign may perhaps validly be accepted as an omission governed by a misguided retrospective judgement since Guthrie himself apparently considered the cause an extremely important one, and one very near to his heart - see above, Chapter VIII, p. 383.

principles and, where relevant, their activities on behalf of the abolitionist cause are carefully chronicled.[1] Similarly, the Duke of Argyll's autobiography and memoir completely ignored his spirited participation, both at local Scottish and at national level, in the freedmen's aid campaign, but duly stressed his "deep interest in the anti-slavery movement", relating how he had been reared in a household unsympathetic to the concept of abolition and how he personally had become unshakably committed to support of the cause through reading Uncle Tom's Cabin.[2] The fact that the subject's active involvement with abolitionism (or, at least, his strong hatred of slavery) found a place in biographies and autobiographies such as these while an involvement perhaps equally close with the freedmen's cause was not considered worthy of specific mention tends to suggest that the freedmen's aid movement was really the poor relation - or perhaps more precisely, the weak offspring - of the robust anti-slavery movement. In the view of the majority of the Scottish people, the campaign to aid and elevate the emancipated Negroes of America would indeed appear to have remained essentially an adjunct of the exceedingly vigorous and popular anti-slavery agitation which had preceded it, rather than to have been looked upon as a cause which was both extremely important and eminently worthy of public support in its own right.

In considering the failure of the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland to gain a momentum independent of its abolitionist antecedents, surely a

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1 See Guthrie and Guthrie, Thomas Guthrie, Vol. 2, pp. 365-366, where reference is made to the part which Guthrie played in welcoming Harriet Beecher Stowe to Edinburgh in 1853 and Cheever in 1859; to his "great admiration" for those denouncing slavery; to the fact that his own "intense hatred" of slavery made him unpopular in some quarters of America; and to his belief that he had "a moral duty" when breakfasting with American clergymen in Scotland "to dose them on the subject of slavery" - a sensitive task which he likened to "getting near to a man or woman with corny toes". See also A. Fleming (ed.) William Arnot, p. 99, where the Rev. William Arnot's early attachment to the anti-slavery cause is described.

2 Dowager Duchess of Argyll (ed.) The Duke of Argyll: Autobiography and Memoirs, Vol. 2, pp. 54-60.

factor of some critical significance was the extent to which old guard Scottish abolitionists formed the mainstay of the movement. Even within the basically fragmented and sporadic nature of the Scottish approach, it is still possible to perceive that many of the personnel who had participated in the Scottish anti-slavery campaign also played leading parts in the subsequent effort on behalf of the freed Negroes. Predictably, the strongest manifestations of personal commitments stretching from abolitionist days into the Reconstruction era were to be found amongst the members of the GFAS and the ELES. Thus in 1866, for instance, the GFAS' committee of thirty included no less than eighteen individuals who can be positively identified as having belonged also to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.[1] The very title "Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society", retained as it was beyond the dawn of abolition in America, testifies in itself to the initial aims and activities of the ladies who continued in the early years of Reconstruction to commend the cause of the ex-slaves to the generosity of the Scottish people. And in Aberdeen, it was under the auspices of the old Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society that there was held on 29 September, 1865 the city's only major public meeting on behalf of the freedmen.[2]

Unquestionably, the persistent practical involvement of long-standing Scottish abolitionists gave an invaluable if not indispensable boost to freedmen's aid activity in Scotland. Without their exertions, the volume of pressure on their fellow countrymen to support the cause would have been very considerably reduced. Moreover, they possessed experience in playing to public sympathy, proven dedication and enthusiasm to the Negroes' cause,

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1 See details of the composition of the GFAS committee in 1866 in William Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, A-sl.P., C120/36; list of those invited by the GES to attend the meeting on the slave trade and slavery held in Glasgow, 3 Nov., 1873, GES Minute Book, Smeal Collections.

2 See Aberdeen Free Press, 6 Oct., 1865.

contacts with the abolitionist stalwarts throughout Britain who were still instrumental in this new sphere of action, and organizational ability; and all of these positive assets they brought to bear, in varying degree, on their work for the cause.

But while acknowledging the advantages which accrued from the involvement of erstwhile abolitionists, it is equally important to recognize that the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland would seem to have been conspicuously lacking in new recruits, and to have suffered from this deficiency. For there were also, it can be argued, inherent drawbacks in the fact that former anti-slavery workers provided the backbone of the campaign. Certainly, these were full of the urge to carry on the good work, ready to regard freedmen's aid as a natural, necessary extension of their labours in the abolitionist cause, and anxious to drive home to the Scottish public the idea that it would be tragic to allow the cause of the American Negro to lapse when so much still remained to be done for him as a freedman. Yet it might be suggested that the great intensity which had characterized their participation in the Scottish anti-slavery agitation, the tremendously strong bonds which had been forged with American abolitionists and between the Scottish abolitionists themselves (especially between the active Garrisonian elements), and the ultimate success of their efforts were factors which had combined by the mid-1860s to leave these men and women somewhat prone to be well enough satisfied, at heart, with their labours and to bask in past glories.

In this connection, the hold which their former anti-slavery endeavours had on the sentiments of British abolitionists during the Reconstruction era is admirably demonstrated in two letters from the Bristol Quaker, Mary Estlin, to Rebecca Moore. Writing from Boston in the summer of 1868, Mary Estlin related that when she had visited the Garrisons, they had talked of Elizabeth Pease Nichol, and that Garrison's son Frank and his wife had told her of the happy times they had had at Huntly Lodge (Elizabeth Pease Nichol's Edinburgh

home). She herself asked Rebecca Moore to send on her "best respects" to Mrs. Nichol: and further indication of the exceedingly close contact which continued to exist between the old abolitionist fraternity in Britain was contained in her observation that it was "strange to have lived eleven weeks without hearing from Eliza Wigham".[1] It was only natural, of course, that the shared experiences of former days should have constituted the great basis for the strong bond of fellowship which survived among the anti-slavery agitators into the Reconstruction era. Participation in a movement which had occupied the most active period of their lives and which had ultimately achieved its objective was bound to remain the primary force welding them together in later years.

Yet, there would seem to have been a certain tendency among those who had been centrally and vitally involved in the abolitionist cause to become imprisoned in the past, to the detriment of their effective active concern for the wellbeing of the American freedmen after the Civil War. Certainly, they were all much older and could not, perhaps, be expected to carry forth the banner for freedmen's aid in the swashbuckling manner in which they had raised the cry for abolition. But there appears to have been little attempt by them even to stir up enthusiasm for the freedmen's cause among possible young crusaders. Energies were much more readily expended on straightforward, untrammelled recollection of earlier activities and achievements. The impression of a closed circle, reminiscing over past campaigns, rejoicing over battles won, and held together by the past and a solidarity of kinship based firnly on the past, is most clearly conveyed in a subsequent letter from Mary Estlin to Rebecca Moore, in which she wrote that she was having "the best of 'times'...in the midst of our beloved Boston circle of A[nti]-S[lavery] friends", and where she mentioned having been taken by Garrison to call on

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1 Mary Estlin to Rebecca Moore, Boston, 18 July, 1868, Estlin Papers: 1840-1884, microfilm, reel M744, Ms. 24.122.3.

Henrietta Sarjent: "a dear old lady - one of the early Abolit[ionists] ... It is a treat to hear her talk with Mr. G[arrison] of past experiences, giving thanks together that they were called to the work and dwelling on the blessed influences on themselves and their fellow labourers (sic)".[1]

By the mid-1860s, the same sort of nostalgia for earlier days was, indeed, clearly existent among American no less than among British abolitionists. Thus, although in early 1869 Harriet Beecher Stowe was busily engaged in establishing a school for freedmen at Mandarin, Florida, she nevertheless preserved the inclination at that time to write to Mrs. Joseph Sturge sadly recalling the depletion in the ranks of her old abolitionist friends in Britain: "Since those days, how many that I knew, loved and honoured in England are gone off the stage of this mortal (sic) - your husband, Mr. Wigham, Dr. Wardlaw, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lord Landsdowne, Lord Ellesmere".[2] And in a communication which probably dated from two or three years earlier, the Boston abolitionist, Maria Weston Chapman, candidly and positively recognized that although the American slaves were not by then totally free but were only in the process of being freed, she and her abolitionist colleagues could have no real part in hastening and shaping that contemporary process. Hence her letter to Richard Davis Webb and Mary Estlin actually contained an admission that the American Anti-Slavery Society was not the best instrument for carrying forward the work which needed to be done amongst

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1 Mary Estlin to Rebecca Moore, Boston, 11 Aug., 1868, ibid. Original emphasis.

2 Harriet Beecher Stowe to Mrs. Joseph Sturge, Mandarin, Florida, 7 April, 1869, ibid., Ms. 24.123.3. The letter was passed on to Mary Estlin. The "Mr. Wigham" referred to was John Wigham, one of the leading members of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society (i.e. the male equivalent of the ELES), the father of Eliza Wigham and husband of William Smeal's sister Jane. The Rev. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, Congregationalist minister of West George Street Chapel, Glasgow, was one of the leading theological thinkers in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, and was a prominent advocate of the anti-slavery cause. Lord Ellesmere was the brother-in-law of the Duchess of Sutherland.

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the freedmen: "But our [Anti-Slavery] Society ceases to be the fittest instrumentality for the new crisis; nor have we ourselves the same monopoly of the cause that apathy and hostility so many years endowed us with".[1]

If she, too, was disposed to feel that the abolitionists of the preceding decades had formed a very distinct coterie whose basic aims and efforts had been satisfactorily crowned with success before the end of the Civil War, Maria Weston Chapman's recollection of past struggles victoriously concluded therefore assumed a strictly practical as well as a purely sentimental character. Her realization that her contemporaries in the anti-slavery campaign not only could but should rest well enough content in the knowledge that their real goal had been achieved was accordingly accompanied by an acknowledgement that in the changed circumstances of the mid-1860s, others outwith the American Anti-Slavery Society were "as good and devoted" in their concern for the freedmen as were the members of that Society. It was time, she declared, to "hail the coming generation".[2] These sentiments probably represented, however, a fairly unique sign of encouragement from a former abolitionist to potential new forces working for the American Negroes' cause. More often, it would seem, there was a tendency among ex-abolitionists who had themselves become caught up in the freedmen's aid movement to rely instinctively on support from the anti-slavery people they knew from long association. Addressing a meeting of the NFAU in early 1868, for instance, William Foster Mitchell, in his capacity as a deputy of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, informed his audience that although few of the freedmen's

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1 Maria Weston Chapman to Richard Davis Webb and Mary Estlin, n.d., ibid.,

2 Ibid.

aid meetings which he had attended in Britain had been large, he had nevertheless been encouraged by the fact that many of those present at them had been life-long supporters of the anti-slavery cause; "and on more than one occasion, from the interest they manifested in our work, I have distinguished them from the rest of our hearers". [1]

Although admittedly reasoning in the context of Emancipation Society rather than freedmen's aid business, William Smeal nonetheless still showed himself capable in the early 1870s of placing basically the same sort of reliance as Mitchell had done on the old faithful abolitionist contingent. Writing in the early autumn of 1873 to the Rev. Benjamin Millard, secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Smeal offered to help to get up an anti-slavery meeting in Paisley, "as there are there some good old Anti-slavery friends, whose labours were most energetic in days gone by". [2] Nor did the guiding lights in the ELES seek after emancipation to encourage youger elements of the Scottish population to take up and carry on the spirit of the Society's long-standing concern for the cause of the American Negro. On the contrary, the 1866 Annual Report reflected the essential ethos of the body when in sensing that the life of the society was drawing to a close, it contented itself with thanking those who had worked for the abolition of slavery over the previous thirty years and with requesting their co-operation a little longer to aid the American freedmen and "to stand by them with the means of advancement and learning and citizenship, till they shall be fully able to stand alone. Let us not grow weary till the battle is completely won; till the work is not only finished but confirmed". [3]

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1 Report of speech by William Foster Mitchell at a meeting of the NFAU held to express thanks to Mitchell for his work in Britain prior to his return to the United States, Jan., 1868, in British Friend, Feb., 1868, p. 29.

2 William Smeal to Benjamin Millard, Glasgow, 3 Sept., 1873, A-sl.p., C46/28.

3 Annual Report of the ELES for year ending Feb., 15, 1866, p. 27.
On the other hand, the GFAS did, however, show some recognition of the need to recruit fresh personnel to supplement the work of the abolitionists in freedmen's aid - see below, pp. 80-81.

As a direct offshoot of the vigorous anti-slavery movement, then, the new freedmen's aid movement in Scotland had little chance to develop a real individual identity of its own. Instead, it tended always to have its existence in the huge shadow of the earlier abolitionist campaign, a shadow which in certain respects restricted its growth. Leading Scottish anti-slavery workers naturally felt an obligation to associate themselves with a cause which could be seen as virtually inextricable from their original emancipationist goal, and their desire to continue their help for the American Negro as an emancipated citizen was real and sincere. But there nevertheless arises the impression that to some extent this continuing sphere of involvement was for them something of a heavy labour, dutifully and willingly undertaken, but conducted with little of the immense energy, exuberance, and sense of satisfaction which had characterized their labours in the anti-slavery cause. It was not merely that they were all older, although that factor was obviously of much importance. The most vital fact was that emancipation - the Great Cause, their personal crusade - had been successfully achieved. And after that achievement, while the commitment to the welfare of the ex-slaves remained, much of the former spirited intensity of effort inevitably evaporated.

It has already become obvious that by the Reconstruction years abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic were more strongly inclined to hark back to fond remembrance on their associations with fellow workers during the hey-day of the anti-slavery agitation than to make really strenuous efforts to attract new workers to the fresh cause of freedmen's aid. The substantial preoccupation with the past stretched up to the highest echelons of the old abolitionist personnel. Thus William Lloyd Garrison himself was clearly content in this later period to move within the welcoming circles, both in America and in Britain, of those who had been his faithful supporters and

colleagues in the earlier years. We have noted that his visit to Europe in 1867 was to some considerable extent undertaken on freedmen's aid business.[1] But at least in the course of his social round in Britain he would appear to have concentrated largely on association with individuals closely familiar to him from a generation before. With specific regard to Scotland, this tendency showed itself in, for instance, his week-long stay (accompanied by his son Frank and his wife) with Elizabeth Pease Nichol,[2] and his frequent contact with the Duke and Duchess of Argyll. Very soon after his arrival in Britain in mid-June, he visited the Argylls at Argyll Lodge, Kensington with the intention not only of expressing"his appreciation of the Duke's unfaltering support of the Northern Cause during the Civil War" but also of "testify[ing]...his grateful rememberance of the friendship and support of the Duchess of Sutherland, whose daughter, a young girl in 1840, now greeted him as the Duchess of Argyll".[3] His eagerness to indulge in affectionate reminiscences was fully reciprocated by the Argylls and by the Dowager Duchess of Sutherland herself, who wrote to him from Chiswick House indicating that she looked forward "with great happiness" to meeting him "in these better times".[4]

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1 See above, Chapter VIII, p. 402.

2 See Garrison and Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. 4, p. 220.

3 Ibid., p. 193.
In Britain in 1840 to attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, Garrison had first met the future Duchess of Argyll (then Lady Elizabeth Leveson-Gower) and had pronounced her "an interesting young lady" - see ibid., Vol. 2, p. 387. Contemporaneously, Lucretia Mott, also in Britain for the Convention, had been urged by British abolitionists to seize an opportunity to talk to the Duchess of Sutherland's daughter "as she was an uncommon girl [,] only sixteen" - see F. B. Tolles (ed.), Slavery and "The Woman Question" : Lucretia Mott's Diary, etc. (Pennsylvania and London 1952) p. 51.

4 Garrison and Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. 4, p. 193.
In the event the Dowager Duchess became too unwell to entertain Garrison personally, but the duty was carried out by the Argylls.

When following the death of his wife and the breakdown of his own health Garrison again visited Britain in 1877, he once more made a point of renewing all the old acquaintances. In Scotland, that process involved rekindling personal contacts with the Argylls, with Duncan and Priscilla Bright McLaren, and with Elizabeth Pease Nichol, whose guest he again was for one week.[1] And during a stay of no less than twenty days in Scotland, he also enjoyed the hospitality of Elizabeth Pease Nichol's stepson, John Nichol, Professor of English Literature at Glasgow University, and spent "as much time as possible" with the Patons and the Smeals,[2] long-standing pillars of the redoubtable Glasgow Emancipation Society. On 25 August, Garrison left for America in the sad knowledge that a mere four days previously his "cherished and honoured friend" William Smeal had been buried in Janefield Cemetery, Glasgow, having died at the ripe old age of eighty-four.[3] Smeal's death involved the severance of an extremely significant abolitionist link, and it was the means of prompting Garrison to make a statement which admirably illustrates his own mood towards the battles won and which reinforcesthe theory that in both Britain and the United States the abolitionists, despite a measure of involvement in freedmen's aid, were by the Reconstruction era first and foremost immersed in happy memories of earlier years. In a letter printed in the Mail, Garrison wrote:

> Aside from the regret that we shall not see him again in the earthly form, his removal suggests nothing but consolation and peace. He had excelled the average age of two generations - the days of all further active usefulness had passed; he had discharged all the duties and obligations arising from his relation to God and his fellow-men most conscientiously and exemplarily...[4]

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1 Ibid., pp. 271-280, 282.

2 Ibid., p. 283. See also Francis Garrison to Mary Estlin, Huntly Lodge, Edinburgh, 27 July, 1877, Estlin Papers. Garrison (who was again accompanied on his British trip by his son Frank) managed to include a tour of the Scottish Highlands in his itinerary. He left Scotland on 10 Aug.

3 See obituary notice on William Smeal in Glasgow Herald, 22 Aug., 1877. For a biographical note on William Smeal, see Appendix I.

4 Letter from William Lloyd Garrison extracted from the Mail and quoted in British Friend, Sept., 1877, p. 247.

Referring to his very recent visit to Glasgow, he recalled that he had found Smeal "fresh in his recollections of the stirring incidents of the past"; and voicing the melancholy resignation of an old colleague and an old man, Garrison declared that he himself must soon follow Smeal to the grave.[1]

But if the preservation of remarkably close national and transatlantic associations tended to encourage the old guard Scottish abolitionists (no less than their English and American counterparts) to dwell to perhaps a somewhat unfortunate extent upon the "stirring incidents of the past", it probably did not necessarily require a record of formal affiliation to an anti-slavery Society for an individual who had strongly supported the abolitionist movement to derive a peculiar sense of satisfaction from recollection of convictions defended and friendships formed during the anti-slavery campaign. For a feeling of nostalgia for past times, akin to that exhibited by members of the former emancipation Societies of Britain and America, had also, it would appear, crept into the Duchess of Argyll's outlooks towards the American Negroes' cause in the 1860s. In her case at least, it may well have been a nostalgia for a time when the issues concerning the black race in the South were clear cut; for a time when she could fully understand the ethics and principles of the straight-forward anti-slavery movement and gave her unqualified support to it.

Certainly, to the extent that the freedmen's aid cause simply involved humanitarian appeals for help for the suffering and destitute and, later, for assistance in evangelizing and educating the freed slaves, the Duchess

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1 Ibid.

was similarly prepared to give it her wholehearted backing.[1] But whereas before abolition a full commitment to the cause of the American slave had required little more than a thorough-going advocacy of emancipation, during Reconstruction a total commitment to the cause of the American freedman demanded a sympathetic appreciation of the measures needed to guarantee him social and political justice, as well as a compassionate recognition of what was necessary for his physical and spiritual welfare. To be sure, it was the stated policy of freedmen's aid workers in Britain to eschew questions of American politics (although in practice it was impossible for them fully to do so). But the Duchess of Argyll, it must be remembered, was not attached to a formal freedmen's aid organization, nor were her American contacts and friendships exclusively with men who were associated with the running of such societies. And in this later period, she found herself unable to concentrate only on the humanitarian aspects of the American Negroes' situation, unable totally to escape adopting certain attitudes towards the weighty social and political problems which their emancipation had raised.

Hence as we have seen,[2] opposing views on the question of Negro suffrage introduced an unpleasantly discordant note into her relationship with her

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1 In addition to her husband's integral involvement with the organization of the National Committee of British Freedmen's Aid Associations and his subsequent connections with the national freedmen's aid movement, the Duchess of Argyll would seem to have cultivated some form of association with the movement in her own right - see, for instance, Arthur Albright to Aspinall Hampson, 29 March, 1866, A-sl.p., C117/39, in which Albright informed Hampson that the Duchess had recommended Laurence Oliphant as a speaker.

Accompanied by her second daughter, Lady Elizabeth Campbell, and her sister-in-law, Lady Emma Campbell, she attended on 27 Jan., 1868 a public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid fund held in the City Hall, Glasgow, at which J.A. Thome and Sella Martin appealed for assistance in educating and evangelizing the freedmen. The Duke of Argyll chaired the meeting. See North British Daily Mail, 28 Jan., 1868.

2 See above, Chapter VI, pp. 41-44.

great abolitionist friend, Charles Sumner. Prior to that, the smooth harmony of their emancipationist opinions had been somewhat disturbed, too, by Sumner's statements on Britain's position towards the combatants in the Civil War.[1] There is accordingly a hint of wistful remembrance of the fine, close companionship and rewarding sense of purpose which had characterized the old period of anti-slavery activity in a letter written to Sumner in April, 1863, where after having strenuously vindicated the British policy of neutrality, the Duchess concluded by remarking that "I have been looking at your trees, and thinking of our happy time in '57".[2] Three months later, in a communication which assumed an identical form, the same sentiments were repeated: "your trees are flourishing, and bring back what seems yesterday but is nearly six years ago".[3] And in 1869, she gave a revealing insight not only into the essence of the Argyll's support for the Northern cause in the Civil War but also into the strength of the impact which the initial contact with American abolitionist had made upon their lives:

> I do not think I have ever made you understand how intense our own feeling [for the North] was; but much depended on knowledge of America. It was the result of friendships, old even then.[4]

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1 See Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner, 29 April, 1863; 23 July, 1863; 22 Sept., 1863 (in which she conveyed her "extreme distress" at Sumner's recent speech on relations with Britain: "there is much that goes far beyond my comprehension"); 4 July, 1865, in PMHA, pp. 76-77, 81-82, 83, 89. See also Duke of Argyll to Sumner, 24 April, 1863; 30 May, 1863; 30 Sept., 1863; 7 July, 1865, in ibid., pp. 74-76, 79, 85, 89-90.

2 Duchess of Argyll to Sumner, 29 April, 1863, ibid., p. 77.

3 Duchess of Argyll to Sumner, 23 July, 1863, ibid., pp. 81-82.

4 Duchess of Argyll to Sumner, 4 June, 1869, ibid., p. 68. Original emphasis.

In his memoirs (published in 1907), the 9th Duke of Argyll (i.e. the Marquis of Lorne in the 1860s and '70s) declared that his mother's correspondence with Sumner while he was Chairman of the committee of the American Senate on foreign affairs had done much to keep the Argyll family friendly to the United States during the Civil War - Passages from the Past, Vol. 1, p. 202.

Against the background of a home life so deeply steeped in a spirit of affectionate recollection of the abolitionist era, the Marquis of Lorne, then, probably felt it incumbent upon him to visit a number of his parents' abolitionist friends during his trip to America in 1866. This task he dutifully carried out (apparently succeeding, in the process, in substantially curbing his own intensely pro-Confederate and anti-abolitionist attitudes); and in so doing, he naturally contributed towards perpetuating his parents' focus on past times, as well as towards reactivating the abolitionist memories of those Americans whom he visited. In view of the Duke and Duchess' particularly close acquaintance with him, Charles Sumner was, of course, one of the principal figures on Lorne's visiting list. Having duly called on him in mid April, 1866, Lorne wrote back to his mother that the Senator had had "many questions" to ask about her. Yet perhaps Sumner himself did cherish a very real hope that as well as remembering with pride and affection the struggles and victories of the anti-slavery campaign, the Duchess of Argyll would also, in the post-Civil War years, maintain and extend her concern for the American Negroes in the same vigorous way as he himself had done. Thus from remarks made in the course of Lorne's conversation with him, it becomes fairly clear that he was keenly anxious that the Duchess should hold distinct views on the freedmen and on the President's attitude to them which matched his own. For instance, telling Lorne of an address recently delivered by Johnson to the freedmen in which he had advised them to provide for their own advancement through self-help, Sumner declared that "I am sure your mother will despise that speech".[1]

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1 Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Washington, 21 April, 1866, Letters of the 9th Duke..., Argyll MSS.

A measure of Sumner's regard for the Duchess of Argyll was contained in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's letter informing the Duchess of Sumner's death. "He always", Longfellow wrote, "cherished an unabated affection for you and all your household" - Henry W. Longfellow to Duchess of Argyll, 5 April, 1874, Letters to the Duchess of Argyll and 8th Duke of Argyll, Argyll MSS.

It would not, however, have been consistent with Lorne's own convictions regarding the American situation for him to have encouraged his mother to adopt Sumner's standpoints on Reconstruction. Indeed, in the content of his letters to her there was precious little incentive for the Duchess even affectionately to recall her earlier associations with Sumner. Nursing as he did a deep personal animosity towards the Northern cause and towards at least some of those whom he believed to be over-enthusiastically concerned with the freedmen's condition, Lorne would seem to have taken a delight in irritating Sumner during his visit,[1] and in reporting adversely on him.[2]

But by no means all of his movements in American abolitionist circles were the subject of similarly bitter comment. For instance, a week before his visit to Sumner he had breakfasted with John G. Palfrey at the Union Club in Boston and had there met several literary and anti-slavery men of his parents' acquaintance, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Edward Everett, and Henry Dana. And on that occasion at least, he was apparently well satisfied, having been in the company of "all the talent of Boston".[3] In

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1 On the occasion of his first meeting with Sumner, Lorne's pleasure at his discomfiture took the form of sheer impoliteness. At Sumner's home, he met an Admiral Lee, a Virginian who had fought for the North. Lee told of how he had destroyed many British blockade runners and of how most of them had come from the Clyde. Lorne's reaction had scarcely been discreet: "I told him of the activity in this class of ship building that was going on lately - and Sumner sat silent, looking rather moody while this wicked aiding of the C.S.A. was being talked of" - Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Washington, 21 April, 1866, letters of the 9th Duke... ibid.

2 See ibid., where he labelled Sumner "extreme and violent"; Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Washington, 24 April, 1866, where he pronounced himself "immensely disappointed" with Sumner's speech on the Colorado Bill at the Capitol: Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Washington, 16 May, 1866, where he deplored the readiness of Sumner and Benjamin Butler to impeach Johnson - Letters of the 9th Duke. By 1868, Lorne's opinion of Sumner and his policies had not improved. At the beginning of the year, he wrote to his mother returning Palfrey's "melancholy account of Sumner's amours. He seems to be as clumsy in love making as he is in 'Reconstruction'" - Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, 27 Feb., 1868, AFL, Argyll MSS.

3 Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Boston, 14 April, 1866, Letters of the 9th Duke..., ibid.

the midst of his immersion in the Boston abolitionist clique, Lorne nevertheless clearly preserved an inward detachment from the zealous spirit which still pervaded the group, and it was that detachment which enabled him good-naturedly to tease his mother on the subject of Oliver Wendell Holmes' ex-soldier son. Having discovered that the son had been three times wounded in the Civil War and that he intended visiting Britain that summer, Lorne wrote: "I think I must tell him to call on you as it w[oul]d interest you to see a battered young Federal".[1] The comment nicely conveys a sense of the continuing strength of the Duchess' sentimental attachment to the concept of anti-slavery fighters. Well attuned to his mother's emphasis on links with the vanished abolitionist era, Lorne gained in America one especially apposite indication that among anti-slavery sympathizers on both sides of the Atlantic there had survived into the post-war era a strong adherence to old connections. During his stay in Boston, he dined at the Palfreys' home and hanging in the dining room had been a print gifted by the Duchess to Palfrey many years previously. And on that same occasion he was given as a present for his mother the copy of a book written by one of Palfrey's daughters: "It is very abolitionist in tone, and the composition utterly stupid". Somewhat ungenerously, Lorne added that "I hear it is given to all the family's friends".[2]

As the son of parents so highly revered in American abolitionist circles, the Marquis of Lorne was probably bound to become during his 1866 trip more of a focus for the renewal of anti-slavery reminiscences than the target for indoctrination on the subject of the needs of the freed Negroes. But in his involvement with the anti-slavery agitators and their recollections of an earlier generation, Lorne was not particularly unique among Scottish travellers to Reconstruction America. For rather than helping to create a

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1 Ibid.

2 Marquis of Lorne to Duchess of Argyll, Boston, 17 April, 1866, ibid.

new atmosphere of mutual interest in freedmen's aid, certain other Scots who visited the United States shortly after the war's end also helped to rekindle abolitionist memories and to keep alive the abolitionist ethos within the transatlantic anti-slavery clique which had been established earlier in the century. Thus, in the course of his American trip in the autumn of 1865, Elizabeth Pease Nichol's stepson, Professor John Nichol, visited and was "very much charmed" by Mrs. Chapman, heard Sumner give "a great speech", was "especially delighted" with the Motts, visited Anne Warren Weston, and was "much delighted" with Phillips and Garrison.[1] In Nichol's case, the great abolitionist link consisted, of course, in his connection with Elizabeth Pease Nichol, although he had also in his own right played an active role in the Scottish anti-slavery movement.[2]

It becomes fairly evident, then, that during the Reconstruction years Scotland's traditionally strong concern about Negro emancipation in America both helped and hindered the transference of Scottish abolitionists' practical activities into the new sphere which the freedmen's aid cause represented. Indeed, the general character of the country's support for the movement tends to present itself in terms of fragmented, unco-ordinated responses, presided over by, for the most part, ex-abolitionists who somewhat onerously applied themselves to their new task while more happily looking back over their shoulders to former, anti-slavery campaigns. But while recognizing the essentially diffuse nature of the Scottish approach to freedmen's aid and the concomitant tendency of Scots to favour it with merely occasional philanthropy, it must also be acknowledged that there nevertheless were certain organized (if sporadic) efforts made in the major cities to stir up interest in and tangible support for the cause. It is to these varied and various efforts

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1 Knight, John Nichol, pp. 272, 275.

2 See above, Chapter III, p. 236.

that more detailed attention must now be turned.

III The nature of the efforts made on behalf of the cause within Scotland's four principal cities

(i) Glasgow

Of the four principal centres of urban population in Scotland during the mid to late 1860s, Glasgow with its recent display of vigorous and overwhelming support for the Confederacy might conceivably be judged the least likely to have registered an enthusiastic response to the American appeals on behalf of the freed slaves. Yet, with regard to organized freedmen's aid activity, the city merits first consideration since it would appear to have possessed the only fully fledged freedmen's aid Society in Scotland. Formed in early November, 1864, the Glasgow Society can almost certainly be regarded as a direct product of the American abolitionist Levi Coffin's visit to Britain. From early 1863, Coffin had been general agent of the Cincinnati-based Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and on the encouragement of fellow United States abolitionists he embarked in 1864 on a transatlantic trip to raise funds in Britain and to heighten British awareness of the freedmen's cause.[1] Arriving in London in mid May, he was extremely warmly received at the Friends Yearly Meeting;[2] and having established himself within the wider metropolitan circle of those already labouring in the

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1 Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of an Abolitionist (London, 1878), pp. 192-195. Coffin had first become involved in freedmen's aid work when in 1862 he had gone to Cairo, Illinois with the intention of assisting the large number of destitute Negroes who had been sent there after joining the Federal camps. Forcefully struck by the "misery and wretchedness" which he witnessed, he determined from then on to devote all his time and energies to labours amongst the freed slaves - see ibid., p. 191.

2 See ibid., p. 196. The Society of Friends in England had of course been actively engaged in fund-raising efforts on behalf of the freedmen for over a year prior to Coffin's visit: in February, 1863, its Meeting for Sufferings had inaugurated organized appeals for aid - see Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 6-8.

interests of the emancipated slaves, he was instrumental in bringing about the organization of the London Freedmen's Aid Society.[1] It was in the company of the Rev. Dr. Massie, a member of the newly formed London Freedmen's Aid Society, that Coffin in the autumn of 1864 made his way to Scotland.[2] On 7 November they attended a public meeting in the Trades Hall, Glasgow, and it was on that occasion that the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society was formally constituted.[3]

From the very outset, the GFAS set itself on a course of full and willing co-operation with the London Society "and other similar Associations throughout the kingdom,"[4] and it maintained throughout the period of its existence an unwavering desire to contribute to the strengthening of unity within the British freedmen's aid movement. Thus, a committee meeting held on 6 June, 1865 recorded that the Society members unanimously agreed in "cordially approv[ing]" of the proposition to unite with the recently formed National Committee of British Freed-Men's Aid Associations. Committee members James Moir (the radical Glasgow councillor) and James Macfarlane, and the committee convener, William Smeal, were accordingly appointed to

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1 See ibid., pp. 26-27; and Coffin, Reminiscences, pp. 196-197.

2 In ibid., p. 200, Coffin related that he and Massie visited Edinburgh and Glasgow "and other towns in Scotland" where as well as successfully arousing "great interest" in the cause, they found that "the contributions were exceedingly liberal and warm expressions of sympathy were very numerous".

3 See the Prospectus, 9 Nov., 1864, in GFAS Minute Book, Smeal Collection.
Two days after the establishment of the GFAS, Coffin and Massie addressed a meeting of ladies in the Religious Institute Rooms, Glasgow, following which a Ladies' Committee was formed to co-operate with the "men's committee" of the GFAS. A very considerable proportion of the ladies named were in fact the wives of male committee members - see ibid.

4 See ibid.
Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 27 has indicated that it was in fact the London Freedmen's Aid Society which arranged for the deputations headed by Coffin to visit Glasgow and other Scottish towns.

represent Glasgow at the meetings and in the business transactions of the national organization.[1] Subsequently, Smeal reported to the committee that he had forwarded to Arthur Albright at the Birmingham Freed-Men's Aid Society[2] a copy of their resolution agreeing to the proposal for the "union of all British Freedmen's Aid Societies".[3] And when at the end of 1865 suggestions for a still closer federation began to be seriously mooted, James Sinclair, secretary of the GFAS, wrote informing Aspinall Hampson that the Glasgow committee unanimously approved of the National Committee's proposal for a more complete union of the different associations, observing that "much more good will be done by a united effort than otherwise".[4]

While the GFAS therefore wholeheartedly accepted the wisdom of a nationally unified campaign, it is also fairly clear, however, that at no stage was it prepared to allow its autonomy to be unduly eroded by the central

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1 Report of GFAS committee meeting held in the Cobden Hotel, Glasgow, 6 June, 1865, GFAS Minute Book, Smeal Collection. Smeal had earlier read a letter from the National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Aid Associations in London intimating the proposal to establish a central association and inviting the co-operation of the various associations in Britain in that venture.

2 Arthur Albright was a leading spirit in the formation (in the summer of 1864) of the Birmingham and Midland Freed-Men's Aid Society and later in the establishment of the National Committee - see Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 30, 68. He became one of the honorary secretaries of the NFAU - see A-sl.P., MS. G88.

3 Report of GFAS committee meeting held in the Cobden Hotel, 25 July, 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

4 James Sinclair to Aspinall Hampson, 9 Dec., 1865, A-sl.P., MS C120/34. Sinclair's letter to Hampson was in fact concerned with conveying the GFAS' attitude towards proposals for greater co-operation between the freedmen's aid Societies which had been submitted to the Glasgow and other district associations by the executive of the National Committee in the weeks immediately prior to the third quarterly meeting of the National Committee. It was at that meeting, held in Manchester on 13 December, 1865, that the resolution (moved by the Birmingham and Midland Freed-Men's Aid Association) recommending the formation of the NFAU won unanimous acceptance, and at which the draft constitution of the NFAU was drawn up. See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 159-161, 165-166.

organizational bodies. The warm reception which it gave to the initial idea of affiliation with the National Committee was possibly grounded to a significant extent in the knowledge that the London-based co-ordinating agency aimed to establish a greater unity and co-operation between the regional associations "but without wishing in any way to interfere with the internal arrangements of these Associations". Certainly, Smeal took care to emphasize that point.[1] With the actual National Committee itself, no conflict or disagreement ever did develop regarding the permissable measure of independence enjoyed by the Glasgow Society. But the readiness with which the GFAS moved to combat any apparently high-handed attempt by an external organization to assume unwarranted direction of its affairs was well demonstrated in its response during the summer of 1865 to the activities of the Rev. Dr. Frederick Tomkins, secretary of the London Freed-Man's Aid Society.

The London Society had as early as March, 1865 shown an eager willingness to co-operate in bringing about a greater integration of effort among the various associations engaged in freedmen's aid work throughout the country,[2] and two months later it accordingly gave full support to the establishment of the National Committee.[3] By the summer of that year, however, the progress achieved in co-ordinating the operations of the regional Societies was already being threatened by underlying discontents, the most potentially serious of which emanated from the London Freed-Man's Aid Society. The reason for the London organization's dis-satisfaction with the practical outcome of a policy which it had helped to implement is easily stated: quite simply, the Freed-Man's Aid Society, although ready to endorse increased national communication and co-operation within the movement, remained both fiercely attached to the

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1 See report of GFAS committee meeting, 6 June, 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

2 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 64.

3 Ibid., pp. 67, 147.

view of itself as an important association fully operational in its own right and determined to preserve a very considerable degree of autonomy. When it rapidly became apparent that neither of these desires could be satisfactorily accommodated under the structure of the National Committee, misgivings naturally set in regarding the organizational policy, and by the beginning of September Hampson was being informed by Tomkins that he and most of his fellow committee members found the National Committee's "frequent references" to the Freed-Man's Aid Society as a "district" and "branch" association most objectionable. It had never, Tomkins insisted, been either.[1]

It was, therefore, against this background of mounting concern and discontent within the London Freed-Man's Aid Society itself that Tomkins took a course which clearly aroused the displeasure of the GFAS. Seeking, perhaps, to establish a distinct sphere of influence in which his Society would be able to wield the authority and enjoy the prestige which it so greatly wished to maintain, he had by mid August, 1865 made arrangements for two public freedmen's aid meetings to be held in Scotland later in the year - one at Edinburgh and one at Dundee. In so doing, he had chosen not only completely to ignore the GFAS, with which organization,in its capacity as the only properly constituted freedmen's aid Society in Scotland, he most certainly ought to have communicated and co-operated, but also to find no place on either occasion for Sella Martin to appear as a platform speaker. Inasmuch as the GFAS considered that Tomkins had overstepped the bounds of his position regarding the planning of the Scottish meetings, his arbitrary exclusion of Martin was a consideration which weighed as heavily as his total disregard of the Society itself. Indeed, the slight meted out to the AMA deputy was essentially inseparable from the slight delivered to the executive committee of the Glasgow Society because by the late summer of 1865 Sella

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1. The Rev. Frederick Tomkins to Aspinall Hampson, 7 Sept., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C120/56.

Martin had already become closely identified with the specific aims and general efforts of the GFAS. As will presently be seen, he had by that time decided to concentrate on Scotland as his sphere of activity, and had been warmly accepted by the Glasgow organization as the principal American freedmen's aid worker in the country.[1]

Accordingly, it was with regard to the by-passing of Martin as a participant at the proposed meetings in Edinburgh and Dundee that the GFAS' secretary, James Sinclair, wrote in protest to Tomkins. In a lengthy, strongly phrased letter (the text of which is more fully considered below), he took pains to make quite explicit Martin's very special position within Scotland, and the manner in which the singular nature of his efforts was serving to advance the freedmen's aid cause there. On the basis of that information and of the Glasgow Society's full endorsement of Martin's labours, Sinclair urged upon Tomkins the justice as well as the practical common sense of handing over the Scottish meetings to Martin or, at the very least, of communicating with him to ensure that he would be able in one way or another to use to the advantage of the cause the fund of goodwill and influential support which he had by then amassed in Scotland.[2] Running through the course of Sinclair's message to Tomkins there is discernable a strong vein of annoyance at the latter's apparent presumption that he knew equally as well as those workers based in Glasgow how to conduct the campaign in Scotland and that he was therefore entitled to meddle with impunity in Scottish freedmen's aid business, business which more rightly lay within the organized province of the GFAS. Probably extremely anxious, however, to avoid opening a rift in the national co-operative framework which the Glasgow Society had so eagerly welcomed, the secretary succeeded in keeping the committee's thinly disguised

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1 For an indication of the GFAS' association with Martin, see below, pp. 89-102.

2 James Sinclair to the Rev. Dr. F. Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C160/70.

indignation just below the surface; and it was left to Sella Martin himself to provide a somewhat more direct indication of the extent of the GFAS' displeasure at Tomkins' action.

Sending on to an unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson) on the executive of the National Committee a copy of Sinclair's letter to Tomkins, Martin explained that his chief reason for doing so was that he did not want to be misunderstood. He had "no desire", he stated, "to be involved in any way with any sort of rivalry", but Tomkins' assumption that it was fair enough to arrange a meeting in Scotland without asking him to attend - "though I have been working here in the interests of the freedmen for the last six weeks harder than I have ever worked in my life" - had "compelled" him to speak on the subject to "the men active [in the cause] in Glasgow". For an unknown reason, Tomkins had never offered him an appointment: "and in as much as I have chosen this field [Scotland] and spent my Society's money in working it I have no disposition to give up towns where I can be succesful because someone else has arranged for a meeting in it (sic), utterly ignoring me in doing so".[1] And his letter implied that his own anger towards Tomkins and the London Freed-Man's Aid Society was shared by the committee members of the GFAS. It had been understood, he wrote, that each "central Society" should work in the district of which it was the centre, "and therefore the Glasgow Society feel (sic) that there should be something like conference with them (sic) when meetings are arranged even by the National Committee, but more especially by any district Society like the one of which Dr. Tomkins is the secretary". The GFAS had certainly considered it "strange" that no approach had been made to consult it in planning the meetings for Scotland.[2]

The arrogance of Tomkins' attitude towards organizing freedmen's aid

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1 Sella Martin to an unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, ibid., MS. C159/68.

2 Ibid.

activities in Scotland, and the fact that his authority derived merely from his status within what was in essence (despite all its protestations to the contrary) really only another district association were therefore features which combined to encourage the Glasgow committee to take issue with his uncongenial proposals. But the very natural (and, after all, surely justifiable tendency of the committee members to believe that they understood better than any of their fellow freedmen's aid workers in other parts of Britain what policies could successfully be implemented in the Scottish context persisted beyond the period of Tomkins' attempted interference, and was evidenced in respect of suggested activities put forward by the executive of the NFAU itself. In early July, 1866, for instance, the Glasgow committee considered a circular from Hampson relating to the presence in Britain of certain American delegates, and especially to the visit of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission deputy, the Rev. Robert J. Parvin. After discussion, the meeting decided that it was "undesirable" to ask Parvin to Glasgow at that time since a large number of ministers and "influential inhabitants" were absent from the city for the summer and "no public meeting could be expected to be other than an entire failure".[1] In accordance with the constitution of the NFAU, the GFAS did continue to enjoy some considerable degree of autonomy, and at the beginning of August Smeal accordingly informed Hampson that the committee was "quite against" inviting any American delegates to Glasgow at that season because the "influential" were out of town. Indicating that the GFAS was aware that Sella Martin and the Rev. W. Patton had recently addressed a meeting in Edinburgh, he stressed that the leading people there did not leave so early as did their counterparts in Glasgow, enticed away as these were by the Clyde scenery and the "sea bathing residences".[2]

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1 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 2 July, 1866, GFAS Minute Book.

2 William Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 4 Aug., 1866, A-sl.P., MS C120/37.

While the GFAS therefore continued throughout its existence to ensure that it took full advantage of the scope afforded for running its internal affairs, the Society did also remain, however, equally firmly committed to preserving its affiliation to the central organizational agency. Its clear desire to keep under the umbrella of the leading national co-ordinating body was reflected in its carefulness not to offend the executive of the NFAU. For instance, in conveying to Hampson the Society's decision not to arrange for a freedmen's aid meeting in Glasgow during the summer of 1866, Smeal emphasized that the Glasgow committee wanted it to be "distinctly understood" that in declining to invite Parvin to the city it was in no way seeking to depreciate his abilities and labours, but was merely giving regard to "the present circumstances" within the city.[1]

Explicit statements of the GFAS' attitudes and of the reasons governing specific responses would certainly have contributed towards the maintenance of a smooth working relationship with the NFAU. And in electing in the first instance to accord its full support to the nascent idea of a national union of freedmen's aid Societies, the Glasgow committee had been similarly explicit in stating its approval of the policy which the projected organization planned to adopt. That approval had occasioned an open declaration against Tomkins' London Freed-Man's Aid Society and its principle of involvement in the cause of the freed Negroes in Jamaica. But in order to understand the decision of the GFAS in this connection, it is necessary to look again at the nature of the relationship between the London Freed-Man's Aid Society and the National Committee during the period from autumn 1865 to the beginning of 1866.

Following Tomkins' formal objection in early September, 1865 to the National Committee's allegedly untenable relegation of the Freed-Man's Aid Society to the status of a mere district association, relations between the two

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1 Ibid.

organizations steadily deteriorated. At the beginning of October the London Society's persistence in asserting a strongly independent line of action was given an exceedingly tangible form by its decision to reconstitute itself "The Metropolitan Freed-Men's Aid Society" and to increase its sphere of influence into the South-Eastern counties of England. A spirit of co-operation with the National Committee was still loudly professed, but obviously the latter body could hardly view the developments within the London branch of the movement with anything but the gravest displeasure. Over the succeeding two months the situation remained fraught with basic antagonisms, and efforts by Arthur Albright (in his capacity as one of the leading figures in the National Committee) to patch up the split were to little avail.[1] In Mid-December, there took place in Manchester the third quarterly meeting of the National Committee, and it was in the course of the proceedings there that the irremediable schism in the "united" campaign finally emerged. Behind the ultimate rift there was, of course, the history of the London Society's adamant determination to become in no way subordinate to the national organization, but the factor which had the most immediate effect in producing the split was the question of extending freedmen's aid activities to include relief for the Jamaican Negroes, so deplorably treated as these had been during the Jamaican rebellion of the previous month. In the draft constitution for the NFAU which was drawn up at the meeting and accepted by the vast majority of the various district freedmen's aid Societies which were represented there, it was explicitly stated that the British freedmen's aid movement was to concentrate its efforts exclusively on the freed slaves of America. That decision was unacceptable to Tomkins' Metropolitan Freed-Men's Aid Society, however; and basing its action squarely on the issue of Jamaica (and to a relatively less significant extent, on the issue of involvement in aiding

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 151-158.

freedmen whereever the need should arise), it formally severed its connections with the National Committee in January, 1866.[1]

Confronting the outcome of the transactions at Manchester, William Smeal and James Sinclair duly gave their consideration to the proposed basis of the union which would establish the NFAU, and Smeal was subsequently able to report that his Society approved of it. And in thus intimating the GFAS' acceptance of the terms of the draft constitution, Smeal also significantly made it plain that the Glasgow committee was "decidedly opposed to mixing up the Jamaica question with that of the Freedmen".[2] That opposition was strong enough to prompt a later re-emphasis on the Society's point of view regarding the issue. In mid March, Smeal sent on a list of the GFAS' committee members for use at the approaching inauguration of the NFAU, and with it a covering letter in which he regretted that "differences of opinion" had arisen among the friends of the freedmen: "I allude to the proposal to unite an effort in behalf of the sufferers in Jamaica with what is being done for the liberated slaves in America, wh[ich] union of effort we see is advocated in the pages of the "Freedman", [the journal of the Metropolitan FreedMen's Aid Society] and this has led to our ceasing to order it".[3]

With its position in respect of the range of British freedmen's aid activity thus unequivocally stated, the GFAS readily adopted a policy of operating in conjunction with the like-minded executive of the NFAU. There was nothing exceptional about the nature of its affiliation to the central body. But from the point of view of the Glasgow Society itself, perhaps it

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1 Ibid., pp. 161-181.

2 William Smeal to Arthur Albright, 19 Jan., 1866, Arsl.P., MS. C121/125.

3 William Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 21 March, 1866, ibid., MS. C120/36. It may be relevant in this connection to note that there was apparently no public meeting held in Glasgow in protest against the British military action during the Jamaican insurrection.

was intent on clinging to full association and co-operation with the main national organization for freedmen's aid because such an association may have provided it with a badly needed lifeline - a support upon which to depend for guidance, encouragement, and the discharging of the more onerous administrative duties. In the case of the GFAS, some such support would indeed appear to have been absolutely vital, for at no time did it show any real signs of becoming a truly healthy, vigorous body in its own right, capable of marshalling an impressive volume of local support for the cause. On the contrary, all the evidence points to its having been in a more or less permanent state of struggle and travail.

As early as August, 1865, for instance, small attendance at a committee meeting caused the postponement of final arrangements and decisions on as important a matter as the sending of delegates to the National Committee's meeting at Bristol in the following September.[1] Similar obstructions subsequently occurred for the same reason, most notably in November, 1866 when a circular from London was supposed to be discussed but no business could be transacted because there was not a quorum.[2] It needed only five committee members to constitute a quorum: yet when the adjourned November meeting took place a few days later, the attendance was even worse and it was

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1 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 23 Aug., 1865, GFAS Minute Book. There were six members present at the meeting - James W. Weir (who presided), William Smeal, James Sinclair, William Forsyth, James McNish and Thomas Smith. In the event, with time clearly pressing on the committee, the delegates were appointed at a subsequent meeting which was even more badly attended. On 29 August, it was agreed on Sella Martin's recommendation that Councillor John Burt and Peter McLeod should represent Glasgow at Bristol, and unanimous approval was given for Martin's name to be added. At that committee meeting, only Burt, Smeal, McNish, Robert Woodside and Sella Martin were present - see report of GFAS committee meeting, 29 Aug., 1865, ibid.

2 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 15 Nov., 1866, ibid. The four committee members who attended were Smeal, Forsyth, Smith and William Gray.

decided that no Glasgow delegate could be sent to the forthcoming Leeds meeting of the NFAU because of the failure to get the committee together.[1] The crippling weakness of the GFAS in this regard is the more significant, and the more indicative of the Society's general lack of dynamism when it is borne in mind that there were in all thirty committee members, and that a very substantial number were men who could boast a long involvement in abolitionism. It would seem, in fact, that the business and entire functioning of the Glasgow Society was to all intents and purposes left to a handful of stalwarts, notably William Smeal, James Sinclair, Councillors John Burt and James Moir, Peter McLeod, James McNish, William Forsyth, Thomas Smith and William Gray. And even these were not particularly faithful attenders at committee meetings over the whole period for which the GFAS was in existence.

Nor did committee members' reluctance to assume a reasonably active role in routine transactions represent the full extent of the Glasgow Society's problems: for throughout its life, it was also beset by difficulties in raising satisfactory financial support. By mid September, 1865 it was already in a depressing state. Giving notice at that time of a public freedmen's aid meeting soon to be held in the city, it did not hesitate to make its position clear to prospective sympathizers: "The Society's funds being exhausted, a liberal collection is earnestly solicited".[2] Indeed, for the six months from the inception of the Society in November, 1864 to the beginning of June, 1865, the credit balance had been a mere 15/1,[3] and up until September, 1865, money and goods collected in Glasgow totalled only

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1 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 19 Nov., 1866, ibid. Only Forsyth and Andrew Paton turned up on this occasion.

2 General notice of public meeting to be held under GFAS auspices, in North British Daily Mail, 19 Sept., 1865.

3 See report of GFAS committee meeting, 6 June, 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

£308: 1: 6 as against a total of £722: 1: 1 for Edinburgh.[1] The position did not improve over the succeeding years of the Society's existence. Despite its public plea for generous support and its recruitment of the popular Norman Macleod as a platform speaker, its public meeting on 22 September, 1865 attracted an audience which only half filled the City Hall,[2] and from which there was collected the exceedingly poor total of £6:16: 2.[3] Sella Martin and the Rev. Dr. H.M. Storrs addressed the gathering, and the basically disappointing outcome of the venture was later communicated by Storrs to Hampson: "We had a poor affair of a meeting at Glasgow, though some redeeming facts and features belong to the comparative failure".[4] He did not indicate what these features were, but somewhat more specific on that theme was Sella Martin, who claimed that although the meeting had not been a success in terms of numbers present it had been very useful in launching the movement under the patronage of local ministers.[5] But whatever the compensatory aspects, it remained impossible to escape the disheartening reality of the pitiably small sum raised at the meeting; and as it turned out, the GFAS and the American deputies could have derived precious little consolation from the amount contributed at a second meeting convened in the city during the autumn of 1865.

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1 Details of receipts by National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Aid Associations to Sept., 1865, A-sl.P., MSS. British Empire, S.22, G88.
Sometime before June, 1865, the GFAS had, however, also forwarded £100 direct to Levi Coffin - see report of GFAS committee meeting, 6 June, 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

2 See report of the public meeting in Glasgow Herald, 23 Sept., 1865; also North British Daily Mail, 23 Sept., 1865.

3 See financial statement, GFAS Cash Book.

4 Rev. Dr. H.M. Storrs to Aspinall Hampson, Dundee, 27 Sept., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C120/46. Original emphasis.

5 Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 29 Sept., 1865, ibid., MS. C119/48.
There were at least seven ministers on the platform at the public meeting on 22 September - see Glasgow Herald, 23 Sept., 1865; North British Daily Mail, 23 Sept., 1865.

Held in the Queen's Rooms a mere eleven days after the first meeting, this subsequent attempt to stir up public support for the cause also included platform addresses by Martin and Storrs, and having regard to the circumstances, the latter speaker felt it necessary to justify the decision to call a meeting on that occasion. It might seem, Storrs suggested to his audience, to reflect badly on the speakers at the previous meeting in the City Hall that two efforts should need to be made to enlist the support and sympathy of the Glasgow people. But the committee of the GFAS had assured him that the Queen's Rooms were so far distant from the City Hall that the audience at the second meeting could be guaranteed to be sufficiently different as to make the venue almost worthy of being considered in another city altogether.[1] Yet, neither the difference in character of the audience in the Queen's Rooms area, nor the fact that it was relatively larger than the City Hall one[2] had the effect of producing an apparently better response to the appeals, for the proceeds of the collection made at the end of the evening amounted to only £10: 1: 8.[3] The paltry nature of the sums gathered on these two occasions was subsequently reflected in the Society's financial position at the end of 1866, at which time the credit balance stood at £3:13: 8.[4]

Ironically, it seems likely that the most lucrative and successful public meeting for freedmen's aid ever to be held in Glasgow was not convened under the auspices of the GFAS. Certainly, it was one at which none of the

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1 Report of speech by the Rev. Dr. H.M. Storrs at a meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause, held in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, 3 Oct., 1865, in ibid., 4 Oct., 1865.

2 It was reported that the Queen's Rooms were "well filled" for the meeting - see ibid.

3 Financial statement, GFAS Cash Book.

4 Ibid.

Society's leading lights (excluding Peter McLeod, who may no longer have been a member by that stage[1]) appear to have been conspicuously present. The meeting in question was that held in the City Hall on 27 January, 1868, at which Martin and Thome presented appeals and the Duke of Argyll, in addition to presiding, delivered a lengthy and forceful address.[2] As a direct result of the effort, no less than £851 was raised (a significant proportion of the total coming from prominent Edinburgh champions of the freedmen's cause).[3] That impressive success - and at a comparatively late stage in the British freedmen's aid movement, too - is the more significant, and the more revealing about the apparent shortcomings and ineffectual approach of the GFAS in that it was achieved at a period when the Society was still extant, and functioning on a level of involvement with the NFAU.[4] In fact,

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1 For the purpose of easing William Smeal's duties, Peter McLeod - along with William Forsyth and William Gray - had been appointed an additional treasurer of the GFAS at a committee meeting on 24 October, 1865 - see GFAS Minute Book. In early 1867, it was reported at a committee meeting that he and the former secretary, James Sinclair, had canvassed during part of 1866 for contributions to the freedmen's fund and had furnished no account of the amount raised by them or to whom it had been remitted. In order to gain the relevant information, Smeal was instructed to write to Sinclair, who had in mid 1866 moved to Manchester. The procedure suggests that McLeod, who still lived in Glasgow, was no longer associated with the GFAS. This supposition would seem to be borne out by Sinclair's reply to Smeal in which he intimated that particulars of the collection efforts had been left with McLeod and that he (Sinclair) had written to McLeod concerning Smeal's enquiry - see report of GFAS committee meeting, 27 Feb., 1867, ibid.; report of GFAS committee meeting, 2 July, 1866, ibid.; James Sinclair to William Smeal, 16 April, 1867, ibid.
Peter McLeod appeared amongst those on the platform at the meeting on 27 January, 1868 - see North British Daily Mail, 28 Jan., 1868: and he was treasurer of the committee appointed on that occasion to deal with public contributions to the fund - see ibid., 1 Feb., 1868.

2 See above, Chapters V, pp. 510, 586-588 ; VI, pp. 67-69.

3 See Glasgow Herald, 28 Jan., 7 Feb., 1868; and for more details concerning the contributions, below, pp. 180-186.

4 In March, 1868, for instance, Smeal had written to Thomas Phillips (Hampson's successor as secretary of the NFAU) expressing the Glasgow committee's approval of an address to be presented by the NFAU to Charles Francis Adams, and asking Phillips to append to it the signatures of himself and James Moir, chairman of the GFAS - see William Smeal to Thomas Phillips, 3 March, 1868, A-sl.P., MS. C40/90.

the last recorded entries in the GFAS Cash Book are two subscriptions of 2/6 each in April, 1868, and the Society's activities apparently did not wind up finally until November of that year, when a balance of £4: 0:10 was remitted to Thomas Phillips, secretary of the NFAU, and the books balanced at £11: 7: 2.[1]

Difficulties in raising adequate public contributions to the freedmen's cause and in sustaining satisfactory attendances at the committee meetings were almost certainly major factors giving rise to the Society's effort, in the autumn of 1865, to recruit new members. It has already been suggested[2] that in deliberately seeking to involve new elements of the population in the movement to aid the emancipated American slaves, the GFAS was probably in a minority among the transatlantic forces which, from a strong abolitionist base, exerted themselves on behalf of the freedmen. But its concern to attract a wider section of the Glasgow public into active membership was quite positive, purposefully pursued, and clearly stated. The concept of swelling the Society's ranks was first given formal approval at the committee meeting of 24 October, 1865, when it was agreed that a notice, intended for announcement the following Sunday, should be sent to all city pulpits intimating that committee meetings of the GFAS would be held on 30 October, and inviting members of the public to join the committee "or otherwise aid the Society's business".[3] The local press was also used to publicize the project. Hence on 28 October, the North British Daily Mail carried a general notice indicating that the GFAS' committee, "desirous of augmenting their number, with a view to more efficient collecting of subscriptions in aid of the freedmen in America", would be in attendance in the Religious Institute Rooms on 30 October from 1 to 2 p.m. and at their office in the

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1 Financial statement, GFAS Cash Book.

2 See above, p. 53, fn. 3.

3 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 24 Oct., 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

Cobden Hotel at 7 p.m. to receive the names of "ladies and gentlemen willing to help in gathering the free-will offerings of the public".[1] There exists no record of the response to the Society's invitation: but considering the generally unsatisfactory nature of its subsequent fund-raising, it is perhaps valid to accept that the GFAS' effort to introduce into its ranks a new contingent of freedmen's aid workers met with little success.

If the Glasgow Society therefore showed itself, at least at one point in its existence, prepared to recognize that its operations could be substantially benefited through the close participation of others not initially associated with membership, a yet more notable (and perhaps complementary) feature about the GFAS' outlook was its eagerness to attract, use, and collaborate with ministers in the Scottish churches. In view of the very considerable status which Scottish ministers enjoyed within their congregations, and given the fact that the freedmen's aid movement could commend itself to them as an essentially missionary undertaking, the Society's policy in this regard was both a natural and an astute one. And with clergymen of such national prominence as the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod within immediate reach, there was an added incentive to focus upon that section of the community as a source of invaluable auxiliary workers for the cause.

Nor did the GFAS hesitate to solicit the services of the foremost churchmen in the city. For instance, at a discussion on the forthcoming public freedmen's aid meeting to be held on 22 September, 1865, the committee appointed a deputation consisting of James Sinclair and Peter McLeod to request Norman Macleod to act as chairman.[2] Subsequently, in relation to the second meeting, held in the Queen's Rooms at the beginning of October, the Society took care to publicize the fact that the event was taking place at

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1 General notice in North British Daily Mail, 28 Oct., 1865.

2 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 18 Sept., 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

"the recommendation of a meeting of ministers" which had been held on 25 September in the Religious Institution Rooms, under the chairmanship of Professor George Cunningham Monteath Douglas, professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Glasgow Free Church College. Announcing that Martin and Storrs would plead the cause of the freedmen, the general notice included the intimation that "Several leading ministers of different denominations will also address the meeting".[1]

We have already observed[2] the value which Sella Martin himself (working as he was in complete conjunction with the GFAS) placed upon securing the patronage of ministers. In seeking to emphasize the strong, influential position which as an AMA deputy he had established in Scotland, both he and the GFAS secretary, James Sinclair, certainly made the most of the public support which Norman Macleod and other leading Scottish divines were giving to him.[3] Sinclair's letter to Tomkins, in which this particular facet of Scottish approval for Martin was forcefully driven home, illustrates, indeed, an apparent tendency on the part of the GFAS to envisage scope for a distinct, positive connection between the specific religious affiliation of the Scottish people as a whole and Scotland's support for the AMA. For strictly in keeping with the Glasgow committee's keen stress on the patronage accorded Martin by Scottish ministers was its important conviction that different British religious denominations could take in hand the active support of different American freedmen's aid Societies and delegates.[4] The Society's

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1 General notice headed "Four Millions of Liberated Slaves", in North British Daily Mail, 30 Sept., 1865.

2 See above, p. 77.

3 See Sella Martin to unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/68; James Sinclair to the Rev. Dr. F. Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865, ibid., MS. C160/70. See also in greater detail below, pp. 91-92, 96.

4 See James Sinclair to Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C160/70. This concept is more fully discussed below, pp. 94, 98.

concern to keep its sights trained on the actual involvement, as well as the potential for involvement, of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches in the freedmen's aid cause was well enough demonstrated at a committee meeting held in early July, 1866. Thus, having agreed not to invite R.J. Parvin to Glasgow at that time, the members were ready to cite in justification of the wisdom of their decision the U.P. Synod's presumed intention of waiting until October before launching a collection on the freedmen's behalf. And noting that the General Assemblies of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland had also commended the cause "to the sympathy of their bodies", the committee evidently did not consider it beyond the proper bounds of the Society's activities to discuss whether it should issue a circular to "city ministers and others" regarding the forthcoming collection by the U.P. Church in October.[1] As late as the beginning of 1867, by which stage the GFAS was acknowledging that it had suffered "many discouragements relative to former efforts",[2] the committee was still concerning itself with attempts to establish some sort of fruitful communication with the Scottish churches with Smeal, as we have seen,[3] being directed to enquire about the funds raised by the U.P. and Free Churches.

It becomes clear, then, that the GFAS set great store by gaining the sympathy and active support of Scottish ministers of all denominations. And there is no question but that the U.P. and Free Churches, and the Church of Scotland, represented mainly in the person of Macleod, did co-operate in their own way to the extent of rendering it very valuable service. There was, for instance, a formidable array of ministers on the platform at the Society's public meeting in the City Hall on 22 September, 1865, including the Rev. Drs. Norman Macleod, David Russell, Giffnock Congregational church,

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1 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 2 July, 1866, GFAS Minute Book.

2 See report of GFAS committee meeting, 27 Feb., 1867, ibid.

3 See above, pp. 25 fn. 1, 32.

John Gordon Lorimer, St. David's Free Church, William Young, whose church is, strangely, untraceable, and the Revs. John McDermid, Cumberland Street Reformed Presbyterian church, and R.T. Martin, Reformed Presbyterian church, Wishaw.[1] Similarly, following the approval for the venture given at the preliminary gathering of ministers in the Religious Institution Rooms, the Queen's Rooms meeting on 3 October was favoured with a strong contingent of churchmen, a proportion of the platform seats being occupied by the Rev. Drs. Joseph Brown, Kent Road U.P. church and Alexander Wallace, East Campbell Street U.P. church, and the Revs. William Symington, Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian church, A.G. Forbes, North Hanover Street Congregational Chapel, and Henry Batchelor, Elgin Place Congregational Chapel.[2]

Over the period from 2 October, 1865 to 22 May, 1867, the GFAS collected eighteen guineas from various churches and Sabbath Schools in Glasgow.[3] And on several occasions, many city ministers lent their pulpits to AMA delegates from which to preach and appeal on behalf of the cause. Hence on 1 October, 1865 (significantly only two days before the Queen's Rooms meeting, held in the same district of the city), Storrs preached in the Rev. Henry Batchelor's Elgin Place Congregational Chapel, and Martin in the Rev. Dr. Wallace's East Campbell Street U.P. church.[4] The following Sunday, Martin appeared in three different churches - the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod's Barony Church at 11 a.m.

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1 See Glasgow Herald, 23 Sept., 1865; North British Daily Mail, 23 Sept., 1865.

2 Ibid., 4 Oct., 1865.

3 Financial statement, GFAS Cash Book. The details of these collections are as follows:
Rev. Dr. A. Wallace's East Campbell Street U.P. church - £2:14: 1 (2 Oct., 1865); Duke Street U.P. church - £9:16: 5 (13 Nov., 1865); Blochairn Iron Works Sabbath School - £1 (4 July, 1866); Lauriston Congregational Church Sabbath School - 4/- (4 July, 1866); Rev. R. Niven's U.P. congregation, Maryhill - £2: 1: 0 (29 Jan., 1867); children of Bridgegate church - £3: 2: 6 (22 May, 1867).

4 See North British Daily Mail, 30 Sept., 1865.

the Rev. Dr. H.S. Paterson's Free St. Mark's church at 2 p.m., and Free Renfield Church, the charge of the Rev. Marcus Dods at 7 o'clock in the evening.[1] He was again a fortnight later given the opportunity to deliver his message direct to Glasgow congregations when on 22 October the Rev. Dr. Joseph Brown permitted him to preach at the morning service in Kent Road U.P. church; and the Rev. Dr. J. B. Johnston of Duke Street U.P. church relinquished his pulpit so that in the afternoon his parishioners might hear from Martin "interesting information...on the state and prospects of the freedmen".[2]

On at least some of these occasions in the autumn of 1865, the collections made at the churches concerned were remitted to the GFAS.[3] And the practice thus established apparently through collaboration between the Glasgow committee and the local clergy at that time was perpetuated even after the GFAS had ceased to be a particularly active agency in organizing freedmen's aid activities in the city. Thus although the Rev. James A. Thome did not address a full-scale public freedmen's aid meeting during his visit to Glasgow in late 1867, he was provided with the chance to enlighten at least a section of the community on "the claims and condition of the freedmen" when he spoke in Batchelor's Elgin Place Chapel, and Free St. David's, the Rev. Dr. J.G. Lorimer's church, on 3 November.[4] Back in the city at the end of January, 1868 for the purpose of addressing the public meeting which took place there on the 28th of the month, Thome again preached from a local pulpit on the subject of the freed slaves, on that occasion, in the Rev. John Marshall Lang's

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1 Ibid., 6 Oct., 1865.

2 Ibid., 20 Oct., 1865.

3 See ibid., 30 Sept., 1865.

4 Ibid., 1 Nov., 1867.

Church of Scotland charge in Anderston.[1]

As the Glasgow Society earnestly desired, there did develop, therefore, a measure of real interest and active participation in the freedmen's aid movement among a proportion of the city's clergymen. This said, however, it would appear that the basic nature of the Scottish ministers' response to the GFAS' hopes and wishes was essentially sporadic, and on a level outwith direct and sustained involvement in the affairs and aims of the Society. Comparatively few ministers (apparently only three) were members of the committee which was formed at the inception of the GFAS in 1864,[2] for instance, and on the committee as it stood in 1866, there were a mere four.[3] There existed, it would seem, some reluctance or at best reticence on the part of ministers and churches of all denominations to become too closely affiliated or identified with, and hence enmeshed in, the business and organizational structure of the GFAS. Thus Norman Macleod, although heartily and sincerely sympathizing with and lending his support to the objectives of the Society, unequivocally declined its invitation to chair the City Hall meeting on 22 September, 1865. Approached on the subject by James Sinclair and Peter McLeod, he had after "a long and interesting interview" given his "decided declinature of the office, for reasons which the Dr. considered imperative on his part".[4] At least on that occasion he did (as we have seen[5]) appear

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1 Ibid., 25 Jan., 1868.

2 See prospectus, GFAS, 9 Nov., 1864, GFAS Minute Book.

3 See details of the composition of the GFAS committee in 1866, enclosed with a letter from William Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 21 March, 1866, A-sl.P., MS. C120/36. Of these four ministers, three were the ones who had sat on the first 1864 committee.

4 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 18 Sept., 1865, GFAS Minute Book. Macleod was, however, "warmly interested" in the meeting, and made "a number of valuable suggestions" to Sinclair and McLeod regarding possible alternative chairmen.

5 See above, Chapters III, pp. 160-161; V, p. 580.

as an effective platform speaker. But when shortly afterwards the Society held in the Queen's Rooms its second public meeting, the best Macleod felt able to do was to send a letter greatly regretting that he must be absent due to a "very particular" engagement elsewhere.[1]

Yet, especially through his invaluable patronage of Sella Martin, Macleod did during the early, most active phase of the Glasgow Society's operations constitute a welcome element of clerical support for the committee in its struggles to arouse public sympathy and concern. His contribution was essentially that of an individual, however, and the Church of Scotland, as a corporate body, made no move to match the spirit of its renowned minister in the area of collaboration with the GFAS on the freedmen's behalf. The same basic lack of associated, co-operative effort characterized the Society's relationships with the Free and U.P. Churches. We have already noted[2] that when Smeal wrote in 1867 to the Moderator of the Free Church enquiring about the amount and dispersal of the denomination's collections for the freedmen he received a fairly brusque reply. And in its organized endeavours to raise contributions for the cause, the U.P. Church did not seek to work in consultation with the only formally constituted freedmen's aid Society in Scotland.

Through contact and acquaintance with GFAS members, formed in the context of other philanthropic activity or as a result, perhaps, of parochial connections, it is likely that many Glasgow ministers who were themselves interested in freedmen's aid would have been aware of the growing discontents which as early as the autumn of 1865 were beginning to show within the movement's national mechanisms: and it is just feasible that these disturbing signs had a positive deterrent effect on them in respect of Society membership.

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1 See reference to letters of apology read at the freedmen's aid meeting in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, 3 Oct., 1865, in North British Daily Mail, 4 Oct., 1865.

2 See above, p. 25.

At a time when extremely delicate overtures were starting to be made on the theme of reunion between the U.P. and Free Churches in Scotland, and when relations were being rebuilt on a stronger footing with the American Presbyterian Churches following the splits of the Civil War era, ministers in Scotland's unendowed denominations had perhaps little inclination to become officially connected with a Society which might well find itself involved in a bitter controversy about methods, purposes and objectives. A controversy of that nature might in turn sow seeds of discord within the ranks of the Scottish churchmen who had become directly concerned in the Society's affairs. For many of the city's ministers, anxious as they were to strengthen cordial relations with the clergy of other Scottish Presbyterian denominations and with American Presbyterian Churches, as well as to preserve harmony within their own denomination, the GFAS, with its potential for getting caught up in any possible national freedmen's aid disagreements, must have appeared as a risky, dubious organization of which to become an active member.

Moreover, in a sense which had not pertained in respect of the more intrinsically theoretical and ideological abolitionist agitation in Britain, there was really enough scope for Scottish ministers to advance the freedmen's aid cause, and to give adequate practical support for it, through their own organizational network without needing to have recourse to formal association with Societies specially constituted for that purpose. Thus, appeals by them from their own pulpit offered a safe and direct means by which they could serve the cause. Nor was it necessary to be connected with the Glasgow or any other British freedmen's aid Society in order to become acquainted with the American delegates who could best advise on the needs of, and the disbursal of funds for, the freedmen, because these delegates appeared regularly in person at the General Assemblies. Clearly, it was safer for ministers to respond to the appeals of the United States deputies by means of the Church's own internal agencies (that is, on a local congregational

basis) than by means of becoming actively associated with an organization such as the GFAS. Despite its survival into the 1860s (and beyond), the city's other comparable body, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, had at the height of its activity in the 1840s shown a capacity to become riddled with strife and dissension;[1] and in view of the national trend within the organized freedmen's aid movement, it may have seemed that there could be no guarantee that the GFAS would not fall victim to a similar fate. In a period of delicate inter-denominational negotiations within Scotland and of moves towards ever closer unity with the post-Civil War Presbyterian Churches of America, there was some reason for Glasgow's ministers to eschew formal involvement with the possibly turbulent affairs of the local freedmen's aid Society.

When the limitations of the city ministers' practical support for the Glasgow Society have been recognized, however, it must not be forgotten that there did apparently always exist a valuable sympathetic link between many local churches and the GFAS. Helping considerably to cement that link was the Rev. Sella Martin, for as an individual he secured the favour and the solid backing of a significant proportion of clergymen as well as remaining extremely closely associated with the activities of the GFAS. The prolonged period of this particular AMA deputy's involvement with the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland can perhaps validly be considered a formative influence on the Glasgow Society's pattern of operation. Certainly, the manner in which the GFAS championed and supported Martin, and to all intents and purposes gave him exclusive command of its collections, is one of the most significant features about the functioning of the Society.

Martin's connections with the city's campaigns on behalf of the American Negro, first as slave and later as freedman, were formed at least as early as

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1 See Rice, The Scottish Factor, pp. 208-233.

mid December, 1863, when at a meeting of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society he spoke in refutation of the ideas of James Spence, the pro-Confederate propagandist from Liverpool.[1] He returned to Glasgow in July, 1865, almost certainly having been advised to go there by the executive of the National Committee;[2] and on the 25th, he attended a GFAS committee meeting where he was warmly welcomed and given the Society's sympathy and support "in the truly humane and Christian object of his mission".[3] By the end of the month, he was convinced that things were so auspicious for his progress in Scotland that he could do no better than concentrate all his efforts there. "I am afraid", he wrote to Hampson, "that I must spend the remainder of...my stay in Britain in Scotland. I find that the field is fresh and I have begun to work it under as favourable circumstances as I could wish".[4] It was his intention to organize Societies where none existed and to awaken increased interest in those already established. Apart from gladly attending, if requested, "any very large meetings" which might subsequently be held in England for the purpose of giving added stimulus to freedmen's aid work, he was resolved to devote all his labour to the Scottish sphere.[5]

Martin's firm decision in this regard was the effective starting point of a close collaborative relationship between himself and the GFAS.

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1 See Botsford, Scotland and the American Civil War, p. 791. Spence had in the Spring of 1863 established a pro-Confederate Club in Glasgow -- ibid., p. 761.

2 See Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, London, 12 July, 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C119/44, in which Martin welcomed the chance to be used by Hampson's committee and bemoaned the fact that up until then he had "done next to nothing" though constantly trying to secure appointments for himself.

3 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 25 July, 1865, GFAS Minute Book.

4 Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 31 July, 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C119/45.

5 Ibid.

Obviously, an American deputy who chose to make Scotland his field of endeavour was liable to be gratefully and wholeheartedly welcomed by the Glasgow Society as a badly needed central pivot around which to shape policy and to plan action. And that was exactly what happened in the case of Sella Martin. From the commencement of his labours in Scotland, the furtherance of his specific aims and appeals became the principal focus of GFAS activity. Hence (as we have already observed[1]) as early as mid August, 1865, knowledge of Tomkins' failure to appoint Martin as a speaker at forthcoming freedmen's aid meetings in Edinburgh and Dundee elicited from the committee an exceptionally clear and firm statement of the Society's support for him.

In communicating the committee's sentiments to Tomkins, James Sinclair made it plain at the very outset that over the preceding five weeks the GFAS had been "active...in seconding Martin's efforts to enlist the sympathies of all classes in helping the freedmen". Included in that activity had been the "very laborious work" of securing influential Scottish patrons for him; and enclosing a list of the impressive names which the Society had successfully gathered in that connection, Sinclair used it to plead for Tomkins' recognition of Martin as a popular and conscientious advocate of the freedmen's cause. Central to the Glasgow committee's efforts to gain speaking appointments for Martin was its contention that he deserved full support from all freedmen's aid organizations because of the special efforts which he was making in Scotland. His mission had already been endorsed, Sinclair asserted, by "the greater part of the most distinguished men in Scotland", included among whom were, significantly, such prominent Edinburgh personalities as the Rev Dr. Thomas Guthrie, the Rev. Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, the Rev. William Arnot, and Thomas Nelson, the publisher. The ability to cite these particular individuals as patrons enabled the Glasgow committee to take issue with

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1 See above, p. 69.

Tomkins' arrangements for the proposed public meeting in the Scottish capital, and even to hint that should the need arise, it was prepared against all opposition to back Martin in his bid to present his appeals directly to the Scottish people. Martin was determined, Sinclair informed Tomkins, to hold a meeting in Edinburgh:

> As we think he has a right to do by the enlistment of the sympathies of these gentlemen. It is painful to find, therefore, that a meeting is being arranged for other delegates from America since this can scarcely fail to arouse suspicion against the good understanding of the American delegates.[1]

News to the effect that Martin had similarly been denied participation in a freedmen's aid meeting scheduled to be held in Dundee intensified the Glasgow committee's exertions on his behalf. Urging that he should be given the chance "to reap the harvest of his labours", Sinclair emphasized that the GFAS could vouch for "the industrious and judicious manner in which Mr. Martin has worked", and for the way in which, "at considerable expense and through constant labour[,] he has nearly prepared the hard ground of Scotland to bring forth fruit". As well as obviously constituting a grave injustice to Martin, it would greatly injure the cause to have different deputies working in the area which he had chosen as his special sphere of activity, more especially since he had by then won the support of "the most influential Scotchmen we have[,] under the head of the Duke of Argyll followed by... [the Rev.] Drs. Macleod, Robson, Guthrie, and Alexander, with the Lord Provost of Glasgow". Convinced (probably justifiably) that the patrons which it had gained for Martin were "the most powerful ones here [in Scotland]", the Glasgow committee also took pains to stress that Martin himself, having "forsaken England for this field[,] ...already begins to understand it from his constant and frequent contact with its peculiarities[;] and...his time will allow him to work it well".[2]

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1 James Sinclair to Rev. Dr. F. Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865. A-sl.P., MS. C160/70.

2 Ibid.

Sinclair's presentation of Sella Martin's basic value as an American freedmen's aid deputy in Scotland and of the factors already operating in his favour there left the GFAS secretary ready to advise Tomkins that "there is not much to be gained by others who may come before or after", and that he (Tomkins) should "try and (sic) accommodate the matter to our peculiar circumstances so as not to do an irreparable injury to the cause of the freedmen". Clearly, the Glasgow committee was deeply fearful lest an arrival of additional American delegates on the Scottish scene should create a climate of strife which would critically debilitate the entire movement in Scotland. It was acutely aware that the freedmen's cause would "suffer loss and discredit should there appear anything like rivalry and contention among the American delegates to this country", and in attempting to convey to Tomkins the wisdom of acknowledging Martin's paramount role in Scottish freedmen's aid circles, it stressed the dangers of possible rivalry. It would be "painful" to the Glasgow Society, Sinclair declared, to witness any clashing among American deputies in the context of the Scottish freedmen's aid campaign:

> but I must inform you that among the Scotch[,] who are a cautious and slow people to move[,] but when moved feel to the full extent of their susceptibility, such disagreement or clashing would be ruinous to the whole freedmen's work.[1]

It might seem that the Glasgow Society's fears regarding the effects of encroachment by other deputies into Sella Martin's field of labour betrayed a particularly narrow appreciation of the co-operative spirit which ought to have been expected to exist among the American delegates in Britain. To some slight extent, the Society's tendency to look upon Tomkins' appointees to the Scottish meetings as potential rivals for Martin rather than as fellow workers in the same cause may have been increased by Martin's own understandable concern and apprehension about the issue: for although the AMA deputy

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1 Ibid.

was careful to stress to the executive of the National Committee that "I have no desire to be involved in any way with any sort of rivalry",[1] he was naturally extremely perturbed by Tomkins' actions, seeing them as forcing upon him the distinct choice of either "forsak[ing] the [Scottish] field for these delegations from England" or holding meetings as best he could with the help of "the friends of the Negro in Scotland".[2] But both the GFAS' attitude to the prospect of appeals by other deputies and its concomitant determination to push for Martin's inclusion in public freedmen's aid activities may have been largely the inevitable outcome of one of the major factors which had encouraged the Society to support Martin in the first place.

Thus in deciding to make every effort to support his mission, the committee members had been consciously influenced by the consideration that their Society with its Scottish Presbyterian foundation could endorse Sella Martin of the AMA in the same way in which members of certain other British religious denominations had given their special backing to delegates from other American freedmen's aid associations. In that regard, Sinclair judged it relevant to provide Tomkins with an explicit explanation concerning the GFAS' approach to its association with Martin:

> Our activity in addition to our interest in America and her freedmen was stimulated by the fact that as Dr. Storrs [of the Western Freedmen's aid Commission] had been received by the Congregational Union and [the] Hon. C.C. Leigh [of the National Freedmen's relief Association of New York] had been received by the Methodist body it was but right that the Presbyterians of Scotland should receive and aid [the] Rev. Sella Martin[,] and as he had chosen this for his field[,] with...the knowledge of all concerned we thought we had better try and (sic) make an opening for him.[3]

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1 Sella Martin to an unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/68.

2 Ibid.

3 James Sinclair to the Rev. Dr. F. Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C160/70.

The entire tone and content of the Glasgow secretary's letter suggests, indeed, that in the summer of 1865 the GFAS had simply adopted Martin as the American delegate, so far as its organizational efforts and the destination of its collections were concerned. He had arrived in the Society's province something of a poor relation in respect of the patronage already enjoyed in Britain by deputies from other associations.[1] And he had already by that time been slighted and ignored by Tomkins: "I have not", he wrote to Hampson shortly before going to Glasgow, "got one single appointment through him".[2] As we have seen,[3] Martin fully informed the GFAS of the injustice of Tomkins' actions towards him, and it is very possible, indeed highly likely, that both his personal attitudes towards the London Society's secretary and the specially close nature of his relationship with the Glasgow Society influenced the latter body in its subsequent course of opposition to the policies of Tomkins.

From the outset of his association with the GFAS through until the winter of 1865, Martin and the claims of the AMA duly occupied the forefront of the Glasgow committee's attention. His absorption into the domestic affairs of the Society would appear to have been fairly complete. Thus in late August, for instance, he attended a committee meeting at which he assumed the prominent role of proposing the names of the delegates who should represent Glasgow at a forthcoming National Committee meeting.[4]

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1 Martin indicated that he was finding himself "out-paced" by Storrs in getting engagements at churches, and that unlike Leigh he could not make "personal appeals" because his Society would not approve - see Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, London, 12 July, 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C119/44.

2 Ibid.

3 See above, p. 70.

4 See above, p. 75, fn. 1.

He had early felt able to state with confidence that "the members [of the Glasgow committee] ... feel that if I am to be ignored by others in arranging meetings I have the greater reason for pressing forward to make use of the influence I have secured".[1] And the committee's views in that regard were given practical manifestation when in mid September it published in the local press a general notice advertising the imminent City Hall meeting which included the tremendously impressive list of patrons which Martin had gained in Scotland.[2] Despite having taken exception to Tomkins' proposed exclusion of Martin from public meetings, the GFAS did not disbar one of his more favoured deputies from sharing the platform, and we have seen, the Rev. Dr. Storrs of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission joined Martin in addressing both of the public meetings held in Glasgow in late September-early October.[3] But all of the contributions collected by the Society (amounting in all to £220) for the period from September to December, 1865 were automatically remitted to Martin and the AMA.[4]

The period of Martin's involvement with the GFAS represents the apogee, in terms of internal and organizational activity, of the Society's success and vitality. It is essential to stress, however, that such real achievement as might be claimed for the Society even at that period can only validly be measured in terms of its energy and ability[5] to arrange and carry through

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1 Sella Martin to unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/68.

2 See general notice in North British Daily Mail, 19 Sept., 1865.
The full list of Scottish patrons was: the Duke of Argyll; John Blackie, jun., Lord Provost of Glasgow; the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod; W. P. Paton; the Rev. Dr. John Robson; the Rev. Henry Batchelor; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie; the Rev. Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander; the Rev. William Arnot; Thomas Nelson, publisher.
Also published was a huge list of individuals in England who were prepared to recommend Martin.

3 See above pp. 77-78.

4 See James Sinclair to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 9 Dec., 1865, A-sl.P. MS. C120/34.

5 Even these features were only in limited supply in the GFAS - see above, pp. 75-76.

public meetings on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause, and not in terms of the amount of money raised. As has been noted, the Society's funds were already seriously depleted by September, 1865 and the takings from the two public meetings held in the autumn were tragically small. And even although all its proceeds were fed into the AMA, it clearly did not raise enough to help put that body on a par with other American Societies collecting funds in Britain at that time. Hence in early November, Martin was observing with regret - and perhaps not a little frustration - that various American freedmen's aid deputies in Britain had succeeded in having larger sums voted to their Societies than he had, with one Society in particular receiving "thousand of pounds" where the AMA was collecting only "fifties". Lamenting the dismal state of his Association's funds, he was even driven to suggest that it was "only fair" that the organizations with larger resources should send money to the AMA. [1]

At least from the perspective of 1867, the GFAS was apparently prepared to recognize the limitations on the tangible success of its labours on behalf of Sella Martin and his Association. Early in that year, the committee discussed a letter from Thomas Phillips, secretary of the NFAU, enquiring whether Martin should visit Glasgow and other principal Scottish towns for the purpose of holding meetings. Although there was every readiness to welcome Martin to Scotland again, the minutes of the meeting significantly recorded that it was "notwithstanding many discouragements relative to former efforts" that the committee members had agreed "to encourage our friends Phillips and Sella Martin to make the proposed visits to Glasgow and other places." [2] The intended trip would appear never to have taken place, however;

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1 Sella Martin to Joseph Simpson (an executive member of the National Committee), Glasgow, 1 Nov., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/66.

2 Report of GFAS committee meeting, 27 Feb., 1867, GFAS Minute Book.

and when Martin next visited Glasgow, with the Rev. James A. Thome of the AMA in 1868, there are no indications that the GFAS played an active role in organizing his public appearance. By that time, certainly, its minute book had ceased to exist, although the Society as such was still limping along.

The GFAS' adoption of a firm and remarkably intense commitment to the advancement of the interests of Sella Martin and the AMA which he represented may be at least partially explainable as a policy designed to assert and secure some degree of independence and autonomy in the undertakings and transactions of the Society. This possibility is suggested by Sinclair's critically important statement to the effect that the "Presbyterians of Scotland" should throw themselves behind Martin's specific mission because English dissenting congregations had espoused the efforts of other American delegates. By thus choosing to accord the vast bulk of their support to a delegate from a United States association which had hitherto received relatively insubstantial British backing, the members of GFAS may have felt that they would thereby be assured of some real freedom of manoeuvre in such matters as the arranging of public meetings, the appointment of speakers for these meetings, the activities (such as Martin's preaching in Glasgow churches, for example) engaged in by the delegate, the arrangements by which the various sums collected were disposed of, and so forth.

The impression is that the GFAS felt that the most salutary arrangement within the national freedmen's aid movement would be for the members of each heavily involved religious denomination or for separate district Societies or for some such distinctly defined groups to choose a specific American freedmen's aid association and a specific deputy from it and build their own particular efforts around that individual and his Society. Sella Martin, in choosing so decisively to concentrate upon Scotland as his field of endeavour, probably did much to encourage that train of thought. And the favouring of such an approach to British involvement in the freedmen's aid movement would obviously have been very much in keeping with the Glasgow Society's insistence that no one could be calculated to achieve more success

in Scotland as a public speaker for the cause than Martin. It was essentially as a result of its thorough knowledge of the problems faced and the progress made by one particular AMA deputy, working with it in the local field, that the GFAS was able strongly to insinuate that it understood the position obtaining in Scotland, and therefore the policy which should be pursued there, much better than a London Society possibly could.

In yet another sense, the GFAS may have been giving some measure of consideration to its own position within the organized British freedmen's aid movement when it expressed fears that the introduction of largely unknown American delegates into Scotland would damage the cause there. For as well as genuine concern about the larger implications of such a policy, there would certainly have been a realization that serious injury to the whole Scottish effort would mean poor financial returns which would in turn reflect badly on the GFAS and weaken it (although in the event, the returns from public meetings were bad even with Martin as a speaker, of course). In choosing so exclusively to foster Martin's cause, the Glasgow Society may even have entertained some hopes of making a really creditable showing within the ambit of the national freedmen's aid movement through amassing by its efforts and organization impressive funds for the AMA. The committee could scarcely have failed to appreciate that a certain prestige would attach to a Society which had assumed the instrumental role in building up the British contribution to the AMA to a level with that of British contributions to other American Societies working in the land. In various respects, the close co-operation established with Sella Martin would indeed seem to have lent a certain distinctiveness and individuality to the GFAS' position and functioning as part of a wider national, co-ordinated organization, and to have made it conscious of its autonomy and of its readiness to agitate to preserve this.

From practically every point of view it was, of course, both natural and

sensible for the GFAS to give its enthusiastic support to Martin's mission. Yet, with regard to specific standpoints which had been adopted during the abolitionist era by many of the men who were leading figures in the Glasgow committee, there was one perhaps rather curious feature connected with the Society's line of action. This aspect hinged on the antecedent affiliations of the old guard abolitionists who formed the kernel of the GFAS. As we have noted, a sizeable proportion of the latter organization's committee consisted of individuals who also preserved an attachment to the Glasgow Emancipation Society; and among these, at least such influential personalities as William Smeal, Andrew Paton, James Thomson, William Gray, James Macfarlane, J.W. MacGregor and Robert Simpson had been members of the GES in the 1840s,[1] when that body had been avidly committed to the abolitionist principles of William Lloyd Garrison. With the GFAS' patronage of Sella Martin and the AMA, therefore, a situation arose whereby an organization with a predominantly "Garrisonian" executive welcomed and strenuously endorsed a "Tappanite" American organization.

The allegiance of the AMA to Arthur and Lewis Tappan was not only positive but total, being nothing less than the allegiance accorded to the leading founders of the Association. Arthur Tappan had in fact been the individual most actively responsible for the formation of the organization in 1846, and having become chairman of the executive committee at its inception, he remained an influential member of that committee until his death in 1865.[2] His brother Lewis had been appointed treasurer in 1846,[3] and he retained that

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1 See Glasgow Emancipation Society Reports for the years 1835 to 1851 in Smeal Collection.

2 See Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood, pp. 32, 135; Abel and Klingberg, A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, pp. 38-39, 298-299, 312, 335, 343-344, 348.

3 Ibid., p. 32.

position into the Reconstruction years. Sella Martin himself was proud to acknowledge that his Association owed its principal debts and loyalties to the Tappans: and he was apparently even prepared to hold the view that because of its illustrious abolitionist associations, other American freedmen's aid Societies should rally round it in times of difficulty. Thus in suggesting that the AMA's funds might be supplemented by the Associations which had fared better in Britain, he stressed that its officers, and especially its treasurer, Lewis Tappan, were "as old and as faithful anti-slavery men as America has produced".[1]

The collaborative relationship established between Martin and the "old Garrisonians" of the GFAS would seem to testify, then, to the waning of old controversies within the transatlantic campaign on behalf of the American Negro - at least, that is, so far as the American delegates in Britain and the Scots involved were concerned. The primary concern during the post-Civil War period appears to have been to get on with the practical business of raising money for the freed slaves in the most effective way possible with regard to local circumstances. If in order to accomplish that it was necessary to put aside old restrictive affiliations and antagonisms, then these were unhesitatingly put aside.[2] At the same time, it must be recognized, however, that just as Sella Martin remained loyal in these later years to the Tappanite stream of American abolitionism, so Garrison's old, close friends on the executive committee of the GFAS retained a strong and undiminished attachment to and reverence for their mentor. Their concern to display a continuing active appreciation of his policies and achievements was eventually well demonstrated in the galaxy of GFAS personalities who appeared on the

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1 Sella Martin to Joseph Simpson, Glasgow, 1 Nov., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/66.

2 This theme is further considered below, pp. 126-129.
Howard Temperley, British Antislavery 1833-1870 (London, 1972) p. 260, has briefly intimated that with the waning of the "ideological disputes" of the 1840s and '50s, members of the erstwhile Old and New Organizations worked together on behalf of the American freedmen.

platform at a public breakfast in honour of Garrison during his visit to Glasgow in July, 1867.[1] So far as both the AMA deputy and the GFAS were concerned, old abolitionist allegiances were still cherished, but they were not cherished in a way which could in any sense hamper a joint effort for freedmen's aid. On the contrary, it may even have been from the very strength of these old allegiances, from the intense commitment to the American Negroes' cause which they had inspired, that there derived much of the mutual determination of Sella Martin and the members of the GFAS to work together on behalf of the freedmen's cause.

Favoured as it was at the most crucial stage in its development with an American deputy who was prepared to labour zealously and in complete harmony with its committee, the GFAS might have been expected to wield a considerable impact in advancing the freedmen's aid movement in Glasgow, in Scotland, and by logical extension, in Britain as a whole. As we have seen, however, that possibility was never realized. A certain lack of sufficiently consistent, active participation in the Society's affairs by many committee members themselves was more than matched by a decidedly lukewarm interest in the cause on the part of the Glasgow public. Seriously crippling though the internal shortcomings of the Society obviously must have been, the absence of vigorous, healthy local support was at least equally as critical to the Society's fairly unimpressive general achievement since it meant that even the most painstakingly and thoroughly organized public meetings yielded only meagre contributions to the fund. It is also possible that the Glasgow people's comparative indifference formed a contributory factor to what may have been a gradual diminution in the status of the GFAS. That such a diminution took place - and was accepted with resignation by members of the Society - is suggested by

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1 See report on the public breakfast in honour of Garrison held in the Merchant's Hall, Glasgow, 19 July, 1867, in Glasgow Herald, 20 July, 1867.

the character of a plea for donations published in Robert Smeal's British Friend at the close of 1866.

This earnest appeal was grounded in an emphasis on the fact that contributions of money could be remitted not only to the secretaries of local freedmen's aid Societies but also directly to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, President of the NFAU, or to the treasurers of that national organization.[1] The stress on information of that nature tends to indicate that Robert Smeal, basing his judgement on circumstances obtaining within the specific Society of which his brother William was treasurer and (by that time) secretary, considered that the British public were incorrigibly apathetic in supporting district Societies, and that a healthier response to the cause might be forthcoming if it were more generally realized that contributions could be sent direct to the national co-ordinating body. Furthermore (and more importantly), the fact that William Smeal's brother was prepared to give notice in his journal of the perfect acceptability of sending regional contributions straight to the national executive strongly suggests that the members of the GFAS were themselves ready enough by late 1866 to acquiesce in that course. Ideally, of course, all Glasgow contributions should have been received by the local Society and channelled through it to the NFAU. But hampered always by the basic weakness of its public support, the GFAS could scarcely have hoped at any stage in its existence to establish a really effective, highly organized command over the city's contributions. Thus, despite the Society's aspirations during the period of its greatest activity towards ensuring a measure of real autonomy and independence for itself, by the half-way stage in its life-span it would almost certainly have been prepared, as a result of its own limitations in raising funds, to accept without demur the transmission of local donations direct to London.

At least throughout 1867 and on until its ultimate demise in November, 1868, the GFAS undoubtedly suffered a progressive decline not only in its

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1 See British Friend, Dec., 1866, p. 278.

level of effectiveness but in its entire level of operation. Its minute book contains the report of only one meeting for the whole of 1867, for instance, and there is no record of any having been held in 1868. The Society may, indeed, have been battling against complete collapse for much of that period, already shaken as it was by poor attendances at committee meetings by the carelessness or neglect of certain of its more notable members, and by minimal outside support. In this connection, the committee's decision taken at the February, 1867 meeting to approach the Free and U.P. Churches regarding the character and extent of their collections for the cause perhaps reflects the lengths to which the Society was forced to go in its attempts to discover possible new methods of revitalising its efforts.

Yet, the trials of the GFAS in its later stages probably represent only the worsening of what was in fact a constant malaise. Examining the pattern and substance of the Society's operations and achievements over the four years of its life, there emerges the impression that despite the sincere and noble aims of its members, the whole functioning of the organization was characterized virtually from start to finish by a debilitating slackness of approach. Even at the height of its activity, at the period, that is, of its close involvement with Sella Martin and his mission, the Society never operated at anything like the full measure of its numerical strength. It is certainly valid to suggest that considering the size of the committee, the GFAS at no stage came near to realizing its total potential for action. What was still worse, however, was that the members did not really succeed in whipping up enough personal energy and enthusiasm to provide the Society with even the necessary impetus to sustain a consistent fund-raising campaign of modest proportions. There was clearly a real <u>will</u> to help advance the freedmen's cause amongst those who made the formation of the GFAS possible: but the good intentions and the right spirit were not adequately translated into practical action, and as it turned out, the members -

many of them ageing anti-slavery men - proved unable to generate the level of dynamism necessary to make their Society a truly effective and successful one.

(ii) Edinburgh

That the GFAS did not succeed in giving a particularly impressive lead to freedmen's aid activity in Scotland was a serious loss and drawback to the movement there for as we have noted, it represented the only full, formally constituted Freedmen's Aid Society in the country. It is not immediately clear why the city of Glasgow, with its recently acquired reputation as a stronghold of Confederate sympathies, should have spawned such an organization while Edinburgh, able to boast during the post-Civil War years of its citizens' long and unbroken tradition of opposition to slaveholding,[1] should have remained without one. Perhaps the situation was partially attributable to the fact that Glasgow had in former times possessed an extremely strong and vigorous male Emancipation Society[2] whereas in Edinburgh the main thrust of the organized abolitionist impulse had come from the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society.[3] With regard to the formation of Freedmen's aid Societies in later years, this disparity may well have been highly significant inasmuch as the men who had been zealously active in Glasgow's anti-slavery circles could more easily carry their commitment to the American Negro into an organized freedmen's aid effort than could the women who had led the

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1 See above, Chapters II, p. 114; VIII, p. 405.

2 See Rice, The Scottish Factor, pp. 47. 93. The Glasgow Emancipation Society was formed in 1833 with William Smeal as the principal founder. It split into two rival sections in 1841 with Smeal's Garrisonian faction winning effective control of the city's abolitionist movement. It was weakened by its spirited attack on the Free Church in the Send Back the Money campaign, however, and by late 1847-48 had virtually collapsed - ibid., passim.

3 Ibid., p. 64, and passim.
The male Edinburgh Emancipation Society was established in 1833, and in 1841 its leading members were John Wigham (Eliza's father), Andrew Cruickshank, John Dunlop and Dr. Greville. At the 1840 Convention and the subsequent schism in the movement, it rejected Garrison's principles and went into support of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It refused to co-operate with the ELES over the Send Back the Money agitation, and was largely inactive by 1846 - see ibid., pp. 233, 280, 343.

anti-slavery campaign in Edinburgh. Individuals such as William Smeal found no obstacles to emulating the organizational involvement of leading English anti-slavery men in the freedmen's cause: but there would appear to be no record of a British freedmen's aid Society having been established and conducted exclusively by women,[1] and this in spite of the fact that ladies' Societies were so prominent and important a feature of the earlier abolitionist scene. Hence for Eliza Wigham and her colleagues in the ELES to have applied themselves (in their rightful capacity as erstwhile leaders of the city's anti-slavery agitation) to the formation of a "freedmen's aid Society" would have involved a unique and perhaps indecorous departure into what would appear to have been a peculiarly male domain.

But while the basic reasons for the absence of an official freedmen's aid Society in Edinburgh must remain largely a matter of conjecture, it does seem certain that no fully structured body of that nature ever developed there during the 1860s. On the other hand, however, Scotland's capital city was not entirely devoid of organized effort on behalf of the freedmen's cause. It is clear that at some stage prior to the spring of 1865 there was established a committee charged with the task of collecting local contributions to the fund for in May of that year, the Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association included Edinburgh in its list of "Freedmen's Aid Associations and Committees" already formed.[2] During their trip to Scotland in November, 1864, Levi Coffin and Dr. Massie had naturally visited the city and addressed a meeting there, and it is more than likely that the committee was formed either on that occasion or in the immediate

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1 The ladies' committee which existed in Glasgow was no more than an (apparently fairly inactive) adjunct to the male organization - see above, p. 65, fn. 3.

2 See Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association, to May 19, 1865, p. 23 (microfilm).

wake of it.[1]

Having therefore derived its initial impetus from personalities closely involved in freedmen's aid work in London, the Edinburgh committee duly forged connections with the National Committee. Hence over the four-month period from the formation of the latter body in May, 1865 to September, its receipts included a total of £438: 2: 1 in money and £283:19: 0 in "goods" from Thomas Nelson (the publisher), secretary of the Edinburgh committee.[2] Yet, despite these comparatively substantial remittances[3] from the city, the committee itself may well have remained an essentially passive, amorphous body, with vague functions which were discharged in an equally obscure manner. That the need was felt for a slightly more formal and vital collecting agency is suggested by the resolution moved by Benjamin H. Blyth[4] at the public freedmen's aid meeting held in the Freemason's Hall at the beginning of December, 1865. It was Blyth's proposal that a permanent committee be formed for the purpose of dealing with contributions raised at public meetings and at all other times. His suggestion was unanimously adopted, and a committee comprised in its main elements of Lord Provost William Chambers, Duncan McLaren, M.P.

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1 In the Scotsman's report on the meeting (held in the Queen Street Hall on 2 November), there is in fact no mention of a collecting committee having been established there and then. The proceedings would seem to have been confined to an introductory address by the chairman, ex-Bailie Johnson, Levi Coffin's speech (in which he provided detailed statistics regarding the operations of the American Freedmen's Aid Society, described its principal objectives, and stressed the earnest desire of the freedmen to improve their general condition), and a brief address from Massie, who passed "a high eulogium" on Coffin and appealed to the citizens of Edinburgh to support his cause. Following that, the meeting apparently concluded with no more positive step being taken than a routine vote of thanks to Coffin - see Scotsman, 3 Nov., 1864.

2 Financial statement of National Committee of the British Freedmen's-Aid Associations, listing receipts to Sept., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. S22/G88

3 The totals sent by the GFAS over the same period were less than half those of Edinburgh - see details above, pp. 76-77.

4 Benjamin H. Blyth was himself a remarkably liberal contributor to the freedmen's fund set on foot at the meeting, donating the large sum of £200 that very evening and a further £50 shortly afterwards (see Appendix II (c)). His wife collected in Edinburgh a total of £10 for the Glasgow fund launched in early 1868 (see Appendix II (d)).

For a biographical note on Blyth and his younger brother, Edward, who also contributed generously to the cause, see Appendix I.

Councillor Andrew Fyfe, city publisher (and ex-M.P.), Adam Black, William Miller, Secretary and Thomas Nelson, treasurer, was appointed forthwith.[1]

Perhaps the new arrangement agreed upon on that occasion represented little more than a basic restructuring and streamlining of the original committee; but possibly the most important consideration relating to the formation of a permanent committee is that there was apparently sufficient public support in Edinburgh for the freedmen's cause to make such a move highly desirable, if not actually imperative. Certainly, following the public meeting at which they had been appointed, the members had ample reason to be satisfied with the sums which the Edinburgh people seemed prepared to contribute to the fund. Writing to Hampson the day after the meeting, Thomas Nelson, in his capacity as treasurer of the new committee, was able jubilantly to report that around £550 had been subscribed "on the spot", and that there was every hope of a considerable increase in donations over the coming week or two. Understandably proud of the city's achievement, he asked that the amount raised should be intimated in any report on the state of contributions which might be read at the National Committee's forthcoming third quarterly meeting in Manchester.[2] Nelson's request indicates that by the close of 1865 there had definitely been established a close collaborative relationship between the Edinburgh committee and the movement's central co-ordinating agency. That relationship remained constant over succeeding years: when the National Committee was eventually superseded by the NFAU, William Miller, the secretary, remitted the Edinburgh receipts to the latter organization in its turn.[3]

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1 See report of public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in the Freemason's Hall, Edinburgh, 5 Dec., 1865, in Scotsman, 6 Dec., 1865.

2 Thomas Nelson to Aspinall Hampson, Edinburgh, 6 Dec., 1865, A-sl.P., MS.C119/70.

3 See William Miller to Aspinall Hampson, Millerfield House, Edinburgh, 27 Nov., 1866, ibid., MS. C119/56; Miller to Hampson, Millerfield House, Edinburgh, 6 June, 1867, ibid., MS.C119/57.

Indeed, as late as February, 1868, he was still sending money to the NFAU.[1]

Lack of basic detailed information makes it impossible to gain a precise picture of the manner in which the Edinburgh committee operated, of the scope and intensity of its activities, and of the nature of its development (if any) up until 1868. And although it presumably met if not on a regular then at least on an occasional basis, the absence of any record of its transactions leaves the relative importance and energies of its several members similarly obscure. It may be valid, however, to suggest that throughout its existence, the principal characteristic of the committee was its unobtrusiveness. Perhaps the discreet way in which it discharged its functions was determined almost as much by the nature of its members' abolitionist temperament as by the relatively narrow range of its actual duties. That temperament might be loosely described as being grounded in a keen and sincere but not a dynamically forceful commitment to the American Negroes' cause. In practical terms, this meant that unlike many of the GFAS' personnel, the men who comprised the Edinburgh committee had not in earlier times been particularly prominently identified with organized abolitionist agitation. Certainly, Duncan McLaren had in 1854 become President of the newly-formed New Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Association;[2] but his involvement in the affairs of that Society, which itself proved a fairly weak and ineffective one,[3] obviously never came near to equalling in sustained dedication and imperishable enthusiasm the involvement of (for example) William Smeal in the running of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

Nor did McLaren's fame and reputation within Scotland rest predominantly on labours in the anti-slavery field in the way that Smeal's definitely did. Indeed, not only the radical Edinburgh M.P. but also his fellow members on the

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1 William Miller to the secretary of the NFAU (i.e. Thomas Phillips), Millerfield House, Edinburgh, 25 Feb., 1868, ibid., MS. C40/40.

2 See Rice, The Scottish Factor, p. 380.

3 See ibid., p. 381.

committee were (with the exception of William Miller) all notable Scottish, or at least municipal, figures who had become well known in their particular areas of professional and public activity and whose association with the abolitionist movement had not been of an intensity which would have been sufficient in itself to ensure them of personal renown. It remained the case, of course, that only individuals who had in the past shown themselves to have a genuine sympathy and concern for the slaves in America were likely to be members of committees formed for the purpose of advancing the freedmen's aid cause: and in that respect the Edinburgh committee was no exception. But in giving consideration to its style of operating, it may be significant to recognize that its membership was not drawn from erstwhile leaders of the city's abolition campaign.

It is highly likely, indeed, that the anti-slavery reputation of at least two of the committee's most influential members, Lord Provost William Chambers and Thomas Nelson, would have rested fully as firmly on the strength of their own individual public testimonies to their personal experience and hatred of slaveholding as on any formal connections which they might have had with organized emancipationist activity in Edinburgh. We have already observed that following his visit to the United States in 1853, Chambers, for instance, wrote two popular works in which he strenuously attacked the South's "peculiar institution".[1] And while Nelson did not go to the length of producing a written account of his impressions, he had certainly not been slow

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1 See above, Chapter V, pp. 501-503.
Throughout the years of the American Civil War, William Chambers publicly maintained his detestation of slavery in committing Chambers' Edinburgh Journal (the periodical conducted in collaboration with his brother Robert) to a vigorous and consistent opposition to slaveholding and the aims of the Confederacy. As late as 1909, no less a person than Andrew Carnegie was declaring that America "in her day of trouble" had had "no stauncher friends" than William and Robert Chambers - see Andrew Carnegie, "William Chambers", an address delivered at the celebration of the jubilee of the Chambers Institute, Peebles, October 19, 1909 (pamphlet: Edinburgh, 1909), p. 15.

publicly to voice his detestation of slavery as he had seen it in America. Thus at a meeting addressed by Henry Ward Beecher in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh in the autumn of 1863 he had, for example, related how ten years previously he had been obliged to defend himself in both the Northern and Southern states against the advocates of slavery: and making it plain that he considered the North to have generally adopted a much healthier attitude since that time, Nelson had zealously endorsed the Federal cause and castigated the British press for its "mistaken" outlook on the American conflict.[1]

To some considerable extent, Duncan McLaren's continuing support over the years for the anti-slavery cause had also been expressed in an essentially individualistic context. His prominent position in city affairs had helped to make it so. Thus it was in his capacity as Lord Provost that he had gained in 1853 the opportunity to extend an exceedingly warm welcome to Harriet Beecher Stowe, an action which would certainly have done as much as his later Presidency of the New Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Association to raise his standing as an abolitionist in the eyes of the Edinburgh public. And several years earlier, his anti-slavery sympathies had been demonstrated in a political context when after receiving advice from Richard Cobden on the uselessness of the British naval squadron retained off the coast of Africa, he had moved from supporting it as "an anti-slavery police force" to actively campaigning against it. Putting forward the suggestion that Britain should blockade Cuban and Brazilian ports instead, McLaren has been credited with changing the opinion of "the Scottish Anti-slavery party" regarding the value of the squadron's service.[2] His action on that particular anti-slavery issue was therefore clearly in the nature of an independent response to

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1 See report of speech by Thomas Nelson in Report of the Proceedings of a public meeting held in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, 14 Oct., 1863 to hear Henry Ward Beecher (pamphlet).

2 See Mackie, Duncan McLaren, Vol. 2, pp. 5-9.

enlightening information from a political guide and mentor: it was not an action inspired in any way by formal association with local organized abolitionist forces.

Certainly, McLaren maintained close personal acquaintance with many of Edinburgh's leading emancipationists. For instance, as early as 1837 John Wigham was looked upon as "an old and steadfast friend",[1] and the friendship with the Wigham family - characterized as it was by the mutual pursuit of objectives which ranged well beyond the anti-slavery cause[2] - endured throughout the succeeding decades of the nineteenth century. McLaren's marriage in 1848 to John Bright's sister Priscilla would undoubtedly have had the effect of strengthening his contacts with the city's abolitionists; indeed, in 1854 he had been appointed by the ELES to represent the members at that year's Anti-Slavery Conference in London.[3] Yet, despite these very positive associations and involvements, there nevertheless persists the impression that Duncan McLaren remained essentially on the periphery of the organized abolitionist movement. His public support for the anti-slavery cause was demonstrated principally through independent activities which were interconnected with his civic duties and his political sympathies, and only to a much lesser extent through participation in a united campaign to secure the end of the "peculiar institution". Perhaps the key to his specific form of open commitment to abolitionism is contained in the observation that McLaren was "ever ready" to indulge in strenuous political agitation which reflected his own convictions, and to include active philanthropic gestures (such as the public advocacy of relief funds for the sufferers of the Lancashire cotton

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 122-123.

2 See, for instance, ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 14, 85, 103; and above, Chapter III, p. 282, fn. 3.

3 Sarah Wigham (President of the ELES) to the organizers of the Anti-Slavery Conference to be held in London on 29 and 30 Nov., 1854, Edinburgh, 27 Nov., 1854, A-sl.P., MS. C160/222.

famine) in his work as a civic dignitary.[1]

The character of the Edinburgh committee's action on behalf of the freedmen could be said, then, to have been broadly in keeping with the tenor of the anti-slavery course earlier pursued by the individuals who co-ordinated and supervised it. Just as McLaren, Chambers and Nelson had maintained somewhat tenuous links with the forces of organized abolitionism, so in the mid 1860s they conducted a local freedmen's aid effort which operated on a basis of strictly limited involvement with the national freedmen's aid agencies, and which was not itself a formally organized entity after the fashion of the GFAS. In essence, the committee was nothing more than a loosely composite group of individuals each of whom was prepared to expend some special measure of energy for the freedmen's cause; and probably largely because of these circumstances, its major (if not, indeed, its only) function was simply the collecting and remitting of local contributions. Almost certainly, its members did not apply themselves to such onerous and time-consuming tasks as, for instance, the arrangement of public meetings. The drive to promote public activities which would increase the Scottish people's awareness of and sympathy for the freedmen's cause was a critically important aspect of the comprehensive duties which devolved upon the GFAS in its capacity as a fully constituted freedmen's aid organization. But the general scale of formal planning and discussion which formed the necessary background to the enterprises undertaken by the Glasgow Society was conspicuously absent from the Edinburgh committee's effort.

Taking into consideration the situation in Glasgow and Edinburgh's reputation as a standard-bearer of vigorous anti-slavery principles, the capital city might perhaps have been expected to respond to the plight of America's emancipated slaves by producing a somewhat more sophisticated body

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1 See Mackie, Duncan McLaren, Vol. 2, pp. 5, 73.

than that which actually emerged. The committee with its apparently limited terms of reference did not, however, represent the only organized force interested in raising funds for the freedmen's cause. We have already had occasion to note[1] the deep concern which the still extant ELES displayed for the freedmen in the Southern states, and the zealous manner in which it endeavoured to arouse public sympathy and tangible support for them. Acting independently, in its own right, the Society succeeded, at least during the first three years of the Reconstruction era, in gathering respectable sums to augment the fund: and in the course of its efforts over that period it, too, formed direct contacts and connections with the various elements of the national movement.

By piecing together scattered scraps of information it is possible to gain, in comparison to the seriously inadequate picture of the nebulous Edinburgh committee, a relatively more precise idea of the amounts collected by the ELES and of the nature of its relationship with the central freedmen's aid bodies. And while the totals collected in money and goods help to illustrate both the extent of the Edinburgh public's readiness to support the cause and the level of the Society's activity in advocating it, of perhaps still greater importance are the facts concerning the associations with the national freedmen's aid organizations, for examination of these associations affords a valuable insight into the attitudes and approach adopted towards freedmen's aid work by a leading section of erstwhile Scottish abolitionists, and provides also an interesting comparison with the attitudes and approach adopted by the former anti-slavery men who dominated the GFAS.

It did not require the ultimate victory of the North in the Civil War to activate amongst the members of the ELES a sense of compassionate concern for the general welfare of the freed slaves, and an eagerness to implant a similar humanitarian sentiment in the consciousness of their fellow countrymen.

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1. See above, Chapters VI, pp. 58-60; VII, pp. 287-288; VIII, pp. 348-351, 405-406.

We have observed that the freedmen's aid movement officially took root in Scotland as early as November, 1864, and it seems highly likely that by that time, the ELES had already become involved, as a direct and logical extension of its purely abolitionist activities, in a campaign designed to high-light the essential and urgent needs of the American Negroes during the difficult and disruptive war years.[1] Certainly, by the beginning of 1865 the Society was attracting a measure of public attention through its efforts in that sphere: thus in mid January, for instance, the Scotsman reported that "at the suggestion of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society", the National Bible Society of Scotland had offered to supply bibles and Testaments for the new freedmen "on the most liberal terms". The Ladies' Society, it was explained, had appropriated a portion of its funds for the purchase of these items, and it was still at that period anxious to receive further monetary contributions and old Bibles in order to boost the scheme.[2]

The role of the ELES as a body actively promoting freedmen's aid was again recognized shortly afterwards, in the March, 1865 issue of the British Friend. In the course of a leading article extolling recent demonstrations of Quaker willingness to help the freed slaves, Robert Smeal's journal described how the ELES had received a contribution of £5 for the cause along with the donor's promise of £2 more provided that forty others would give a similar sum. Recommending the proposition, the British Friend stressed the essence of the objective which stimulated such gestures: "For the sake of the multitudes who suffer terribly in this severe season we hope the challenge will be promptly accepted, and thus £82 may be sent to warm, and feed, and clothe, and teach some of these poor men and women who have such strong claims on the humanity of Scotland".[3] It served to give some indication of the

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1 At least it can be ascertained that as early as the summer of 1862, Eliza Wigham was sending donations to the United States to aid the refugee Negroes in the Federal camps and others in distress - see British Friend 1 July, 1862, p. 175.

2 Scotsman, 18 Jan., 1865.

3 British Friend, March, 1865, p. 63.

accepted standing of the ELES as an organization committed to advancing the concept of freedmen's aid that the individual contributor should have chosen it as the vehicle for carrying forward his scheme, and that the British Friend should have focussed attention on the episode.

By May of that year, the ELES was, indeed, adequately demonstrating that it possessed a practical ability, as well as a persistent enthusiasm, to raise funds for the cause. In the absence of full information relating to the financial affairs of the Society during 1864, it is unfortunately impossible to determine the exact amount collected in money and goods at that particular period. But what is certain is that over the twelve months from May, 1864 the ELES sent substantial contributions on no less than four separate occasions to the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association. Initially, Eliza Wigham, as secretary, despatched three parcels of clothing and Bibles to the value of £29:15:0. This was followed at a later date by a consignement of four parcels of a similar nature, worth in all £44; and subsequently, two parcels were sent at separate times, each with the same manner of contents and valued in both instances at £15.[1] Thus, by way of providing for both the material and the spiritual needs of the former slaves, the ELES had in the first year and a half after emancipation at least succeeded in gathering relevant goods to a total value of £103:15:0.

In transmitting the proceeds of its efforts to the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association, the Ladies' Society was in no sense novel or unique. The National Committee of the British Freedmen's Aid Associations which was to become, perhaps, more conspicuously identified than the Birmingham Association with the receipt of organized collections and individual contributions

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1 See contributions to Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association to 19 May, 1865, in Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland...Association to 19 May, 1865 (microfilm), pp. 14-16.

from all parts of the country, did not come into existence until May, 1865, and prior to that, B. H. Cadbury's and Arthur Albright's Birmingham and Midland Association was clearly looked to by a large number of concerned parties throughout Britain as a reliable receiving agency for contributions raised locally.[1] Yet, so far as the ELES is specifically concerned, the contacts which it thus established with the Birmingham Association are of real significance inasmuch as they constitute an early example of the Society's tendency to form links with external freedmen's aid organizations. Although never itself actually assuming the designation of freedmen's aid Society, the ELES, having once decided to become involved in that sphere of post-emancipation labour, could hardly have avoided forming associations with workers in formally constituted freedmen's aid circles. As we have already observed,[2] the intense and enduring abolitionist sentiments of its members (and most especially of its leading members) gave the Edinburgh Society a natural and inevitable spirit of familiarity and fraternity with the anti-slavery men who were so prominent in directing the freedmen's aid movement at national level.

In a climate of internecine disagreement and, ultimately, schism amongst the elements which sought to regulate the policy of the central organization, a supremely independent sympathy with the general objectives of the British freedmen's aid movement as a whole did not, however, help to make plain the ELES' own basic stance in relation to the conflicting outlooks on the nature and running of the campaign. On the contrary, it was most probably <u>because</u> the Ladies' Society was not formally affiliated to any one recognized national freedmen's aid body that the character of its effort on behalf of the cause appears to have been haphazard and confusing. Certainly, its

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1 In the year to 19 May, 1865 the Birmingham and Midland Association received and dealt with a grand total of £4,667:18:5 in money and goods from all over Britain - see <u>ibid</u>., pp. 14-22.

2 See above, pp. 47-50.

inclination to operate in indiscriminate conjunction with the wider freedmen's aid framework led it to develop a peculiarly complex involvement with the several national co-ordinating organizations and the various American deputies, not only in respect of the remittance of contributions but also, more fundamentally, in respect of its approach to the contentious issue of limiting the scope of freedmen's aid activity to the United States.

In general, the ELES adopted an incredibly ambivalent position regarding associations with the NFAU and the rival, antagonistic London Freed-Men's Aid Society. It is nevertheless possible to ascertain, however, that concerning the critical question of including in the 1860s movement the cause of the free Negroes of Jamaica and elsewhere, the Edinburgh Society was definitely in full and solid sympathy with the viewpoint of Tomkins' Metropolitan Freed-Men's Aid Society. Still in essence an Emancipation Society as opposed to a Freedmen's Aid Society, it was perhaps only natural that it should carry forward its traditionally wide-ranging interest in the Negro race by favouring the more comprehensive line and showing a concern for and an active desire to help the freedmen not only in America but throughout the world.

Certainly, following the Jamaican insurrection it became deeply and openly concerned about the past condition and the future welfare of the free black population of that island. A measure of the concern was reflected in the Annual Report for the year ending in mid February, 1866. As was to be expected under the circumstances, the greater part of the Report was, in fact, devoted to a review of the situation which had evolved in the United States since the end of the war, and to the promotion of appeals on behalf of the American freedmen, based on the information presented. But while giving predominant attention to the "wonderful revolution" which had taken place in America and asserting that the "striking changes" there called for "reverent and wondering thanksgiving",[1] the Report also amply conveyed the Edinburgh

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1 Annual Report of the ELES for year ending February 15, 1866, p. 20.

Society's acute anxiety regarding the state of affairs in Jamaica. Having at the outset pronounced 1865 "a most remarkable year of anti-slavery progress",[1] it did not hesitate to condemn the Jamaican rebellion as "the most discouraging event"[2] of that period. By way of substantiating that verdict, there was provided a detailed recapitulation of the outbreak, in which the Negroes' position was totally and unreservedly defended and Eyre held personally responsible for the atrocious scale of executions. At the heart of the ELES' interpretation of the episode was, however, the significantly emotive conviction that the free Negroes of Jamaica had for long been the victims of widespread oppression by the white planter class. Thus, looking to the future, the compilers of the 1865 Report hoped that the "causes" as well as the "results" of the rebellion would be investigated and that as a consequence abuses such as oppressive tariffs, low wages, withheld wages, and lack of legal redress under which the black people had laboured would be rectified.[3]

Some four months later, in early July, 1866, the ELES went an important step further in publicly declaring its concern for the Jamaican Negroes. In a letter to the Daily Review, Eliza Wigham and Agnes Lillie, in their capacity as joint-secretaries of the Society, stated that at the monthly meeting of the ELES held on 5 July, the issue of the sufferings endured by "the poor, outraged coloured people of Jamaica" had "roused the warmest sympathies" of the committee. Clearly, the committee had not, however, chosen to view the tribulations of the Jamaican Negroes as a case in isolation. The committee members' intense sentiments on that subject had, after all, been formed against the background of a strong pre-existing commitment to the cause of the American freedmen, and joint consideration of the two sources of concern was

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1 Ibid., p.1.

2 Ibid., p. 21.

3 Ibid., pp. 24-25

inevitable. Hence in their communication to the Daily Review, the secretaries made a point of explicitly setting forth the committee's attitude regarding the parallel claims of the Jamaican and American freedmen to public sympathy and support: "While feeling greatly for the distress of the freed slaves of America, we were very desirous those (sic) of our own fellow-subjects should not be overlooked". Having made it plain that the ELES was at least as fully prepared to agitate on behalf of the free Negroes of Jamaica as on behalf of those in the United States, the letter went on to indicate that the Society was also ready to translate its fund of sympathy into positive action. Acknowledging that the Daily Review had earlier published the text of an appeal for aid put out by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Eliza Wigham and Agnes Lillie announced that for its part, the committee of the ELES would "very gratefully" take charge of all local subscriptions which might be forthcoming for "relief of the sufferings" of the black population in Britain's colony.[1]

The strength of the interest which the Society maintained in Jamaica throughout 1866 was subsequently demonstrated in its Annual Report for the year ending 4 April, 1867 (the title of which was significantly amended to Annual Report...and Sketch of Anti-Slavery Events and the Condition of the Freedmen...). In what would appear to have been the last published Report, the condition and prospects of the American freedmen still received the largest share of attention; but the post-emancipation situation in Jamaica took precedence over the situation in the United States in being pointed out as a seat of grave injustice and oppression. The spotlight was again turned on the rebellion of November, 1865, with criticism being predictably levelled at the relevant British authorities for their failure to prosecute Eyre and his fellow "offenders". But the ELES by no means confined itself to negative

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1 Letter from Eliza Wigham and Agnes Lillie, Edinburgh, 5 July, 1866, in Daily Review, 6 July, 1866.

attacks and observations. Still eager to arouse public support for the Jamaican as well as the American Negroes, the compilers of the Report indicated that measures were on foot in several quarters to establish a Restitution Fund for helping to rebuild ruined houses and for otherwise assisting those who had suffered as a result of the insurrection. And in that connection, it was suggested to readers that the "best compensation" which "British friends" could give the Negroes was the means of education, for through education they could achieve "the moral dignity of free citizens" and an understanding of the regulation of wages and related matters which materially affected them.[1]

Although thus brought into prominence in the April 1866-67 Report, the Edinburgh Society's appreciation of the importance of providing instruction for the Negro race in Jamaica and its practical efforts to promote education there had in fact been significant features of ELES' outlook and activities from a considerably earlier period. For instance, during the year from mid February, 1865 to mid February, 1866 (most probably in the wake of the rebellion) it contributed by way of the Rev. William Teall, a missionary at Morant Bay, £10 "towards education in Jamaica".[2] And the treasurer's abstract in the 1866-1867 Report itself showed that over the succeeding twelve months the figure allotted from the Society's funds for that purpose was doubled, £10 being again transmitted through Teall, and an equal sum being entrusted for disbursal to Thomas Harvey of Leeds.[3]

As well as contributing to the advancement of learning amongst the Jamaican Negroes, the ELES, as befitted its strong feelings on the causes and actual course of the insurrection, also, however, demonstrated its active

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1 Annual Report of the ELES, and Sketch of Anti-Slavery Events and the Condition of the Freedmen during the year ending 4th April, 1867, pp. 2-3.

2 See treasurer's abstract in Annual Report of the ELES for year ending February 15, 1866.

3 See treasurer's abstract in Annual Report...during the year ending 4th April, 1867.

commitment to the cause of the free black population there through donations of a still more directly relevant nature. Thus in 1865, it gave £10 to the funds of the Jamaica Investigation Committee;[1] and in the course of the following year the same amount was remitted to the Restitution Fund.[2] As a significant pointer to the global breadth of the Edinburgh Society's interest in the welfare of Negro freedmen, it is worth noting that between the spring of 1866 and the spring of 1867, £5 was also contributed for the purpose of helping to educate the freed slaves of Surinam.[3]

The obvious determination of the ELES not to limit its concern for ex-slave communities merely to the immediate and, arguably, the most urgent case of the freedmen in the Southern states of America was a feature of the Society's basic outlook which clearly put it in line with Tomkin's London Freed-Men's Aid Society. And there does exist some slender indication that the Edinburgh ladies' committee did indeed at one stage maintain a certain degree of active co-operation with Tomkins' organization, for in the treasurer's report for 1865-1866 it is recorded that £66: 3: 0 was sent to the American freedmen by way of Levi Coffin and the London Freed-Men's Aid Society.[4] It may well have been, however, that that particular sum was remitted by the Edinburgh body before the formal separation (in January, 1866) of the London Society from the National Committee; and it would certainly be totally misleading to suggest that the ELES formed a permanent and exclusive working relationship with the metropolitan Society based on a common attitude towards the range of freedmen's aid activities. On the contrary, throughout the period of its existence as an organization closely involved

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1 Treasurer's abstract, Annual Report...for year ending 15 February, 1866.

2 Treasurer's abstract, Annual Report...during the year ending 4 April, 1867.

3 Ibid.

4 Treasurer's abstract, Annual Report...for year ending February 15, 1866.

in freedmen's aid efforts, it showed, in respect of the specific American sphere of operations, a distinct readiness to collaborate with a variety of elements engaged in promoting the cause.

Thus, during the same year in which it transmitted money through the London Society, the ELES also remitted £40 from its own funds and a total of £32 in special contributions from individuals to the Edinburgh committee responsible for collecting the city's donations.[1] And as we have noted,[2] the latter body fed its proceeds back in a straightforward fashion to the National Committee and, eventually, to the NFAU. Over the following months from April, 1866 to April, 1867, the essentially inconsistent pattern of the ELES' approach to forwarding its cash contributions was further accentuated. In that year, the ladies' Society would appear to have favoured the policy of sending its donations directly to the United States via individuals who were themselves immediately involved in working for the movement there. Hence £20 was relayed "per Levi Coffin" of Cinncinatti; a similar sum was transmitted "per Richard Cadbury" of Philadelphia; and a further £20, intended for the specific purpose of helping to establish schools for the freedmen in North Carolina, reached its American destination by way of one Delphina Mendenhall.[3]

Nor was it only in relation to the transmission of its financial donations that the ELES maintained a notably free and open association with basically separate limbs of the freedmen's aid movement. To some considerable extent, that tendency was also evident in the Edinburgh Society's activities at local organizational level. In that particular area, connections with

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1 See ibid., p. 9.

2 See above, pp. 107, 108-109.

3 Treasurer's abstract, Annual Report...during the year ending 4th April, 1867.

both the London Freed-Men's Aid Society and the broader central agency of the NFAU were again prominent features. For instance, in her capacity as joint secretary of the ELES, Eliza Wigham clearly helped to organize the public freedmen's aid meeting held in Edinburgh in early December, 1865, and in so doing she showed herself and, most importantly, the Society which she represented, ready at that stage to acquiesce in Tomkins' choice of the American deputies who were to speak there. As we have already seen,[1] the arrangements made by Tomkins as secretary of the London Society involved the controversial decision to exclude from active participation in the proceedings the AMA's best known deputy in Scotland, Sella Martin. In the event, Martin did not, in fact, take part in the meeting:[2] and on first learning (as early as August, 1865) of the failure to invite him to address the Edinburgh audience, he had written to the executive of the National Committee in terms which tended to imply that the ELES was perfectly willing to accept Tomkins' directive on the speakers. Thus, he indicated that Eliza Wigham had written to him stating that a meeting was definitely being arranged in Edinburgh but that there were no plans to include him amongst the American delegates present at it.[3] The information to that effect provided by the ELES secretary was evidently presented in a manner sufficiently firm and final as to encourage Martin and his supporters in Glasgow to contemplate seizing a completely independent initiative and holding "a good strong meeting there [in Edinburgh] through the influence of Drs. Guthrie and Alexander and [the] Rev. William Arnot".[4]

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1 See above, p. 68.

2 See report of public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in the Freemason's Hall, Edinburgh, 5 Dec., 1865, in Scotsman, 6 Dec., 1865. Somewhat curiously, perhaps, the AMA did have a representative present at the meeting in the shape of the Rev. Dr. J.C. Holbrook.

3 Sella Martin to an unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C159/68.

4 Ibid.

Certainly, by the time that the scheduled Edinburgh meeting actually took place, the occurrence of the rebellion in Jamaica and (more precisely) the nature of the outlooks and sentiments which it aroused had provided a basis for the ELES and the London Freed-Men's Aid Society actively to share at least one vitally important viewpoint. And so far as the influential Eliza Wigham herself is concerned, the attention which she personally directed towards the Jamaican situation was reflected in a letter written during the spring of 1866 to L.A. Chamerovzow, secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which she spoke of the period as "an interesting and exciting time in reference to Jamaica".[1] Yet, it needs to be stressed once again that despite the evidence of positive collaboration and the similarity in attitude towards the scope of freedmen's aid work, there never existed a continuous programme of co-operative effort between the ELES and the London Society. As the Edinburgh Society did not restrict itself to any one channel through which to transmit its contributions to the freedmen's fund, so it adopted a broad approach to the business of working with national figures to publicize the cause in Edinburgh. Thus if in late 1865 Eliza Wigham was fully prepared to go along with the plans put forth by Tomkins and the London Freed-Men's Aid Society, two years later (by which time the latter organization was, admittedly, almost defunct) she was just as eagerly arranging for a meeting to be held under the auspices of the NFAU, at which William Foster Mitchell of the American Freedmen's Union Commission would be the principal speaker.[2]

It seems evident, then, that despite its clear affinity in outlook and policy with the London Freed-Men's Aid Society (styled after February 1866 the

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1 Eliza Wigham to L.A. Chamerovzow, Edinburgh, 3 March, 1866, A-sl.P., MS. C37/79.

2 See Arthur Albright to Thomas Phillips, 16 Dec., 1867, ibid., MS. C38/37.

British and Foreign Freedmen's Aid Society), the ELES in its efforts on behalf of the American freedmen was anxious to avoid becoming embroiled in internecine splits. The difficulties, antagonisms, and ultimate schism which plagued the attempt to establish a national co-ordinating organization were extremely debilitating to the British movement as a whole; and taking into consideration the best interests of the ELES itself there was probably little desire to plunge the Society once again into the heart of a damaging controversy. There may well have been an eagerness on the part of the committee to pursue a course which would help to preserve harmony within the Society during the last years of its existence - more especially since it would seem that by the mid-1860s, the old Tappanite/Garrisonian split in its ranks had been largely healed up.

The original schism along these lines had occurred in 1851 when a proportion of the ELES' membership, having grown "dissatisfied with the practical if not the organic connection subsisting with parties in America whose religious principles they utterly disavowed", formed themselves into an Association auxiliary to the anti-Garrisonian Glasgow Association for the Abolition of Slavery.[1] Eventually, in 1856, the breakaway faction had become the Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Association, and as such, it had maintained a strong animus towards the Garrisonian principles of the ELES.[2] There is reason to conclude, however, that by the time that emancipation was finally achieved in the United States and the attention of erstwhile British abolitionists had turned to the needs of the American freedmen, a fair number

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1 See Report of the Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Association for 1856 and 1857 (microfilm), pp. 6-8.

2 Point three in the Constitution of the new Association stated that its members, "being convinced that by the triumph of practical Christianity alone can slavery be effectually abolished, will give no sanction to those American abolitionists who make the anti-slavery press and platform the means of disseminating infidel principles" - see ibid., p. 3.

of the earlier dissidents had returned to the fold of the ELES. For of those contributing in both 1865 and 1866 to the ELES' fund for freedmen's aid, thirteen can be positively identified as having belonged to the Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Association; and a further twelve former members of that organization contributed to the 1866 fund only.[1]

In these later stages, indeed, the ELES would appear to have been markedly eager to extinguish the contentions which had arisen at the height of the anti-slavery campaign amongst abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. Certainly, during the mid-1860s the Society's still predominantly "Garrisonian" executive had no desire to be rigidly confined and restricted in its approach to freedmen's aid by the lingering prejudices and spirit of an earlier controversy, remarkably deep, and bitter, and important though that controversy had been. Indicative of its attitude in that connection was Eliza Wigham's apparently brusque refusal to share the American abolitionist J. Miller McKim's suspicious dislike of the AMA as a Tappanite organization. Himself an active worker in the American Freedmen's Aid Union, McKim, writing to the Irish abolitionist Richard Davis Webb in the summer of 1867, disparagingly identified the AMA as "Lewis Tappan's Association". And in the same letter, he revealed to Webb that in the last communication which he had received from Eliza Wigham she had "deprecated our tendency toward a controversy with the AMA. This shows how entirely ignorant she is of the facts, and suggests that she is in a position either of mind or circumstances

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1 See list of subscriptions and donations to the Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Association, 1856-1858 in ibid., pp. 13-16; lists of subscriptions and donations in Annual Reports of the ELES for the years ending 15 February, 1866, and 4 April, 1867.

or both that would make disclaimer and explanation unavailing".[1]

In practical terms, too, Eliza Wigham vigorously displayed a determination to co-operate with the organization which McKim and his colleagues in the American Freedmen's Aid Union were drifting into dispute with. Hence in early 1868 she was responsible for remitting Edinburgh contributions totalling £20 to the AMA in response to an appeal launched by Sella Martin and J.A. Thome at a public freedmen's aid meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on 28 January.[2] Prior to that, (at the beginning of October, 1867) Thome had spoken to the monthly meeting of the ELES on "the condition and progress of the freed people of the South".[3] And inasmuch as Eliza Wigham and the ELES executive clearly enjoyed a considerable (if, unfortunately, ill-defined) role in arranging public freedmen's aid activities in Edinburgh, it is significant to note that with the exception of the meeting organized in late 1867 to hear William Foster Mitchell of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, all of the city's public meetings on behalf of the cause were addressed by deputies from the AMA. The fact that the strongly, openly, and proudly Tappanite organization succeeded in establishing its representatives as the foremost American freedmen's aid workers in Scotland meant that Eliza Wigham and the ELES in general could have shunned collaboration with it only at disastrous cost to the effectiveness of the Edinburgh Society's own efforts in that

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1 J. Miller McKim to Richard Davis Webb, New York, 28 June, 1867, William Lloyd Garrison collection of anti-slavery letters, MS. A.1.2.v.35, p. 48B, Boston Public Library.
It is probable that their different outlooks towards the AMA had some bearing, either direct or indirect, on the fact that Eliza Wigham had also been "offended" by certain phrases in McKim's acknowledgement of £15 which she had sent to the American Freedmen's Aid Union - see ibid., and McKim to Webb, New York, 9 Aug., 1867, Garrison anti-slavery letters, MS. A.1.2.v.35, p. 113A.
I am grateful to Mr. Douglas Riach for providing me with the texts of these manuscripts.

2 See below, Appendix II (d).

3 See Scotsman, 5 Oct., 1867.

sphere. On the other hand, however, the actual measure of the AMA's success in dominating the Scottish field was itself almost certainly achieved in part because of the readiness of the ELES (as well as other bodies) to support the Association in its campaign.

When the continued force of Garrisonian and Tappanite sympathies and affiliations within the ELES during the early Reconstruction period has been depreciated, however, it remains evident that the Society, led as it was by such Garrisonian stalwarts as Eliza Wigham and Elizabeth Pease Nichol, still preserved under the surface of its new spirit of catholicity and serenity a vehement attachment to the person and achievements of Garrison. We have already observed,[1] for instance, the exceptionally warm welcome given by the ELES to the American abolitionist when he visited Scotland in 1867. And the endurance of a deep reciprocal bond of understanding and respect between him and the Society's leading figures was reflected in his tribute to Eliza Wigham as his "beloved friend" and in the warm recollection of the manner in which she and her family had "received him to their hearts and homes".[2] It would, of course, be untenable to imagine that an organization which had in its abolitionist hey-day been characterized by so exceedingly fervent an adherence to a specific set of principles could in the years immediately following emancipation in America simply shed the intrinsic substance as well

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1 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 404-407.

2 See report of speech by William Lloyd Garrison at a tea-meeting given in his honour by the ELES in the Bible Society's Rooms, Edinburgh, 12 July, 1867, in Scotsman, 13 July, 1867.
Rice, The Scottish Factor, p. 64, has shown that John Wigham, in his capacity as a leading member of the male Edinburgh Emancipation Society, chose to throw in his lot with the majority of that Society in rejecting Garrisonian principles and policy in 1840-41 and in cultivating close, active associations with Tappanite forces. Garrison's appreciative reference at the tea-meeting to John Wigham and his son, John Wigham junior, suggests, however, that Wigham's private attitude towards the Garrisonian approach had been considerably less antipathetical - or at least less straightforward - than his public one.

as the outward form of its ideological tradition. In relation to its efforts on behalf of the freed slaves, there was, indeed, no reason for the ELES completely to smother its sympathetic attachment to the views and tenets which Garrison had promulgated. And to the Society's credit, it succeeded in maintaining just such an attachment to Garrisonianism while at the same time eschewing all restrictive factional considerations in its dealings with deputies from American freedmen's aid Societies. Perhaps the basic strength of the ELES' approach to freedmen's aid activities rested on its decision to overlay the old and still strong Garrisonian affiliations with a strictly pragmatic attitude towards co-operating with other organizations in the best interests of the cause.

But having recognized that sentiments grounded in a former era remained very much alive within the ELES in the mid-1860s, it should also be recognized that although it had been the city's leading abolitionist organization, the Society was not in these later years completely alone in preserving a fundamental veneration for pre-emancipation principles. On the other side of the fence, it seems that in some form or other the breakaway, Tappanite, Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Association lingered on as an independent element into the Reconstruction era. No information would appear to have survived regarding the constitution and activities of this minor group during the 1860s. But certainly, an enigmatic contribution of £13 from that source appeared in the fifth published list of donations to the freedmen's aid fund managed by the Edinburgh collecting committee;[1] and an additional sum of 5/1 was included in the sixth and final list.[2]

In striking contrast to the situation which obtained in Glasgow, then, the Edinburgh freedmen's aid movement was of an essentially sporadic, disjointed character. The absence of a fully organized and operational Freedmen's Aid

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1 See below, Appendix II (c).

2 See ibid.

Society in the capital city meant that the supervision of effort there devolved upon a somewhat casually constructed ad hoc committee, and the zealous, ever-active ELES. As we have seen, neither of these two bodies established a particularly firm, stable relationship with Albright and Hampson's national organizations: the Edinburgh committee remained, in relation to the central agency, a corresponding committee and nothing more, while the ELES' associations with external freedmen's aid workers and organizations assumed a patchwork pattern. And although there was definitely some measure of contact and co-operation between the two Edinburgh groups themselves, it is unfortunately not at all clear how far they actually engaged in positive, practical collaboration over arrangements for public meetings and so forth.

It could be argued, perhaps, that the dual effort on behalf of freedmen's aid within the city must have served to hinder the cause locally and that there might well have been a stronger tendency among Edinburgh citizens to support a single identifiable organization, solidly dedicated to promoting the cause. Much of the force of such reasoning is lost, however, by consideration of the fact tha despite the monopoly and the inherent organizational advantages of the GFAS, during the first two post-Civil War years the public contributions from Edinburgh were very much greater than those from Glasgow. Nor is it likely, in the Scottis context at least, that the general Edinburgh response to the campaign was particularly adversely affected by the city's failure to produce a formally constituted freedmen's aid association. For looking at the situation in other towns, it is clear that the loosely structured nature of the Edinburgh effort was more in keeping with the general Scottish approach to the freedmen's aid movement than was the more strictly organized and co-ordinated Glasgow effort.

(iii) Dundee

In proportion to its size, Dundee, no less than Edinburgh, contributed an exceedingly generous total sum to the freedmen's fund.[1] And as in the

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1 For details of the Dundee and Edinburgh contributions, see below, pp. 174-180, 186-198.

capital city, the tasks of helping to arouse local sympathy and support and of dealing with donations were almost certainly undertaken there by a body which did not aspire to the stature of a freedmen's aid association. In the Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association to 19 May, 1865, Dundee was included in a list of towns where "Freedmen's Aid Associations and Committees" had already been formed.[1] But while that reference provides a valuable indication of the city's early interest in the freedmen's cause, the imprecise, blanket heading under which it appeared renders it useless as an aid to clarifying the exact nature of the organization which directed the appeal effort in Dundee. However, from local press reports on the public meetings held on behalf of the cause and on the arrangements made there for collecting contributions, it is fairly clear that freedmen's aid business was conducted through the medium of a working committee and not a full Society as such.

Thus it was necessary at the public meeting held on 26 September, 1865 to appoint a committee to collect local contributions. The body so formed on that occasion was fairly large, comprising thirteen members, included amongst whom were W.E. Baxter, the eloquent H.B. Fergusson, and Patrick Watson.[2] Watson, at least, had already by that time become actively involved in freedmen's aid work, for the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association's Annual Report had referred to him as treasurer of the organization which prior to the September, 1865 meeting had charge of the donations raised

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1 Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association to May 19, 1865, p. 23.

2 See report of a public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in Ward Chapel, Dundee, 26 Sept., 1865, in Dundee Advertiser, 29 Sept., 1865. The full committee membership consisted of George Rough, Patrick Watson, John Henderson, Thomas Leith, A.D. Grimond, Alexander Henderson, W.E. Baxter, David Ogilvie, H.B. Fergusson, Alexander Berry, Provost Parker, Patrick Anderson, and Alexander Anderson. The large proportion of these men were involved in the lucrative spinning and weaving trade in Dundee - see Appendix II (b1).

in Dundee.[1] Throughout the succeeding three years - the apex of freedmen's aid activity in Britain - it is virtually certain that no fully organized Society developed in the city because had such a body been established, there would have been no need for again appointing a committee at a subsequent public meeting which took place in early January, 1868. As it was, however, a slightly smaller group of substantially the same personnel was once more charged with the task of collecting and despatching contributions from the locality.[2]

So far as Edinburgh was concerned, the collecting committee of which Thomas Nelson was treasurer enjoyed the status of a corresponding committee in relation to the central freedmen's aid organization, and there is a likelihood that the Dundee body operated on essentially the same basis. Yet, despite the extremely satisfactory amount of money raised at the city's 1865 public meeting, there is no record of the proceeds having been remitted to the National Committee. This curious fact suggests not only the absence of an official Society in Dundee but also the absence of a formal link between the appointed committee and the national co-ordinating body. At the same time, however, Dundee, like Edinburgh, unquestionably did possess some form of permanent organized committee which, as well as conducting the local campaign and taking charge of contributions, also maintained connections of a sort with the national organizations. Such connections were, indeed, vitally necessary if freedmen's aid meetings in provincial towns were to secure the services of American deputies since these, for the most part, worked through the medium

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1 Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association to May 19, 1865, p. 23.

2 See report of a public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in Ward Chapel, Dundee, 6 Jan., 1868, in Dundee Advertiser, 7 Jan., 1868. The members of the committee formed on that occasion were Rough, Watson, (again appointed treasurer), Fergusson, Grimond, Alexander Henderson, John Henderson, and two new names - James Mill and Robert McKenzie. The latter was the well known Dundonian whose travels in America and published work on the United States have already been noted - see above, Chapters I, p. 55; II, pp. 64-66; VIII, pp. 443-444.

of the National Committee and, to a lesser extent, through Tomkins' London FreedMen's Aid Society.

That a Dundee committee had, prior to the autumn of 1865, formed active contact with at least one strand of the wider British organization is illustrated by the episode concerning the London Society's slighting of Sella Martin. In his letter to Tomkins protesting at the failure to invite Martin to participate in public freedmen's aid meetings in Scotland, James Sinclair of the GFAS was able to cite Dundee as well as Edinburgh as the proposed venue of a meeting scheduled to be addressed exclusively by other American deputies.[1] And in his explanation of the situation to the executive of the National Committee, Martin threw more direct light on the necessary collaboration which had taken place between the Dundee Committee and Tomkins' London FreedMen's Aid Society in organizing the event. From Martin's letter, it emerged that on having been invited by two ministers from Dundee to visit the city, he had written to Patrick Watson, only to receive the reply that Tomkins had already arranged with him (Watson) for a meeting to be held at which the Rev. Dr. Storrs of the Western Freedmen's Aid Committee and someone else would form the American delegation. It would be unavailing,Watson had indicated, for Martin to attend.[2]

There is a very real possibility, however, that subsequent communications with their counterparts in the formally constituted GFAS influenced the organizers in Dundee to appreciate the need for shaping their meeting to the peculiar circumstances of the Scottish freedmen's aid field, and, as a consequence, to over-rule the decision of the London Society. At all events despite Tomkins' arrangements Sella Martin did address the Dundee meeting in September, 1865.[3] The original plans regarding the identity of the American

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1 James Sinclair to the Rev. Dr. F. Tomkins, Glasgow, 17 Aug., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C160/70

2 Sella Martin to an unidentified recipient (probably Aspinall Hampson), Glasgow, 18 Aug., 1865, ibid., MS. C159/68.

3 See report of public freedmen's aid meeting in Ward Chapel, Dundee, 26 Sept., 1865, in Dundee Advertiser, 29 Sept., 1865.

speakers were not completely abandoned, however, for taking his place alongside Martin on the platform was Tomkins' initial appointee, the Rev. Dr. Storrs. [1] In attempting to understand such an apparent complexity and inconsistency, it is important to bear in mind that at the time of the meeting in Dundee the actual separation of the London Society from the National Committee had not occurred, and that while strong and growing discontents were certainly present, a full inter-relationship still existed between the two organizations. This being so, it was not only feasible for Tomkins' choice of delegate to share a public fund-raising appearance with Sella Martin (who by then had made it plain that he wished to work in conjunction with the National Committee but not with Tomkins' Society) but also for Storrs himself to report back in glowing terms about the Dundee venture to the secretary of the National Committee. Thus he informed Aspinall Hampson that the meeting there had been "an eminent success . We trust good fruit in plenty will follow". [2]

No record has survived of the basic attitude adopted by the Dundee committee towards the rival freedmen's aid camps after the formal split between the London FreedMen's Aid Society and the National Committee. Following that event, however, some form of continuing liaison certainly existed between the city's workers for the cause and the NFAU, once constituted, for in late 1867 Thomas Phillips (secretary of the NFAU) received word from Arthur Albright that he had written to associates in Dundee (as well as in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen) enquiring whether possible openings existed for a visit there by William Foster Mitchell. [3] Albright's contacts at that

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1 See ibid.

2 Rev. Dr. H. M. Storrs to Aspinall Hampson, Dundee, 27 Sept., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C120/46.

3 Fragment of a letter from Arthur Albright to Thomas Phillips, n.d. (sometime in Nov., 1867), ibid. MS. C38/14.

comparatively late stage in the British movement would appear merely to have represented a continuation of communications earlier established between personnel in Dundee and top level figures in the national freedmen's aid organizations.

In the autumn of 1865, for instance, Patrick Watson, in his capacity as treasurer of the "Dundee fund for the Freedmen's Aid Society", [1] received a letter from Joseph Simpson, the Manchester Quaker whose conclusions from an investigatory trip to the United States earlier that year were highly significant in stimulating the drive for greater unity within British freedmen's aid circles, [2] and who ultimately became an Honorary Secretary of the NFAU. [3] It was Simpson's purpose in writing to Watson to encourage Dundonians to contribute to the cause by assuring them that all sums given would be rigorously put to the maximum possible use by freedmen's aid workers in America. His communication had been prompted by information from one William Allen of London to the effect that the citizens of Dundee would be "very willing to aid the freedmen's cause if they were only sure as to the right application of their donations in America", and by Allen's simultaneous request that he should "say a few words" on the matter. By way of meeting that request, Simpson advised Watson that he was "fully persuaded" that "the best men in America" were connected with the freedmen's aid associations, and enclosed a letter written some six weeks previously in which he had provided an

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1 See Dundee Advertiser, 24 Oct., 1865. The Advertiser's reference to Watson's position in these terms further suggests that the Dundee organizational structure was not a "Freedmen's Aid Society" as such.

2. See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 48-49, 55.

3 See details of executive membership of NFAU in 1867 in A-sl.P., MSS. British Empire, S.22/G88.

extremely sanguine impression of the ability of the American committees in that work and of the progress which could be achieved in educating the freedmen if enough money were forthcoming for the purpose.[1]

Even before Simpson issued his reassuring statements on the destination and appropriation of British contributions, the people of Dundee had in fact already amply demonstrated a very considerable enthusiasm for the freedmen's aid cause. Easily the most impressive illustration of their readiness to support the appeal was afforded by the response to the public freedmen's aid meeting which took place there on 26 September, 1865. On the appointed evening, the venue, Ward Chapel, was filled almost to capacity to hear Martin and Storrs, and the local speakers under the chairmanship of W. E. Baxter, voice their pleas for the Dundee public to rally to the aid of the freed slaves. As Storrs had been encouraged to hope,[2] the message did not fall on stoney ground. The first published list of city contributions to the freedmen's fund, appearing as it did in the Dundee Advertiser four days in advance of Simpson's "incentive" note to Watson, showed that the exceedingly satisfactory sum of £392: 5: 4 had been donated in the first three weeks following the public meeting.[3] Also recorded on the list was the information that up to June, 1865, £52: 3: 0 had been subscribed;[4] therefore before Joseph Simpson acted on the advice to set minds at rest on the question of the ultimate application of funds, the Dundonians had already contributed a proportionately generous known total of £444: 8: 4.

Two further lists appeared in the Advertiser (one on 27 October and the

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1 Letter from Joseph Simpson to Patrick Watson, 21 Oct., 1865, published in Dundee Advertiser, 24 Oct., 1865.

2 See above, p. 135.

3 List of Dundee contributors to the "Freedmen's Aid Society of America" in Dundee Advertiser, 20 Oct., 1865.

4 Ibid. (see Appendix II (b1)).

other on 7 November) pertaining to the amounts donated in direct response to the appeal launched at the September meeting, and the grand total from the three published reports (excluding the sum contributed prior to June, 1865) was just over £500.[1] While almost certainly never envisaging that it would have the agreeable task of recording so successful an effort, John Leng's Dundee Advertiser had, predictably, done its utmost to recommend the cause to its readers in the days immediately preceding the public meeting. We have already noted[2] how, in vigorously defending the principle of British participation in the process of freedmen's aid, the Advertiser offered as relevant matters for consideration the broad cause of humanity, the extent of the difficulties facing America in relation to the freed slaves, Britain's reputation as a leading champion of Negro emancipation, and the need to reciprocate the generosity displayed by the United States during periods of distress. But in justifying British involvement in the movement, the paper also laid forceful emphasis on another supremely important aspect, namely, the inescapable duty which the nation had to dispose of some of its wealth in the interests of the freedmen.

The duty was seen to be imperative in view of the basis of a substantial proportion of that wealth. Decrying the "paltry" total which had up until then (September, 1865) been subscribed to the National Committee, the Advertiser candidly stated its opinion: "For years this country has been reaping wealth by the war in America - and of no part of the country is this more true than of Dundee - and yet, up to the present time our [that is, the British] bounty [to the freedmen's aid cause] is measured by the trifling sum of £50,000".[3] In the light of the imminent public freedmen's aid meeting,

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1 The figures for Dundee (and for the other major Scottish towns) are looked at in more detail below, pp. 174-207.

2 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 362-363.

3 Dundee Advertiser, "Aid for Freedmen in America", 22 Sept., 1865.

it called attention to the "peculiar claims" which the freedmen's cause had on Dundee people:

> Since the outbreak of the American war, and directly consequent upon it, trade has prospered in this town to an extent unknown before; large fortunes have been made; a powerful impetus has been given to every branch of industry; there are many proofs of increased wealth and comfort in our midst, and hitherto we have on different occasions shown that if we know how to make money we also know how to spend it freely in a good cause.[1]

Seldom, it was asserted, had there been a better opportunity to help the American Negroes, and Dundee should demonstrate, by seizing the opportunity, that it held it more blessed to give than to receive.[2]

The theme of Dundee's recently acquired prosperity and the specific source of it was subsequently taken up at the freedmen's aid meeting itself. Apparently sufficiently confident that the sympathetic temper of his audience would render his statements perfectly acceptable, the Rev. Dr. H.M. Storrs bluntly recalled the profits which had accrued to both Scotland and the United States from the institution of slavery. Had not the Scottish people, he asked, shared with those of America the wealth which the Negro had turned up from the soil? Mills and various departments of industry in Scotland had been built up into flourishing concerns on the fruits of that toil, and in Dundee itself, the riches of many had "for generations" been greatly increased as a consequence of the unpaid labour of the slaves.[3]

Reassured, perhaps, by the warm applause which Storrs' comments received, the Rev. Dr. James R. McGavin, minister at Dundee's Tay Square U.P. church, maintained the focus of attention on that manner of outlook towards local contributions to the freedmen's fund. Following Storrs as platform speaker,

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Report of speech by the Rev. Dr. Storrs at a public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in Ward Chapel, Dundee, 26 Sept., 1865, in ibid,, 29 Sept., 1865.

McGavin referred to the "delicate" hints which had been made regarding the material profits which Dundee had accumulated as a result of the Civil War, and went on to declare that whereas many had at first thought that the American conflict would destroy the city's economy and produce widespread unemployment, in fact none could by that stage deny that "by God's good Providence" the result had been the complete opposite. And the wealth so gained brought with it, he implied, a responsibility to assist those sections of humanity contemporaneously in distress: "by the blessing of God on a strange conjecture of circumstances [the citizens of Dundee] are ...rising out of this war in better circumstances to help their neighbours than ever... before".[1]

While McGavin (like Storrs and the Dundee Advertiser) was thus prepared to suggest that the massive profit from the Federal trading connection during the Civil War ought to heighten the city's sense of obligation to the American Negroes' cause, the U.P. minister was also at pains to remind the local population that in responding generously to the freedmen's aid appeal, it would merely be remaining true to Dundee's traditional deep commitment to that cause. When first he had arrived there, he recalled, "the whole echoes of the town and neighbourhood resounded with a cry of British freedom". There had been "not a Dundee heart" that had not responded with gladness to the paying of £20 million for the liberation of the West Indian slaves. Moving on to what he referred to as the "even more extensive and noble" emancipation task achieved by the Americans, he fully endorsed the concept of British assistance in providing for the freedmen, and hoped that in subscribing to the movement, Dundee would provide a contribution of which it would not ultimately be ashamed.[2]

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1 Report of speech by the Rev. Dr. James R. McGavin, in ibid.

2 Ibid.

As we have seen, the immediate public response to the appeals issued by McGavin and his fellow speakers was such as to elicit only feelings of pride and happy satisfaction. In an editorial which appeared a few days after the first published subscription list, the Dundee Advertiser exuberantly explained that while the local promoters of the freedmen's aid campaign had originally expected to raise around £300 from canvassing through the town, in fact £450 had already been collected; and with the addition of an estimated £150 in donations from church congregations and the money value of clothing received, contributions amounted in all to some £600.[1] The achievement, it was acknowledged, reflected credit on the Dundee committee in charge of organizing and managing the effort, and on "the good feeling of the community".

But if a substantial proportion of the population clearly demonstrated a ready will to support the freedmen's cause, certain other elements nevertheless tended to counter-balance the picture somewhat by adopting a cynically hostile attitude towards the movement. Curiously, in a city which had logically followed up strong Federal wartime links by registering an impressive response to the freedmen's aid appeal, the loudest voices of dissent in relation to that appeal were not those of former sympathisers with the Confederacy but those of erstwhile Northern supporters. The Dundee Advertiser drew attention to the perplexing state of affairs which had developed:

> Whilst prepared to learn that objections would be made by Southern sympathisers, on the ground that, as the North had set free the negroes, its citizens ought themselves to bear the burden of the support of a set of men who would not work, we were mortified to learn that one or two gentlemen who took the other side were sneering at the [freedmen's aid] movement, for reasons which show conclusively that they had never taken the trouble to inquire about it, and, consequently, were in a state of not very creditable ignorance.[1]

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1 Ibid., 24 Oct., 1865.

2 Ibid.

It was the beliefs - and totally mistaken ones, in the Advertiser's view - of these individuals that the American freedmen's aid Societies "did not originate with the friends of the national cause" in the Civil War, and that the American people would resent the assistance being ladled out to them by Britain. Utterly rejecting these assertions, the paper was especially concerned to stress that the British contributions had been "thankfully acknowledged" by all concerned parties in the United States, and that the cause was one of humanity, not politics. Unconsciously adding to the irony of the situation in Dundee, it even boasted that "we are glad to welcome subscriptions from gentlemen who, in our opinion, entertained most erroneous views of the American struggle". But beyond that, the editorial took particular care to point out that the attempt to connect the freedmen's aid movement with those who had evinced no real sympathy for the anti-slavery cause, or with those who sought to aggravate Anglo-American relations, was "a mere unfortunate hallucination, which has been confined to this immediate locality, and happily has not affected its response to this Christian appeal".[1]

The Advertiser's recognition that cynicism towards the cause on the part of Federal sympathisers was a sentiment peculiar to Dundee is significant in that it suggests the existence within the city of fairly intense viewpoints and feelings on American affairs during the Reconstruction era. Thus, looked at from an objective angle, the strength and vigour of opposition to local participation in freedmen's aid simply matched the strength and vigour of support for it. There certainly emerges the impression that a very great enthusiasm pervaded the Dundonians' activities on behalf of the freed slaves. Following the September meeting, which was instrumental in bringing the cause to the notice of the general public, there would appear to have been a

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1 Ibid.

singular sense of urgency in the city's determination to provide help. By late October, for instance, the first shipment of a large quantity of clothing donated by the congregations of Free St. John's church and Panmure Street Congregational Chapel was already leaving London by steamer.[1] And it was in reply to "many inquiries" from persons anxious to contribute that the Dundee Advertiser published the name of the London firm in charge of dealing with goods sent from Dundee, and gave details of the procedure for remitting money contributions.[2] It seems valid to suggest that the city's response to the freedmen's aid appeals was distinguished by a particularly dynamic spirit of community action - by a robustly enthusiastic spirit somehow absent, even, from the eminently successful Edinburgh effort.

There can be little question but that the mercantile links with the Northern states of America during the Civil War period, conducive as these were to increasing both Dundee's material prosperity and its knowledge of transatlantic affairs, contributed greatly towards heightening the population's social conscience in respect of the emancipated Negroes. When that factor has been acknowledged, however, it must also be recognized that support for the freedmen's aid campaign in the city did have its antecedent spirit in a local anti-slavery involvement. The Dundee Anti-Slavery Society was formed on 28 September, 1846 at a public meeting in Bell Street Hall where Garrison and Frederick Douglass were among the speakers.[3] Unfortunately, no records relative to that organization seem to have survived. But the likelihood is

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1 Ibid., 27 Oct., 1865.

2 See ibid.

3 Anti-slavery pamphlet 311 (11) in Dundee Public Library. This document consists merely of a scrap of paper containing a brief handwritten note on the formation of the Society.

It was presumably in the course of the same visit to the city that Douglass was warmly welcomed by Gilfillan - see G.A. Shepperson, "Frederick Douglass and Scotland" in Journal of Negro History, Vol. 38, July, 1953, No. 3, p. 313.

that it flourished at least tolerably well, since some five or six years later it was considered worthwhile to establish a female counterpart to it.[1] Designated the Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, the latter body was still extant in the early 1860s; and throughout its existence it regularly paid subscriptions to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,[2] receiving in that Society's 1860-61 Report a special mention for its zeal in anti-slavery work.[3]

It is therefore within the bounds of possibility that the original male Dundee Anti-Slavery Society was Garrisonian while the Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association was Tappanite. Certainly, as well as having maintained firm connections with the anti-Garrisonian British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the ladies' Association was prepared as late as 1861 to voice admiration for the Tappanite Frederick Douglass' paper as "the out-and-out representative of the newspaper press on the abolitionist side".[4] At the same time, however, it needs to be borne in mind that by the period that the ladies' Association was formed, these particular splits and designations had already become much reduced in force and importance. And with regard to the response which was registered to the freedmen's aid appeal, there is every reason to assume that the main legacy which the two anti-slavery Societies bequeathed to Dundee was not one of good objectives hindered and obscured by organizational schism but quite simply one of deep and active concern for the condition of the American Negroes.

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1 In view of the fact that the Annual Report published in 1861 was its ninth, the Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society was probably founded in 1852 or late 1851.

2 See, for instance, 20th Annual Report of the BFASS, 1 July, 1859; 22nd Annual Report of the BFASS, 20 May, 1861; 23rd Annual Report of the BFASS, 30 June, 1862.

3 22nd Annual Report of the BFASS, 20 May, 1861.

4 Ninth Annual Report of the Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, (Dundee, 1861), p. 7.

(iv) Aberdeen

Equalling Dundee in population, and probably also able to claim just as strong a reputation of commitment to the abolitionist cause, was the city of Aberdeen. We have already noted that John Wigham's cousin, Anthony Wigham, had in the 1830s, formed an anti-slavery Society there, and that Harriet Beecher Stowe had been greatly pleased by the reception which she had received as speaker at an abolitionist meeting there in 1852.[1] Furthermore, although the date of its inception is unknown, a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society had also been formed in the earlier decades of the century, and that body continued its activities at least into the early years of the Reconstruction era.[2]

Possessing abolitionist credentials which were therefore sound enough, Aberdeen naturally took its place among Scotland's other principal cities in making some formal, organized attempt to advance the freedmen's cause. In line with the general Scottish pattern, however, no elaborate organizational structure developed there for the purpose of promoting the movement. Indeed, so far as Aberdeen is concerned, the familiar problem of establishing whether there existed a formal "Freedmen's Aid Society" or whether there was merely an ad hoc committee, formed from a body of interested local men, scarcely arises for it is virtually certain that no official Society was ever constituted. The public freedmen's aid meeting which took place in late September, 1865 was simply held, for instance, under the auspices of the Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society; and at the end of it, a resolution having been passed expressing the desire of the audience to contribute to the appeals, it was moved and unanimously agreed that a committee be appointed to bring the objectives of the meeting to "the liberality of the Christian

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1 See above, Chapter VI, p. 124.

2 Slightly earlier, a donation from the Society appeared in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's donations and subscriptions list for 1861 - see 23rd Annual Report of the BFASS, 30 June, 1862.

community in Aberdeen.[1]

As has already been suggested, it was hardly feasible for any manner of Scottish regional body to plan and organize a venture of that nature independently of all contact with the London-based freedmen's aid organization, and it is clear that the Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society had initially collaborated with Tomkins in making arrangements for the meeting since at one stage, Tomkins himself was scheduled to appear on the platform.[2] His ultimate failure to do so was almost certainly due to subsequent communications and decisions on the part of the Aberdeen promoters which resulted in Sella Martin being granted the opportunity to join Storrs in addressing the audience on that occasion.[3]

In the absence of relevant information, the relationship established between the local freedmen's aid committee appointed at the public meeting and the central co-ordinating agency remains obscure. The probability is, however, that any links so formed were exceedingly tenuous. There is no record, for instance, of any portion of the proceeds from the city's collections having been remitted to the National Committee for dispersal. Yet on the other hand, it is significant that once the NFAU was formed it did not ignore Aberdeen in its survey of the Scottish scene. Thus in late 1867, Arthur Albright clearly had it in mind as a possible venue for a meeting

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1 Report of public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in Belmont Congregational church, Aberdeen, 29 Sept., 1865, in Aberdeen Free Press, 6 Oct., 1865. The press report unfortunately did not give details regarding the composition of the committee formed on that occasion.

2 See general notice of freedmen's aid meeting in ibid., 29 Sept., 1865.

3 This pattern, whereby Tomkins did not attend meetings as planned while Martin did appear as a speaker, was foreshadowed with regard to the meetings held at Glasgow on 23 Sept., 1865 and at Perth on 28 Sept., 1865 - see, respectively, North British Daily Mail, 19 Sept., 1865; Perthshire Courier, 26 Sept., 1865.

to be addressed by William Foster Mitchell.[1] And testifying still more revealingly to the active associations which at least certain of the city's freedmen's aid workers enjoyed with the national organization was Albright's subsequent communication to Thomas Phillips asking him to send "a good supply" of the Anti-Slavery Reporter and information on passenger transport services to Alexander Brand, the Aberdeen accountant who had chaired the public freedmen's aid meeting in 1865. By the end of 1867, then, Brand was still, according to Albright, "promis[ing] to try to collect something for us...[in Aberdeen]"; and, doubtlessly encouraged for the most part by Brand's enthusiasm, the influential Honorary Secretary of the NFAU felt inclined to advise Phillips that Aberdeen "especially requires attention".[2]

It was perhaps not totally surprising that despite the lack of a fully organized local Society through which to maintain constant working associations, certain elements in Aberdeen should nevertheless have preserved active connections with the principal national freedmen's aid agency. For while individuals like Brand showed a tendency to maintain a spirited interest in the cause well after the most vigorous phase of the British movement had passed, it was also the case that concerned sections of the community had demonstrated a readiness to become involved with external freedmen's aid organizations even before the public meeting of September, 1865 brought public sympathy and awareness in the city to a height. Indeed, prior to the formation of the National Committee as a co-ordinating body, at least a small proportion of Aberdonians had shown themselves anxious to co-operate with a leading British Society already committed to freedmen's aid work. Hence in the first year of its existence the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association received a sum of £35 representing the proceeds of sewing circles

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1 Arthur Albright to Thomas Phillips, undated (sometime in Nov., 1867), A-sl.P., MS. C38/14.

2 Ibid.

conducted by one Mrs. Melville and "ladies of Aberdeen".[1] And of only two straightforward money contributions recorded in the Association's Annual Report as coming from Scotland, by far the larger - totalling £20:12: 0 - was sent by Cruickshank and Sons of Aberdeen on behalf of themselves and others.[2]

The signs of early, positive concern for the welfare of the emancipated slaves might seem to indicate that the city was poised to contribute as substantial a sum as it possibly could to the cause. In the event, however, its overall support for the campaign was not impressive. It perhaps reveals the Aberdeen response to the freedmen's aid movement as somewhat sporadic to discover, for instance, that no Mrs. Melville appears to have supported the appeal for funds which followed the 1865 public meeting, and that A. Cruickshank and Co. (almost certainly the "Cruickshank and Sons" who sent the contribution to the Birmingham and Midland Association in 1864)[3] donated only £1: 1: 0 to the Aberdeen fund in September, 1865.[4] The fact that a proportion of the community felt it necessary to appoint a special committee to publicize the cause instead of simply leaving the task to the Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society does certainly suggest a measure of active interest and concern in freedmen's aid at some levels in the city. And the public meeting itself was well attended.[5] Yet the tangible financial support for the city's

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1 Annual Report of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association to May 19, 1865, p. 22.

2 Ibid, p. 14.

3 A.Cruickshank of Aberdeen contributed regularly to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society - see lists of contributions and subscriptions in report of 8th Annual Meeting of the BFASS, 17 May, 1847; 16th Annual Report of the BFASS, May, 1855; 23rd Annual Report of the BFASS, 30 June, 1862.
Harriet Beecher Stowe's host during her visit to Aberdeen in 1852 was "Cruikshank (sic) the Quaker" - see Stowe, Sunny Memories, Vol. 1, p. 99.

4 See Appendix II (a).

5 See report of public meeting in Aberdeen Free Press, 6 Oct., 1865.

collections was nevertheless relatively poor and in comparison to that of Dundee, nothing short of disastrous. Thus on the basis of the figures given in two contributions lists published in the Aberdeen Free Press, the total amount raised in that specific context within the city boundaries was only £107:12: 6.[1]

Under the circumstances, it seems curious that such a well-versed worker in the movement as Arthur Albright should have cast optimistic sights on Aberdeen as late as 1867. Perhaps, however, there had percolated through to Albright a sense that despite the visibly meagre sums contributed by the city, there continued to exist there a generous fund of sympathy for the freed slaves which if properly tapped would yield truly valuable returns for the cause. As we have suggested, the perenniel enthusiasm manifested by certain individuals must have tended to convey the impression that Aberdeen possessed a spirit of persistent, if undemonstrative, compassion for the American freedmen. And indeed, to some small extent concern about the wellbeing of the emancipated Negroes did linger on for a noticeably lengthy period within the city. Hence there was held in late November, 1872 a public meeting "to enlist interest in the work of the Freedmen's Missions Aid Society".

The occasion had all the familiar features associated with similar freedmen's aid ventures of slightly earlier years, marked as it was by its strong contingent of ministers and local dignitaries, and by the acceptance of a church (the Free South Church) as the venue. Chairing the meeting was one of the local gentry, Major Ross, who after explaining the objectives of the Society introduced the principal speaker, the Rev. Dr. Healy of New Orleans, corresponding secretary of the Society. Having provided details of the illustrious background of his organization, Healy went on to state that

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1 See contributions lists in ibid., 13 Oct., 1865, 30 March, 1866; also Appendix II (a).

it had educated 350,000 emancipated slaves in the preceding decade. Proceeding from that information, he made it plain (as Sella Martin and others had previously done in respect of the AMA) that the central objective of the Freedmen's Missions Aid Society was to send to Africa missionaries chosen from amongst the freed Negroes of the United States. [1]

From those sharing platform places with him, Healy received the customary warm support. Following as speaker, the Rev. Alexander King asserted that the work of educating the American freedmen devolved as much on the British as on the American people, and urged upon the clergy of Aberdeen the desirability of forming a local organization for assisting the Mission. [2] Seizing the lead which King had thus given him, Healy eagerly declared that a number of Glasgow ministers had already formed an Auxiliary Association; and that statement in its turn prompted the Rev. John M. Sloan of Aberdeen South Free Church to forecast that probably by the next visit of Healy or his colleagues, a parallel body would have been established in Aberdeen. [3] Amid the obviously buoyant tenor of the meeting there did exist, however, one gloomy aspect, and that a critically significant one. It was pinpointed by the Rev. Henry W. Bell, Aberdeen Free High Church, when in his concluding address he regretted that "owing to the thin audience", it could unfortunately be assumed that the people of Aberdeen would not fully understand the important object of Healy's mission. [4]

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1 Report of speech by the Rev. Dr. Healy at a public meeting held on behalf of the Freedmen's Missions Aid Society, in Free South Church, Aberdeen, 25 Nov., 1872, in Aberdeen Journal, 27 Nov., 1872.

2 Report of speech by the Rev. Alexander King, in ibid.

3 Report of speech by the Rev. John M. Sloan, in ibid.

4 Report of speech by the Rev. Henry W. Bell, in ibid.

All things considered, however, the possibility of a sparse attendance at the meeting could scarcely have been unforseen by the organizers. Indeed, all the probabilities were in that direction. Most importantly, at a general level the British freedmen's aid movement had, of course, ceased active organized operation several years earlier, and the national impetus for supporting appeals by American speakers had accordingly declined. More specifically, reflecting again, perhaps, something of the city's old desultory pattern of appraoch to the cause, it was significant that within Aberdeen itself the November, 1872 meeting represented an isolated event, there having been no local activity along the same lines during the preceding months or, for that matter, at any stage in the previous few years. There was, in other words, no special continuum of effort designed to stimulate the Aberdeen public's support for the freedmen's cause, and under these circumstances, a solitary meeting held on behalf of the freedmen's missionary project in the 1870s might well have been expected to attract an essentailly modest attendance. Yet, it is clear that even at the very end of the Reconstruction era there did still survive a considerable spark of interest in the emancipated Negroes and in their post-war progress, for (as we have already seen) when in August, 1877 E. T. Anderson, a former slave from Virginia, delivered his talk on "Freedmen in the Southern States" a large audience crowded into the Christian Institute Hall.[1]

Looked at in general terms, however, neither its basically dis-jointed nor its occasionally lukewarm character constituted the most distinctive feature of Aberdeen's response to the freedmen's aid appeals. Considered in relation to the performance of other Scottish towns and cities known to have been involved in the movement, Aberdeen's principal characteristic

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1 See above, pp. 20-23.

could more accurately be identified as the manner in which an obviously lively local concern for the freedmen's cause was remarkably poorly reflected in tangible financial support. In assessing the strength of a city's practical contribution to the advancement of the cause, attention inevitably focusses on the zenith of public freedmen's aid activity in Scotland - that is, the autumn-winter of 1865. And in the context of that period, it is revealing to discover that the much smaller urban centre of Perth in fact donated a substantially greater amount to the fund than did Aberdeen.

IV. The nature of the efforts on behalf of the cause within three smaller Scottish towns

The public meeting which took place in Perth's City Hall on 28 September, 1865 was interesting in its own right. It had been arranged in the first instance to receive a deputation comprising the Rev. Dr. Storrs, Sella Martin and Frederick Tomkins. Tomkins, carefully accorded his full status as "Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, London" in the public notice advertising the event, was scheduled to address the meeting and to "give details of the state of the newly emancipated Negroes".[1] As at Glasgow and, subsequently, Aberdeen, he did not attend, however, and no reference appears to have been made to him by any of the speakers.

While it is therefore clear that the local promoters of the meeting collaborated with Tomkins in organizing it, the identity of these individuals themselves remains totally obscure. But certainly, although not benefiting in their task from the corporate influence capable of being exerted by a fully operational freedmen's aid Society, they succeeded in amassing on the platform an impressive array of the town's leading personalities and clergymen, and in securing as chairman the widely known Baillie John Pullar.[2] Nor were Pullar and his platform colleagues prepared merely to carry out a role as

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1. See general notice of the freedmen's aid meeting in Perthshire Courier, 26 Sept., 1865.
2. See report of a public meeting held on behalf of the Freedmen's aid cause in City Hall, Perth, 28 Sept., 1865, in ibid., 3 Oct., 1865.

expedient local pillars of support for the cause, and nothing more. On the contrary, the vast majority of them accepted membership of a committee appointed at the end of the meeting to canvass the town "immediately" for contributions to the fund.[1]

The committee thus formed was an extremely strong one, comprising no less than twenty-two members. Yet more importantly, it was obviously an active body for in the space of six weeks it raised a very respectable amount for the cause. Hence in mid November, the Perthshire Courier reported that the committee had sent £150, representing "part of the funds collected in the town", to the London Society for transmission to America. It was expected, the paper indicated, that further contributions would be obtained in Perth; and casting its sights beyond the boundaries of the town itself, the committee was at that stage about to appeal for aid to "gentlemen throughout the county"[2]. With regard to the committee's disposal of the £150 specifically mentioned by the Courier, some uncertainty arises as to exactly which metropolitan body the money was remitted. The terminology, as well as the earlier association with Tomkins, suggests that the recipient was the London Freed-Man's aid Society, but since the National Committee was also London-based, there is room for doubt. However, it seems most likely that the sum did in fact go to Tomkins' Society: but apart from helping, perhaps, to heighten that organization's sense of prestige, such an action would in fact have been of little real import because at that period (prior, that is, to the official split between the London Society and the National Committee) the ultimate

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1 Ibid. The committee members were: John Pullar, William Greig, Alexander Greig (convenor), David Hepburn, James B. Deas, ex-provost James Whittet, Peter Campbell, John McKay, J.P. Pirie, Laurence Pullar, Robert Hay, A.B. Smith, Kirkwood Hewat, David Morton, William Crichton, John Grant, Dr. Stirling, and the Revs. Thomas Dymock (Free Church), J.C. Brown (U.P. Church), Thomas Miller (U.P. Church) W.D. Knowles and J. Goold.

2 Ibid., 14 Nov., 1865.

destination of regional proceeds fed initially into the London Freed-Man's Aid Society would still have been the National Committee.

Impressive enough though it was, the sum collected by the committee [1] did not represent the full extent of Perth's contribution in the weeks immediately following the freedmen's aid meeting. As well as the male committee (and almost certainly formed and functioning as a body complementary to it) the town also possessed a Ladies' Committee. Assuming that Perth followed the usual pattern in this sphere, it is likely that the female committee was an offshoot of the former Perth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, an organization which, in 1850 at least, was in a sufficiently flourishing and prominent state to be corresponding directly with leading American abolitionists and sending off boxes of articles to the Boston Bazaar. [2] Certainly, the Ladies' Committee devoting itself to freedmen's aid work maintained both the spirit and the actual form of activity of the earlier Anti-Slavery Society by collecting, in the period from late September, 1865 to mid November, 1865 two boxes of clothing valued at £40. [3] Therefore between them, the male and female committees in Perth raised in six weeks money and goods in excess of £190. And if the principal committeee was not prepared to rest on the success already achieved at that stage, neither was its female counterpart, for the Perthshire Courier reported that the members of the Ladies' Committee, having forwarded the initial boxes of clothing to New York, were anxious to receive further contributions of a similar nature in order to send another box soon. [4]

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1 Unfortunately, the Perthshire Courier, although recording that £150 formed only part of the amount raised, did not subsequently publish the total figure.

2 See Catherine Morton (secretary, Perth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society) to Anne Warren Weston, Perth, 26 Nov., 1850, The Weston Papers, No. 46, MS. A.9.2., Vol. 25 1850-1851.
The letter reveals the Perth Society to have been strongly Tappanite, Catherine Morton expressing the members' anger at "Garrisonian heresies".

3 See Perthshire Courier, 14 Nov., 1865.

4 Ibid.

Clearly then, these two bodies would appear to have provided a positive stimulus to public support for the freedmen's aid cause within Perth. Yet, however, dynamic and enthusiastic the campaigning committees may have been , without a basic predisposition on the part of the local community to respond favourably their efforts would obviously have been to much less avail. As it was, the appeal would indeed seem to have caught the sympathy and imagination of the townspeople. For instance, shortly after the public meeting, the children of the Wesleyan Methodist Sabbath School, "on being told of the sufferings of the freed negroes in America", collected the sum of 9/5 and sent it to the treasurer of the local fund. [1] That the Pershire Courier considered the action worthy of special mention indicates, perhaps, the existence of a fairly wide mood of concerned interest in the freedmen's cause throughout the town. Both in initially recommending and in retrospectively commenting upon the objectives of the local freedmen's aid meeting, the Courier, for its part, had certainly shown a deep sympathy for the movement as a whole; and in drawing its readers attention to the action of the Wesleyan Methodist Sabbath School pupils, it took the opportunity to attempt to initiate a more comprehensive effort based on a similar concept. Influenced, perhaps, by recollection of the immensely successful "Uncle Tom Penny Offering" scheme conducted during the 1850s, [2] the paper suggested that if all children attending Sabbath Schools in Perth contributed one penny each, "the good work" of improving the plight of the ex-slaves would be greatly helped. [3]

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1 Ibid., 10 Oct., 1865.

2 The "Uncle Tom Penny Offering" was a fund-raising project on behalf of the American slaves based on the idea that every reader of Uncle Tom's Cabin in Scotland should contribute at least one penny.

3 Perthshire Courier, 10 Oct., 1865.

The nature of Perth's response to the appeals on behalf of America's emancipated Negroes is not only interesting but also important inasmuch as it serves as a reminder that general awareness of and support for the freedmen's aid movement was not confined merely to the four major Scottish cities. Moreover, it also demonstrates that the support shown by a smaller burgh could, in fact, be proportionately as generous as that displayed by the larger centres: indeed, as we have seen in relation to the comparison of amounts raised at Perth and at Aberdeen at the height of the freedmen's aid campaign, in some instances the hard financial returns from the lesser community were actually better. While thus acknowledging the comparative strength of Perth's effort, it must also be recognized that as Scottish nineteenth century towns went, it was, however, sizeable enough; and furthermore, it was situated near to the most thickly populated area of Scotland and to the cities of Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh, cities which could all boast a lively involvement in freedmen's aid work. It is therefore not entirely surprising that Perth should have registered some sort of formal response to the cause. Much less to be expected, however, was the gesture towards public participation in the movement made at the very considerably smaller and remoter North-East town of Peterhead.

It was in late October, 1865 - a month after the main Scottish spate of freedmen's aid activities at Glasgow, Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen - that the Aberdeen Free Press carried notice of a public meeting to be held on behalf of the cause at Peterhead, a coastal fishing town some thirty miles north of Aberdeen. In his intimation of the event in the Aberdeen Free Press, the local reporter from Peterhead illustrated that there certainly were elements within the town who possessed a keen concern to see the community support the cause, and who had kept themselves well informed of the responses made to the campaign by other Scottish towns and cities. Thus the paragraph calling attention to the meeting contained the pertinent observation that Dundee had

recently "done itself honour" by subscribing £450 and £150 worth of clothing to the freedmen's fund, and that "this should act as a stimulus to other places".[1]

The meeting itself was publicized as being held under the auspices of the "Freedmen's Aid Society", but that designation almost certainly connotes the London Freed-Man's Aid Society and not any local organization of that name. The basic unlikelihood of a formal Society having already by that stage been established in Peterhead is borne out by the fact that it was necessary at the actual public meeting to appoint a committee to undertake the business of raising funds.[2] That it was deemed worthwhile to form a committee for such a purpose was perhaps largely a reflection of the encouragement derived from the good attendance at the gathering. Indeed, the promoters of the venture may well have been particularly pleased with the size of the audience in view of the fact that there was no special drawing attraction in the shape of American freedmen's aid Society delegates. The event was held somewhat too late in the year to profit from the services of Sella Martin and H.M. Storrs, and the principal speaker was the well known local personality, William Ferguson of Kinmundy.

We have already noted Ferguson's deep, profoundly Christian commitment to such causes as that of the emancipated slaves, and the fact that his sympathy for that specific philanthropic activity was likely to have been significantly heightened by personal observation of the slave system during a trip to the United States in 1855.[3] Although undertaken ten years previously, his American visit and the continuing interest in American affairs which it had stimulated did still constitute an expedient recommendation for introducing

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1 Aberdeen Free Press, 27 Oct., 1865.

2 See brief report of a public meeting held on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause in Peterhead, 27 Oct., 1865, in ibid., 3 Nov., 1865.

3 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 616-618.

Ferguson as the leading platform personality: hence the press announcement of his prominent role at the forthcoming meeting was accompanied by the comment that he possessed an "intimate personal knowledge" of the position of the freed Negroes.[1] And, as implied, it was knowledge which he competently used when at the meeting he delivered "an interesting address on the state of the freedmen in America, illustrating his subject with several incidents; and strongly urging the claims of the Negro upon the audience".[2]

As an eminent man whose wealth and social standing stemmed as much from his position as the heir to a Scottish country estate as from his success in his chosen line of business, and who divided his time between residences is Birkenhead and his native Kinmundy, William Ferguson was hardly, of course, representative of the stolid, prosperous provincial business men and civic dignateries who in general formed the spearhead of the freedmen's aid movement in the various Scottish localities. The pattern into which he had moulded his life, involving as it did fairly lengthy absences from Aberdeenshire, deprived him of the opportunity which he might otherwise have taken to establish some manner of continuous formalised response to the campaign within his home district. From his broader base, however, he had cultivated certain direct links with the movement's national co-ordinating organization; and a solitary scrap of correspondence written in the context of these connections interestingly reveals Ferguson's considerable pre-occupation with the freedmen's cause during his sojourns at both Birkenhead and Kinmundy.

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1 Aberdeen Free Press, 27 Oct., 1865.
Ferguson's reputation in this regard probably rested to a very considerable extent on the fact that he had given some attention to the institution of slavery in America by River and Rail, (London, 1856), the book which he wrote on his American trip.

2 Aberdeen Free Press, 3 Nov., 1865. Other speakers were Alexander Brand, the Aberdeen accountant, and one T. Buchan of Auchmacoy. The meeting was chaired by the town's Provost Alexander.

Thus in January, 1866, he wrote to James Hack Tuke, a member of the National Committee, forwarding three sums of money he had had a part in raising in Scotland. The largest of these totalled £12:19:11, representing the proceeds of a lecture which he had delivered at Kinmundy in the previous July;[1] and accompanying it was £2:12: 6 raised from a collection in the Aberdeenshire village of Aberdour, and the small sum of 11/-, the result of a Sabbath School collection in Aberdeen itself. And in addition to giving an insight into the scope of his Scottish freedmen's aid activities, Ferguson's letter also prompts the conclusion that he was either treasurer or secretary of the Birkenhead Freedmen's Aid Society; for enclosed along with the Aberdeenshire totals was the balance of that organization.[2] Although detailed information relating both to the public meeting at Peterhead and to this particular aspect of William Ferguson's life is unfortunately lacking, taking into consideration his impelling Christian humanitarianism and his obviously active involvement in freedmen's aid, it seems valid to suggest that Ferguson himself was one of the main driving forces behind the idea and the organization of the Peterhead meeting.

Certainly, as a promoter of the event he would warmly have welcomed the appearance as speaker of the like-minded, intensely religious Free

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1 That this amount should have been reached at one isolated public lecture in a small rural parish suggests that there may well have been a ready sympathy for the freedmen's cause in Ferguson's area of Aberdeenshire. It also says something for the ultimately unfathomable curiosities of the Scottish response to freedmen's aid that £12:19:11 should have been raised at Kinmundy in July, 1865 while the meetings held at Glasgow's City Hall in September, 1865 and Queen's Rooms in October, 1865 yielded only £6:16: 2 and £10: 1: 8 respectively.

2 William Ferguson to James Hack Tuke, Liverpool, 26 Jan., 1866, A-sl.P., MS. C118/59.

Churchman, Alexander Brand of Aberdeen;[1] and as an individual experienced in collaborative activity within the framework of the national freedmen's aid movement, he would similarly have encouraged the cultivation of links between the efforts in the two North-East towns. And that co-operation of such a nature did indeed develop on a significant level is evidenced by the inclusion of a contribution totalling £13: 3: 0 from Peterhead in the second published list pertaining to subscriptions raised in response to the Aberdeen freedmen's aid appeal.[2] Presumably, the sum represented the donations gathered at the public meeting itself, plus the fruits of subsequent exertions made on behalf of the cause by the Peterhead collecting committee.

While William Ferguson was therefore almost certainly instrumental in generating a level of community action on behalf of the freedmen's cause in what might otherwise have been a largely unresponsive area, Peterhead was not, however, the only small North-East town to make a formal effort to arouse local public support for the emancipated slaves. There would appear to have been in the vicinity of Banffshire's county town no single energetic individual, after the fashion of William Ferguson, who was thoroughly prepared - and able - to give an enthusiastic lead in promoting the appeal: yet, in

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1 Like Ferguson, Alexander Brand was recognized in his time as possessing a profoundly deep Christian faith. Thus, on his death in 1876, the minister of the church of which he had been a staunch member - the Free High Church, Aberdeen - honoured him as a "consistent and devoted servant of God", and paid tribute to his "striking childlike faith", declaring that "he seemed so deeply to realise Christ as a friend, ever precious and ever near". Although having declined on conscientious grounds to become an elder of the Free High Church, he had been joint-superintendent of its Sabbath School and for a time, treasurer of its Foreign Mission Fund - see Rev. Henry W. Bell, In Memoriam. Sermon preached in the Free High Church, Aberdeen, on the 2nd April, 1876, in connection with the death of Alexander Brand, C.A., Aberdeen (Pamphlet: Aberdeen, n.d.) pp. 16-17.

2 See second subscription list for the freedmen's aid fund in Aberdeen Free Press, 30 March, 1866; also Appendix II (a).

early December, 1865, an apparently successful public freedmen's aid meeting was nevertheless held in the ancient burgh of Banff. We have already had occasion to look in some detail at the proceedings which took place there,[1] and it remains merely to give brief consideration to the basic character of the meeting and to the positive moves which were made there to secure tangible local support for the cause.

In the local press, the event was reported as a "Freedmen's Aid Society" meeting, but as at Peterhead, the appelation probably meant a meeting held in liaison with freedmen's aid workers in London but arranged in practical terms by concerned members of the town's population who were not themselves organized into a Society. Again bearing similarity to the Peterhead situation, the Banff meeting did not have the advantage, enjoyed by the larger Scottish towns, of having American deputies address the audience. As we have seen,[2] the main speaker was the Aberdeen accountant, Alexander Brand. Yet, the lack of a zealous American advocate of the cause able to draw upon invaluable personal experience in describing the condition and requirements of the freed Negroes, was a circumstance which would not appear to have had a particularly adverse effect on attendance figures. Hence the Banffshire Journal could with satisfaction report that there had been a "large and influential" audience; and certainly, a strong contingent of prominent local men had occupied places on the platform.[3]

Despite the town's geographic isolation not only from the main centres

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1 See above, Chapters V, p.582 ; VIII, pp. 450-451.

2 See above, Chapters VII, pp. 292-293 ; VIII, p. 450.

3 See report of a meeting held on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause in Banff, 11 Dec., 1865, in Banffshire Journal, 12 Dec., 1865.
Amongst those on the platform were chairman Bailie Wood, Messrs. Rust (banker), Forbes (solicitor), McEwan (banker), Duncan (merchant), Nicol (merchant), Hunter (rector, Banff Academy), and Gordon of Parkhill (laird of a county estate).

of freedmen's aid activity, but, more fundamentally, from the areas in which general information (both in the press and through other media such as public lectures) on the freedmen circulated most freely, the local speakers at the meeting nevertheless demonstrated that they in fact possessed an informed as well as a fervently compassionate concern for the plight of the former slaves. In his address from the chair, Bailie Wood, for instance, ranged wide to include virtually all the important aspects relevant to the cause which were necessary to present a really forceful case for British involvement in the movement.[1] And following Brand as speaker, Gordon of Parkhill, a member of one of the county's leading families and himself the laird of an estate some four miles from Banff, showed a troubled awareness of the possibility that the impact of external events could impinge unhappily upon the level of Britain's response to aid for the American freedmen. Having asserted that the scale of British assistance for the emancipated slaves had in the years from 1863 been extremely inadequate, he accordingly expressed the anxious hope that the recent Jamaican insurrection would not prejudice contributions for the cause. And presumably by way of implying to his listeners that their generosity towards the American Negroes should in no measure be diminished by the occurrence in a badly managed British colony, Gordon declared that while he did not intend to offer any judgement on the revolt in Jamaica, he did consider that the Negro population there had been greatly injured".[2]

The obviously keen sense of commitment to the cause which was therefore felt by at least the more prominent individuals attending the Banff meeting could hardly have been thus publicly displayed without producing some formal

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1 The content of Wood's speech has been looked at above, Chapters V, p. 582; VIII, p. 450.

2 Report of speech by Gordon of Parkhill, in Banffshire Journal, 12 Dec., 1865.

declaration in support of the freedmen's aid movement. Hence in the course of his task of winding up the proceedings, one Mr. Hunter, Rector of Banff Academy, moved the resolution "That this meeting, recognizing the extraordinary circumstances in which the coloured people of the Southern States of America are at present placed, and the evident call there is on all classes of the community to aid in the present emergency, resolve to co-operate with the other societies formed for this purpose throughout the country".[1] The terms of the resolution were clearly remarkably ambitious and not a little enigmatic, envisaging as they did the establishment of some form of meaningful contact between an undefined body in Banff, and the formally constituted freedmen's aid Societies in Britain. With no further details subsequently disclosed on the matter, it is impossible to determine what those who mooted the concept of co-operation ultimately intended to achieve from it, or how they proposed going about the consolidation of relationships with the various British Societies. It is conceivable, however, that at that stage certain hopes were entertained by the more zealous spirits of forming an official Society of that nature within the town itself. In this connection, it is significant to note that Banff had earlier possessed a fully-fledged abolitionist association: indeed, following the adoption of Hunter's resolution actively to support the freedmen's cause, the meeting also approved a motion suggesting that a £9 surplus belonging to the defunct Banff Anti-Slavery Society be remitted to the Freedmen's Aid Society.[2] Presumably the intention was to forward the money to one of the London-based organizations, but certainly so far as the financial receipts of the National Committee are concerned, there exists no record of such a sum from that source.

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1 Report of resolution moved by Mr. Hunter, in ibid.

2 Ibid.

It may have been that the balance from the town's old abolitionist Society was in fact eventually transmitted to the American freedmen through, in the first instance, essentially provincial channels. We have already noted that Peterhead forwarded the sum total of the contributions raised there to the Aberdeen fund, and Banff in its turn adopted a similar course. There exists the possibility that the main instigators of the appeal in Aberdeen contrived to stir up an interest and involvement in the cause in adjacent localities which seemed to them to present the likelihood of yielding a satisfactory response. Towards this end they may well have offered their services as informative speakers (Brand being a case in point here) at public meetings; and from the collaboration thus built up, the Aberdeen collecting committee would eventually have taken charge of the sums ultimately donated in response to the appeals made on those occasions. But whatever the circumstances which actually obtained, it is certain that a grand total of £36:17:3 recorded as having been raised in"Banff, etc." appeared in Aberdeen's second published list of subscriptions to the freedmen's aid cause.[1]

Although the local press report on the proceedings at Banff's public freedmen's aid meeting made no mention of the appointment of a committee for collecting contributions throughout the town, it is clear that some such body must have been established, either then or at a later date, to deal with the very substantial responses from the local people. The financial support from Banff and its environs was in fact by far the greatest recorded on the Aberdeen list as emanating from a country area in the vicinity of the city, and it was by any standards a creditable achievement for a small community.

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1 See subscription list in Aberdeen Free Press, 30 March, 1866. The "etc." probably relates for the most part to an effort made on behalf of the freedmen in Banff's neighbouring town of Macduff. This proposition is reinforced by the inclusion in the list - immediately below the Banff total - of an "additional" donation of 2/6 from Macduff - see ibid.

It was also, however, an achievement which did not stand alone but one which had been matched in the mid-1850s when Banff had contributed the very considerable sum of £14:8:9 (and the adjoining hamlet of Macduff £6:1:8) to the Uncle Tom Penny Offering.[1] The generous total raised for freedmen's aid in 1865 within the burgh and in the surrounding district clearly demonstrates, then, that a strong earlier concern expressed there for the condition of the American Negroes had not evaporated after the achievement of emancipation, and that the subsequent interest in and compassion for the freedmen was adequately drawn upon, in terms of tangible results, by leading local advocates of the campaign for aid in the mid-1860s.

V. The extent of financial support for the cause, and the specific sources and general pattern of contributions within the four principal Scottish cities

Although on an essentially scattered, independent basis, sincere efforts were therefore made by concerned groups and individuals throughout Scotland to bring the freedmen's aid cause to the attention of the public.[2] But perhaps the real crux of the Scottish response to the movement was the extent to which the public, once made aware of the circumstances, was prepared actively to support the appeals. The diffuse character of the country's operations on behalf of the cause render it impossible to identify with any sunstantial degree of accuracy the total volume of the Scottish people's contribution: but as we have seen, the will to translate abstract sympathy

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1 See Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Book, Smeal Collection.
Some appreciation of the relative generosity of Banff's contribution in this instance can be gained from consideration of the response of certain other North-East towns and villages to the Penny Offering Scheme. In this connection, Aberdeen donated 11/6, Forres £3:11:0, Fraserburgh £7:0:2, Insch 10/-, Inverurie 18/-, Lossiemouth £1:14:6, Nairn £8:3:8, New Deer £2:14:0, New Pitsligo £2:5:3, Portsoy £1, Stonehaven £2:10:2.

2 As well as the conspicuous efforts in the main cities, the activities engaged in by Perth, Peterhead and Banff were very probably being repeated on a broadly similar scale in similar small Scottish towns.

for the ex-slaves into philanthropic donations was already by the early autumn of 1865 sufficient to have resulted in remittances to the National Committee from Edinburgh and Glasgow which, combined, amounted to £1,030:2:7. And there is some reason to believe that in these early days of the Reconstruction era the stage seemed set for a sustained and vigorous financial response to the campaign. Certainly, in the period from the summer to the winter of 1865, and to some extent on until the spring of 1866, there would appear to have been considerable optimism among certain of the American freedmen's aid Society deputies regarding the prospects of a generous Scottish contribution.

Arriving in Scotland in July, 1865, Sella Martin was (as we have already noted) so favourably impressed by the possibilities which presented themselves there that he lost no time in informing Aspinall Hampson that he must spend the remainder of his time in Britain in Scotland. As well as befitting his natural duties as a dedicated, dynamic freedmen's aid worker who had chosen Scotland as his special field of action, it also spoke for Martin's enthusiasm in respect of the Scottish situation that he proposed to devote part of his effort to organizing Societies where none existed and to attempting to "awaken interest" in those that were already established. So convinced was he of the potential for a really substantial response to the appeal that in contemplating his scheduled return to the United States in the coming October, he took care to make provision for a continuation of labour in that sphere by writing to the executive committee of the AMA and requesting its members to send someone to replace him in Scotland.[1] In the event, however, Martin was not obliged to leave as soon as he had expected. Having presumably sent back to America extremely encouraging reports of the scope for freedmen's

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1 Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 31 July, 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C119/45.

aid activity in Scotland, he was able in mid October jubilantly to tell Hampson that his Church (the Methodist Church) had consented to let him remain a little longer in Britain, and that the AMA was in the process of sending across a colleague to help him.[1] By the end of May, 1866 (on the immediate eve, that is, of successful appearances at the General Assemblies of both the Free Church and the Church of Scotland), he was still confident enough to assert that "Things are favorable (sic) here".[2]

As the American deputy most closely and constantly associated with the freedmen's aid effort throughout Scotland, Martin would naturally have possessed a particularly good opportunity to gauge the temper of the country towards the movement. On the other hand, however, it could conceivably be suggested that the position he occupied probably inclined him to take a peculiarly sanguine view of the prospects for a generous, widespread Scottish response. Yet, it is significant that he was not the only transatlantic delegate to hold optimistic hopes in that direction: during the same period, his outlook was paralleled by that of the Rev. Dr. John C. Holbrook.

It would appear to have been at the request of the Congregational Church in America that Holbrook and the Rev. W.W. Patton went to Britain as AMA representatives in late 1865.[3] While the circumstances pertaining to Holbrook's stay in Scotland are obscure, there is a possibility that he, either in his own right or in conjunction with Patton,[4] represented the

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1 Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 12 Oct., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C119/49. It may be apposite to note here that when he eventually did return to the United States, Martin continued to occupy a prominent place amongst those labouring on behalf of the freedmen. For instance, one of the more notable projects in which he became involved was the editing, jointly with Frederick Douglass, of The New Era, a short-lived weekly journal begun in early 1870 and aimed at advancing the interests of the freed Negroes - see Philip S. Foner The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass (New York, 1955) Vol. 4, 55-57.

2 Sella Martin to Aspinall Hampson, Edinburgh, 30 May, 1866, A-sl.P., MS. C119/50.

3 See Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood, p. 134.

4 In this connection, it may be important to note that Beard, ibid., p. 134, referred to Holbrook and Patton as AMA deputies sent to labour not in Britain but, more specifically, "in England and Scotland".

assistance which the AMA had agreed to provide for Martin. Certainly, by late November, 1865 (a matter of weeks after Martin had indicated that the arrival of a colleague was imminent) he had found his way north: and it obviously did not take him long to form views on the Scottish situation identical to those already arrived at by Martin. On the basis of a comparatively short experience of the mood of the country, he accordingly felt able to assure Hampson that "I find a great field here needing to be worked for the freedmen's cause - enough to occupy me all winter, probably".[1]

And it is fairly clear that over that period, and on until the spring of 1866 Holbrook did indeed conncentrate his efforts on Scotland. In his capacity as an AMA deputy, he appeared, for instance, as one of the principal platform speakers at the public freedmen's aid meeting held in Edinburgh on 5 December, 1865.[2] By the end of that month, he had extended his campaigning zeal beyond the main centres of activity and was "preaching and holding meetings" in Ayrshire.[3] Incidents such as the receipt of £100 from a Glasgow lady whom he had never seen[4] helped to sustain his confidence in the potential for a substantial Scottish support. And in May of 1866, his optimism was further encouraged when along with Patton[5] he addressed the Synod of the U.P.

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1 Rev. Dr. J.C. Holbrook to Aspinall Hampson, Glasgow, 23 Nov., 1865, A-sl.P., MS. C118/117.

2 See report of meeting in Scotsman, 6 Dec., 1865.

3 J.C. Holbrook to Aspinall Hampson, Ayr, 27 Dec., 1865, A-al.P., MS. C118/118.
Holbrook appears to have been sufficiently encouraged by his reception in various parts of Scotland to conceive the intention of arousing interest in the cause throughout the provinces. Thus, he proposed to Hampson that he address audiences over all the regions of England, including areas as far south as Land's End and the Isle of Wight.

4 See J.C. Holbrook to Aspinall Hampson, London, 18 Jan., (1866), ibid., MS. C118/119.

5 Earlier in May, Patton had written to Hampson suggesting that the NFAU might propose meetings in Glasgow and other prominent Scottish cities during the fortnight or more he intended spending there for the purpose of attending the General Assemblies - see W. Patton to Aspinall Hampson, Edinburgh, 11 May, 1866, ibid., MS. C119/87.

Church and heard there a recommendation for the launching of collections on behalf of the fund similar, he observed, to the collections initiated by the Congregational Union of England.[1] Close contact between the American deputies and the assembled strength of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches could, he indicated, be pursued with profit: "We [Patton and himself] hope to do the same next week with the Free Ch[urch] and the Establishment".[2] At the end of the month, he confidently predicted that the Presbyterians in Scotland, like the English Congregationalists, would yet contribute a considerable amount "for the education and religious improvement of the freedmen".[3]

By late 1865, the reports of Martin and Holbrook had clearly had an effect in influencing the executive of the National Committee to view with particular satisfaction the Scottish response. Hence in the Report of the executive committee presented at the third quarterly meeting of the organization in Manchester in mid December, 1865 Scotland was singled out for special mention in respect of the impressive weight of its contributions. In general, the Report was cautiously optimistic in tone, declaring that in those places where there seemed to be "a temporary pause of effort in benevolence" the "flame is only waiting to be rekindled", and stressing that correspondence with committees from all parts of Britain showed "a true one-heartedness in the great cause". While the principal assessment indicated that the work of the various Associations had been continued "more or less steadily", it was recognized that in some places, partly because of local

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1 J. C. Holbrook to Arthur Albright, Edinburgh, 18 May,(1866), ibid., MS. C121/79.

2 Ibid., It was in fact Sella Martin who eventually accompanied Patton in addressing the general Assemblies of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland during the first week of June, 1866. - see Procs. Free Church G. A., 1866, pp. 320/321; Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland... 1866, p. 3.

3 J. C. Holbrook to Arthur Albright, Liverpool, 30 May, (1866), A-sl.P., MS. C121/80.

circumstances, partly because of a predictably unresponsive mood following "the first or exhaustive call on public sympathy", there had been a slow or suspended reaction to recent appeals. But that situation was balanced, the Report suggested, by healthy responses elsewhere: in other regions, American deputations "have had the effect of reviving the old or creating a new interest in this movement. Scotland, in some of its chief cities, has given an ample response to their labours during the last three months".[1] In keeping with the request of Thomas Nelson,[2] treasurer of the Edinburgh collecting committee, specific reference was made to the meeting held in that city a week previously. On that occasion, it was revealed, £550 had been subscribed "at once" and more had been promised. And it was probably largely the success of the appeal in the Scottish capital which prompted the executive of the National Committee to observe that "The permanent result of the visits of these [American] gentlemen will[,] it is believed [,] be reaped in the more or less continuous flow of benevolence from this country towards the freed people".[3]

Even after the main thrust of the freedmen's aid campaign (that is, over the years 1865 and 1866) in Scotland had passed, American deputies and, to some extent, leading figures in the national British movement continued to entertain hopes for a fund of enthusiastic support there. Having in late May of 1867 addressed the General Assemblies of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland, the AMA's James A. Thome, for instance, intimated to Hampson

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1 Minutes of the third meeting of the National Committee, held at the Friends' Institute, Mount Street, Manchester, 13 Dec., 1865, A-sl.P., MSS. British Empire, S22/G88.

2 See above, p. 108.

3 Minutes of the third meeting of the National Committee..., A-sl.P., MSS. British Empire, S22/G88.

that he had decided to stay in Scotland for some time because "There is some prospect of a revival of interest here".[1] Thome recognized that it would be pointless to look for results before the autumn of that year; and if by that season there was in fact little tangible evidence of the hoped-for "revival of interest", he did not become totally discouraged by the situation. On the contrary, from early November on until the beginning of 1868 he embarked upon an intensive round of public speaking on behalf of the cause, concentrating his efforts, it would appear, on the two principal cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.[2]

And while Thome proved the most persistent and energetic newcomer on the Scottish scene at that comparatively late stage, his optimism in respect of the country's prospective response was contemporaneously shared by William Foster Mitchell of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. Planning his British itinerary with the help of Arthur Albright, Mitchell in late November, 1867 expressed a wish to visit Scotland; and Albright did not seek to dissuade him, including in his letter to Thomas Phillips the personal observation that "I believe a few hundreds may be got there".[3]

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1 Rev. James A. Thome to Aspinall Hampson, Edinburgh, 28 June, 1867, A-sl.P., MS. C120/49.

2 Scattered references have been made in earlier chapters to Thome's activities in Scotland at that period, but these may be appositely listed here:
1867: 3 Nov. - preaches in two Glasgow churches; 7 Nov. - addresses meeting (with Martin) in Religious Institution Rooms, Glasgow; 3 Dec. - delivers public lecture in Edinburgh; 14 Dec. - preaches in Edinburgh church; 19 Dec. - addresses (with Martin) public meeting in Edinburgh.
1868: 6 Jan. - addresses (with Martin) public meeting in Dundee; 24 Jan. - preaches in Glasgow church; 27 Jan. - addresses (with Martin) public meeting in Glasgow.

3 Arthur Albright to Thomas Phillips, 20 Nov., 1867, A-sl.P., MS. C38/18.
It is interesting to contrast Albright's optimism in regard to the Scottish situation with his dismal attitude towards the prospects of Irish support. Shortly after approving Mitchell's proposal to visit Scotland, he pronounced himself "quite averse" to the American deputy extending his activities to Ireland, "unless for one meeting in Dublin". There was, he stated, "no interest in the place for a meeting" - Albright to Phillips, date uncertain (probably 16 Dec., 1867), ibid. MS. C38/37A.

Albright eventually accompanied Mitchell as far north as Edinburgh, where a public freedmen's aid meeting was held at the end of December. That event gave the Honorary Secretary of the NFAU cause for considerable satisfaction. Although small, the meeting, he informed Phillips, had had "an excellent platform and every one expressing themselves very much pleased". It had been unnecessary for Albright himself to say much "as there were competent local speakers".[1] Thus, as late as the winter of 1867, the oratorical force of individual Scots eager publicly to advocate the cause still constituted one of the greatest strengths of the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland, and, it may be supposed, substantially encouraged outsiders to believe that the base existed for raising further significant contributions there.

In general terms, it may safely be stated that the optimism thus entertained in respect of the Scottish response was by no means completely misplaced; throughout this chapter glimpses have already been caught of the incidence of substantial donations, gleaned from an impressively widespread area of what was, after all, a country considerably hampered in the speed and effectiveness of its internal communications by adverse geographical factors. But while the most significant instances of sporadic contributions are easily enough identified, the degree of consistency inherent in the pattern of Scottish support for the cause unfortunately remains largely unknown. The lack of formal freedmen's aid Societies throughout the land has naturally given rise to a critical paucity of recorded information regarding both the sustained interest displayed, and the actual amounts contributed, by the Scottish public to the fund. Hence, as a consequence of the basically unco-ordinated character of Scotland's involvement in the campaign, there also

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1 Arthur Albright to Thomas Phillips, Edinburgh, 31 Dec., 1867, A-sl.P., MS. C38/46.

tends to be a certain imprecision, if not obscurity, attaching to the individual nature and ultimate source of the financial sums subscribed within the country. Indeed, in the absence of more specific sources, the only means of deriving detailed information pertaining to community responses would appear to be by examining the contributions made to the appeals launched at public meetings, and by considering the full-scale effort mounted by the United Presbyterian Church.

Working on these fairly restricted bases, it is nevertheless possible, however, to gain a comparatively solid idea not only of the exact amounts of money forthcoming in response to the major Scottish appeals but also of the social and geographical spread which the donations encompassed. Thus with regard to the financial aid given in answer to the public pleas made in the four principal cities, the lists of subscriptions published in the local newspaper press form both a record of the totals raised and a foundation on which can be built up a picture of the breadth and the social strata from which the contributors came. In this latter connection, investigation into the social and occupational backgrounds of the individuals included in these lists revealed that there existed significant differences in the predominant sources of donations within the several cities. Furthermore, it emerged that there was also considerable dissimilarity in the general pattern which the contributions assumed in the four urban centres, one of the most notable features in this respect being, for instance, wide regional variation in the average amount of the individual's donation. In order to gain a fuller and closer insight into the fabric of the Scottish response to freedmen's aid, it is therefore necessary to look in some detail at the specific and contrasting nature of the contributions which were made by Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen.

In view of its position as the metropolis of Scotland, as a city possessing the inheritence of a particularly strong anti-slavery tradition, and as the beneficiary of an especially powerful contingent of influential local personalities willing to give their public services on behalf of the cause, it would seem appropriate to begin by considering Edinburgh's major effort in response to the appeal. As has already been indicated,[1] the principal attempt to involve the local community in the freedmen's aid movement was represented by the public meeting held in the city's Freemason's Hall on 5 December, 1865. One outcome of that event was the establishment of a subscription fund; and it was the support registered for this venture which constituted the substance of the lists published in the Scotsman in the ensuing months. Covering the period from mid December, 1865 to mid February, 1866, there appeared in all six such lists:[2] and on the basis of the figures contained in these, it becomes clear that a grand total of £1,114:5:11 was ultimately contributed.[3]

The gross amount arrived at from the sums published in the columns of the Scotsman represents, of course, the gross amount in terms of both individual and group contributions. In attempting to discover the essential character of Edinburgh's response to the freedmen's aid appeal (and, in turn, the responses of Scotland's other three main cities) it obviously becomes necessary, however, to concentrate exclusively on the nature and extent of the individual contributions. By discounting from consideration donations which were the product of collections made amongst various elements within (and, in some instances, outwith) the city, the amount raised in Edinburgh is not, in the event, substantially altered but continues to stand at £1,005:14:0. That impressive total was comprised of the sums contributed by

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1 See above, pp. 107-108.

2 The first list appeared in the Scotsman on 14 Dec., 1865, and the last on 17 Feb., 1866.

3 Of this sum, no less than £550 had been immediately forthcoming at the public meeting held on 5 Dec., 1865 - see above, p. 108.

a mere ninety-seven individual subscribers - certainly, at first sight, an astonishingly low number to have produced so healthy a result. Taken on a straight basis, indeed, these facts yield the conclusion that the average subscription per individual was £10: 7: 4. This figure is, however, grossly and misleadingly inflated by the inclusion in the lists of four exceptionally large donations of £100 and over. If these are excluded from the reckoning, the total contributed from the remaining ninety-three subscribers amounts to £435:14: 0, giving a more realistic and acceptable average individual subscription of £4:13: 6.

The overwhelmingly middle-class nature of the tangible support accorded in Scotland (no less than in the rest of Britain) to the freedmen's aid cause has already become plainly and persistently evident, and is an aspect of the general pattern of involvement which does not need to be re-emphasized here. It was simply in keeping with the tenor of the national campaign that, except for a sprinkling of members of the aristocracy and gentry, the contributors to Edinburgh's subscription fund of late 1865 were solidly grounded in that particular section of society. Yet, within the broad and irritatingly nebulous "middle class" stratum there existed, of course, very considerable scope for diversity of occupation and even, to some extent, of social standing. Hence the attempt to obtain a fairly precise idea of the basic sources from which the subscription fund drew its strength necessarily involves investigation into the more specific question of occupational background. From information in contemporary Directories, it has accordingly been possible to determine with a greater degree of accuracy the exact nature of the middle class professions pursued by the individual contributors to the freedmen's aid appeal; and while the pattern which emerges is, regrettably, incomplete, it perhaps does serve to provide a somewhat more substantial indication of the fundamental character of Edinburgh's response. The results of the analysis, listing occupation or

status and the number of individual contributors included in the various categories, can most conveniently be stated in tabular form:

Occupation or status	Number of contributors
Agents - commission, assurance and mercantile	4
Anonymous and unidentifiable donors, and those whose occupations are unlisted (excluding women donors)	12
Chartered accountants	1
Lawyers	8
Managers	2
Manufacturers and merchants	17
Medical doctors	3
Members of Parliament	2
Military and county gentry, and aristocracy	5
Ministers of religion (all denominations)	10
Printers and publishers (excluding one who was also an M.P. and is included in that category)	4
Shopkeepers	1
Skilled professionsl, artistic and engineering men	7
Teachers	3
Women (excluding one female member of the aristocracy and one female teacher, listed in the appropriate categories)	18

With reference to these findings,[1] perhaps the most immediately notable feature about the overall character of the contribution is the fact that it fits so well what might have been expected of an Edinburgh subscription list for a philanthropic cause. In view of the singular nature of the city's social and economic structure - its exceedingly large professional element,

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1 The information contained in the above table is broken down into yet greater detail in Appendix II (c), in which are listed the names of the individual contributors; where possible, the precise nature of their occupations; and the amount which each donated.

its relative lack of industrial lords drawing their wealth from local industries, and its position as a virtual stronghold of the haute bourgeoisie[1] - it was utterly predictable that those recorded as having contributed to the freedmen's fund should have been drawn predominantly from the professional classe and those providing for their needs, and, to a lesser but nevertheless not inconsequential extent, from the local gentry. Indeed, the proportions in which various elements of the community are represented provide a conveniently accurate reflection not only of the nature and scope of Edinburgh's response to freedmen's aid but also of the proportionate strength and importance of certain occupations and professions within the city.

In this connection, it should be noted that amongst the contributors there was, relative to the statistics available for the other principal cities, a high proportion of ministers of religion, lawyers (although Aberdeen had a marginally higher count of these), skilled professional, artistic and engineering men, gentry, and women. Furthermore, it would be wrong to assume that the prevalence of merchants and manufacturers in the subscription lists represents (as it is wont to do elsewhere in Scotland) involvement on the part of men whose wealth and working lives revolved around large local or national business concerns. On the contrary, it is important to stress that although manufacturers and merchants constituted the second largest group of contributors in Edinburgh, the vast majority of these were engaged in what might be termed elitist spheres, involved with producing and providing goods of a kind which were aimed overwhelmingly at supplying the demands of an affluent middle class.[2]

Impressive as was the response registered to the appeal by the

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1 The peculiarities of Edinburgh's society and economy were briefly looked at above, Chapter VI, pp. 117-118.

2 For details of the occupations pursued by the manufacturers and merchants who contributed to the Edinburgh freedmen's aid fund, see Appendix II (c).

manufacturers and merchants, as a group these did not, however, comprise in numbers the strongest area of support within the Edinburgh community for the freedmen's aid cause. With a total of no less than twenty[1] individual contributions to their credit, that distinction belonged not to a distinct occupational element but to an element which nevertheless did occupy a distinct status within society, namely, the women. Some indication of the remarkable situation which this figure reflects can be gained through appreciation of the fact that taken on the basis of the combined responses of the other three major cities (including both the 1865 and the 1868 collections at Dundee), the positively identifiable total of women contributors reaches only twelve.

It might be suggested, then, that the exceptionally high incidence of women among the individual contributors to the Edinburgh fund was significantly linked with the predominant part which the female element had always played in anti-slavery and related activities in the capital city. More specifically, this particular feature of the subscription lists perhaps testifies to some extent to the pervasive influence of the dynamic enthusiasm generated by the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society: so far as abolitionist fervour (and, indeed, the preservation into the 1860s of the spirit of abolitionist fervour) was concerned, it will be recalled that while Glasgow had been the preserve of the male organization, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, Edinburgh had always been pre-eminently the domain of the ELES rather than its weak male counterpart.

The character of Edinburgh's anti-slavery tradition may therefore have had a very considerable impact in determining the ultimate nature of that city's response to the freedmen's aid appeal. But, in keeping with the

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1 This figure represents the eighteen female contributors listed in the table on p. 176 plus the lady aristocrat (Lady Emma Campbell , the Duke of Argyll's sister) and the lady teacher (Mrs. J.R. Nivory) - see Appendix II (c).

general proposition that the subscription lists reflected well the proportionate strengths of the various elements within the community, it is also highly likely that as with other groups, so the extent of female support for the fund was similarly attributable in part to the prevailing social structure and bases of wealth in Edinburgh. For various reasons, and not least the attractions which it offered as a place of residence for the well-to-do elderly lady, Edinburgh probably had somewhat more than its fair share of affluent middle class widows and the ageing spinster daughters of affluent middle class gentlemen.

Looking at the structure of the contribution as a whole, it is important to appreciate that the total number of persons who made individual subscriptions to the fund was (even allowing for the proportionate size of Edinburgh's population) markedly larger than the respective totals found to obtain within each of Scotland's other three main urban communities. Standing at the figure of ninety-seven, it was, indeed, twenty-seven more than the total recorded for the next best city in this regard - Aberdeen, with seventy. The singular extent of the popular response in the capital suggests the continuation there of an awareness of, and a certain positive determination to live up to, the spirit of Edinburgh's traditionally intense concern for the abolition of slavery and for the welfare of those who had suffered under that system. And simultaneously, the freedmen's aid cause also benefited in a special measure from the well-developed social conscience and humanitarian impulses of the educated, alert, internationally-minded and comparatively leisured body which comprised the dominant element within the city's "middle class" community. Hence the average amount donated by each individual tends to indicate that in line with the generally responsible and carefully balanced approach of the contributors, the sums were comfortable but not ostentatious donations from comfortably well off citizens whose prosperity had invested

them with due conventional regard for their philanthropic obligations. In virtually every significant respect, then, the character of the Edinburgh subscription lists published in late 1865-early 1866 reflected well the essential ethos and numerical strength of those sections of the middle class which had most conspicuously set their stamp upon the city.

Shifting the focus of attention across the country to Glasgow, a completely different manner of involvement in the freedmen's cause emerges - one which, by virtue of the disparity, naturally serves to add a useful perspective to the nature of Edinburgh's involvement. We have already noted the exceedingly meagre financial support obtained in the context of the two public meetings held under the auspices of the GFAS in late September and early October, 1865.[1] Despite the obvious enthusiasm of the leading participants at these events, there does not appear to have been established either then or in the months immediately following any form of organized public subscription fund on behalf of the freedmen. It has therefore been necessary to assess the nature of Glasgow's response to the freedmen's aid movement not with reference to contributions made during the time when the campaign was at its height in Scotland (that is, in the autumn-winter of 1865) but in relation to the tangible support given to an appeal launched much later, at the beginning, in fact, of 1868.

Considerable attention has already been directed[2] towards the public freedmen's aid meeting which took place, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Argyll, in the City Hall, Glasgow, on 27 January, 1868. On that occasion there was established, in the form of a committee comprised of seven members,[3]

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1 See above, pp. 77-78.

2 See, for instance, above, p.79; Chapters V, pp.510,586-588 ; VI, pp.67-69.

3 The committee members were: A.F. Stoddard (convener), Peter McLeod, (treasurer), J.A. Campbell, W. Crichton, John McGavin, George Martin, J.H. Young - see Glasgow Herald, 28 Jan., 1868.

a formal apparatus for soliciting and dealing with contributions from the local population. In the event, the total sum forthcoming in response to the appeal was reached by the end of the first week in February, the vast proportion of it having been raised, indeed, on the actual evening of the freedmen's aid meeting. The results of the appeal were published with corresponding promptness, the first subscription list appearing in the Glasgow Herald on 28 January and the second on 7 February. And a measure of the determined effort made by the committee to arouse the interest of the Glasgow citizens in the cause was reflected in the fact that the full subscription list as it stood at 7 February was published daily in the Herald from 10 February to 6 March, 1868.[1]

Such persistent attempts to boost support for what was - revealingly - initially referred to as the fund for the "Education of American Freedmen"[2] were to no avail, however, and the full extent of the contributions remained contained within the two subscription lists. In terms of individual and group contributions, the figures recorded in these yielded a grand total of £851. With regard to amounts which represented the sum total of several contributions, it can be noted here, as an early illustration of the somewhat unique features within the pattern of Glasgow's support, that the 1868 fund benefited from substantial collections made by individuals prominent in the freedmen's aid sphere in Edinburgh and by the Rev. William Nixon, minister of

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1 See daily copies of ibid., for the period from 10 Feb., to 6 March, 1868.

2 This designation formed the heading under which was printed the first subscription list in ibid., 28 Jan., 1868. It illustrates forcefully the important switch to concentration on the educational aspects of the freedmen's welfare which had taken place in the AMA, and hence among that organization's deputies in Britain, by that time (see above, Chapter VIII, pp. 468-471). The second list of subscriptions simply appeared under the heading "The American Missionary Association for the Freedmen" - see Glasgow Herald, 7 Feb., 1868.

St. John's Free Church, Montrose, and Moderator of the Free Church from May, 1867 to May, 1868.[1]

Concentrating once more, however, on contributions from individuals, the two subscription lists reveal that there were twenty-four of these and that they amounted to a sum total of £682. A straightforward calculation based on these figures sets the average donation from each person at the phenomenally high sum of £28: 8: 4. As in the case of Edinburgh, however, the incidence of two very large subscriptions (both of £200) must be discounted in order to reach a more truly representative average. When this is done, the total contribution from twenty-one persons[2] falls to £282, giving an acceptable average individual subscription of £13: 8: 7.

Clearly, the exceedingly sparse number of individual subscribers to the Glasgow fund makes it inevitable that by comparison with Edinburgh, a much narrower cross-section of local occupations was represented in the overall response to the freedmen's aid appeal. It would obviously be a misguided argument, however, to suggest that simply <u>because</u> such a small number of

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1 Presiding as Moderator over the Free Church General Assembly in May, 1868, Nixon was personally to commend the appeal made before that body by Sella Martin, and to stress the mutual role of Britain and America in shaping "the world's destiny" - see <u>Procs. Free Church G.A.</u>, May, 1868, pp. 99-100; also above, Chapter VIII, p. 492.
The Rev. Dr. William Nixon was born at Camlachie, Glasgow in 1803. Following his studies at Glasgow University he was ordained in 1831 as minister of Hexham, Northumberland. In 1833 he was translated to St. John's Church (later St. John's Free Church), Montrose, and remained there until his retirement from the ministry. From 1850-1853 he was joint-editor along with the Rev. Drs. William Wilson and James Lumsden of the <u>Free Church Missionary Record</u>. In 1863 he succeeded Candlish in the convenorship of the Education Committee, and five years later was Moderator of the Free Church. He became senior minister in the denomination in 1874, and died in 1900 - see Ewing, <u>Annals of the Free Church</u>, p. 284.

2 Although only two unrepresentatively large contributions are involved, the total number of individual donors actually falls by three (from 24 to 21), since in this particular case, one of the sums of £200 subscribed came from the <u>Misses</u> Smith of Irvine. It was felt that this could not properly be classified as a "group" contribution; but on the other hand, it obviously represented the philanthropy of more than one individual. In the absence of information regarding the number of ladies involved, it was decided arbitrarily to count "the Misses Smith" as two persons.

persons contributed to the cause no really satisfactory base existed on which to build conclusions regarding the character of the city's support. On the contrary, the very fact that only twenty-four people offered financial aid is one which in itself provides considerable indication of the peculiar nature of Glasgow's response: and having once accepted the restricted nature of that response, closer analysis of it reveals that despite the numerical limits, the social and occupational backgrounds of the contributors involved do, in fact, tend to impose on Glasgow a specific pattern of support for the cause quite dissimilar from (for instance) the pattern which obtained in Edinburgh. Once more, a simple table serves best to indicate the sections of the community from which the individual subscriptions were derived:

Occupation or status	Number of contributors
Anonymous and unidentifiable donors, and those whose occupations are unlisted (excluding women donors)	6
Commission agents	1
Edinburgh subscribers (individuals)	2 (certain)[1]
Manufacturers, merchants, and warehousemen	11 (certain)[2]
Publishers	1
Women	3

1 Included in the first subscription list are two positively identifiable subscriptions from Edinburgh - those of Lord Provost William Chambers and the publisher Thomas Nelson. It is possible, however, that the total was actually three, since also recorded is a contribution of £25 from one "Edmond Blyth", an individual who is unlisted in the Glasgow Directory for 1867-68 and who may very well have been Edward Blyth, the distinguished Edinburgh civil engineer and stalwart contributor to the Edinburgh fund for the freedmen. There is every liklihood that the person in question was Blyth from Edinburgh; but uncertainty exists, more especially in view of the fact that (unlike the situation in regard to Chambers and Nelson) the name is not accompanied by the word "Edinburgh", and Blyth has accordingly been included in the "unidentifiable donors" category.

2 The total in this category may have been thirteen. The occupations of James Burns and J.H. Young (see Appendix II (d)) can not, however, be positively ascertained, and these are classified in the table as "unidentifiable donors".

Details of the names, occupations and donations of those included in the Glasgow subscription lists are given in Appendix II (d).

Taking into account the full facts and figures, it becomes evident that there are several remarkable features about the nature of Glasgow's response to the freedmen's aid appeal. At the very outset, it is important to bear in mind that the entire effort took place in early 1868, that is, approximately two and a half years after the main drive for collecting publicly for the cause had passed. In the light of this fact, the £682 raised from individual contributors (on first consideration, an unimpressive enough total for a city the size of Glasgow) represents a very substantial, if not a somewhat astonishing, figure. By way of indicating the relative quality of Glasgow's achievement at that late date, it can be noted here that the city of Dundee, which contributed remarkably generously to the campaign in 1865 (and which, incidentally, had of course as solid a record of recent lucrative commercial links with the Northern states as Glasgow had with the Southern), managed to produce in 1868 only just over one-seventh of the contemporaneous Glasgow sum.[1] Still more noteworthy and unique is the fact that the latter amount was elicited from the exceptionally small total of twenty-four individual subscribers. On the basis of Scotland's four main cities, this number is by far the smallest to have been involved in supporting a public subscription fund for the freedmen: and moreover, the total for the population of Glasgow itself drops to eighteen (possibly seventeen) if two individual donations from Paisley, two from Irvine, and two (possibly three) from Edinburgh are taken into consideration.

Nor was it merely the timing and limited base of support which formed the peculiar characteristics of Glasgow's most successful public appeal on behalf of the freedmen. Also highly significant in that respect were the substance and the sources of the contributions. As the calculated average figure of £13: 8: 7 suggests, the actual amount donated by each person was

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1 See below, pp. 193-198.

exceedingly high. In more specific terms, the smallest subscriptions to the Glasgow fund were £5 - a sum larger than the average one produced from the individual contributions in Edinburgh.[1] Indeed, the whole pattern of contribution in the western city was quite dissimilar from that which had developed in the capital two years earlier. For instance, with regard to the sections within the community which formed the mainspring of support for the appeal, the proportions in which certain occupations were represented in the Glasgow lists differed markedly from the proportionate occupational representation within Edinburgh's six lists. Thus, by far the largest single group responding to the appeal in Glasgow were the merchants and manufacturers engaged, for the most part, in the textile and related industries.[2] This situation clearly reflects the predominant industrial base of the city's wealth: and, in stark contrast to the character of the Edinburgh response, there were no significant subscriptions from groups of professional or monied middle class elements to offset the dominance of the manufacturing and commercial element.

Additional features increase the disparity between the two cities' respective patterns of contribution. And it might be argued that these, too, were features stemming directly from basic dissimilarities in the recent ideological traditions and affiliations of the two societies. Hence as befitted a city with sturdy recollections of a proud abolitionist past and, in the shape of its radical element at least, a modicum of vociferous support for the Federal cause in the Civil War, there were still in Edinburgh in 1868 individuals sufficiently dedicated to the furtherance of the freedmen's welfare to give substantial personal contributions to or, alternatively, to

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1 The average figure for Edinburgh is given above, p. 175.

2 See details in Appendix II (d).

organize collections for, the Glasgow fund.[1]

In this connection, it is perhaps also worthwhile to note that with reference to its 1865 subscription fund, Edinburgh's total contribution from individuals divides up (after the exclusion of four large sums) into fairly modest subscriptions gathered from a substantial number of interested parties throughout the city. By contrast, the composition of the Glasgow total, characterized as it was by sums varying widely in the general area between £5 and £50, suggests the existence of merely a small phalanx of wealthy, prominent citizens who were prepared to donate large amounts to a cause which had up until then profited singularly little from their city. There was, quite simply, no broad base within Glasgow for the substantial sum raised in 1868 on behalf of the freedmen. And when to this conclusion is added the recollection of the pitiful measure of support given to the public appeals launched in the autumn of 1865, it is difficult to escape the final assumption that the overwhelming and intensely pro-Southern bias of Glasgow during the Civil War had had the effect of creating in the city a general mood and sentiment which, inasmuch as it continued to pervade attitudes in the post-war era, was far from conducive to a generous widespread response to the call for freedmen's aid there. Hence with regard to Glasgow's antecedent feelings towards the American conflict, as well as in respect of the occupational backgrounds of those who eventually formed the backbone of its belated effort on behalf of the cause, it might be suggested that the general character of the city's response to the 1868 appeal for help in educating the freed slaves contained no notably surprising aspects.

In the course of examining Glasgow's contribution, passing reference was made to a contemporary bid by Dundonians to further advance the fortunes of

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1 This course was presumably followed in the absence of a public freedmen's aid appeal in Edinburgh at that time.

the AMA. But while Dundee would appear to have been the only other Scottish city to participate in productive organized freedmen's aid activity in 1868,[1] its fruitful involvement in the cause (unlike that of Glasgow) was by no means confined to that late period. On the contrary, during the 1865 campaign to arouse public support throughout the country Dundee, as we have observed, responded to the local appeal with an exceedingly enthusiastic spirit and a correspondingly generous hand. It will be recalled that that appeal had its nucleus in a public freedmen's aid meeting held in Ward Chapel on 26 September, 1865. At the close of the proceedings there, a substantial committee of influential local personalities was duly appointed[2] to take the initiative in raising the community's sympathy and support: and the success which its members met with in carrying out their task over the succeeding five weeks was indicated in the impressive contributions recorded in three subscription lists which appeared in the Dundee Advertiser during the period from 20 October to 7 November.

It was, therefore, against the background of a considerably earlier but extremely encouraging practical achievement on behalf of the cause that actively concerned individuals launched in Dundee a subsequent appeal, this time specifically for the "education and evangalization" of the American freedmen,[3] at the beginning of 1868. The public meeting which (like the one which had taken place over two years previously) formed the initial stimulus for the city's ensuing effort in fact preceded the similar Glasgow gathering

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1 There had certainly taken place in Edinburgh on 30 December, 1867 a freedmen's aid meeting held under NFAU auspices and addressed by William Foster Mitchell (see above, pp.128, 172): but no public subscription fund seems to have been established on that occasion.

2 See above, p. 132.

3 See terminology used in heading for the subscription list published in Dundee Advertiser, 25 Feb., 1868. The exclusive emphasis placed on this particular objective at the Dundee meeting parallels, of course, the basis of the appeal made at Glasgow - see above, p. 181.

by several weeks, being held in Ward Chapel on the evening of 6 January.[1] And on that occasion, in keeping with the simple but formalised procedure which had proved so effective in obtaining a truly creditable response to the former appeal, a committee for collecting and dealing with contributions was once more appointed and a public subscription fund immediately set up. It was well over a month before there was published in the Dundee Advertiser the first and only list of contributions to the appeal;[2] but the fairly lengthy catalogue of names which appeared there indicates that the time which elapsed between the actual establishment of the fund and the final trickle of subscriptions into it had been used profitably enough by the committee in arousing new and reactivating old support for the freedmen's aid cause. Indeed, the level of the response to the call for financial aid in 1868 does suggest the survival over the years of at least a portion of the city's earlier interest in and enthusiasm for the movement. The basic character of that earlier vigorous involvement has not yet become clear, however; and it is therefore to the effort made in the autumn of 1865 that first attention must be directed.

On the basis of all the figures included in them, the three subscription lists published in the Advertiser from mid October to early November, 1865 constitutes a grand total of £553: 6: 5½. This figure is, however, somewhat in excess of the amount forthcoming as a straightforward result of the public meeting, for a unique feature about the Dundee situation is the inclusion in the first subscription list of the total contributed by the city to the freedmen's aid cause prior to June, 1865. This latter sum was given as £52: 3: 0, so that when it is discounted, the gross amount in individual and group contributions which was donated in Dundee in direct response to the

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1 See Dundee Advertiser, 7 Jan., 1868. The Glasgow meeting took place on 27 January, 1868.

2 See subscription list in ibid., 25 Feb., 1868.

September appeal emerges as £501: 3: 5½. In common with the pattern in the other Scottish cities, the fund was considerably boosted by the proceeds of various collections; and in terms of purely personal contributions, the total must be again lowered, to stand at £454: 9: 0. This sum was comprised of the financial support given by sixty-nine individual subscribers, each of whom can therefore be calculated as having donated, on average, £ 6:11: 1. And since in this instance there are no excessively large contributions to be taken into account, that figure is an acceptable one.

Having succeeded, then, in drawing a response from the fairly substantial number of sixty-nine persons, the freedmen's aid fund in Dundee might have been expected to reflect, in the sources of its several contributions, the involvement of a considerable cross-section of the local middle class community. Such a situation did not actually materialise, however, for of the four Scottish cities examined, Dundee's subscription lists contained by far the greatest preponderence of contributions from individuals connected with one single sphere of commercial operation. Predictably, the business in question was the manufacture and disposal on the wholesale market of linen and jute. The overwhelming prevalence among the appeal's supporters of those directly involved in the city's principal industry is partially conveyed in the following table:

Occupation or status	Number of contributors
Accountants	1
Agents - insurance and other	3
Anonymous and unidentifiable donors, and those whose occupations are unlisted (excluding women donors)	8
Engineers	1
Librarians	1

Manufacturers, merchants and spinners	49 (certain)[1]
Medical doctors	1
Shopkeepers	2
Women (excluding one female oil merchant listed - with regrettable lack of imagination - in the "merchants" category)	3

Of the forty-nine positively identifiable manufacturers and merchants who benefited the fund, no less than twenty-seven were definitely engaged in the production and sale of Dundee's staple commodity. With regard to the remainder, there is a strong probability that a further fourteen were also occupied in that particular field of industry,[2] while only eight individuals unquestionably pursued a line of business totally outwith the realms of textiles.[3] Taking into consideration also the remarkably small number of Dundonians from all other walks of life who responded to the appeal in 1865, it becomes abundantly clear that the city's contribution was characterized by the complete dominance of subscriptions from persons connected with the spinning, weaving, general manufacture, and merchandising of coarse and fine cloth.

On the basis of these figures as well, incidentally, as on the strength of relevant comment made in the Dundee Advertiser's editorial on 22 September,

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1 The total might have been as high as fifty-two, since John Henderson, James Mills and David Bruce jun. may have belonged in this category (see Appendix II (b1)). This cannot be ascertained, however, and they have accordingly been listed as donors whose occupations are unidentifiable.

2 This conclusion is prompted by the brief, unspecific description of "merchant" or "merchant and manufacturer" entered against the names of these fourteen people in the Dundee Directory for 1865. In that context, the failure to give more detailed information regarding the nature of the business engaged in would seem to suggest that the individuals concerned were simply involved in the city's major area of trade and manufacture.

3 For details concerning the occupations and donations of these and of others represented in the subscription lists, see Appendix II (b1).

1865 and subsequently at the freedmen's aid meeting itself,[1] there would therefore appear to be some grounds for suggesting that the massive profits accumulated by Dundee from its supply trade in heavy textiles to the Northern states during the Civil War did have a tangible effect in stimulating among those involved in the industry a sympathetic awareness of the principles of the conflict and, later, a sympathetic concern for the plight of the ex-slaves and a desire to help them. Indeed, once a local fund had been established, the effort on behalf of the freedmen made within that section of the community may well have gathered a momentum of its own, with proprietors, managers and workers in many of the textile firms not wishing to be seen to fall behind those of the city's other, similar firms in their willingness to contribute to the cause.

With just under two-thirds of the total individual subscriptions stemming either positively or almost certainly from the same manner of source, it follows, then, that it was the very substantial wealth of those who had built up the "juteopolis" which formed the vital essence of Dundee's extremely satisfactory response to the 1865 appeal for freedmen's aid. Similarly, it was probably largely as a result of the existence of that broad, homogeneous base of local prosperity that the individual contributions were in general somewhat more uniform in amount (as well, of course, as being on average higher) than were those pertaining to the Edinburgh fund.

In connection with the tremendously strong - perhaps, indeed, even slightly disproportionate - involvement which those associated with the Dundee textile industry took in the freedmen's aid cause, one further facet of the city's response to the 1865 appeal needs to be noted here. Since, of course, only sums privately donated by Dundonians have formed the basis for the antecedent analysis and conclusions, excluded from consideration has been the

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1 See above, pp. 138-140.

collective contributions made by a certain very noteworthy section of the population, namely, the employees at several of the spinning and weaving mills. Contained in the three subscription lists were no less than seven donations raised by groups of factory workers throughout the city;[1] and these, ranging from 14/8½ up to £6:17: 9, added up to a useful total of £22: 7: 6½. By way of conveying something of the special significance attaching to these particular group contributions, it must be stressed that at least so far as the principal Scottish cities are concerned, the independent participation of factory workers (or, indeed, of workers in any sphere) in the campaign to help the American freedmen was a feature unique to Dundee. As such, it is, therefore, naturally of especial importance not only in accentuating the scope and intensity of the practical response registered by those deriving their livelihood from the production of textiles, but also in reinforcing the possibility that in that sector of the community there was established, largely through the mercantile links forged with the North during the Civil War, a keen, sympathetic appreciation of the urgent needs of the emancipated slaves. And perhaps the most striking characteristic of Dundee's response in 1865 was the obvious readiness at all levels within the industry to translate that appreciation into tangible financial aid.

By the time that the second major public appeal on behalf of the freedmen was launched in the city at the beginning of 1868, the impelling image of the freed Negroes as a people made dependent for the necessities of life and the preservation of liberty on the charity of sympathizers in America and Britain had inevitably lost most of its earlier sharpness and immediacy. Nevertheless, as had already been indicated, the enthusiasm previously displayed on behalf of the freedmen's cause by the citizens of Dundee had not entirely evaporated

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1 See Appendix II (b1).

in the two intervening years. On the contrary, the existence of an underlying sentiment and spirit sufficiently strong and widespread to make possible the organization of a public meeting, plus the contributions which were ultimately made to the subscription fund, suggest that there lingered on there a real measure of potentially active interest in helping the American freedmen which was at least as great as any which still flourished, at that late date, elsewhere in Scotland.

In simple numerical terms, however, the support accorded to the 1868 appeal does seem to represent nothing short of a catastrophic decline from the corresponding figures for 1865. Thus, the grand total raised from all sources at the later period was £89: 2: 1 - less, that is, than 18% of the amount reached just over two years before. In contrast to the situation which had obtained with regard to the first appeal, the proceeds of only one collection augmented the subscriptions from individuals, and when this solitary effort by the congregation of Ward Chapel[1] is deducted, the full contribution stands at £82:16: 6. This figure represented the combined responses of forty-two individuals. No disproportionately large subscriptions were recorded on the list, and the average sum donated was £1:19: 5.

It therefore becomes clear that while there occurred a very substantial fall in the average personal contributions (the 1868 figure being just under 30% of that for 1865), there was not a correspondingly large slump in the actual number of persons who gave positive support to the appeal. At the height of the Scottish campaign for freedmen's aid in 1865, the number of

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1 It is, in fact, debateable whether the £6: 5: 7 entered in the subscription list as stemming from "Ward Chapel - collection" was the result of a congregational collection in the church or the amount raised at the freedmen's aid meeting itself, which was held in Ward Chapel. But whatever the precise source, the sum, being the product of a combined response to the appeal, is irrelevant to the subsequent analysis of the Dundee subscriptions.

Ward Chapel, the venue of the Dundee freedmen's aid meetings in both 1865 and 1868, was the charge of the Congregationalist minister, the Rev. Robert Spence.

individuals subscribing to the fund in Dundee reached, as we have seen, sixty-nine. As against that, the considerable total of forty-two responded to the later effort. In view of the very much smaller average amount donated by each of the forty-two, it might be assumed that the majority of that group belonged to a different sector of the middle class community from that which had provided the mainstay of the support in 1865. Closer examination has revealed, however, that this was certainly not so. The social backgrounds of the contributors to the appeal in early 1868 divide out as follows:

Occupation or status	Number of contributors
Anonymous and unidentifiable donors, and those whose occupations are unlisted (excluding women donors)	3
Assurance Society secretaries	1
Manufacturers, merchants and spinners	28
Medical doctors	1
Shopkeepers	3
Skilled tradesmen	2
Tax collectors	1
Women	3

Obviously, then, the character of the response to the 1868 appeal shows no significant proportionate change in the basis of Dundee's financial support for freedmen's aid, but demonstrates, rather, a remarkable continuity in respect of the interest and ready involvement taken in the cause by the city's textile manufacturers and merchants. Only one of those contributors included in the "merchants" category can be positively identified as having been engaged in business of a nature completely unconnected with the linen and jute industry.[1] Hence the dominance of the earlier local freedmen's aid subscription lists by a specific, exceedingly influential section of the city

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1 For details pertaining to the composition of the 1868 subscription list, see Appendix II (b2).

population was fully maintained. Indeed, it could perhaps more accurately be stated that the former pattern of support was not merely maintained but actually strengthened in 1868. Thus in terms of relative proportions, on the basis of the smaller total number of individual contributions the jute and flax spinners, manufacturers, and merchants represented 64% of the subscribers to the 1868 freedmen's aid fund, while the corresponding figure for that same group had been 59% two years previously.

Further testifying to the notable consistency in the character of Dundee's response to the freedmen's aid appeals is the fact that of the twenty-seven persons associated with the textile trade who contributed financial aid in 1868, no less than fifteen had also subscribed to the fund established in 1865.[1] With regard to this situation it should, of course, also be appreciated that save in one solitary instance,[2] the amounts given by these men in response to the second public appeal were strikingly less than the amounts which they had donated in 1865. Quite frequently, indeed, the contribution in support of the later effort reached only around one-fifth of the sum previously given on behalf of the cause, and in several other instances, the donations made in 1868 represented as little as one-tenth and one-twentieth of the figures recorded in the earlier set of subscription lists. Of course, the large discrepancies in the comparative amounts contributed by these fourteen individuals simply reflect (and naturally helped to create) the more general disparity which ultimately came to exist between the grand totals raised for freedmen's aid in late 1865 and early 1868. Standing as it did at £89: 2: 1 gross (£82:16: 6 in terms of personal donations), the tangible result of Dundee's public appeal of 1868 could perhaps validly be considered fairly disappointing, both in the light of the markedly greater sum

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1 See lists of contributors in Appendices II (b1) and II (b2)

2 In contributing precisely the same sum of £5 in both 1865 and 1868, Joseph Grimond, of the flax-spinning and manufacturing firm of J. and A.D. Grimond, stood as the exception to the rule.

previously collected there and - even more importantly - in view of the much more impressive financial success of Glasgow's contemporary effort.

Yet, it would clearly be impermissable to dismiss Dundee's contribution in 1868 as relatively inconsequential or as solid proof of a widespread falling off in the level of the citizens' concern for the American freedmen: for certain features in the pattern of the city's response at that time suggest that the actual financial support raised may not have been commensurate with the public sympathy and interest aroused. Of prime importance in this regard is the significant difference between the respective number of contributors to the subscription funds set on foot in Dundee and Glasgow. As we have observed, in the latter city only twenty-four individuals offered, entirely on their iniative, support for the appeal, whereas Dundee, with its vastly smaller population, was able to boast a positive involvement on the part of forty-two persons. It might well be concluded, therefore, that despite the comparatively meagre amount raised, Dundee's contribution to the appeal for freedmen's aid in 1868 nevertheless still represented a greater popular interest in and commitment to the cause than was existent at the same period in Glasgow. And this argument continues to hold good even when it has been acknowledged that the bulk of the donations derived once again from the dominant economic element within Dundee, for it will be recalled that in that particular respect, the pattern of Glasgow's response was basically similar. Thus it becomes clear that in real terms, Dundee's support for the freedmen's aid cause was broader based than that of Glasgow, inasmuch as the sums contributed were drawn from a substantially larger section of the local community and did not (as in the western city) consist essentially of the lavish donations of a wealthy few.

But the gulf which separated the tangible achievements of the two cities in 1868 might yet seem to reflect badly on Dundee's performance on behalf of

the freed slaves at that date. In this connection, however, it needs to be borne in mind that Glasgow's effort represented merely the first flush of generosity from its citizens towards the already waning freedmen's aid campaign. By contrast, Dundee had of course much earlier demonstrated a vigorous willingness to benefit the cause; hence the appeal launched there in 1868 would almost certainly have suffered from being regarded by many as essentially an adjunct - although still a worthwhile one - to the previous call for aid. And more especially in view of the very large sum raised on the earlier occasion, the disposition to contribute heftily to what could be seen as merely a supplementary effort was widely lacking. It might be said that to some extent the resounding success of the first public freedmen's aid appeal mounted in Dundee served to diminish the possibility that massive financial support would be forthcoming in response to a subsequent appeal. After all, there were many other deserving causes in which the prosperous and philanthropic gentlemen of Dundee felt obliged to take a charitable concern: and presumably by so late a stage as 1868 the needs of the American freedmen no longer occupied a place of priority on their current list of philanthropies.

Nevertheless, the sense of commitment to the cause which the men of the textile industry in particular had so amply demonstrated in the autumn of 1865 had by the time of the second public appeal certainly not perished completely. In hard financial terms, their response to the later campaign was, for various reasons, greatly reduced. But the more modest level notwithstanding, the fact that Dundee in 1868 succeeded in making yet another positive (and not, after all, exactly insubstantial) contribution to the freedmen's aid cause suggests the existance there of a strong fund of popular sympathy and concern for the emancipated American slaves - a sentiment which, while naturally reaching its peak in the critical months immediately after

the Civil War, did not rapidly dwindle away but endured for long enough to ensure the city of a truly creditable record of involvement in freedmen's aid.

The achievement of Dundee on behalf of the freedmen's cause is impressive in its own right. But it becomes the more notable, perhaps, when considered in comparison with the results of the effort promoted in the rival city of Aberdeen. Neither in terms of population density nor geographical location did Aberdeen differ significantly from the more southerly, Tayside town; and so far as the relative potential for raising contributions to a freedmen's aid fund is concerned, the factor most likely to have affected adversely the quality of its response was the absence within the city of an element fully comparable in wealth and status to the "juteocracy" of Dundee. Even allowing, however, for the existence of certain relevent dissimilarities in the structure of society there, Aberdeen's level of financial support for the freedmen's aid movement still fell disproportionately short, it may be suggested, of that registered by Dundee.

As we have already observed,[1] the principal incidence of organized activity directed towards the objective of arousing local interest in the cause took place in the autumn of 1865. It was accordingly at a public freedmen's aid meeting held in Belmont Congregational Church on 29 September that an ad hoc committee was appointed to publicize the appeal and to administer a subscription fund. A fortnight passed before the first contributions were announced in the local press;[2] and thereafter, the remarkably long interval of four and a half months elapsed before the second subscription list finally appeared in the Aberdeen Free Press on 30 March, 1866. It becomes clear, however, that the full extent of the city's practical response

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1 See above, pp. 145, 148.

2 See subscription list in Aberdeen Free Press, 13 Oct., 1865.

to the appeal was in fact contained within that fairly lengthy period, for no information pertaining to subsequent contributions was published in the ensuing months.

From the inclusive figures recorded in these two subscription lists there emerges, therefore, for the period from late September, 1865 to the end of March, 1866 a total contribution to the fund of £164:13: 3. This amount comprises, of course, both personal and group donations. But beyond that, it also includes several sums raised by communities in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and when all of these are subtracted, the total subscribed (in terms of individual plus collective contributions) within the city of Aberdeen itself stands considerably reduced, at £107:12: 6. Of this latter figure, £93: 2: 6 was derived from individual subscriptions. There were, in all, seventy of these; and since each was of a uniformly low character, the average personal contribution amounted to £1: 6: 7.

Regarding the nature of Aberdeen's response, then, certainly one of the most surprising and, indeed, unique features to emerge so far concerns the fact that such a large number of persons should have been involved in contributing so comparatively small a total amount to the freedmen's aid appeal. Clearly, despite the ultimately fairly poor financial returns, the combined efforts of the participants at the public meeting and of the committee members appointed there did succeed in arousing a considerable widespread measure of local interest in and active concern about the plight of America's former slaves. Thus, looked at on a comparison with the corresponding figures for Dundee and Edinburgh, the city's total of seventy individual contributors represents a perfectly satisfactory numerical level of private support for the appeal. But it remains to be considered, of course, whether the actual sources of these individual subscriptions reflect a predominant involvement on the part of a specific prosperous and prestigious element within the community or the more general involvement of a wider section

of the population.

With regard to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee, it has been argued that in each instance, various dominant social and economic factors tended to govern the origin of a large proportion of the sums donated, and hence to impose a distinctive pattern on the overall response registered by these respective cities towards the freedmen's aid cause. So far as Aberdeen is concerned, however, it would appear that there was considerably less dominance of the subscription lists by certain particularly prominent and influential sectors of the local middle class. The following figures, providing once again an analysis of the occupational background of each individual contributor based on information gained from contemporary Directories, do suggest that tangible support for the freedmen's cause was drawn from a wider section of the middle class community there than was the case in Scotland's other principal cities:

Occupation or status	Number of contributors
Academics	1
Advocates	9
Anonymous and unidentifiable donors, and those whose occupations are unlisted (excluding women donors)	4
Architects	3
Assurance agents, ship and insurance brokers	12
Bankers, accountants, cashiers, clerks	5
County subscribers (individuals)	5
Dentists	1
Medical doctors	1
Merchants, merchant shipowners, and manufacturers	13
Ministers of religion	1
Newspaper proprietors, editors	2
Shipbuilders	2
Shipmasters (retired)	1

Shopkeepers	2
Skilled tradesmen and craftsmen	5
Women	3

The character of Aberdeen's response to the freedmen's aid appeal would undoubtedly seem to be distinguished, therefore, by an essentially broader and more evenly balanced range of community involvement. But when due recognition has been made of the relatively varied occupational backgrounds of the several individual contributors to the fund, it must also be appreciated that the Aberdeen subscription lists nevertheless do simultaneously reflect (and to a very interesting degree) a substantial participation by men engaged in those occupations and professions which were pre-eminent in the city. Hence there was a distinctly (but not, perhaps, an altogether predictably) strong response to the appeal from vessel owners, brokers, merchants and others whose livelihoods were wholly or largely tied up with shipping and shipbuilding - industries which were a mainstay of the city's economy. Due to the sparse existing relevant information, it is unfortunately not possible to state with certainty the precise number of merchants or even of insurance brokers who were to some extent involved in that sphere of business; but at least twelve of the subscribers can be positively identified as having had shipping connections.[1]

While therefore undoubtedly constituting the largest single element within the population to come forward with financial aid for the freedmen's cause, it immediately becomes clear, however, that with regard to the 1865 subscription fund, those associated with Aberdeen's shipping industry represented a much lower proportion of the total contributors there than did the "juteocracy" in Dundee. This fact illuminates a vital aspect of the essential character of Aberdeen's response to the appeal, for in general terms,

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1 For details regarding these, and for fuller information on the occupations and professions of the other contributors, see Appendix II (a).

the subscription lists reveal that there existed nothing like the level of cohesive support from local industry (and especially from a specific branch of local industry) which developed in Dundee.

It would seem valid to suggest that in part, at least, certain basic, significant differences between the social and economic structures of the two cities were responsible for producing the conspicuously dissimilar composition of their respective philanthropic efforts on behalf of the freedmen. The commercial life and prosperity of Dundee, and the existence of a notably homogeneous social elite there, was still in the mid 1860s overwhelmingly centred upon one staple industry: and it has already been sufficiently stressed that the subscription lists for the freedmen's aid fund simply reflected the dominance of linen and jute manufacture on the wealth and social standing of the local middle class community. In marked contrast to that situation, no single manner of trade or industry (even including shipping and shipbuilding) had come to assume a corresponding stranglehold over Aberdeen, and throughout the mid-century, the city's economic activities were widely varied.[1] Such a state of affairs accordingly increased the liklihood, of course, that an appeal on behalf of a charitable cause would draw its support from a fairly wide cross-section of the middle class population, while benefiting most especially, perhaps, from the responses of those connected with the more prominent and prevalent facets of the city's corporate existence. And a pattern of broadly that nature would indeed appear to have materialized in respect of the freedmen's aid appeal. Thus in addition to the donations of the shipping magnates and their associates, the subscription fund was also very considerably boosted by contributions from clerical, legal and other professional men: and this feature does reflect a predominant characteristic of the general social framework, for it has been

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1 See Saunders, Scottish Democracy, pp. 130-131.

authoritatively concluded that by the early 1850s there already existed in Aberdeen "a relatively conspicuous middle class element" which contained "a considerable professional population of divines, lawyers, doctors and teachers",[1] as befitted its standing as a county and university town.

Also in keeping with the pattern of participation by numerically large and important elements within the community was the high incidence in the Aberdeen subscription lists of persons connected with the banking profession. There had much earlier grown up "an active local banking system",[2] one which provided a vital service for the merchants and retailers who from their city base supplied the whole of the North and North-East, and one which itself flourished accordingly. Closely involved as the banks therefore were in catering for that particular local need, the prevalence of the banking profession within Aberdeen is a feature which in its turn points to another specific aspect which requires to be taken into consideration in analysing the nature of the response to the freedmen's aid appeal. That aspect is the exceedingly strong links which had for long existed between the city and the surrounding districts. To a singularly large and significant extent, the social and economic structure of Aberdeen was determined by the close contact preserved with the county and with the expansive rural areas of the adjoining counties.[3] Hence it was a strict reflection of that peculiar situation that there should have been included in the city's subscription fund for the

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1 Ibid., p. 130. For his convincing sketch of the social and economic conditions obtaining in Aberdeen during the first half of the nineteenth century, Saunders drew primarily on the New Statistical Account, while also consulting a considerable portion of the formidable body of works which exist on the city in the nineteenth century.

2 Ibid., p. 130.

3 Brief reference to this point is made in ibid., p. 130, but it was a characteristic feature which is brought out in most of the informative works, reminiscences, etc. on Aberdeen written by local authors. Quite simply, the city acted as a tremendously powerful magnet in attracting labour and capital from the county and the adjacent districts, and benefited also, of course, from its position as the source of vital supplies and services for these areas.

freedmen a proportionately large number of contributions from individuals resident in the county - as well, of course, as the sums raised in the form of collections made in various Aberdeenshire towns and parishes.

So far as the apparent existence of a spirit of local involvement is concerned, Aberdeen's effort on behalf of the freedmen should not, then, be dismissed as wholly unsatisfactory. Not only was there sufficient basic interest and concern within the city to make feasible a public meeting and the establishment of a subscription fund, but the number of those who eventually contributed to the appeal was, as we have seen, very substantial, equalling and even fractionally surpassing the total number of individual contributors in Dundee. Extending the comparison between the performance of the two cities it becomes strikingly evident, however, that in terms of financial totals, Aberdeen's achievement was outstandingly poor. The generally meagre practical response had been initially reflected in the extremely small sum of £2:15: 0 collected at the public meeting; and ultimately the gross proceeds from private contributions reached just under one-fifth of the total amount raised from the same source in Dundee.

There would appear to be no simple, obvious explanation for the incongruity which existed in Aberdeen between the level of popular interest in the freedmen's aid cause and the level of actual financial support for it.[1] It was not merely that the subscription fund suffered from being comprised of a few fairly large contributions and a mass of very insubstantial ones. On the contrary, the relatively unimpressive nature of the total sum raised is perhaps accentuated by the pertinent fact that inclusively, the seventy individual subscriptions are easily the lowest, on average, to be donated in

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1 Remaining unconvinced as to the total reliability of the evidence, it has been decided, after due consideration, that this is not the place to indulge the myth of the mean Aberdonian.

any of the main Scottish cities.[1] One or two tentative suggestions may be hazarded as to why such a pattern of response should have developed in Aberdeen.

In the first instance, it is perhaps possible to attribute the general frugality of the contributions largely to particular factors within the city's social and economic framework. Thus with the possible exception of shipping and shipbuilding, there was really nothing approaching a dominant, basic industry in Aberdeen; and since, unlike the linen and jute lords of Dundee, those connected with shipping and shipbuilding did not choose to give a lead in handing out lavish sums for freedmen's aid, it may have been that other interested citizens found it not inexpedient to keep their financial support for the appeal at a uniformaly low figure.

Furthermore, there exists the possibility that in comparison with the situation obtaining in Scotland's other principal urban centres, there was relatively less money - or, more precisely, relatively less of a conspicuously monied class - around in Aberdeen at that period. In this regard, Edinburgh, for instance, possessed a vast accumulated wealth based on the affluence of a considerable portion of its population, a corporate wealth based most notably, perhaps, on the prosperity of the solidly entrenched professional classes, but not least on the opulence of the sundry gentry who resided in or constantly frequented the capital. Glasgow, on the other hand, reaped the wealth which accrued to it as the country's leading industrial and commercial centre, while Dundee, of course, was by the mid-1860s still enjoying an unprecedented level of prosperity stemming from a recent exceptionally huge demand for its staple product. As against these various features, Aberdeen's economy would certainly appear to have made steady progress: the indications are that there existed solid and secure bases for a general measure of

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1 The average contribution to the Aberdeen fund in 1865 even falls slightly short (at £1: 6: 7 against £1:19: 5) of that made, under considerably less auspicious circumstances, to the Dundee fund in 1868.

comfortable prosperity among the city's diverse middle class population. But so far as such circumstances helped to determine the character of the local response to the freedmen's aid appeal, it is important to stress that this level of prosperity, although quite adequate, was by wider standards essentially modest. In short, there was in Aberdeen no specific social or economic factor which was likely to produce, as in the other Scottish cities, a substantial vein of affluence conducive to the giving of extremely generous philanthropic donations to deserving causes.

And finally, it may be suggested that there were perhaps more demands made upon the philanthropy of Aberdonians in respect of foreign missionary causes than were made on the citizens of the other three towns at that time. Thus in 1866, for instance, Aberdeen had no less than thirteen registered Societies concerned with raising aid for foreign missions.[1] By comparison, the much larger city of Glasgow had only eight.[2] Edinburgh, quite surprisingly, had a mere five;[3] and Dundee's total stood at two.[4] It is evident, therefore, that there was within Aberdeen considerably greater scope than existed elsewhere for charitable contributions which might otherwise have been channelled into the freedmen's aid appeal to be diverted into what could be seen as broadly analogous causes.

It emerges, then, that the overall pattern of response to the appeals for aid issued by the AMA delegates and their local helpers varied widely in the four main Scottish cities. Fairly close analyses have been made of these responses because in the absence of a continuing organized involvement

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1 See list in Oliver and Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac, 1866, Supplement for Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire, pp. 41-43.

2 See list in ibid., the Western Supplement, pp. 67-68.

3 See list in ibid., pp. 802-817.

4 See list in ibid., Rodger's Town and County Lists of Angus and Mearns, p. 31.

in freedmen's aid on the part of regional communities throughout Scotland, the appeals mounted in the urban centres in 1865 and (to a lesser extent) 1868 afford not only major instances of open participation in the cause by members of the public but also the major instance of an incentive for the general public to participate. This said, the determined bid by Sella Martin and his colleagues to gain support nevertheless did not represent the only attempt to arouse within the country an informed awareness of and a keen concern for the needs of the freedmen. On a more limited sectarian but a much more extensive geographical basis, there also existed for, indeed, the duration of the Reconstruction years, a remarkably vigorous and sustained effort to advance that cause. It therefore remains now to look in some detail at the other principal strand of freedmen's aid activity which raised a substantial financial contribution to the general campaign on behalf of the emancipated American Negroes. This constituted, of course, the effort made by the United Presbyterian Church.

VI The United Presbyterian Church's efforts and achievements on behalf of the cause

Considerable attention has already been devoted to the way in which the United Presbyterian Synod launched in 1866 a zealous denominational campaign to elicit support for freedmen's aid; and the extremely satisfactory nature of the congregational response to that initial appeal, as well as the yet more spectacular success of the Theological Hall Missionary Society's scheme in 1869, have also been noted.[1] But in assessing the full extent of the U.P. achievement in this sphere, at least so far as the first four years of endeavour are concerned not only the total amounts raised but also the tremendously wide geographical area from which these derived must be taken into account.

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1 See above, pp. 29-38.

In organizing an appeal movement on behalf of the freedmen, the U.P. Church had to some extent a built-in advantage over other groups of Scottish and itinerant American workers in the field inasmuch as it was able at one time to involve the sympathies and potential support of a vast number of people throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. And furthermore, possessing as it naturally did a legion of constant adherents it was also able to sustain its activity in that sphere over an incomparably longer period than was possible in the case of those whose efforts were, of necessity, concentrated on arousing the occasional and random philanthropy of the public at large. Both of these advantages were certainly fully exploited by the Church, for examination of the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church reveals that there was raised over the Reconstruction years - and, indeed, a little beyond - an outstandingly high gross sum in aid of the American freedmen, one which in its component parts comprised contributions from Scots in every part of the country.

The £692: 3:11 collected during 1866 in support of the newly established appeal[1] accordingly represented not merely the aggregate responses of a few wealthy churches cited predominantly in the larger towns and cities, but on the contrary consisted of varying amounts gleaned from a multitude of urban and rural congregations, large and small. In all, up to December, 1866 no less than 133 separate churches had answered this initial denominational call for aid, and to the offerings of these must be added nine donations from individuals. Equal to the considerable diversity in the size of the various contributions was the diversity of their origins. Thus on the first wave of interested and enthusiastic concern for the cause, support flowed in from congregations situated in large urban centres such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley and Greenock; in moderately-sized towns such as St. Andrews, Brechin

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1 See above, pp. 32-33.

Arbroath, Dumfries and Stranraer; in small villages like Aberchirder, Buckhaven, New Deer, Kirkcowan; and in country parishes such as Grange, Auchtergaven, Balbeggie and Lasswade. Congregational involvement spanned, indeed, virtually every county in Scotland and even extended, in eight instances, to include U.P. churches in England. Hence the first batch of responses to the appeal for freedmen's aid set on foot by the Synod in May, 1866 and thereafter promoted from local pulpits encompassed a geographical area stretching from Stranraer in the far South-West to Rosehearty on the North-East coast, and from Orkney in the North down to the English cities of Bradford and Wolverhampton.[1]

Following what was therefore an extremely satisfactory outcome, in terms of both the amount raised and the range of congregations involved, to the Voluntaries' initial bid to benefit the freedmen's cause, there nevertheless occurred over the succeeding year a somewhat spectacular drop in the total contributed and, appropriately, in the level of congregational participation. From the beginning of January to the end of December, 1867, a mere £109: 2:11 was collected throughout the country. The figure represented slightly under one-sixth of that raised during the considerably shorter period in 1866; and there was a correspondingly sharp decline in the number of congregations responding to the appeal, only twenty-five having contributed in 1867 as against the 133 listed in the records for 1866. Even the small total of individual donations showed a relative fall from nine to four.[2]

It has already been suggested[3] that the sums forthcoming in 1867 constituted in the main the proceeds of congregational collections which had

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1 For a comprehensive list of the contributions to the U.P. Church's earliest organized appeal on behalf of the freedmen, see Appendix III (a).

2 For full details of the contributions to the U.P. appeal in 1867, see Appendix III (b).

3 See above, p. 33.

not been remitted - or possibly not even made - in time to be included on the 1866 contributions list. This hypothesis would certainly seem to be given strength by the fact that of the twenty-five congregations which registered their tangible support for the effort somewhat later than the majority of their denomination, only three can be positively identified as having also contributed to the appeal during 1866.[1] And in this connection it is perhaps of further significance that the 1867 list contained the proceeds of collections made in certain churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Paisley which had not been amongst the many other churches from these towns included in the record of contributors for the previous year.

The fairly strong possibility that the list pertaining to congregational collections made in 1867 was one which was essentially supplementary to the 1866 list means, of course, that the greatly diminished totals and level of participation which it reflected should probably be looked upon not as an illustration of an early waning of denominational concern for the freedmen's aid cause but rather as an illustration of the increasing volume of support which continued to be given to the U.P. Church's appeal. Yet, the conspicuous lack of further response in 1867 from the overwhelming majority of the congregations which had earlier contributed does convey the impression that most U.P. ministers were apparently prepared to rest content with having

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1 These are Bread Street U.P. church, Edinburgh; Canal Street U.P. church, Paisley; and the Sunday School class at Girvan which in order to avoid complication has been classified (along with each of the other Sunday School classes which feature in the contribution lists) as a "congregation".
Some uncertainty exists with regard to contributions from the U.P.s of Kilmarnock. A sum of £9 is listed as having been collected at the King Street U.P. church there in 1866, and subsequently the town is credited with having contributed £2 in 1867. But it is unclear whether these two amounts came from precisely the same source, and Kilmarnock is therefore not included amongst the places which contributed on both occasions. Sanday and Stewartfield also appear on both the 1866 and 1867 lists: but the Sanday contribution would appear to have come in the first instance from an individual donor and in the second from a congregational collection, while with regard to Stewartfield, that position is reversed.

forwarded the proceeds of merely one single church collection: and at least in retrospect, it becomes clear that such an attitude would not have signified a very healthy omen for the future success of this particular missionary cause.

Accordingly, reflecting as they did the continuing failure of congregations throughout Scotland to repeat their previous support, the remittances made during 1868 to the U.P. freedmen's aid fund showed a marked slump even from the sadly diminished totals of the previous year. The published contributions list for 1868 assumed basically the same character as its immediate predecessor, indicating once again a drastically reduced congregational involvement and, inevitably, a massive fall in the total amount collected. Contributions were received from only six U.P. congregations, in comparison with twenty-five during 1867. The number of individual donors dropped to one; and the general deterioration in the aspect of the churches' response was highlighted by the total sum raised, for at 31 December, 1868 this stood at no more than £22:11:11.[1] So far as recurrent support for the cause on the part of specific congregations was concerned, the pattern which had emerged in 1867 was repeated and reinforced in the ensuing year. Hence only one church (that of Sanday in Orkney) which had figured amongst those earlier responding to the appeal was also included on the list of those which sent collections to the fund in 1868.[2] In essence, therefore, the severely diminished body of support registered for the American freedmen in 1868 would appear to have represented the last straggling remnants of congregational response to the U.P. Synod's appeal so fervently issued in May, 1866 - and so enthusiastically answered by the bulk of the denomination throughout the remainder of that year.

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1 With the addition of the balance from the previous year and sundry small sums the total funds for freedmen's aid at the end of 1868 were, however, £37:12: 5 - see treasurer's accounts in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 40, 1869, p. 318.

2 For details of the contributions to the U.P. appeal in 1868, see Appendix III (c).

Hindered, perhaps, by the fact that the denomination was simultaneously committed to providing general backing and financial help for a plethora of missionary activities all over the world, the U.P. Synod clearly could not, on the basis of one official appeal launched in the spring of 1866, indefinitely sustain a worthwhile level of congregational support for freedmen's aid. Certainly by the end of 1868 there needed to be a new, dynamic impetus for rank and file involvement in the cause, a fresh stimulus for raising once again a widespread, generous denominational response. This need was recognized, and came to be adequately provided for through the scheme set on foot in the autumn of 1868 by the Theological Hall Missionary Society. The nature of the Society's project and the outstanding measure of success which it achieved have already been discussed in some detail,[1] and it merely remains here to look more closely at the component elements of the total sum raised.

According to the Annual Report of the United Presbyterian Theological Hall Missionary Society for the year ended September, 1869, the gross amount collected on behalf of the American freedmen by that body over the twelve months from September, 1868 was £1,488:10: $9\frac{3}{4}$.[2] That figure comprised the proceeds of collections made at 284 meetings which the Society had organized plus contributions from individual donors, and there is every reason to accept that it represents the correct final total accumulated from these spheres. A measure of confusion is introduced in this connection, however, by the fact that the Report compiled by the treasurer of the U.P. Church's missionary funds does not precisely bear this figure out, but puts the total collected over the 1868-1869 Session at the slightly lower sum of £1,475: 5: $7\frac{3}{4}$.[3] The

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1 See above, pp. 34-38.

2 See extracts from Annual Report of the U.P. Theological Hall Missionary Society for year ended Sept., 1869, in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 52, April, 1870, p. 87.

3 See treasurer's Report headed "Collections on Behalf of the Emancipated Slaves of North America , Session 1868-1869, in the following Presbyteries", in ibid., p. 88.

discrepancy of £13: 5: 2 cannot be conclusively accounted for, but the most likely explanation would seem to be that a few donations from individuals were quite simply omitted in error from the treasurer's final reckonings. In the event, the inconsistency is actually unimportant so far as analysing the basic character of the Theological Hall effort is concerned; and it is obviously not large enough to arouse any doubts as to the general volume of the financial support given to that scheme. It was only in the treasurer's Report that there appeared details regarding the origins and relative amount of the various sums raised: and having acknowledged that it may in fact represent a slightly erroreous figure, it is therefore nevertheless on the treasurer's somewhat smaller total of £1,475: 5: $7\frac{3}{4}$ that an analysis of the Theological Hall's collections must of necessity be based.

From the inception of the appeal for funds to send ten thousand Bibles to the American freedmen until its termination a year later, an unspecified number of private donors contributed a total of £121:14:$7\frac{1}{2}$. But valuable and encouraging though that particular vein of support must certainly have been, it was clearly towards arousing a generous response at congregational level that the students in the Theological Hall Missionary Society directed the brunt of their efforts. In aiming primarily at that objective, they imposed upon their scheme a character broadly similar to that of the campaign mounted by the U.P. Synod in May, 1866, and the nature of their ultimate achievement was also in keeping with the earlier pattern inasmuch as it represented a successful attempt to engage the sympathies of rank and file church members throughout Scotland. The sheer quantity of fund raising meetings (284 in all) organized by the Society indicates that these were activities not confined mainly to the areas of densest population but gatherings which took place all over the country. And the eventual outcome of this vigorous, wide-ranging endeavour was a phenomenal revival of interest in and support for the freedmen's cause amongst United Presbyterians in every part

of Scotland.

Perhaps because the total response was too large to be conveniently published in full detail in the 1869 issue of the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, the contributions to the Theological Hall's appeal were listed not in terms of the many sums collected from specific congregations (as had been the practice with regard to the contributions made in 1866, 1867 and 1868 to the Synod's appeal), but in the form of the amounts raised within entire Presbyteries. That the geographical spread no less than the substantial extent of the support made feasible the adoption of such a procedure testifies to a high incidence of participation in the effort by individual U.P. churches through the length and breadth of the land. It is clear that in all, twenty-two Presbyteries became involved to some degree in actively supporting the Theological Hall Missionary Society's scheme.[1] These split up, according to geographical location, into Presbyteries in the Eastern District and Presbyteries in the Western District; and they were fairly equally distributed over the two areas, twelve being situated in the Eastern District and ten in the Western.

The expanse of country from north to south which had been successfully covered by the appeal was well demonstrated in the composition of the list pertaining to the Presbyteries in the Eastern District. Having planned and organized their effort at least to the extent of appointing two superintendents to direct activities in the two regions,[2] the Theological Hall students could enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that they had aroused a sympathetic appreciation of their aim in communities as far apart as Orkney and London. Thus, included in the collections made within the Eastern District was the

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1 For the information given in the Treasurer's Report regarding Presbytery contributions, see Appendix III (d).

2 See earlier reference to these above, p. 35.
Unfortunately, no detailed information has been found about the way in which the Theological Hall Missionary Society developed and co-ordinated its appeal throughout the country.

substantial sum of £31: 9: 4 from the Presbytery of Orkney, while not far behind that in its level of financial support was the city of London, whose U.P. congregations contributed to the fund a combined total of £23: 0: $2\frac{1}{2}$. In between these two geographical extremes there developed a broad chain of involvement in the scheme which stretched all the way down the eastern side of Scotland. The interest stirred up within highland and northern U.P. churches was reflected in a contribution of £15:16: 2 from the Presbytery of Inverness and Elgin. In the North-East, collections made in Aberdeen and Buchan amounted to £25:14: 7. From districts further south the response was even greater with, for instance, churches in the Perth Presbytery contributing £59:13: 4, those in the Presbytery of Dunfermline and Kinross raising in all £35: 6: $1\frac{1}{4}$, and collections among the U.P. congregations in Edinburgh yielding a total of £140: 7: 0. This remarkably comprehensive level of participation by United Presbyterians in the east of Scotland was completed by weighty support from the borders, where the Presbytery of Melrose and Kelso succeeded in producing a total of £74: 2:11$\frac{1}{2}$, and the churches assigned to the Berwick Presbytery collected £35:11: 8.[1] At the end of the year's campaign, the Theological Hall Missionary Society had collected from the twelve Presbyteries in the Eastern District the sum of £500: 1:11$\frac{1}{4}$.[2]

But while a large measure of financial support was therefore obtained from the eastern region, by September, 1869 the Society had also, of course, raised an exceedingly gratifying amount from churches in the west of Scotland. It was a feature of the 1868-1869 effort, no less than of the 1866 one, that it ultimately encompassed practically every area of the country: accordingly,

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1 The Presbyteries referred to here do not constitute the entire number included on the list for the Eastern District. For the complete list of these, see Appendix III (d).

2 See ibid.

included in the list of collections made within Presbyteries in the Western District were extremely high sums from towns situated in the heart of the industrial belt, as well as very considerably smaller contributions from Presbyteries moulded around modest towns and rural parishes. The latter category of denominational support was thus represented by, for instance, the Presbytery of Annandale and Dumfries which raised £37:16:11½; by that of Carlisle and Galloway, where collections amounted to £15: 9: 0; and by the Presbytery of Stirling which contributed £9: 2: 1. At the other end of the scale, Kilmarnock Presbytery augmented the Theological Hall's fund with the sum of £103: 1: 0¾. Considerably exceeding even that impressive figure, the total from collections made within the populous, industrial Presbytery of Paisley and Greenock reached £159:16: 1. And by far the largest amount to be collected within a single Presbytery in the Western (or, indeed, the Eastern) District came from Glasgow, where U.P. congregations contributed a massive £378:16: 0¾. Obviously greatly boosted, therefore, by the exceedingly generous measure of the support derived from areas of high population and, accordingly, of denominational strength, the total sum raised in the Western District by the members of the Theological Hall Missionary Society during their year's effort amounted to £853: 9: 1.[1]

It would seem valid to suggest that the gulf of over £353 which ultimately came to exist between the smaller total collected within the twelve Presbyteries in the Eastern District and the remarkably large amount raised by the ten situated in the west of the country was to a very considerable extent attributable to the relative distribution of U.P. numbers and congregational wealth over the two regions. There was, for instance, a markedly strong level

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1 For a complete list of the ten Presbyteries in the west which were involved in the scheme, and a record of their collections, see Appendix III (d).

of adherence to the denomination in the key areas of Glasgow, Paisley and Greenock;[1] and between them, these Presbyteries were able to produce in response to the Theological Hall's appeal a sum of a magnitude which could not easily be equalled even by the combined achievements of several of the much smaller Presbyteries in the east of Scotland. Indeed, it was not merely that the amount thus collected gave the Western District a well-nigh unassailable lead over the Eastern District in terms of overall financial support raised: in fact, taken together the contributions from Glasgow, Paisley and Greenock actually exceeded by almost £40 the total collected within all of the Presbyteries in the eastern region.

Although the U.P. Theological Hall was certainly situated in Glasgow, there is no reason to assume that as a consequence the members of its Missionary Society would have conducted a significantly more energetic and thorough campaign there than they did elsewhere. On the contrary, it may be suggested that only a sustained round of exceedingly enthusiastic, vigorous and intensive activity in all parts of the country could have secured for them such a widespread response to their appeal. And if the students in the Theological Hall nevertheless did achieve their greatest measure of tangible success in Glasgow, it was not so much as a result of any exceptional concentration of effort there but primarily because they had, in the city, such a splendidly broad and lucrative field to work on.

Since the sum collected within Glasgow Presbytery is so outstandingly large, it becomes difficult to place it on a comparative basis with the amounts raised in other places. Perhaps the best way, however, to put the city's response into some sort of perspective is to consider it in relation to the response made by Edinburgh. In a very real sense, the disparity in

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1 There were forty-nine U.P. churches in the Glasgow Presbytery and thirteen in the Presbytery of Paisley and Greenock.

the totals raised within Scotland's two principal cities is a microcosm of the general pattern which ultimately obtained with regard to the overall totals raised in the Eastern and Western Districts. Accordingly, as the east's measure of financial support fell far short of the west's, so Edinburgh Presbytery's contribution to the Theological Hall appeal reached only £140: 7: 0 as against the £378:16: 0¾ from Glasgow. With a smaller body of congregations to draw upon,[1] the U.P. Presbytery in the capital therefore did not come near to matching the level of its Glasgow counterpart's collections in 1868-1869.

Significantly, this situation had a direct precedent, however. It was not only in respect of the Theological Hall Missionary Society's scheme that denominational support from Edinburgh trailed well short, in financial terms at least, of that from Glasgow. Hence in the initial responses made between May and December, 1866 to the U.P. Synod's early appeal for freedmen's aid, contributions from nine congregations in Glasgow amounted to £122:19: 3, while the proceeds of collections made in seven Edinburgh churches added up to only £69: 2: 5.[2] It was, then, somewhat in keeping with past performance that Glasgow's U.P. churches should have responded so liberally to the Theological Hall Missionary Society's renewed call for a collective effort on behalf of the American freedmen. The markedly widespread sympathy shown within the Presbytery towards the Society's aims was amply demonstrated by the fact that tangible support was not confined to several huge contributions from the larger and wealthier churches, but was derived from a great many congregations throughout the city and its immediate environs. Thus, following meetings addressed by deputations from the Theological Hall Missionary Society and held in collaboration with a number of U.P. churches

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1 There were twenty-six U.P. churches in the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

2 See details in Appendix III (a).

on Sunday 7 March, 1869, collections made forthwith in eighteen churches within Glasgow and neighbourhood yielded a total of £129:13:11½.[1] Of these contributions, marginally the highest was the sum of £16: 6: 6 from the Rev. William Sprott's U.P. church at Queen's Park; but that achievement was closely challenged by Ibrox U.P. church (the charge of the Rev. Joseph Leckie), Berkeley Street U.P. church (the charge of the Rev. William Ramage), and John Street U.P. church (the charge of the Rev. Dr. William Anderson), where collections reached £15:14:10, £15, and £14:15:10 respectively.[2] The amounts donated by the remaining fourteen congregations fall in exactly equal number into two distinct ranges, seven of them exceeding £5 and the other seven being under that figure.[3]

Over the ensuing six weeks support for the Theological Hall students' appeal continued to grow very appreciably, so that by late April a further £90:19: 6 had been collected within another sixteen churches in the city. Among this additional group of congregational responses, the most impressive effort was represented by the £22: 7: 6 raised in the Rev. J. Dobie's Shamrock Street U.P. church. Although considerably short of that total, the fairly substantial sum of £13 was contributed by Pollockshaw's U.P. church, ministered by the Rev. R. Whyte. And the proceeds of a collection made at the Rev. Thomas Dunlop's church at Balfron came to £8: 1: 0, while the amount collected by the Rev. W. Morrison in Eglinton Street U.P. church was only a few pence short of that.[4] For the most part, then, these figures were

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1 See North British Daily Mail, 10 March, 1869

2 See list of churches and their collections for the scheme in ibid.

3 See ibid. Of the seven collections which amounted to over £5, the two highest were those of £10 from the Rev. Dr. Johnston's U.P. church at Govan, and £9: 3: 6 from Gorbals U.P. church, the charge (since 1853) of David Macrae's father, the Rev. David Macrae, M.A. Only three collections amounted to less than £2, the lowest of all being the £1 raised in the Rev. Robert M. Gibson's East Partick U.P. church - see ibid.

4 See list of churches and their collections for the scheme in Glasgow Herald, 24 April, 1869.

notably smaller than the largest figures recorded on the March list of church collections; and the remainder of the congregational contributions were also of a somewhat lesser size, only two out of the twelve amounting to more than £5.[1] Perhaps of greater significance, however, than the comparatively more modest level of their collections was the fact that none of these sixteen Glasgow congregations had been included amongst those which responded in early March to the Theological Hall's appeal. It consequently becomes clear that in the short space of time from the beginning of March until late April, 1869, the members of the Theological Hall Missionary Society successfully involved in their scheme at least thirty-four U.P. churches in the city of Glasgow and neighbourhood alone. And it testifies to the overwhelming importance of that particular area of support that of the £378:16:0¾ raised in Glasgow Presbytery as a whole during the Society's year-long effort, no less than £220:13: 5½ was therefore collected in these six weeks of the spring of 1869.

The gross amount raised between September, 1868 and September, 1869 by the Theological Hall students from Presbytery collections in both the Eastern and Western Districts and through private donations naturally formed the vast proportion of the funds accumulated by the U.P. Church for freedmen's aid during 1869. But it nevertheless did not quite constitute the entire total which entered the denomination's coffers for that specific purpose over the year. Thus, the figures published in the treasurer's Report indicates that with the addition to the Theological Hall Missionary Society's £1,475: 5: 7½ of three small sums embodying the proceeds of a collection at a U.P. Annual Meeting, the balance from 1868, and the interest accruing on money in hand, the total funds raised on behalf of the American freedmen during the fifteen months from late September, 1868 to the end of

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1 See ibid.

December, 1869 were £1,495: 0: 0¾.[1]

As we have already observed,[2] the members of the Theological Hall Missionary Society were themselves astounded at the resounding success of their scheme, originally aimed as it was merely at arousing sufficient denominational support to send ten thousand Bibles to the AMA for distribution amongst the freed Negroes. Their achievement in ultimately raising nearly £1,500 was not only (as they fully realized[3]) unprecedented in the history of the Society but was also far in excess of the results of the effort mounted within the Church on behalf of the American freedmen between 1866 and 1868.[4] Following what had been, therefore, an exceedingly high level of congregational participation, there occurred an understandable lull in U.P. contributions to the freedmen's cause. Due partly, perhaps, to a Synodical wish to concentrate church members' attention for a time, at least, on other needy missionary spheres, there accordingly were no collective U.P. remittances to the American freedmen during the years 1870, 1871 and 1872.

It is, however, one of the most remarkable and unique features about the United Presbyterian Church's response to freedmen's aid appeals that the enthusiastic spirit which had led to widespread rank and file support for the cause during the mid-late 1860s by no means evaporated over these three years of denominational inactivity but was, on the contrary, fully and vigorously renewed in the mid 1870s. By that period, the entire organized British freedmen's aid movement, far less the always essentially sporadic, unco-ordinated Scottish branch of it, had of course long ceased to function in an active sense. Yet, with conspicuously no national impelling force as

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1 See treasurer's Report (section headed "General Abstract of Receipts") in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 52, 1870, p. 88.

2 See above, p. 36.

3 See above, pp. 35, 36.

4 The sum total of the amounts raised over the three years 1866, 1867, and 1868 in response to the Synod's appeal of May, 1866, was £838:19: 3.

a possible source of inspiration, in 1873 the Voluntaries nevertheless once again responded in an incredibly liberal fashion to the call to help the freed slaves of America. At this late date the immediate object of their philanthropy was the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society; and in support of that organization they contributed over the year the large sum of £1,114:2:8.[1] Unfortunately, since the relevant issue of the U.P. Missionary Record gives only a bare intimation of the amount thus remitted, no information exists as to the manner in which it was raised or the geographical spread of the congregations which participated.

With regard to this particular contribution, indeed, the Missionary Record fails even to indicate the precise nature of the appeal launched within the U.P. Church at that time. There is every liklihood, however, that the financial assistance was given in direct response to a campaign conducted by the Rev. Dr. Healy of New Orleans, the corresponding secretary of the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society. Healy had definitely addressed meetings in Scotland towards the end of 1872 in an attampt to arouse the Scottish public's awareness of and sympathy for the aims of his Society.[2] These aims were exactly of a kind calculated to stimulate once more a generous measure of support from the U.P. denomination, for the stated objective of the organization was to educate as missionaries American freedmen who would eventually be sent out on evangelistic duty. It seems unlikely, however, that the United Presbyterians would have become closely acquainted with the operations of the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society had it not been for a measure of personal

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1 See "Contributions for Freedmen of America" for the period from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1873, in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 100, 1874, p. 112.

2 See report of a public meeting held on behalf of the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society in Free South Church, Aberdeen, on 25 Nov., 1872, in Aberdeen Journal, 27 Nov., 1872. For details of the proceedings there, see above, pp. 149-150.

contact formed with a deputy such as Healy. And whatever the situation which obtained in respect of the sum remitted in 1873, it is certain that during the following year Healy was the specific agency through which a further massive denominational contribution was sent to the Society. Thus, amongst the financial statements contained in the Missionary Record for 1875, it is indicated that by way of the support enlisted throughout 1874 for "Dr. Healy's scheme", the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society had by the end of that year received from the U.P. Church in Scotland funds totalling £1,709:15:0.[1]

The Voluntaries' achievement in 1874 on behalf of the American organization is wholly remarkable not only because it was accomplished at a time when widespread British interest in the freedmen's cause had long since waned, but also inasmuch as it even surpassed, in terms of the amount of money raised, the achievement of the Theological Hall Missionary Society in 1868-1869. Yet, the unprecedented magnitude of the sum collected over these twelve months did not incline the United Presbyterians immediately to terminate all tangible support for missionary endeavour amongst the American freedmen. Far from constituting a glorious conclusion to U.P. involvement in that specific sphere of activity, the contribution transmitted in 1874 to the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society was followed up the next year by another amounting to £508:1:11.[2] This, too, represented the fruits of a denominational effort aimed in the first instance at benefiting "Dr. Healy's scheme"; and during 1876, a further £33:6:8 was donated for the same purpose.[3]

Clearly, as against those of the previous year the total funds raised

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1 See "Contributions for Freedmen of America" for the period from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1874, in Missionary Record of the U.P. Church, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 112, 1875, p. 447.

2 See financial statement headed "Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - Dr. Healy's scheme", covering the period from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1875, in ibid., New Series, Vol. 6, No. 124, 1876, p. 113.

3 See financial statement headed "Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - Dr. Healy's scheme", covering the period from 1 Jan to 31 Dec., 1876, in ibid., Vol. 6, No. 136, 1877, p. 457.

in 1876 signify, however, a very substantial diminution in church members' responses to the recurrent appeals made by Healy and his Society. And the trend thus begun was indeed a significant and lasting one, for thereafter, the level of financial assistance given by the United Presbyterians to projects associated with the American freedmen continued to fall. Hence during the whole of 1877, the claims of the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - advanced at that stage by the Rev. D.J. Sanders - were answered with only one donation of £4:6:4.[1] In the following year, the effort made on behalf of the Society was in fact considerably greater, the sum of £20 being contributed from the beginning of January to the end of December, 1878.[2] But the improvement was essentially transitory; at the close of 1879 financial support raised throughout the year stood at a mere £17:11:8.[3] And that small total was the last amount recorded as having been raised within the U.P. Church on behalf of the American freedmen. With the dawning of the 1880s, the attentions and philanthropic spirit of its congregations were increasingly turned to the ever greater number of missionary fields and missionary activities in all parts of the globe.

The dwindling during the late 1870s of United Presbyterian support for appeals made by the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society is a process which can not, of course, validly be held to reflect badly on the denomination. All things considered, it was, on the contrary, a laudable achievement on its part to have maintained <u>any</u> level of financial aid for the American freedmen at that

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1 See financial statement headed "Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - Rev. J. Sanders' scheme", covering the period from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1877, in <u>ibid</u>., Vol. 7, No. 148, 1878, p. 110.
For an earlier reference to Sanders, see above, pp. 18-19.

2 See financial statement headed "Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - Rev. J. Sanders' scheme", covering the period 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1878, in <u>Missionary Record of the U.P. Church</u>, Vol. 8 No. 160, 1879, p. 468.

3 See financial statement headed "Freedmen's Mission Aid Society - Rev. J. Sanders' scheme", covering the period from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1879, in <u>ibid</u>., New Series, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 125.

late date. The only other body, religious or secular, within Britain to preserve an equally lengthy practical involvement in that philanthropic sphere would appear to have been the Quakers:[1] and if the extent of their contributions in the last two or three years of the decade was substantially higher than that of the United Presbyterians,[2] many factors (not least the tremendously active and predominant role which Friends had earlier assumed in the national freedmen's aid organizations and, in comparison to the Voluntaries, their relatively greater strength in wealth and numbers) contributed towards making the disparity a highly likely, if not, indeed, a perfectly predictable one. Furthermore, judged by any standards the U.P. Church's achievement in raising over £1,700 during 1874 was an impressive one.

Yet, it might be suggested that at least as regards assessing the quality of the denomination's overall response to freedmen's aid, the most significant point about the large sum contributed in 1874 to Healy's scheme is that it fitted quite comfortably, and not at all incongruously, into the level of financial assistance previously given to various appeals of a related nature. This being so, it becomes evident that the U.P. Church's general performance on behalf of the freedmen's cause down through the entire era of American Reconstruction can hardly be regarded as less than admirable and, in the context of Scottish responses, unique. Obviously by no means prepared to rest fully content with the substantial denominational contributions transmitted for freedmen's aid during the early post-Civil War years, the Voluntaries continued up until the very close of the 1870s to display

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 250-252. It becomes clear from Vaughan's study that the Quaker's financial support for the freedmen terminated at around the same time as that of the United Presbyterians, having apparently not extended beyond 1880-1881.

2 In 1878, Friends' donations for freedmen's aid amounted to £283, and in 1880, to a total of £145:7:0 - see ibid., p. 251.

a repeated willingness to participate in raising further generous funds for that broad objective. And the sustained enthusiasm and intensity of their participation was indeed well reflected in the full extent of the financial support given over the years. Hence, from the launching in May, 1866 of the U.P. Synod's initial denominational appeal on behalf of the American freedmen to the last officially recorded donations for the Freedmen's Mission Aid Society in 1879, the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland contributed to the freedmen's aid cause a total sum of £5,741:13:6¾. [1]

To some extent, the denomination's active and markedly strong connections, earlier in the century, with the Scottish campaign for the abolition of slavery would undoubtedly have had an effect in helping to create amongst its members so creditable and enduring an interest in the physical and spiritual welfare of America's emancipated Negro population. Nevertheless, for the majority of United Presbyterians, their Church's worthy abolitionist tradition probably did not constitute either the most significant or even the most immediate stimulus for their efforts on behalf of the freedmen: in view most especially of the remarkable frequency with which the Voluntaries were prepared to contribute liberal sums to appeals for aid, it seems clear that there was a more fundamental and vigorous impetus behind their actions. It

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1 It perhaps conveys something of the apparently exceptional magnitude of the U.P. achievement to note that her general survey of British responses to freedmen's aid, Dr. Christine A. Bolt, British Attitudes to Reconstruction, p. 318, concluded that all the various religious groups in Britain (excluding the Quakers but including the several Scottish Presbyterian denominations) raised between them only around £5,000. Dr. Bolt's study tends to give the impression that £641:18:6, remitted to the AMA in early 1867 and referred to by the U.P. Church's General Secretary in his explanatory letter to William Smeal (see David Crawford to William Smeal, 9 April, 1867, GFAS Minute Book, p. 46), represented the full amount contributed by the United Presbyterians for freedmen's aid - see British Attitudes to Reconstruction, p. 316. That sum was, in fact, merely the balance which was left, after the deduction of expenses, for dispatch to the AMA out of the £692:3:11 collected from the congregations between July and December, 1866 in response to the U.P. Synod's initial appeal.

can accordingly be suggested that the vital incentive encouraging repeated contributions to that cause was one which was indeed central to the Church's chosen sphere of Christian labour, being quite simply the paramount importance attached within the denomination to missionary effort.

The predominant ethos of the Scottish United Presbyterian Church in the 1860s and '70s was both derived from and still dominated by the concern to aid as well as to establish, fields of missionary endeavour throughout the world. That pervasive concept naturally formed a basis within the Church for a widespread and substantial financial response to appeals made on behalf of the American freedmen. And the measure of tangible support actually contributed throughout the Reconstruction years indicated that there was certainly no lack of genuine congregational enthusiasm for that specific objective. At the same time, there should perhaps also be recognized the possibility that strikingly liberal funds were raised for freedmen's aid not only as a result of purely spontaneous offerings by individual United Presbyterians but also because the Church did to some extent impose a duty on its members to support such calls for aid. The existence of a clearly defined and vigorously pursued denominational priority, a faithful rallying round that priority by rank and file church members, and a sincere and fervent belief amongst them in the ideals which it enshrined, were therefore the key factors which combined to make the U.P. Church's financial support for appeals on behalf of the American freedmen by far the most generous and sustained of that achieved by any section of the community in Scotland.

VII. Conclusions

It becomes clear that as the Scottish anti-slavery campaign had in its most influencial elements tended to pursue a line independent of the main-stream campaign in England, so in a much less spectacular sense there existed peculiarities in the structure and functioning of the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland. Most notable in this respect was, of course, the marked absence

of organized local activity on a scale comparable to that which obtained in England. That basic difference naturally had wide ramifications for the character of the respective movements as a whole, and one of the signal effects of the sporadic and largely unco-ordinated nature of the Scottish effort was to increase the importance of the role of individuals in arousing public sympathy and support for the cause. Thus the activities of Sella Martin in particular and, to a lesser extent, of the American delegates Storrs and Thome, would appear to have assumed a considerably greater significance in the Scottish sphere than in the English one. And in the context of the public meeting, it was sought to make an impact on the middle class audiences by repeatedly employing the fervent eloquence of such prominent Scotsmen as the Duke of Argyll, the Rev. Drs. Guthrie and Macleod, and W.E. Baxter.

In general (excluding from consideration the well organized and co-ordinated U.P. efforts), Scottish support for freedmen's aid was registered in a series of desultory and largely unconnected community responses instead of taking the form, as in England, of public philanthropic gestures which were organized and directed by members of freedmen's aid Societies and echoed by similar gestures up and down the country. Consideration has already been given to the probability that certain basic cultural differences existent between the two societies greatly encouraged the development of a dissimilar pattern of response to freedmen's aid appeals in Scotland and England. And in this connection it has also been suggested that one of the most significant features was the strength of the Quaker community in England and (by comparison) its relatively negligible size north of the border.[1]

It seems valid to conclude that the Quakers, both in terms of individual and group effort, did more than any other body of people to mould the general character of English participation in the freedmen's cause. Hence it was they

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1 See above, pp. 40-43.

who had been first to establish organized schemes of aid for that purpose in Britain; and members of the Society of Friends ultimately assumed a leading, dynamic role in constructing and conducting the national freedmen's aid movement. Their substantial numerical representation in provincial freedmen's aid associations throughout England reflects their importance in both initiating and sustaining organized activity in that philanthropic sphere. It was very probably no mere coincidence that Scotland's only formal freedmen's aid society should have been situated in Glasgow - in a city, that is, where a lively strain of Quakerism and, more specifically, Quaker abolitionist tradition, was represented in the brothers William and Robert Smeal. And if Robert Smeal remained content to advance the interests of organized freedmen's aid effort from the pages of his British Friend, William, as we have seen, duly became possibly the most active and conscientious member of the GFAS. No one factor can stand accountable for the lack in Scotland of an organizational approach to freedmen's aid: but it may well have been that the absence of a sufficiently large Quaker element was one of the more important causes behind the country's failure to establish a network of urban freedmen's aid Societies.

As a factor tending to create basic differences in the character of the two countries' responses to the freedmen's cause, the contrasting cultural backgrounds of Scotland and England come again positively to the fore in relation to the effort of the Scottish United Presbyterian Church. In respect of both the total sum raised and the lengthy duration of the involvement, there was no remotely comparable performance on the part of an institutionalized English religious denomination. The Voluntaries' achievement on behalf of the freedmen could be said to correspond to that of the Friends in England. Yet in its way it perhaps sprung considerably more closely and directly from within the country's society at large, for the U.P. Church was an accepted, major element of mainstream Presbyterianism in Scotland and as such, an integral and fairly substantial part of the fabric of Scottish life, with churches and

congregations in parishes large and small throughout the length and breadth of the country. By contrast, the Quakers in England constituted still very much a distinct, separate group, and as a consequence their contributions for freedmen's aid remained in essence Quaker contributions as opposed to "English" contributions. On the other hand, because Voluntaryism represented only a specific (and popular) form of Presbyterianism and not, like Quakerism, a completely alternative form of Christian practice embraced by a relatively small section of the community, the U.P. contributions were in a very real sense "Scottish" contributions also.

The want of organized bodies active in the freedmen's aid sphere naturally helped to ensure that the Scottish people would adopt markedly diverse channels through which to register their support for the cause; and the result of the existence of just such a nebulous pattern of response is to render it impossible to calculate accurately the total amount raised for freedmen's aid within Scotland during the Reconstruction years. A very rough estimate, based on the contributions made in the principal towns and cities in 1865 and 1868, on the U.P. collections, and on scattered sums donated at various intervals by various individuals and organizations, puts the figure at £10,448:15: 7. It must be emphasized, however, that this by no means purports to represent the full, accurate extent of Scottish financial support for the American freedmen. Yet, it would seem valid to claim that the sum does at least encompass the most substantial sources of Scottish aid: and taken on its merits as such, it is a figure which suggests that Scotland's total response fell somewhat short of the level which it needed to reach in order to be commensurate with the total British contribution which, at the close of the 1870s, amounted to around £120,000.[1]

But despite what would appear, then, to have been a proportionately modest practical achievement, perhaps in view of all the circumstances(and most especially the conspicuous lack of sustained organized activity) Scotland's

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1 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 253.

effort on behalf of the freedmen was not too inglorious a reflection on the community's humanitarianism and philanthropy. Furthermore, viewed in a wider perspective the generally splendid attendances at public freedmen's aid meetings throughout Scotland, the frequent and widespread attention which the cause received in the Scottish press, and, of course, the exceptional nature of the United Presbyterians' involvement demonstrate that on the whole, interest in aiding the freedmen and a popular spirit of concern for them was in no sense dormant or lacking in the country. And if, in terms of the level of financial support raised, the freedmen's aid cause seems somehow to signify a waning of the old abolitionist crusade in Scotland, this may well have been a situation caused at least partially by an unfortunate failure to organize a network of indigenous associations dedicated to keeping the movement constantly in the public eye.

CHAPTER X

Ancilliary Aspects of the Scottish Involvement in the Freedmen's Aid Cause: the potential for objection, and the popular facet of the movement

If the pattern of Scotland's participation in the freedmen's aid movement was essentially erratic and its total financial contribution somewhat less than that which might have been expected from a country claiming such a strong anti-slavery tradition, it becomes clear that there nevertheless did exist within a substantial section of the Scottish middle class community a distinct readiness actively to support the freedmen's aid cause. It was a spirit which persisted, in varying extent, throughout the era of American Reconstruction and which manifested itself during the later stages not only in the large sums collected by the United Presbyterian Church in the mid 1870s but also (as will be seen) in the tremendously warm receptions given to the Jubilee Singers and Josiah ("Uncle Tom") Henson. But it was also, of necessity, a spirit confined to a limited proportion of the population: there was not, of course, a unanimous national will to respond favourably to American appeals for assistance in providing for the physical, educational and spiritual needs of the emancipated slaves. On the contrary, there developed attitudes which were positively hostile towards the entire concept of Scottish people giving donations to the cause.

I Arguments against Scottish participation in philanthropic causes such as freedmen's aid

We have already noted[1] the existence of certain objections grounded in the argument that British philanthropic aid for the American Negroes was highly damaging to the precious principle of self-help. And opposition was also stated by labelling as inimical meddlers and "negrophilists" those who sought in any way to support the campaign. With regard to the enunciation of such sentiments, the vitriolic Carlylean tradition was of course most

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1 See above, Chapter VII, pp. 150-155.

vigorously kept alive by Charles Mackay; and he was on occasion assisted by that stalwart advocate of individual effort and enterprise and enemy of "do-gooders", the Edinburgh Courant.[1] Nor did these two strands of opposition represent the entire basis of the attack on contributions for freedmen's aid. In addition, Scottish involvement in that particular venture also afforded splendid scope for the emergence of the incisive argument that Scottish philanthropy should first be directed towards deserving causes in Britain itself. Admittedly, there has been discovered no solid core of evidence pointing to the existence of a widespread assertion of that argument throughout the country. But at the same time, there do appear certain isolated statements and allusions in the Scottish press which suggest that there may have been within Scotland some largely unvoiced corpus of opinion to the effect that charity should begin at home.

Certainly, an interesting, and probably a revealing, example of the way in which that line of thought could indeed be ingeniously linked to the Scottish freedmen's aid campaign is offered in the structure and content of an editorial which appeared in the North British Daily Mail on 23 September, 1865. The leade writer's column was on that occasion divided into two subject sections , the first of which comprised a brief mention of "a somewhat numerous and influential [public] meeting" which had been held under the auspices of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society in the City Hall the previous evening. Comment on the meeting was exceedingly meagre, being confined simply to the observation that the "claims and necessities" of the freedmen had been "well and eloquently" urged.[2]

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1 See, for example, an editorial in Edinburgh Courant, 26 Oct., 1866, which strongly expressed the hope that the appointment of Lord Cranborne as Secretary for India would herald a departure from the state of affairs existing in that country under the Governor-Generalship of Sir John Lawrence. Lawrence, it was averred, had acted on the misguided belief that natives coming into contact with British capitalists became immediately "oppressed", and in consequence had "refuse[d] British capital and enterprise fair play in the improvement of India and the development of its resources". The Courant hoped that under Cranborne the system would change, "and that the philanthropic twaddle which had ruined the Southern States of America, not to speak of our own West Indian islands, and which now threatens to ruin prosperous Java, will no longer be allowed to cramp and check the development of the resources of India."

2 North British Daily Mail, 23 Sept., 1865.

Directly below this laconic reference there was printed the main leading article, a lengthy piece of work devoted to consideration of the Royal Commissioners' fourth report on the employment of children in industries not included in the Factory Act. As was to be expected in a newspaper whose editor was a zealous campaigner against social and industrial abuses and injustices in Britain,[1] it strongly advocated the extension of the Act and took much trouble to stress the serious damage caused to family ties and to the children's physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing by permitting them to work incessantly in those industries which fell outside the Act's legislation. Having thus soundly condemned the general practice of using child labour under these circumstances, the leader went on to indicate the proximity of the evils which it created. The Commissioners' report, it stated, showed the existence in Glasgow of industries which provided examples of ignorance among children employed almost as bad as that obtaining in Yorkshire and Lancashire. In the Mail's considered judgement, the eventual extension of the Factory Act was certainly a legislative move to be looked forward to: but the paper also fully realized that it was nevertheless an enactment which would only very slowly make its practical effects felt. Hence the editorial concluded by emphasizing that the young workers in these industries would require to be instructed by voluntary agencies for many years to come, and that there would for long remain plenty of room for philanthropists to teach the children concerned good conduct and manners as well as the rudiments of education.

It was in the light of its recognition of the philanthropists' role in that connection the the Mail issued a significant and outspoken objection to the tendency to concentrate a substantial proportion of charitable effort on foreign missionary causes:

> Charity begins at home; and we are strongly of the opinion that the clergymen and ladies who spend their time and money in attempting to Christianise the South Sea Islanders and Patagonians by means of missionaries and Scripture pocket

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1 See biographical note in Appendix I for reference to Dr. Charles Cameron's standing in this respect.

> handkerchiefs, might turn their zeal to much more profitable account in endeavouring to civilise and reform the barbarians at our own doors. 1

In view of the stinging criticism thus directed at the breadth of the British philanthropists' field of concern, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the North British Daily Mail intentionally preceded its leading article on child labour and the Factory Act with the editorial reference to the Glasgow freedmen's aid meeting. While that specific sphere of foreign philanthropic effort was not, of course, brought up for direct censure in the main leader, the placing of the two articles immediately beside each other in the same column does strongly imply a positive aim on the editor's part to establish a tacit connection between them. And certainly, in seeking to reinforce its argument that charity should be more strictly confined to the domestic front, the Mail stood to gain by forming just such a connection.

Thus, by choosing to shun overt protestations against Scottish support for freedmen's aid, the paper avoided bringing down upon itself an unwanted barrage of attack from members of the GFAS and others in Glasgow and elsewhere at a time when the cause was attracting considerable sympathetic attention as a new and worthwhile one. But at the same time, by shrewdly "planting" its editorial stories, it was also able perhaps, to arouse in the minds of at least a proportion of its readers an impression that a substantial number of influential Glaswegians were prepared to help the emancipated Negroes of America more readily than they were prepared to help a pitiable group of children within their own city. That the Mail may well have contrived to make that inference is further suggested by the fact that a narrative report of the proceedings at the Glasgow freedmen's aid meeting was published on the same page as the editorial comment. [2]

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1 North British Daily Mail, 23 Sept., 1865.

2 See ibid., p. 4.

While one of the most popular newspapers in the West of Scotland therefore tended implicitly to link local efforts on behalf of the ex-slaves with a reproach to British philanthropists for neglecting deserving causes nearer home, in that same context a much more direct rejection of Scottish involvement in the freedmen's aid campaign was, however, voiced a couple of years later by a citizen of Edinburgh. The specific episode which had the effect of bringing out into the open the strong opinions held on the subject by at least this one gentleman in the capital was the publication in the press of the main points made in a lecture delivered by the Rev. J. A. Thome of the AMA in Saloon No. 5, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh on 3 December, 1867. Reporting briefly on the event, the Scotsman stated that Thome had "set out the facts of what has been, and what is still to be done for the Southern freedmen", and also intimated that he had referred to the way in which Britain had contributed £100,000 to the cause even before any official appeal for the freedmen had been launched. His activities were accordingly being focussed on England and Scotland, the paper indicated, in order to "foster and encourage this generous spirit".[1]

It was the content of Thome's address as thus reported in the Scotsman which sufficiently aroused the ire of "R.M." to prompt him to write forthwith a letter of protest to the paper's editor. Clearly seeking to emphasize the sheer impertinence, as he saw it, of the American Missionary Association and similar organizations in transporting their campaigns across the Atlantic, he seized on Thome's alleged declaration that the British had with scant inducement donated £100,000 to make the cutting observation that "nevertheless, he will take as much more as people like to give". But the crux of "R.M's" message was that Scottish philanthropists must on no account allow the needs of the freedmen to take precedence over the needs of the poor, the suffering

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1 See report of lecture by the Rev. J. A. Thome, in Scotsman, 4 Dec., 1867.

and the ignorant in Britain. In view of the deplorable state of "educational destitution" existing among masses of people throughout the country, it was, he insisted, "something worse than impudence to make such an appeal as this for any class of Americans, and something worse than folly for people here to contribute". Admittedly, "true charity" should not end at home: "but before going to the other side of the globe to educate Negroes and poor whites, let us, in the name of common sense, first educate our own poor whites".[1]

It is likely that "R.M.'s" vigorous strictures and others of a similar nature being voiced within society were not entirely without impact in persuading potential Scottish philanthropists who had not by that time become especially committed to supporting the freedmen's aid cause to concentrate their benevolence on objectives nearer at hand. The strength throughout the country of the attitude that charity should begin at home cannot properly be gauged: but the sentiment may have been a commonly recurring one which on various occasions and through various channels inveigled its way into the popular consciousness. Thus we have already observed,[2] for instance, the forthright manner in which a labour recruiting agent (and he an emigrant Scot) from America could publicly advance that particular argument, and it seems reasonable to assume that an individual in his position would have been well placed to influence a fair proportion of his hearers to follow his

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1 Letter from "R.M.", Edinburgh, 4 Dec., 1867, in ibid., 6 Dec., 1867. Original emphasis.

The force of "R.M.'s" stated opposition elicited a reply from Thome. In a letter which appeared in the Scotsman on 7 Dec., he made it clear that his lecture had not been delivered at a public meeting but had been given at the request of a group of gentlemen who had assembled the week before to consider what should be done to bring the cause to the public's notice. He also corrected the statement in which it was reported that he said the British had given £100,000 before an appeal was started. That sum, he explained, in fact represented the total contributed by Britain both before and after the launching of the formal appeals. And in his letter, Thome also took pains to state why his endeavours had the warm support of "leading men and bodies in Scotland and in England" - letter from Rev. J.A. Thome, Edinburgh, 6 Dec., 1867, in ibid., 7 Dec., 1867.

2 See above, Chapter VII, p. 183.

reasoning. Other, yet more influential, personages may have preached the same creed with some measure of success.

It was therefore perhaps with the knowledge of the existence within Scotland of a disturbingly persistent body of such sentiment that the ELES, in its Annual Report for 1867, felt it necessary to take the trouble to refute the idea that help for the poor in Britain was inevitably diminished as a result of British philanthropic involvement in the freedmen's aid cause. Displaying the customary intensity of conviction in its beliefs, the Society declared that far from assistance being drained off from the needy at home in that way, it was on the contrary usually those who contributed most liberally to domestic causes who made an extra effort for the poor abroad:

> [W]e think it may be found that those who would shut up their sympathies from distant sufferers are not likely to let them flow very freely even towards those around them, for the principle of love and charity...is world embracing, it knows no distinctions, and recognizes a neighbour even in one of another race who has fallen by the wayside, spoiled and wounded, and ready to perish.[1]

Divested of its highly religious overtones, the ELES' basic contention was shared by the Duke of Argyll. Addressing the successful public freedmen's aid meeting held in City Hall, Glasgow on 27 January, 1868, Argyll echoed the sentiments earlier expressed by the Society when he stated that he had never met with people who were so engrossed with the cause of the American freedmen as to be indifferent to the wants and needs of the people at home. And looking at the matter the other way round, he reinforced the suggestion that those most active on behalf of foreign causes were likely to be those who were also the most generous in their support of charitable ventures in Britain. Hence he declared that if any man or woman in the hall could with truth say that their time, money and sympathy were so given up to the poor of their own country that they could not afford a small contribution, in

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1 Annual Report of the ELES...for the year ending 4th April, 1867, p. 18.

some form, to any other cause, then he would excuse them from participation in freedmen's aid.[1]

In arguing that philanthropy should transcend national boundaries, the Duke had six months before gone even further than he did at the Glasgow meeting. At the end of June, 1867 he had chaired a Public Breakfast held in honour of William Lloyd Garrison in St. James's Hall, London, and had on that occasion made abundantly clear the actual priority which he believed the claims of the American Negroes had on British charity. Those who objected that there was very great concern in Britain over the trials of the black population in the United States but not nearly enough over domestic suffering expressed, Argyll suggested, a viewpoint which had a certain use insofar as it recalled the duties which the benevolent had to fulfil on the home front. But he took care to emphasize that in his personal opinion there were special circumstances attaching to that particular transatlantic cause which gave it a marginally greater demand on the attention of British philanthropists:

> [O]n the other hand, I will never admit - for I think it would be confounding great moral distinctions - that the miseries which arise by way of natural consequence, act of poverty and the vices of mankind, [that is, the miseries within Britain] are to be compared with those miseries which are the direct result of positive law and of a positive institution, giving to man property in man.[2]

Speaking as he was at a function arranged in honour of one of the world's leading abolitionists, the Duke of Argyll was in this instance in fact referring primarily to the opposition which had been directed at the British anti-slavery campaign by individuals who insisted that active humanitarian involvement in that sphere was conducive to the neglect of those elements within Britain itself who for one reason or another were in need of immediate aid and consideration. But both his straightforward recall of

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1 Report of speech by the Duke of Argyll at a public meeting on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause held in City Hall, Glasgow, 27 Jan., 1868, in Glasgow Herald, 28 Jan., 1868.

2 Proceedings at the Public Breakfast held in honour of William Lloyd Garrison...in St. James's Hall, London, on...June 29th, 1867, p. 25.

these hostile sentiments, and his subsequent vindication of the British anti-slavery effort and the impressive philanthropic activity which necessarily accompanied it were, it might be suggested, highly apposite themes for him to pursue during the Reconstruction period itself: for one strand of the opposition to Scottish support for the freedmen's aid cause was based, as we have observed, on broadly the same argument and can therefore to some extent be seen as a direct continuation of one of the main strands of opposition to the Scottish agitation for abolition.

II. Anomalies in the behaviour of the "charitable"; the unexploited potential for opposition to the freedmen's aid activities of the Duke of Argyll and his associates

Some consideration has already been given to the significant tendency which existed within Scotland during the period of abolitionist activity to insist that the Negro slaves in the Southern States were actually relatively better off than the impoverished, oppressed factory workers of Britain, and that there was a danger that the urgent need to alleviate the plight of the latter was being tragically ignored as a result of concentration on the American cause.[1] And while they did not in fact pertain to charges of injustice and neglect towards urban British employees, some of the sharpest barbs fashioned on that broad line of reasoning were directed at the Duke of Argyll's own mother-in-law, the Duchess of Sutherland.

Easily the most thorough and bitter of the attacks on the Duchess of Sutherland in this respect was, of course, that made by the Sutherland man, Donald Macleod, in his celebrated refutation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's comments on her Scottish visit. The intense indignation which inspired Macleod to produce his book spilled out into the pages of Gloomy Memories

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1 See above, Chapter VII, pp. 234-235.

in the form of copious, scathing remarks on the British aristocracy's oppression of their tenantry. For the Duchess of Sutherland, the object of Mrs. Stowe's most fulsome admiration and his own greatest animosity, he naturally reserved his strongest condemnation. A central theme in his indictment of her policy and actions as a landowner was the accusation that while lavishing much well-publicized[1] concern and philanthropic effort on the slaves in the United States, she displayed only an extreme callousness in her treatment of the tenants on the Sutherland estates. It was a theme which McLeod repeated with tireless vigour; but the essence and depth of his feelings on the subject were well represented in one direct comparison which he made between the relative woes of the American slave and the Scottish tenant in Sutherland:

> [I]f it was possible or practicable to...bring nineteen thousand of the American slaves to Sutherlandshire, and give them all the indulgence, all the privileges, and comforts the aborigines of that county do enjoy,...they would rend the Heavens, praying to be restored to their old American slave owners, and former position.[2]

McLeod's strictures found ready echoes among American elements hostile to the transatlantic abolitionist movement. Not the least of these was Mrs. Julia Tyler, wife of ex-President John Tyler, who in 1853 reputedly constructed an Address to the Duchess of Sutherland which was witheringly critical of her role in producing the Stafford House Address while simultaneously ignoring the British poor. With a thinly-veiled egalitarian tilt at the self-centred riches of the Duchess, Mrs. Tyler urged the recipient of her Address to

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1 McLeod, Gloomy Memories, p. 76, contended that the Duchess of Sutherland and other members of the British aristocracy had espoused the cause of the American Negro slave and sympathized with other foreign victims of oppression, injustice, and barbarous laws simply because such actions would bring them favourable publicity and acclaim: "[T]hey know that their foreign sympathy, liberality and abhorrence of foreign slavery will find a conspicuous place in the public press, magazines, school books, reports and talks, and that their praise will reach the utmost corner of the earth...".

2 Ibid., p. 74. Original emphasis.

> Go, my good Duchess of Sutherland, on an embassy of mercy to the poor, the stricken, the hungry, and the naked of your own land .. [A] single jewel from your hair, a single gem from your dress would relieve many a poor woman of England who is now cold and shivering and destitute. Leave it to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of their dependents while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously in comparison with the 100,000 of the white population of London.[1]

Similar criticisms of the Duchess' alleged double standard of conduct in this respect were published in the American press; and with specific regard to articles which appeared in The Courier and the New York Enquirer during December, 1852, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was probably a close acquaintance of the Sutherland family and who was certainly an extremely dear friend of the Duchess of Argyll,[2] was moved to write to the latter in defence of her mother.[3] A year or so later, he was still finding it necessary to deplore and denounce the continuing proliferation of these attacks, and in one letter to the Duchess of Argyll he also referred to American objections to his own role as an abolitionist:

> The Yankee press is still very violent against the Duchess of Sutherland and myself[;] against the Duchess, they rake up the oft exploded stories of the Scotch clearings (sic); against myself they say "What is this fellow about, making such a fuss on behalf of Blacks, where was he when Lord Ashley was moving the factories and the coal-pits? We heard nothing of him then!"[4]

But while certain elements in the United States were eager to expose

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1 Extracts from Address by Mrs. Tyler printed in the Christian Times, 25 Feb., 1853, p. 114, in Abel and Klingberg, A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, p. 41, fn. 34 (b).

2 Writing in his diary on 25 May, 1878 on the death of the Duchess of Argyll, Shaftesbury referred to her as "my dear friend...one of the dearest, truest, steadiest of all who loved me...I loved her, treated her, regarded her, as my daughter; and she was indeed an affectionate one to me..." - see Edwin Hodder, The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. (London, 1886), Vol. 3, p. 390.

3 See Shaftesbury to Duchess of Argyll, in "Remarks Occasioned by Strictures admitted in The Courier and New York Enquirer on December, 1852, upon the Stafford House Address. In a letter to a Friend in the United States, by an Englishman" (London, 1852: pamphlet).

4 Earl of Shaftesbury to Duchess of Argyll, 24 Jan., 1854, AFL, Argyll MSS.

the failings of the British nobility, American abolitionists were, like Shaftesbury, concerned to exonerate at least the Duchess of Sutherland from the charges of one-sided philanthropy levelled against her. As we have already noted,[1] Arthur Tappan was anxious that some prominent British person should explain the second Duchess' lack of involvement in the Clearances instigated by her mother, the first Duchess. And Harriet Beecher Stowe - who during her visit in 1853 was of course lionized and feted by the Duchess of Sutherland[2] - naturally offered a particularly fervent defence of her hostess's conduct in respect of the tenants in Sutherland. Thus one approving statement in Sunny Memories, and one which incidentally brought out well the essential narrowness of the authoress's philanthropic thinking, explained that:

> Before 1812 there was no baker, and only two shops [on the Sutherland estates]. In 1845 there were eight bakers and forty-six grocers' shops, in nearly all of which shoe-blacking was sold to some extent, an unmistakable evidence of advancing civilization.[3]

Since the virulent attacks on the Duchess of Sutherland for championing the cause of the American slaves while allegedly neglecting(or actually increasing) the sufferings of the British poor obviously caused considerable consternation among her abolitionist acquaintances, there can be little doubt but that they would also have had a fairly disturbing effect on the immediate members of her household. Indeed, a measure of the impact made upon the

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1 See above, Chapter V, p. 497, fn. 3.

2 See, for instance, Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 19 May, 1853, Guthrie MSS., MS.3007, Fol. 44-45.

3 Stowe, Sunny Memories, Vol. 1, p. 307. Mrs. Stowe's defensive remarks regarding the performance of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland in their role as Scottish lairds occupy twelve pages (pp. 301-313)in the first volume of her book.

family itself by these hostile denunciations may perhaps have been reflected in the spirited defence of the Sutherlands' paternalism offered as late as 1907 by the Duchess' grandson, the ninth Duke of Argyll (and formerly Marquis of Lorne). In his memoirs published in that year, the Duke took care to pay a handsome tribute to the contemporary Duke of Sutherland, crediting him with having established on his estates "a form of socialism", not of a kind adequately imposed by state legislation but "that which sees that no one starves, and that the feeble are helped, and the sick succoured, and the children fed".[1] Most significantly, however, he placed that policy in its historical context by stressing the abundant kindness and concern manifested by the Sutherlands towards their tenantry after the potato famine of 1846. Through the "good government and benevolence" of the then Duke and Duchess, he stated, thousands of starving crofters had been materially helped and hundreds more sent, in their own best interests and at the landowners' expense, to Canada. Vigorously defending the highland Clearances, the former Marquis of Lorne insisted that the abuses levelled at the Duchess of Sutherland as the perpetrator of that process had been "misrepresentations": the victims of "the so-called 'cruelties'" had, he maintained, actually been saved from death, "and in comfort heard of their hardships from the newspapers which followed them to the new homes they had been helped to build upon Canadian soil".[2]

The ninth Duke of Argyll's retrospective assessment of the mid nineteenth century land policy of the ducal house of Sutherland represented, of course, the eminently partisan comment of one who had grown up amid an atmosphere of considerable popular hostility towards his maternal grandmother for her

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1 (9th) Duke of Argyll, Passages from the Past, Vol. 1, p. 41.

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 528-529.

alleged part in sanctioning the Clearances, a hostility significantly deepened by the apparent incongruity of her abolitionist activities. And during his most impressionable years, the outbreak of the American Civil War and his parents' (although not, of course, his own) public support for the Northern cause probably tended to keep alive in many quarters the open recollection, if not the spirit, of that earlier line of attack. Indeed, what was a tremendously strong involvement in the anti-slavery movement on the part of the house of Sutherland[1] lasted in the person of the Duchess (by then Dowager Duchess) herself up until the last years of her life. Thus in 1861 she was still concerned enough to contribute a donation of £5 to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:[2] and in late June, 1867 (a mere five weeks before her death) she eagerly invited the visiting Garrison to see her.[3]

Nor did the successful termination of the emancipation issue and the death of the Duchess bring to an end the active interest in the welfare of the American Negroes demonstrated by that particular element of the Scottish aristocracy . Despite a temporary lapse from the faith in entertaining Jefferson Davis in 1869,[4] the Duchess' son George, the third Duke of Sutherland, carried on the commitment in the post-Civil War era by becoming a patron of the NFAU at its inception in 1866,[5] and by supporting the cause of the Jubilee Singers during their first visit to Britain in 1873.[6]

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1 The family's interest and involvement in abolitionism was not confined to the Duchess of Sutherland, her daughter Elizabeth, 8th Duchess of Argyll, and her son-in-law the 8th Duke of Argyll but also extended at least to the Duchess' brother-in-law, Lord Ellesmere - see, for instance, Lord Ellesmere to Duchess of Sutherland, Worsley, 27 Oct., 1856, Green Box File labelled "19thc", envelope marked "Letters of Lord Ellesmere to Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland and brother", Argyll MSS.

2 See 23rd Annual Report of the BFASS, 30 June, 1862 (microfilm).

3 See above, Chapter IX, p. 55.

4 See above, Chapter II, p. 84.

5 See Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, p. 201.

6 See Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 76.

Furthermore, he probably did his part to ensure that Stafford House continued to be regarded as a centre of fashionable anti-slavery activity. Certainly, during the spring of 1874 a meeting was held there under the chairmanship of the Duke of Teck at which the East African slave trade was discussed and a resolution condemning it moved by Sir Bartle Frere.[1]

But the earlier family concern about the plight of the American slaves was, of course, most vigorously maintained in respect of the freedmen by the Duchess of Sutherland's daughter Elizabeth, Duchess of Argyll and her husband George, eighth Duke of Argyll. Indeed, Argyll earned during the Reconstruction era the unstinting praise of several leading workers in the American Negroes' cause. For instance, writing to Mary Estlin at the beginning of 1869 William Lloyd Garrison communicated his high regard for him by commenting that his recent appointment as Secretary of State for India was "a very responsible one, to which he will bring some of the finest qualities of human nature, whether pertaining to the head or the heart".[2] And eighteen months earlier, at the public breakfast held in his honour, Garrison had already paid tribute to the Duke as one who had always been able to understand the nature of the American conflict and give a clear, unequivocal testimony on behalf of the right:

> The Duke of Argyll, a peer of the realm who, I think all will now confess, was, in point of clearness of vision, soundness of understanding, and accuracy of opinion relative to the real merits of the American struggle, without a peer.[3]

At the same function (over which the Duke of Argyll himself presided), the veteran British abolitionist George Thompson also made a point of

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1 See Highlander, 16 May, 1874.

2 William Lloyd Garrison to Mary Estlin, 1 Jan., 1869, Estlin MSS., MS. 24.124.7 (microfilm).

3 Report of speech by Garrison in Proceedings at the Public Breakfast held in honour of William Lloyd Garrison..., p. 44.

singling Argyll out for credit as "a man, not more noble on account of his hereditary rank than by reason of his intellectual gifts, his character as a wise and beneficient statesman, and his enlightened zeal for whatever promises to elevate, purify, and bless mankind". As a radical, it gave him great pleasure, he stated, to bear testimony to the Duke's "undeviating advocacy" of the cause of reform and the principles of civil and religious liberty.[1] And following Argyll's speech from the chair at the freedmen's aid meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow in late January, 1868, the Rev. J.A. Thome of the AMA passed what the North British Daily Mail chose to call "a high eulogium on the Duke of Argyll" in which he referred to the Duke's great services on behalf of the Negroes in America and indicated that the words which he had delivered on that occasion would be carried across the Atlantic and "widely diffused" in both North and South.[2] Even as late as 1873, there were those among the few still working actively on the freedmen's behalf who estimated highly the contribution which he had earlier made to the cause. Thus, in Britain at that time to disperse information and awaken sympathy within the Society of Friends in the work of education being carried on by the Indiana Yearly Meeting among the freedmen of East Tennessee, Yardley Warner of Philadelphia sought in an open letter to British Quakers to draw their attention to the speech which the Duke of Argyll had made before the National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Aid Associations in May, 1865. "That address", Warner declared, "teems with the breathings of philanthropy and the sound reasonings of statesmanship": and he actually went so far as to suggest that it alone had been enough to rouse the British

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1 Report of speech by George Thompson, in ibid., p. 48.

2 Report of speech by the Rev. J.A. Thome at a meeting held on behalf of the freedmen's aid cause in City Hall, Glasgow, 27 Jan., 1868, in North British Daily Mail, 28 Jan., 1868.

public's sympathy and active support for the freedmen's aid cause.[1]

Since the habit was so well established of comparing the callous self-interest which the Sutherlands allegedly displayed in their actions towards their own tenantry with the manifold sympathy and philanthropy which they showered on the black population in the Southern states, the continuing effort made by members of the household (and of the Scottish nobility who were intermarried with it) on behalf of the emancipated slaves is, it might be suggested, of major importance in any consideration of objections to Scottish involvement in freedmen's aid. It would seem reasonable to suppose that opposition of that nature should have been considerably facilitated by the fact that among the leading lights in the Scottish campaign for the freedmen were individuals who had already been laid open to direct or indirect attack through an earlier connection with the controversial anti-slavery activities of the Duchess of Sutherland. Particularly vulnerable in that regard was, indeed, the Duke of Argyll himself: for the Duke was doubly open to criticism by hostile commentators for his championship of the British freedmen's aid cause on account of his position as the Duchess of Sutherland's son-in-law and on account of his predecessors' and his own allegedly shameful treatment of the tenants on the Argyll lands. And there are indications that certain elements in Scotland were indeed fully prepared, as soon as the American Civil War ended and the Duke's public commitment to the freedmen's aid movement became manifest, to make emphatic use of these circumstances in attacking his actions.

It was following the Duke of Argyll's speech to the National Committee

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1 Open letter to the Friends in Britain from Yardley Warner, Scarborough, England, 22 Aug., 1873, published in British Friend, Vol. 31, 1873, pp. 222-223.

The efforts of Yardley Warner during the 1870s were of major importance in sustaining British Quakers' contributions to the freedmen at that period, and towards keeping up their interest and support, he ultimately based himself in England from 1877 to 1881 - see Vaughan, The British Freedmen's Aid Movement, pp. 251-252.

of British Freed-Men's Aid Associations in mid May, 1865 and his subsequent letter to the Scotsman refuting remarks made on the Civil War and emancipation by the Earl of Dalhousie at the Free Church's General Assembly of that year[1] that the Glasgow Sentinel, for instance, carried on 10 June, 1865 a lengthy front-page comment on the Duke's attitude to slavery and the American freedmen which showed that the memory of the double standard which had resulted in the Scottish aristocracy's simultaneous initiation of the highland Clearances and its active championship of Negro emancipation was far from dead but was, on the contrary, capable of being vehemently revitalized. The Sentinel's rejection of Argyll's plea for Scottish help for the American freedmen was essentially based on the familiar, broad argument that just as great needs existed to be met among the "hundreds of thousands" of poor at home. But characteristically aiming a scathingly relevant thrust at the object of its censure, the paper embellished these general grounds of opposition with a subtly tacit denunciation of the land policies of the Sutherlands and Argylls, in which was summoned up the spectre of misery and injustice on the nobility's estates, and the memory of the actual Clearances themselves:

> Before going to Virginia and Carolina with his sympathy and charity, Argyle (sic) should make himself sure that poverty and oppression are unknown in Highland glens; and, when waxing eloquent on the wrongs of the negro,...remember that there were once such events as Highland clearances...When ignorance and misery no longer exist in mountain, strath, or city wynd at home, Argyle (sic), and those whose sympathies and charities are cosmopolitan, might turn their attention to the American negro or the African Hottentot...[2]

The inference to be drawn from the statement was abundantly clear. However, it is important to recognise that alongside this forthright and highly charged allusion to the conduct of the Scottish aristocracy as landlords, the Sentinel also on that occasion fired criticism of a more direct

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1 See above, Chapter III, pp. 161-163.

2 Glasgow Sentinel, "The Macallum More on Slavery", 10 June, 1865.

and damagingly personal nature at the Duke of Argyll for his active advancement of the freedmen's aid cause. On one level, this criticism took the form of accusing the Duke of having waited until he was sure that the North would win before publicly supporting it. Argyll, the paper asserted, had kept quiet on the Civil War issue when the Southern armies had been winning, but in the immediate aftermath of the war he was taking full advantage of the fact that it had become "quite safe" to abuse the slaveholders and to praise the North for sacrifices in crushing what he chose to depict as a nascent slave empire. And while it was acknowledged that he might indeed always have considered the Northern states to be in the right, it was pertinently observed that "characteristic prudence" had led him to maintain a conspicuous silence on the subject until the Federal victory was ensured. Having thus demonstrated the Duke's less than creditable behaviour in that regard, the Glasgow Sentinel furthered its anti-aristocratic bias by concluding that in the post-war era, "America neither needs nor asks for the sympathy of noble dukes who were discreetly silent when it was doubtful how the conflict would terminate": and referring specifically to his subsequent efforts on behalf of the freedmen, it went on to declare that the American people had fought their own battle "without aid from the lordlings of the old world" and were similarly perfectly competent to provide, without outside help, for the emancipated slaves during the "transition period".[1]

On a wider level, criticism was directed at Argyll both as a member of a ducal house which had seldom acquitted itself honourably in past times, and as a pushing, prestige-seeking individual in his own right. The Campbells were accused of having been vascillating opportunists down through the centuries. Amid the vagaries of national politics and aristocratic fortunes every successive Duke of Argyll ("the Macallum More of Scottish history") had been remarkable, the Sentinel pointed out, for always being on the winning side.

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1 Ibid.

invariably, the Dukes had succeeded in turning any revolution or discontent in the State to their own account, and had "always managed to secure a little of the spoil" when other Highland chieftains were being swept away. In the days of peace and order, however, the heads of the house of Argyll had played essentially subordinate parts within government and society, and accordingly they had assumed a secondary role in the country's history over the preceding century and more.[1]

It was, the Sentinel implied, at least partially with a view to redressing that recent state of affairs that the eighth Duke had "contrived to force himself into public notice". Presenting an extremely ungenerous sketch of him, the paper maintained that as a Cabinet minister he had done nothing to justify the high expectations once formed of him. Recognition of such merit as he might have displayed in office was confined to the withering comment that in view of the fact that the Keeper of the Privy Seal was required to do "hardly anything", he "has probably discharged the duties of Lord Privy Seal as well as an able man would have done". With regard to extra-Parliamentary spheres, he was described as "a rather ambitious young man" who was prone to indulge in activities calculated to win him "a little temporary popularity". In that context, his theological and legal writings were sarcastically depreciated:[2] and it is, of course, obvious that the Sentinel considered his involvement in the freedmen's aid campaign as but one more facet of his perpetual bid to gain public recognition and acclaim, and therefore as an action worthy of attack.

The Glasgow Sentinel's spirited diatribe was certainly the most direct and thorough indictment of the Duke of Argyll's efforts on behalf of the American freedmen to appear in the Scottish press during the Reconstruction

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

era. It also constituted, perhaps, one of the most outspoken and incisive criticisms of the general character and behaviour of that prominent Scottish nobleman. Yet, the Sentinel's attitudes towards him were by no means unique, for it would seem that the Duke was in fact a fairly unpopular figure in Scotland at that period. In early March, 1868, for instance, the North British Daily Mail, on learning that the Marquis of Lorne was standing as Liberal candidate for the county of Argyll, expressed the hope that he would gain enough from the experience to help him avoid his father's "blunders of dogmatism" and "the offensive way he has of enunciating his opinions".[1] A year later, Argyll's proposed Scottish Education Bill elicited from Edinburgh's radical Reformer a stinging editorial which did not confine itself to mounting a scathing attack on the Bill itself but which also mercilessly pilloried its promoter:

> He is one of those restless little men who must be at something, and in whom thought is subordinate to action...Such men are like the sparrows one sees in the street - nature's busy bodies; and if they are sharp (like the Duke of Argyll), they get attended to because of their pertinacity.[2]

Considering him to be a talker rather than a speaker, the Reformer claimed that he talked a great deal of nothing: "In America, he would have been a stump orator". His Education Bill was dismissed as "a chaos of systems blending in utter hopeless confusion the denominational ... and the national"; but when confronted with criticism of it, "he flies into a pet just like a spoilt child". Understanding him to have stated that Scottish education would be remodelled his way or not at all, the paper declared that he was setting himself against the wishes of the community and warned that theirs was not an age when "little great men like the Duke of Argyll" could

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1 North British Daily Mail, 2 March, 1868.

2 Reformer, "A little Great Duke", 24 April, 1869.

ride roughshod over the Scottish people. [1]

Argyll's Scottish Education Bill also had the effect of bringing the Glasgow Sentinel again on to the attack. Informing its readers of the apparently heinous provisions of the Bill, the Sentinel urged all Scots to raise strong objections before it was too late and significantly emphasized that

> The very fact of the Duke of Argyll being the putative father of the Education Bill ought to stimulate the ratepayers to vigilance, as the Duke, notwithstanding his ardent professions of Liberal opinions, when it comes to pounds, shillings, and pence, is more stingy and selfish than the most bigoted Tory of the old school. 2

The very considerable resentment towards the Duke of Argyll which therefore existed at least within some sections of the community is important, it might be suggested, inasmuch as it was publicly proclaimed sentiment which would almost certainly have had some adverse effect on the manner in which a proportion of the Scottish public viewed his activities as a whole. That being so, it seems clear that the vigorous aspersions cast on Argyll's personality, on his integrity, and on his general motives and ambitions would have had a substantial bearing on the attitudes adopted by his fellow countrymen towards his credibility as a disinterested, worthy advocate of the freedmen's aid cause. And with regard to that specific sphere of philanthropic activity, the most pertinent consideration is that a large measure of the Duke's unpopularity would appear to have derived from the nature of his conduct towards his own tenantry.

In concentrating public attention on that aspect of the eigth Duke's

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1 Ibid.

2 Glasgow Sentinel, "The Duke of Argyll's Liberalism", 20 March, 1869. The Sentinel stated that the Duke's Scottish Education Bill proposed that landlords should be released from paying the local schoolmaster and keeping up the schoolhouse, and that the burden should fall on the ratepayers. The heritors would nevertheless retain a great deal of influence in the administration of the schools, despite the termination of their financial responsibilities.

failings, the Glasgow Sentinal was once more one of the main instruments. We have already observed that in directly objecting to his efforts on behalf of the freedmen the paper had in the summer of 1865 implied that he had scant concern for the welfare of those on his estates, and had tacitly associated his general pattern of behaviour with the devious and self-seeking patterns of behaviour established by earlier members of his essentially unadmirable, unscrupulous aristocratic house. Subsequently, in mid 1868 proposals put forward by Argyll which the Sentinel interpreted as an attempt to deprive the public of the foreshores stimulated it to again place him in his historical context as " a very good representative of his Clan, who (sic) were always noted for their (sic) acquisitive faculties". [1]

But even more significant in incurring the Sentinel's wrath and aversion towards him at that time was his order (or at least his sanction for the decision) that the crofters of Iona should no longer be allowed to board pauper children from Glasgow. The change in policy was held to be warranted, it was reported, because in the opinion of the Duke's factor (a man, conveniently for the paper's purposes, himself named Campbell) the boarders pestered visitors by begging, trying to sell shells, and so forth. In the Glasgow Sentinel's estimation, however, the native children were far worse offenders in these respects than those from Glasgow; and the paper went on to state that the boarding of city children had in fact been a great help to the islanders, since their rents for "miserable holdings" were very high. The landowner's approval of what was therefore an allegedly arrogant and heartless action afforded the Sentinal yet another opportunity to stress that Argyll's much vaunted "Liberalism" was a hollow sham, and to suggest that a Whig landlord tended to be even worse than a paternalistic Tory one:

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1 Ibid., "The practice and Profession of a Liberal Duke", 5 Sept., 1868.

> Experience proves that a Whig noble is even more grinding than one of the old school [Tories]. The latter has some chivalry left, along with some sense of responsibility for those dependent on him; while in the case of the Whig peers, unmitigated selfishness seems to be the guiding principle. [1]

Ironically, this severe judgement on the Duke of Argyll's performance as a landlord put the ultra-radical Glasgow Sentinel on essentially the same wavelength as the ultra-conservative Edinburgh Courant regarding that particular issue. The Duke's refusal in 1876 to give his consent to a scheme for improving Campbeltown's water supply prompted the Courant to publish an outspoken attack on his general neglect of his tenants and also, incidentally, a significant reference to their very great dislike of him. In his capacity as Head of the Clan Campbell at Inveraray he represented, the paper declared, "a curious mixture of reflected royalty and second hand theology". Within Campbeltown, one of the largest towns in the county of Argyll, he was extremely unpopular, having been, indeed, in a state of "chronic war" with it for the previous thiry years and more. As the principal landlord and landowner in the district, he had a monopoly of the town's water supply; but despite the fact that the water had for long been "bad and deficient in quantity" he had persistently declined to have it filtered. And by the summer of 1876 the residents had been yet further embittered against him by his strong opposition to Campbeltown Corporation's application for an Act of Parliament to help them get better water. [2]

In choosing to give prominence within its editorial columns to Campbeltown's somewhat spectacular contemporary quarrel with its aristocratic overlord, the Edinburgh Courant did not, however, confine itself to comments on

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1 Ibid.
The Sentinel intimated that the Parochial Board in Glasgow had condemned the factor's action as cruel and unwarranted. In the spring of 1870, the paper renewed its criticism of the Duke of Argyll's decision on Iona in the light of recent English moves to take up the Scottish idea of boarding out pauper children - see ibid.,21 May, 1870.

2 Edinburgh Courant, 31 Aug., 1876.

the deplorable nature of Argyll's standpoint on that specific issue. On the contrary, it framed a broad indictment against him, accusing him as a landlord and landowner of pursuing a totally unworthy and shameful course of action. For instance, it was the Duke's policy, the editorial declared, not to feu ground, even for necessary public buildings, except at exorbitant prices. Thus he had demanded £22 per acre feu-duty on land required for a public school. But in the paper's view, perhaps the most serious and obvious aspect of his selfish conduct towards his tenantry was his blatant refusal to improve their living conditions. Directing its attention to Campbeltown in particular, the Courant graphically described the despicable state of housing which obtained there and related the history of Argyll's opposition to improvements in sanitation. The onus of blame for creating and perpetuating an urban situation where pigs commonly shared accommodation with the family was placed squarely on his shoulders:

> He is the proprietor of the worst houses in the town, and he will neither rebuild nor repair them...Ducal cottages are to be seen in the back streets of this town...which no Tory landlord would be allowed by the Liberal press to use even for a shepherd's shieling on the wildest hillside. [1]

As one of Scotland's bastions of Conservatism, the Edinburgh Courant was not, of course, in the habit of censuring the domestic policies of Britain's landed aristocracy. But the circumstances pertaining to this particular tirade were somewhat unique. Basically, the readiness to engage in such an exceptional attack hinged on the victim's unpalatable brand of politics. The Duke of Argyll having professed himself to be a solid, staunch Liberal, the Courant had no compunctions about focussing attention on his deficiencies as a landlord since in so doing it gained a welcome chance implicitly to denounce British "Liberalism" by suggesting that the "Liberal" Duke of Argyll was able, without fear of criticism from those of his political persuasion in the press,

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1 Ibid.

to be much more oppresive and neglectful than any Tory landlord was permitted to be.

Thus from two totally antithetical political standpoints the Edinburgh Courant and the Glasgow Sentinel had both reached basically the same conclusion about the measure of Argyll's heinousness as a landed proprietor. To some extent, the Duke obviously came under attack from these two sides because of the political points which each felt it could score by making a hefty thrust at him. Hence he was ridiculed by the Sentinel for being what was in its opinion that most odious and dangerous of political beings - a Whig, and therefore not Liberal enough, while the Courant, on the other hand, assailed him as an example of the callous, unfeeling, self-interest which generally accompanied an excess of Liberalism. In one vital respect, however - that of the fundamental sincerity of the criticisms made - the separate assessments did have a common base. For despite the opposing political ideologies which each hoped somewhat to advance by attacking him, there can be no question but that the Duke of Argyll's actions and attitudes as a landlord and landowner were recognized by both journals to be utterly deplorable in themselves.

On the straightforward level of denouncing, without ulterior party-political motive, the Duke's apparent indifference to the wellbeing of his tenantry (and, indeed, of the Scottish public in general), however, no Scottish newspaper showed a more enthusiastic commitment than John Murdoch's Highlander. The paper first took issue with Argyll in the summer of 1873 over his "specious reasoning" in opposing Lord Napier of Ettrick's attempts to persuade the government to introduce fuller agricultural returns for Scotland.[1] Passionately concerned as it was with furthering the interests of the Celtic Highlanders, it was soon there-after mounting a yet more intense

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1 Highlander, 5 July, 1873. The paper believed that Argyll would not for long impede an account being made to the public of what was being done with and for the land.

criticism of the Duke for his decision to lay waste large tracts of his estate. "He can hardly fail to see", an editorial asserted in December, 1873, "that to devote land under cultivation to mere purposes of sport is a decided step in the backward direction of barbarism".[1] But despite the belief that Argyll was bound to appreciate what it took to be a self-evident fact, the Highlander went on to speculate upon the aims and intentions which he was possibly determined to pursue in a way which once again illustrates a measure of the peculiar suspicions and hostility which existed in some quarters of Scotland towards the house of Argyll and towards the eighth Duke himself.

While certainly considering Argyll's proposed policy regarding the use of agricultural land under his jurisdiction an "alarming step" in view of the fact that it was being embarked upon at a time when public opinion was swinging against game preservations and deer forests, the paper also found it, for the same reason, a somewhat astonishing one. And the basis for that astonishment was nothing less than the recognition that the Duke's ancestors had been extremely astute, wily men who had always contrived to adhere to the most popular viewpoints (both political and otherwise) of their day in their attempts to manoeuvre themselves into positions of influence. The Campbells, it was declared, had risen to their high aristocratic situation by means of a remarkable "power to discern the times" and an ability to "get into the rising tide". Having taken account of that tradition, the Highlander was therefore surprised that the eighth Duke of Argyll should have decided to go against a contemporary trend in attitudes towards land use which was, in its opinion, destined ultimately to prove victorious.[2]

But the extremely unflattering inference that he might validly have been expected to display the same opportunist brand of conduct as his predecesors

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1 Ibid., 6 Dec., 1873.

2 Ibid.

did not constitute the full extent of the Highlander's criticism of Argyll in his specific capacity as an unpopular head of an unpopular noble house. On the question of agriculture versus deer and game preserves on the Argyll estates, the paper in effect found itself in the unique position of taking issue with the Duke because he had chosen to follow a course which for once was not consistent with the family's self-interested tradition of falling into line with majority opinion. In response to that peculiar situation the Highlander, with a dexterity which perhaps only an organ vehemently committed to denouncing the abuses perpetrated by the Scottish aristocracy could have achieved, succeeded in turning the allegedly perfidious character of the successive Dukes of Argyll into a double edged weapon against the eighth Duke. Hence in seeking an explanation as to why, in 1873, Argyll had deviated from the shrewd pattern of behaviour firmly established by previous generations of his clan, the editorial suggested that the uncharacteristically individualistic decision on the future of his lands was possibly the initial evidence of a basic change of tactics on the part of that particular Scottish ducal house following the marriage in 1871 of the Marquis of Lorne (heir to the Dukedom) to Princess Louise:

> Did the idea enter the clear head of Clan Diarmid that he would raise himself more nearly to the level of royalty by devastating a country, and laying it out as a royal play-ground...?[1]

By therefore suggesting the possibility that the Duke of Argyll's determination to carry out what would prove to be an unpopular afforestation policy derived largely from an increased confidence which he had gained from his new status as father-in-law to a royal princess, the Highlander was in fact consciously highlighting yet another notorious aspect of the Argyll character, namely, its ambition. The marriage of Lorne to Louise had, the paper declared, represented for the house of Argyll the "highest possible attainment"; and it

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1 Ibid.

was accordingly clearly implied that since the Argyll ambitions had at last been satisfied, the head of the family felt he could be more independent of public opinion in his subsequent actions than either he or his predecessors had ever been before. But John Murdoch was also at pains to imply in his leading article that the eighth Duke was already, as a natural consequence of these circumstances, assuming an ever greater arrogance - and most markedly in relation to his treatment of his tenants. Thus, while issuing an appeal to the Duke of Argyll, "as head of his clan", to abandon a policy which would bring widespread misery and destitution to the people on his estates, the editor was simultaneously prompted by his strong, brooding Celtic superstitions and belief in the forces of vengeance to voice the ominous prophecy that the greatness attained by the Campbells "through ruining the Macdonalds" could not last forever, and to warn that the head of the house of Argyll "should be particularly careful to guard against any vainglorious proceeding which might precipitate himself and his family from the high pinnacle of their greatness".[1]

By way of reinforcing the validity of its own bitter objections to the Duke's conduct towards his tenantry, the Highlander shortly afterwards published an extract from a similarly critical article which had appeared in

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1 Ibid.
John Murdoch's superstitious adherence to a firm conviction that terrible reprisals were taken upon those who were unjust and oppressive was in fact instrumental in ultimately bringing about his downfall as a newspaper editor and proprietor. He was forced to discontinue the Highlander in 1882 after being obliged to pay costs following a law suit brought against him for libel by the family of the Laird of Uig: and the legal action had been taken as a consequence of Murdoch's having published a fantastic story describing how a flood had torn up the grave of the recently deceased laird and washed the coffin down stream, depositing it finally on the laird's own dining table. Murdoch had interpreted the episode as a judgement on the laird for his ill treatment of his crofters - see Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, Vol. 1, pp. 282-283.

the Greenock Telegraph. In this, the Telegraph was quoted as having had its faith in the Duke of Argyll seriously reduced. Explaining to its readers that he had offered to give the tenants of Glen Aray (an area which he intended to turn into a deer forest) homes elsewhere on his estates, that paper maintained that they were nevertheless still going to be uprooted, and argued that Argyll had no moral right to carry through such a policy.[1] Since the town of Greenock had become down through the years a popular destination for a large proportion of dispossessed Highlanders,[2] the Telegraph would have been sure of a ready and approving readership for its strictures. And from his publication base in Inverness, John Murdoch naturally welcomed the chance to include in his journal like-minded sentiments on the crimes of the Scottish nobility made by a newspaper which enjoyed the distinction of circulating among a considerable number of the victims of alleged aristocratic oppression.

Conducted as it was in a spirit of constant, vigilant hostility largely activated by the memory of earlier injustices perpetrated by elements of the Scottish aristocracy, the Highlander in the 1870s, it might be suggested, would certainly have been the more ready to attack apparently callous moves by the contemporary Duke of Argyll in the light of the brusque attitude which his father John, the seventh Duke, had adopted towards his tenants three decades before. For while the crofters on the Argyll lands had never been subjected to quite the same level of exceedingly harsh treatment as those in the county of Sutherland, it is nevertheless clear that by the 1840s the head of the house of Argyll was extremely anxious to be rid of a very substantial proportion of them. Towards that end, he had involved himself heavily in planned emigration, eventually becoming President of the British-American Emigration Society.

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1 Extract from Greenock Telegraph, Dec., 1873, in Highlander, 20 Dec., 1873.

2 See Lobban, The Migration of Highlanders, passim.

It was in that capacity that he received in late October, 1842 a letter from John Pirie, the Lord Mayor of London, complaining on behalf of emigrants ready to leave for Prince Edward's Island about the circumstances attending their departure and enquiring as to the extent of the Duke's financial liability for the pecuniary arrangements made by those in London arranging the scheme.[1] In his reply, the seventh Duke explained that he had taken an interest in the Emigration Society because "my estates in the Highlands and islands hav[e]...too large a population for the space they (sic) inhabit", and because he therefore wished that his tenants could, "if desirous", have the chance of going to the United States of America "in the best possible circumstances". By the time he wrote to Pirie, however, Argyll had already lost all confidence in the Society's manner of transacting its business and was striving to have his name withdrawn from the roll of shareholders.[2] Yet that change of heart could not alter the fact that only four months earlier, in June, 1842, he had been sufficiently eager to encourage and expedite the mass departure of tenants from his estates as to subscribe capital of £500 to the Emigration Society.

In vigorously opposing the subsequent Duke's land policy in 1873, then, Murdoch of the Highlander would undoubdedly have been spurred on by the knowledge of earlier aspirations within that ducal house to achieve a widespread

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1 Letter from John Pirie, Lord Mayor of London, to John, 7th Duke of Argyll, London, 25 Oct., 1842, printed in Freeman's Journal, 4 Nov., 1842.

2 Letter from John, 7th Duke of Argyll to John Pirie, Lord Mayor of London, Inveraray, 27 Oct., 1842, printed in ibid.

The Duke's misgivings about the financial state and general operation of the British-American Emigration Society at that stage were well founded, for a mere seven months later, the organization was declared bankrupt. Unfortunately for Argyll, he did not, however, succeed in extricating himself from his association with it quickly enough to avoid ending up giving evidence in the Court of Bankruptcy - see ibid., 22 May, 1843.

My thanks are due to Mr. Douglas Riach for providing me with the information from the Freeman's Journal.

clearance of tenants from its estates. According to the eighth Duke himself, of course, such removals of crofters from the Argyll lands as he acknowledged to have taken place during the nineteenth century had always been initiated in the very best interests of the families concerned and with their welfare in mind. Predictably, his defence of his family's course of action regarding the tenantry closely anticipated the defence which his son John, the ninth Duke, made in respect of the house of Sutherland's conduct on the same issue. Thus with regard to the potato famine which had hit west Scotland in the mid-1840s and which had resulted in seven thousand of the Argyll tenants being threatened with starvation in 1846, the eighth Duke stressed the energetic part which he had played in providing for those affected, and placed special emphasis on the efficacy of his planned emigration projects.[1] On a more general level, he vindicated and upheld his house's policy of consolidating small crofts into large farms by being fairly severe on Celtic Scotland's lack of agricultural knowledge and its adherence to outmoded methods. As an example of the seriously retarding effects of the tenants' blind "love of old customs", he cited the island of Tiree where, he asserted, conditions had been so bad when the attention of his ancestors had first been called to the situation that a complete reconstitution of society had been necessary for the crofters' own good.[2]

Justifications of that nature clearly would not have been considered worthy of evaluation by the Highlander. In the paper's view, the Argylls' evictions of a substantial proportion of their tenantry had been, and continued to be, cruelly and exclusively motivated by crass self-interest and a desire to increase their wealth. Accordingly, a bitter editorial

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1 See Dowager Duchess of Argyll (ed.), The Duke of Argyll: Autobiography and Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 285-286.
These activities would have been amongst the first to occupy the eighth Duke in his capacity as the head of the house of Argyll, for he succeeded to the dukedom in 1847, on the death of his father.

2 Ibid., pp. 282-285.

comment was stimulated by the Marquis of Lorne's public references in a speech delivered at Oban in early 1874 to the great benefits which the telegraph and improved postal services would bring to Mull and Iona, and his simultaneous advice to the tenants to emigrate to a better life in Canada.

Acidly declaring that "It is hard to hear the son-in-law of our Queen advising her most loving and loyal subjects to fly to another dominion", Murdoch wondered if the islands in question were to be turned into hunting grounds and the telegraphs used to assemble the Duke's hounds. Certainly in his view the apparent need for their removal to a more prosperous environment had been inflicted upon the people of Mull and Iona by the avariciousness of their autocratic landlord. Hence the Highlander insisted that the impoverished state of much of the two islands was not due to the small farmers themselves but to the Duke of Argyll and his late factor who had quite simply turned many crofters out of their holdings to make large agricultural units and had, furthermore, increased by 30% the rents of those still tenanting small farms there.[1]

That the invidiousness of the Sutherland clearances had by no means been forgotten or subordinated in importance by the Highlander by that time, and that these strictures on the Argylls' actions were fashioned against a bitter and vivid remembrance of the wholesale evictions authorized by the family of which the Duke of Argyll's wife was a member, is demonstrated in an important editorial which appeared in mid October, 1875. The purpose of the leader was to take the Scotsman to task for having recently argued that Sutherland had a bigger percentage of small holdings than any Scottish county except Shetland. Attacking what was clearly an implicit exoneration by the Edinburgh paper of the earlier land policies carried through on these particular estates,

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1 Highlander, 28 Feb., 1874.

the Highlander indicated that the declaimers of the Sutherland evictions had only kept quiet of late "out of regard for the feelings and family of the noble man [the present Duke of Sutherland] who is now doing what he can to make amends for the misdeeds of the factors of his progenitors". And in stressing that the Clearances had been the stock example of tyranny on the part of Highland landlords, the paper significantly referred to the record of the crimes in McLeod's Gloomy Memories, a work written, it was noted, "in refutation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's great folly". At the same time it was made clear, however, that the Highlander had felt itself obliged to recall and reassert the enormity of these aristocratic abuses purely because the Scotsman had exaggerated to the point of distortion the scale of "improvements" carried out on the Sutherland estates: and Murdoch emphasized that he did not wish to indulge in "a useless discussion" with the latter journal over the deeds of the current Duke's ancestors.[1]

Yet despite the Highlander's decorum at that stage, its decision to again focus its readers' attention on the Sutherland Clearances, and in particular its reference to Donald McLeod's role, proved enough immediately to reactivate interest and hostile opinion on the episode. For instance, within a week of the editorial's appearance, a certain J.G. Mackay had written to Murdoch requesting information on where to obtain McLeod's pamphlet.[2] But of the greatest significance in revealing the exceptionally bitter feelings which still survived not merely in relation to the actual Clearances themselves but also in relation to the house of Sutherland's associations with Harriet Beecher Stowe and the anti-slavery cause was a letter which appeared in the Highlander very shortly after the editorial comment.

The pseudonym and address assumed by the writer - "Donald MacWhackum, Tar-and-feather 'em" - were strikingly direct indications of his attitude

1 Ibid 16 Oct., 1875.
2 Letter from J.G. Mackay (undated), in ibid., 23 Oct., 1875.

towards the Sutherlands, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and their other abolitionist colleagues. Suggesting that the current Duke of Sutherland and the Duke of Argyll had successfully won over Alexander Russel of the Scotsman with their blandishments and flattery, the correspondent considered that the Highlander had been too respectful in its criticism of the Scotsman's praise of land use in the county of Sutherland. Obviously stirred by Murdoch's renewed recognition of Gloomy Memories, he went on to recall the visit of Harriet Beecher Stowe to Dunrobin Castle some fifteen years before, and to refer to the great sympathy aroused there and elsewhere in Scotland for her Uncle Tom's Cabin - "a work which to the author proved a handsome commercial speculation". Indicating that he himself had been in Sutherland soon after the publication of McLeod's pamphlet, "Donald MacWhackum" launched a scathing attack on Mrs. Stowe for her failure to take up the cause of the oppressed crofters and in so doing, of course, also implicitly demolished any suggestion that the Duchess of Sutherland might be due a measure of acclaim for her part in the anti-slavery campaign:

> [M]any ardent Celts in Greenock and Glasgow wrote to her [Harriet Beecher Stowe], begging that she would use her immense influence on behalf of the persecuted and downtrodden slaves of the north. But this amiable Christian philanthropist proved an imposter altogether; the glitter of the ducal connection proved too much for her; there was no chance of a great commercial spec (sic) being made out of her exertions, and - in short, she was bought body and soul...[1]

It is a measure of the exceedingly strong impact which the Duchess of Sutherland's connections with abolitionism made upon some elements of the Scottish community that recollection of the episode should still have been the means of stimulating so vehement an outburst in the mid 1870s. Clearly, the concern later shown by the Duke and Duchess of Argyll for the welfare of the American freedmen did not have the effect of arousing against them

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1 Letter from "Donald MacWhackum, Tar-and-feather 'em", 23 Oct., 1875, in ibid., 30 Oct., 1875.

comparably intense and enduring charges of anomalous behaviour towards the oppressed in America and the oppressed on their own estates. Nevertheless, we have seen that as a consequence of his aristocratic status and his allegedly callous and unjust behaviour towards his tenants the Duke of Argyll was in respect of his involvement in the freedmen's aid cause attacked by the Glasgow Sentinel in a manner which was indeed broadly analogous to the manner in which the Duchess of Sutherland had been attacked by Donald McLeod and other critics relative to her anti-slavery commitment. Given the circumstances (the continuing impassioned recall in some quarters of the Duchess of Sutherland's misdeeds and lop-sided philanthropy; the Duke of Argyll's association - and more especially that of his wife - with the Duchess' anti-slavery activities; Argyll's own active efforts on behalf of the freedmen and his simultaneously reprehensible treatment of his tenantry), the probabilities were all in that direction.

On reflection, it is perhaps most surprising that more was not in fact made of the double standard apparently adopted by the Duke in his attitudes towards the tenants on his estates and his attitudes towards the freed slaves of America. After all, for those in Scotland who tended to oppose British participation in the freedmen's aid movement on the grounds that charity should begin at home, Argyll should have been a perfect target for calumny: there were splendid possibilities and wide scope for drawing up forceful and ruthlessly effective denunciations of his role in furthering that cause along virtually identical lines as the denunciations earlier made of the Duchess of Sutherland's abolitionist role. It becomes evident, however, that the Scots who objected to their fellow countrymen's involvement in the freedmen's aid campaign totally failed to utilize to their advantage that obvious and potentially powerful line of attack against one of Scotland's leading spokesmen for the cause. And to some extent, it is indeed possible to see their failure apropos the Duke of Argyll in the context of a wider failure

to recognize the possibility of exploiting, with damaging effect to the individuals concerned, the attitudes held towards the Scottish poor and the nature of the social connections maintained by certain other prominent Scottish stalwarts in the Scottish freedmen's aid movement.

The individuals who spring most readily to mind as having been potential targets for criticism on these counts are the Rev. Drs. Thomas Guthrie and Norman Macleod. An extremely enthusiastic and valuable public supporter of the freedmen's aid movement in Scotland, Guthrie in particular might have been depicted in an unfavourable light by those who challenged the Scottish energies and money expended on the cause. The famous Free Church minister had been on extremely friendly terms with the Duchess of Sutherland during the period of her anti-slavery activities, and had himself been active along with her on behalf of the abolitionist cause. On occasion, he had even publicly defended her against the usual charges made by opponents: and for this close involvement with the Duchess in her favourite philanthropic venture, Donald McLeod had showered more withering invective on Guthrie than he had done on the Duchess herself.

Writing with particular reference to Guthrie's attendance at the soiree held for Harriet Beecher Stowe in Edinburgh in 1852, for instance, McLeod had contemptuously dismissed the minister's praise of and fraternization with the Duchess as being based on fawning self-interest:

> [Speaking highly of the Duchess of Sutherland] pays the Doctor well, for when the Duchess comes to Edinburgh, she attends divine worship in the Doctor's church, the only Free Church she ever entered, and...graces the offering plate with two or three sovereigns; she will call upon the Doctor at his house and take him out for an afternoon's drive in her carriage, and send her compliments to him when in Sutherland...in...loads of deer carcases and fowl.[1]

The Duchess' family, it was indicated, could be counted upon to follow her example, so that Guthrie was ensured of continuing largesse from that quarter.

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1 McLeod, Gloomy Memories, p. 83.

From thus questioning the sincerity of Guthrie's anti-slavery involvement, McLeod had gone on scathingly to attack what he evidently judged to be not merely crass indifference but positive callousness on the minister's part towards the evicted crofters of the Highlands of Scotland and, incidentally, of Ireland. While constantly voicing abundant sympathy for the American slaves in their tragic situation, Guthrie had done nothing, it was alleged, for the Highlanders who had been "forcibly removed from their refuges in the hills and rocks", hand-cuffed, and forced on board emigrant ships by "the landlord's minions". These poor unfortunates had had no claim on the minister's sympathy:

> The slave and pauper makers in Ireland and Scotland, yea, those who dispersed the brave sons of...Caledonia and of Green Erin to the four winds of heaven, the Doctor will stroke their honourable heads, and clap them gently, exclaiming ["]You are the blessed, graceful humane ones who are purging our nation from the impure Irish and Scottish Celts, may you be spared to see the consummation of your desire["].[1]

Even his celebrated role in the sphere of establishing Ragged Schools had been treated with vitriolic sarcasm, McLeod having suggested that the Free Church minister deserved "to be honoured as Bishop of the Ragged Schools of Scotland".[2]

Perhaps it was largely inevitable that Guthrie should have become the target of severe censure in Gloomy Memories, for (as McLeod implied) he would indeed appear to have been on extremely friendly terms with the members of the ducal house of Sutherland. And most significantly, it was a strong friendship which was not confined to the mid-century years of abolitionist activity but one which, on the contrary, endured throughout the minister's lifetime. The very great closeness of his association with the family from the 1850s onwards is amply testified to by the content and volume of the

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1 Ibid., pp. 85-86. Original emphasis.

2 Ibid., p. 87.

letters which he wrote over two decades to the Duchess of Sutherland's daughter Elizabeth, the Duchess of Argyll. In that correspondence, his references to the Duchess of Sutherland herself are legion;[1] and around a year and a half before his death he was writing that he saw her face every time he opened his eyes as he lay "in my bed of langour and great debility".[2]

Clearly (and understandably), the connections with the Sutherlands and with the Argylls extended beyond those arising from a mutual interest in and concern for the American slaves. It becomes evident, for instance, that the Duchess of Argyll played a tremendously influential part in urging Guthrie to establish the Ragged Schools in Edinburgh. Thus, sending her in late 1850 a copy of his famous "Plea for the Ragged Schools", he indicated that it had been "written on a subject in which your Grace engaged my pen. If it is blessed to do any good it will be a satisfaction to you to think that it is in an important sense your own work, for I would certainly have resisted the importunity of others but for the promise I had made to you".[3] The Duchess certainly took a marked interest in these institutions, once established;[4] and her husband's enthusiastic support of them over the years prompted Guthrie in the mid-1860s gratefully to declare that "He has been an unwavering, staunch friend to these Schools, whose powerful advocacy and countenance of them have been of the highest service".[5] The family's active

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1 See Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Guthrie MSS.: fols. 7-8, 16, 35, 39, 51, 66, 70, 76, 80, 85, 88, 93, 102, 113-114, 132, 149.

2 Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 9 Oct., 1872, ibid., fol. 149. The Duchess of Sutherland had of course predeceased him by some six years.

3 Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 2 Dec., 1850, ibid., fol. 6.

4 See references to the Duchess' connections with the Ragged Schools in Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, ibid., fols. 1-2, 7-8, 9-12, 17-18, 20-23, 41, 67, 72, 99, 101.

5 Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Cheshire, 19 Dec., 1863, ibid., fol. 101. The immediate stimulus for Guthrie's laudatory remarks at that stage had been the Duke of Argyll's chairmanship, and his address from the chair, at a highly successful meeting held on behalf of the Ragged Schools.

efforts on behalf of the scheme continued into the 1870s with, for instance, the Marquis of Lorne chairing a meeting of the Original Ragged Schools held in December, 1871.[1]

Since the Argyll's therefore inclined to show a consistent interest in his favourite project, and since Guthrie was also much concerned in a wider context to alleviate the sufferings and correct the bad habits prevalent amongst the poor at large, it was perhaps entirely natural that his letters to the Duchess of Argyll should also occasionally have contained references to the poverty, misery and social evils of the time. And in some of the comments thus made on these issues he certainly betrayed signs of holding the sort of cold, stern and incompassionate attitude towards the lower classes in Britain also imputed to him by Donald Macleod.[2] He was quite prepared, for instance, to designate that section of society "the degraded and dangerous classes":[3] and on one occasion he revealed an extremely harsh line of thought on how "drunkards" should be treated.[4] His approach to the relief of domestic social problems was in fact profoundly paternalistic, as was demonstrated in his earnest declaration that "the interest and sympathy which the higher classes are now more than ever showing in the welfare and well being of the humbler orders appears to me one of the brightest and [most] gladsome features of our time".[5]

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1 See Scotsman, 6 Dec., 1871.

2 See Macleod, Gloomy Memories, pp. 83-84.

3 See Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 22 Jan., 1853, Guthrie MSS., fol. 40.

4 See Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 25 Oct., 1856, ibid., fol. 57-60. In this letter, Guthrie described how he had found a crying, starving child in Edinburgh whose parents, he learned, were both "drunkards". He assured the Duchess that if he could have his way he would adopt towards such people the procedure which operated against offenders in Switzerland where he had seen a gang returning from "a day's hard labour in the fields", dressed in striped clothes and escorted by soldiers with fixed bayonets. "I would so deal with all our drunkards - shave and slave them" and compel them to work to support their children.

5 Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Edinburgh, 13 Dec., 1852 ibid., fol. 35.

The affectionate social relationship forged with the Sutherland and Argyll households[1] in the early 1850s was therefore maintained and progressively strengthened throughout the ensuing years until Guthrie's death in 1873. Doubtless it was also boosted to some extent by the Duke of Argyll's interest in religious theories, denominational principles, and religion generally, an interest which afforded the opportunity for much enjoyable discussion between the two men.[2] The Free Church minister had first been invited to Inveraray Castle in the autumn of 1851,[3] and during the 1860s he continued to be a visitor, sometimes for lengthy periods at a time,[4] there and at the Duke and Duchess' summer home on Mull.[5] In their edited Autobiography of him, his sons indicated that "some of his brightest days in his seasons of relaxation were spent at Inveraray Castle; and to the close of his life he cherished a peculiar regard for the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, by whose friendship he was long honoured".[6] And certainly he would appear to have been prominently

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1 To a very considerable extent, close association with one of these aristocratic families necessarily involved simultaneous close association with the other since after their marriage in 1844 the Duke and Duchess of Argyll remained in constant close touch with the Sutherlands, living with them literally as one family at Stafford House or at Trentham for a time - see Dowager Duchess of Argyll (ed.), The Duke of Argyll: Autobiography and Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 263-265.

2 See reference to the Duke's enthusiasm for participation in religious debate in Guthrie to Duchess of Argyll, Guthrie MSS.; fols. 4,6,32-33, 52, 64, 114.

3 See Guthrie and Guthrie, Thomas Guthrie, pp. 324-325. It is obvious from his correspondence regarding the visit that he was immediately very much at ease and at home there.

4 It is clear, for instance, that Guthrie and his wife were the guests of the Duke and Duchess from late September until at least the first half of October, 1865 - see entries for 26 Sept. and 2 Oct., 1865 in 8th Duchess's Journal, Argyll MSS. And the following year, Guthrie stayed at Inveraray over the entire months of July and August - see undated entry for 1866 in 8th Duchess's Journal for 1866, ibid.

5 See Duke of Argyll to Duchess of Argyll, Balmoral, 12 June, 1865, AFL.

6 Guthrie and Guthrie, Thomas Guthrie, p. 324.

kept in mind by them in the context of quite diverse situations, [1] and to have been kindly and highly thought of. Thus, in letter of condolence to Mrs. Guthrie on her husband's death, the Duke wrote: ["W]e all quite loved him, for a nobler nature there never was. This also was the feeling of our dear mother the late Duchess of Sutherland whose nature was one thoroughly to appreciate your husband's". [2]

It is easy to see that this close, long-standing friendship with the house of Argyll, an aristocratic family whose head was, by the 1860s and '70s, widely acknowledged to have treated his tenants with callous disregard over the preceding decades, was exactly the sort of connection which, had they been eager to do so, the detractors of the Scottish campaign for freedmen's aid could profitably have seized upon as a weapon for ridiculing Guthrie's involvement in the cause. And while the Duke of Argyll himself was at least to some small extent being made the subject of attack on account of his freedmen's aid activities and his incompatible policies as a landlord, Guthrie's contemporary links with the Argylls could have been rendered the more seriously

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1 In late 1862, for instance, the Duke of Argyll let Charles Sumner know about the impact which a speech of his had had on Guthrie. Stating that the minister had offered prayers in his church for the Northern cause, the Duke (obviously sharing the same opinion) felt it worthwhile to enlighten Sumner on the nature of Guthrie's sentiments by including a quote from the prayers: "let us not taunt them [the Northern people] because they have been driven to this policy - because the President's proclamation was forced upon them by necessity. Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's Home ?" - Duke of Argyll to Charles Sumner, Roseneath, 3 Dec., 1862, in PMHA, p. 100.

Garibaldi's visit to Britain in the spring of 1864 prompted the Duchess to reflect on Guthrie and to pass on her thoughts to her sister-in-law: "I told him [Garibaldi] how much Guthrie would have liked to have seen him, and how I had seen him [Guthrie] stretch out his arms in fancied welcome to him" - see Duchess of Argyll to Lady Emma MacNeill, 25 April, 1864, 8th Duchess's Journal, Argyll, MSS.

2 Duke of Argyll to Mrs Guthrie, London, 24 Feb., 1873, Guthrie MSS., fol. 156. Original emphasis.

See also entry for 30 Oct., 1861 in 8th Duchess's Journal in which the Duchess recorded that they had had "a delightful visit from Guthrie which did one's heart good".

damaging to his status as a freedmen's aid advocate by timely recall of Donald McLeod's phillipic against the minister's outlooks and actions as a member of the Duchess of Sutherland's anti-slavery group.

So far as that other famous Scottish minister, the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod was concerned, there was, to be sure, much less scope for drawing up along these lines an indictment of his involvement in the freedmen's aid cause. Certainly, he would not appear to have become, earlier in the century, a focus for obloquoy as one who championed the cause of the American Negro while ignoring the cause of the Scottish dispossessed and the British poor in general. At the same time, however, it might well have been possible by the 1860s to present his advocacy of the freedmen's aid cause in a not especially favourable light.

In relation to the working classes in Britain, for example, we have already seen[1] that Macleod was throughout the years by no means disposed to support political reforms which seemed to offer them some real chance of improving their miserable lot. He was in fact a Tory of the stamp of Robert Peel, and his approach to remedying working class difficulties, although sincere enough, was essentially paternalistic.[2] Interestingly, the basic myopia in his outlook towards the tackling of social problems was well illustrated in respect of his attitude to an incident which involved the apparent "philanthropy" of the Duke of Sutherland. During his trip as a Church of Scotland deputy to Canada in 1845, Macleod had visited the house of an emigrant Gaelic-speaking Highlander who, out of his condition of extreme poverty, had spoken of the great solace his bible had been to him. Examining the book, Macleod had seen that

> it was a gift from "the Duke of Sutherland to his friends and clansmen in America" What blessings may not a few pounds confer when thus kindly laid out. The tears which streamed down that poor man's face would be a great reward to the Duke for his gifts, had he only witnessed them as I did.[3]

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1 See above, Chapter VI, pp. 72-73.

2 See above, Chapter VI, pp. 72, fn. 2.

3 Quoted in Macleod, Memoirs of Norman Macleod, Vol. 1, p. 242.

Macleod's view of a gesture which in reality amounted to having packed an evicted, penniless tenant crofter off to a life of miserable poverty in Canada with the gift of a Bible under his arm also demonstrates of course, his tendency to be totally blinded by expressions of aristocratic philanthropy. In the event, this was a likely enough characteristic for him to have acquired, given his social ambit as a minister. For if connections past and present with members of the British nobility had been fully utilized to cast aspersions on the nature of certain Scotsmen's involvement with freedmen's aid, Macleod might well have landed up in direct line of fire since his aristocratic associations were impeccable. He was, as we have observed, chaplain to Queen Victoria and her most esteemed spiritual adviser. Through that relationship it is virtually impossible that he could have avoided forming at least a casual acquaintance with the Duchess of Sutherland, for she was Mistress of the Robes until the Bedchamber Crisis and remained throughout her life one of the Queen's closest personal friends.[1] And such a contact, while not perhaps important enough to merit record in Macleod's biography or elsewhere, would undoubtedly have been widely known about in Scotland at the time.

But if the nature of the minister's friendship with the members of the house of Sutherland in the hey-day of their abolitionist efforts (and, indeed, later) is unclear, it <u>is</u> certain that during the years when both men were involved in freedmen's aid activities, Macleod was on visiting terms with the Duke of Argyll.[2] Furthermore, the close relationship which he obviously enjoyed with the Duke and Duchess by the 1860s would indeed appear to have been grounded in a connection with the family which stretched back far beyond that period. Thus, when in 1869 Queen Victoria had sought her chaplain's opinion of her prospective son-in-law, the Marquis of Lorne, Macleod had been able to

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1 See Longford, <u>Victoria R.I.</u>, pp. 84, 89, 383, 455.

2 See, for instance, entry for 8 Jan., 1866 in 8th Duchess's Journal, Argyll MSS., in which it is recorded that Macleod dined at Inveraray.

assure her, through having known him long and prepared him for confirmation, that he held the heir to the Argyll title in very high regard.[1] In the hands of an enterprising Scottish critic, associations such as these and the nature of his attitude towards legislation to improve the plight of the poor in Britain could conceivably have been put to use to attack the acceptability of Macleod's considerable efforts on behalf of the American freedmen. But a body of opposition based primarily on these considerations did not in fact develop; and following his speech at the public freedmen's aid meeting held in Glasgow in late September, 1865, for example, the only criticism of the Church of Scotland minister to be published in the main organs of the Scottish press appeared in the form of a correspondent's letter which condemned Macleod's failure to speak out in support of the North during the Civil War itself.[2]

In relation to their activities in the sphere of freedmen's aid, then, why did the Duke of Argyll, his associates, and his personal friends such as Guthrie and Macleod not become the centre of a Scottish attack similar in essence to that launched against the Duchess of Sutherland and her abolitionist companions? Obviously, there can be no one, clear-cut answer to this question, but several reasons might be suggested:

1) There did not come to the fore in Scotland during the mid 1860s and 1870s a dynamic propagandist like Donald McLeod who might have inspired others of his countrymen to protest vigorously against the apparently serious incongruities and deficiencies in the philanthropic actions and attitudes of the Duke of Argyll and those associated with him in the freedmen's aid campaign.

2) Unlike the situation which had obtained during slavery times, when

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1 See David Duff, The Life Story of H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll (London, 1940), p. 107.

2 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 386-387.

Southern slaveholders and the pro-Southern American press had felt it necessary (and, it might be suggested, positively advantageous) to defend their position by joining in Scottish attacks on the Duchess of Sutherland's abolitionist endeavours, in the Reconstruction era there did not, indeed could not, exist on the other side of the Atlantic influential sections of the community which were ready in their own interests to seize upon and strengthen similarly slanted Scottish opposition to the efforts made on behalf of the emancipated slaves by the Duke of Argyll and his colleagues. The essentially philanthropic and missionary nature of the freedmen's aid cause was not such as to make American activity of that sort necessary or even desirable. But most fundamentally, for Americans to have engaged in it would have served no useful purpose for them.

3) There was in Scotland during the 1860s no American personality representing the freedmen's aid cause at which criticism could be directed in the way in which criticism had been directed at Harriet Beecher Stowe. Sella Martin and other deputies from American freedmen's aid organizations were discreet enough not to publish their impressions of Scotland while campaigning there. Moreover, none of them, of course, ever came near to being the nationally known figure which Mrs. Stowe had become earlier in the century, and therefore their actions and opinions were far less subject to scrutiny and attack. The nature of the relationship which would appear to have existed between the Scottish aristocratic champions of freedmen's aid and the American delegates may also have served to diminish the potential for accusing the latter of seeking to advance their cause primarily through courting the sympathies of persons who had shown themselves to be basically callous, if not downright oppressive, in their treatment of those Scots whose welfare was their direct responsibility. Thus, while the Duchess of Sutherland had been loudly criticized for unduly influencing and for being

unduly influenced by Harriet Beecher Stowe, there is, for instance, no indication that the Duke of Argyll ever formed particularly close associations with the American freedmen's aid representatives- not even, it would seem, with Martin, to whose Scottish efforts he gave his formal public approval.

4) It might well have been considered by many critical observers that the passage of time had greatly reduced the scope for effectively using the theme of lop-sided aristocratic philanthropy to oppose Scottish participation in freedmen's aid. One highly significant feature which, it can be suggested, might have tended to produce such a conclusion was the fact that although the injustices perpetrated during the 1860s and '70s (and earlier) by the Duke of Argyll towards his tenants were very real and widely recognized as deplorable, they were obviously not on the scale of the injustices inherent in the Sutherland Clearances and were consequently much less likely to hold public attention or arouse vehement popular indignation. Nor in some senses would it even have been particularly expedient to concentrate an attack on the freedmen's aid activities of the Duke's friends, Guthrie and Macleod. By the mid-1860s, after all, both of these ministers were nationally renowned, revered and familiar figures: furthermore, Guthrie at least was a comparatively old man, whose health was poor. Hence it may have been calculated that far from influencing the public to consider and adopt a specific, critical viewpoint, the most likely result of any searing public attack on the role assumed in the freedmen's aid sphere by either, or both, of these individuals would have been to bring a flood of indignant counter-arguments in their defence.

And within the Scottish press, and amongst those most deeply hostile to the concept of dispensing Scottish charity to the American freedmen, there was perhaps a feeling that it would be largely ineffective to trot out once again the same old sentiments as had been voiced in relation to the Duchess of Sutherland's anti-slavery commitment. There is, in retrospect,

no reason to assume that these arguments would not in fact have had a very considerable impact, and been enthusiastically and gratefully accepted by opponents of the Scottish involvement in freedmen's aid. But it may have seemed at the time that they would strike most members of the public as pitifully second-hand.

5) Perhaps the most important contributory reason for the general failure to follow the former pattern of criticism, however, was quite simply that the interest and concern shown by the Scottish public and press towards the Scottish movement for freedmen's aid was not nearly so great and emotional as the interest and concern earlier shown towards the Scottish movement for the abolition of American slavery. Indeed, it might even be valid to suggest that the reduced volume and intensity of criticism of Scottish personnel involved in the British campaign on behalf of the freedmen merely matched the reduced volume and intensity (relative to the Scottish abolitionist agitation) of the effort exerted by these workers in the American Negroes' cause during the early years of American Reconstruction.

III. Scottish support for the Jubilee Singers

The absence of a vigorous, sustained body of opposition to Scottish participation in the freedmen's aid movement does in itself serve to emphasize the relatively short period of really serious campaigning which took place within the country on behalf of the cause. As we have already observed, the principal attempt - and that by no means a particularly persistent and intensive one - on the part of the American deputies and their localized helpers to enlist the support of the Scottish people was concentrated in three short years, from roughly the summer of 1865 until the summer of 1868. And even in that time, the nature of the appeal changed fundamentally, from an original stress on the urgent material requirements of the emancipated slaves to a later emphasis on the need to educate and evangelize them. Taking these

factors into consideration and, in addition, the extremely important fact that there did not develop in Scotland a framework of co-ordinated freedmen's aid organizations, it would seem that there existed no solid foundation for the emergence of a consistent and distinctive national response to the movement.

If this meant that there was little real scope for Scottish opponents of the British freedmen's aid movement to mount a strong, concerted attack on their countrymen's participation in it, it also meant that after the main campaign was over the Scottish people, with a tradition of essentially desultory support for the cause, would continue in much the same sporadic fashion to give their attention and support to other occasional forms of appeal on behalf of the freedmen. The opportunity for them to do so was not lacking. We have seen[1] that in the decade which followed the 1860s there were still various individuals from the United States who visited Scotland and who relied on the old, oratorical way of raising sympathies for straightforward freedmen's aid projects. But these apart, it becomes clear that (always discounting the indigenous campaign sustained by the U.P. Church) the freedmen's aid concept in Scotland had by the mid-1870s dwindled for the most part into a focus on what might be called a popular facet of the movement, the aspect, that is, represented by the Jubilee Singers and Josiah ("Uncle Tom") Henson. And although not perhaps belonging strictly to the mainstream of freedmen's aid activity, the appeals launched by these Americans nevertheless deserve some consideration inasmuch as they successfully revived a very substantial measure of Scottish interest in and sympathy for the ex-slaves at a period when the more conventional, institutionalized campaign for the freedmen had ended.

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1 See above, Chapter IX, pp. 9-23.

The visits of the Jubilee Singers in particular had the effect of encouraging the Scottish people once again to give assistance in advancing the cause of the freed Negroes of America. And the renewal of the public's readiness to respond favourably at that time was almost certainly facilitated by the fact that while the manner of presenting the appeal was entirely new, the group's effort was by no means completely separate, either in respect of its official sponsorship or its objective, from efforts earlier made on behalf of the freedmen by various deputies from American freedmen's aid organizations. Indeed, the aims could hardly have been more in keeping with those earlier expounded by the popular and esteemed Sella Martin, for the singing campaigns of both 1873 and 1875 were embarked upon under the auspices of the American Missionary Association and for the purpose of extending a college established by that body to train American freedmen for missionary work in Africa.

The Jubilee Singers began their first visit to Britain in early April, 1873 with the specific objective of raising £6,000 to help finance building extensions at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. It soon became known to their British audiences and sympathizers generally that Fisk had been one of the earliest institutions established in the Southern states by the AMA for ensuring that the Negro population received proper opportunities in education. The college had secured a university charter in 1867, and from then on had increasingly concentrated on training its students to become missionaries among their own people. By the early 1870s the success of the venture was such that new buildings were needed to accommodate the ever greater number of students; and it was towards that end that the Jubilee Singers set about raising funds on both sides of the Atlantic. The target of £6,000 which they hoped to achieve in Britain represented, in fact, somewhat less than half of the total amount required, for £8,000 had already been given in response to their appeal before they left America.[1]

1 See Edinburgh Courant, 19 Aug., 1873.

It was not until August that the group moved north to Scotland: but in the proceeding four months its members had clearly become well enough acquainted with at least one sector of Scottish society - the aristocratic. There is conclusive evidence in his own personal account of the visit that during the first campaign it was the determined policy of the Jubilee Singers' adviser-manager, Gustavus D. Pike, to court the favours of the British aristocracy. Recalling discussions which he had had shortly after arrival in England with the Rev. Dr. Henry Allon, pastor of Union Chapel, London, on how best to organize the tour, Pike retrospectively stated that "the more I understood the methods of the English, the more I came to appreciate the vast importance of securing the patronage of the pious nobility in furthering a benevolent enterprise".[1]

Having therefore early recognized the advantages to be gained from involving the upper-classes in the campaign, Pike must accordingly have rejoiced that the President of the London-based Freedmen's Mission Aid Society was no less a personage than the Earl of Shaftesbury. That a man of Shaftesbury's stamp held the principal position in an organization with which the Jubilee Singers would of course be closely associated during their stay in Britain was a circumstance likely to arouse expectations of beneficial contacts with other members of the aristocracy. And Shaftesbury for his part certainly saw to it that the Singers were brought to the attention of those in high society. In early May, for instance, he went so far as to arrange for a private concert to be given by them at which the guests included his old friends the Duke and Duchess of Argyll. Pike was duly introduced to the Duke, and the latter, having indicated that he and the Duchess were anxious to further the object of the campaign, promptly invited them to his London home, Argyll Lodge, Kensington, the next day.[2]

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1 Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 29.

2 Ibid., pp. 31-33, 35.

Looking back on the tour, Pike obviously considered the winning of Argyll's sympathy and active support to be one of the most valuable assets attained by the group. Having heard of the Duke's "liberality" and read his anti-slavery productions, he had hoped that their cause would commend itself to him. Hence he recalled that the whole party had been extremely delighted about the invitation to Argyll Lodge and very eager to please:

> Nothing could have been more acceptable to any of us...[W]e had gotten a leverage, and it remained for us to make the best of it...We were intensely anxious that the opening afforded us to the best-appreciated families of the kingdom might not be closed because of any inattention on our part.[1]

In the event, the success of the visit probably exceeded even their most sanguine hopes for in the course of it, Queen Victoria herself arrived. The royal presence was openly attributed by Pike to the influence which the Argylls had with the Queen as a result of the Marquis of Lorne's marriage to Louise, and his tribute to the Duke and Duchess was accordingly lavish: "This act of theirs [arranging for the Jubilee Singers to appear before Victoria] grows more and more beautiful as months and years roll by, and leads me to believe that the nobility born of the gospel, when allied to noble birth, becomes more potent for good".[2]

Although therefore certainly the most significant, the association formed with the Duke and Duchess of Argyll was not, however, the only contact which the Jubilee Singers had during their time in England with members of the Scottish aristocracy. On the occasion of their performance at a lunch given by Gladstone for the Prince and Princess of Wales, for instance, the assembled company had included not only the Argylls but also the Duke of Sutherland and the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch.[3] And as well as simply

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1 Ibid., pp. 35-36, 37.

2 Ibid., p. 40.

3 Ibid., pp. 74-76.

enhancing their repute before they had even set foot on Scottish soil, the Singers' frequent movement among the upper echelons of society had also, it would seem, some effect in actually dictating the nature of their initial appearance in Scotland.

Thus, when they arrived from England in mid August, 1873, their first point of destination had been Castle Wemyss, home of John Burns, co-owner and director of the shipping line of Burns, Cunard and MacIver.[1] They had been recommended by Shaftesbury, who was an old and extremely close friend of the Burns family,[2] to enlist the services of Burns as their "counsellor" in Scotland, and Pike had duly obtained a letter of introduction to him.[3] The eventual outcome of these developments was that John Burns and his wife organized for the afternoon of 16 August a large garden party at which the Jubilee Singers gave their first Scottish performance. Upwards of four hundred to five hundred invitations were sent out, and the company which ultimately assembled was of only slightly less exalted social rank than the aristocratic Scots whose acquaintance the group had made in London. Present at the function was a virtual regiment of Scottish gentry, including Charles Dalrymple, M.P. for Buteshire, the Buchanans of Auchentorlie, the Martins of

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1 For an earlier reference to Burns, see above, Chapter II, p. 104; Chapter III, pp. 316-317; see also biographical note in Appendix I.

2 John Burns' father George (co-founder of the Cunard line) had first met Shaftesbury in 1850 at the Duke of Argyll's residence at Roseneath, where Shaftesbury was recuperating from a spell of poor health. They quickly became extremely good friends, sharing the same "sound Evangelical" principles, the same "mild Conservati[sm]" and the same deep interest and involvement in philanthropy. The friendship was actively maintained over the years, and Shaftesbury paid his first long visit to Wemyss Bay in 1871, when he stayed with John at Castle Wemyss. Another lengthy period was spent there the following summer - see Edwin Hodder, Sir George Burns, Bart.; His Times and Friends (London, 1890), pp. 387-398.

3 See Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 92.

Auchendennan, Mr. & Mrs. J. Burns, Kilmshew, and party, Col. Carey and family, Mr. & Mrs. Hunter, Hafton, and Mr. & Mrs. Elder, Knock Castle, as well as Sir Peter Coats and his wife.[1] Shaftesbury himself was also there, along with Lady Edith Ashley and other Hon. Ashleys, and he contributed significantly to the proceedings by delivering a stirring and lucid explanation of the performers' objective and why they should be supported in their efforts to attain it.[2]

Having thus at the outset succeeded in capturing the attentions - and, of course, the sympathies - of a substantial number of those who had positions of some influence within Scottish society, the Jubilee Singers under the energetic management of Pike continued throughout the remainder of their time in Scotland occasionally to advance their cause through direct contact with the gentry and nobility. Hence, following a public performance at Aberdeen they had, for example, also given a private concert to "distinguished persons" in the neighbourhood, including the Countess of Kintore, the Falconers of Haddo House, and Lady Katherine Gordon.[3] Their favour with Lord Provost James Cowan of Edinburgh was sufficiently assured for them to be invited to dinner with him in mid October:[4] but the influential individual whom Pike tended to credit with having given the most generously consistent help to the Jubilee Singers during their Scottish tour was Sir Peter Coats, of the Paisley thread manufacturing firm. As we have noted, Coats was among those

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1 See report of concert given by the Jubilee Singers at Castle Wemyss, 16 Aug., 1873, in Glasgow Herald, 18 Aug., 1873.

2 Shaftesbury's speech is considered in greater detail below, p. 290.

3 Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 134.

4 Ibid., p. 135.
James Cowan, Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1872-1874, was the sixth son of Alexander Cowan, founder of the large and well-established Scottish firm of Alexander Cowan and Son Ltd., papermakers. He was for a time its London representative and later became assistant to his father in Edinburgh. He resigned the Provostship when elected M.P. for Edinburgh alongside Duncan McLaren in 1874 - see Sir Thomas B. Whitson, The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh 1296-1932, (Edinburgh University Press, 1932), pp. 131-132.

who attended the function at Catle Wemyss, and thereafter he displayed "great interest" in furthering the Singers' cause, arranging for them to give two concerts in Paisley and one at Ayr, and introducing them to the Provost of the latter town. It was, indeed, for Coats that the ever-grateful Pike reserved his warmest praise, declaring that he was "a nobleman through the grace of God" and that he had made the greatest impression on his (Pike's) mind of any man he had ever met.[1]

In view of the very considerable concern which, it must have seemed, the British upper classes and the monied gentry had earlier shown for the general welfare of the American freedmen, it was of course quite understandable that Pike should have chosen assiduously to cultivate the acquaintance of persons of high social rank and those who otherwise enjoyed prominent status in Scottish society. But the fact that both he and the members of the group fully appreciated the advantages which could accrue to their effort from the patronage of the famous and the wealthy did not mean that their Scottish visit was exclusively or even primarily directed at attracting and winning the support of the most prestigious elements in the land. On the contrary, in the months in which they were in Scotland they covered a substantial area, including the four main centres of population; and they obviously made it their business to try to secure the most favourable conditions under which to convey their essentially religious message to as many people as possible.

Towards that latter end, the Jubilee Singers had originally had it in

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1 Pike, The Singing Campaign, pp. 139-141.
Both Sir Peter and his brother Thomas (co-owners of the family firm) were renowned as great benefactors to their native town of Paisley and as philanthropists in a wider sphere - see , tribute from the U.P. church, Paisley made by the Rev. Dr. Hutton on the death of Thomas Coats, published in an unidentified newspaper dated 18 Oct., 1883, in Newspaper Cuttings Vol. 3, p. 9, Grieve Scrap Book, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
The Coats' contributed £200 to the public subscription fund for the freedmen launched in Glasgow in January, 1868 - see Appendix II (d).

mind to raise money by singing in Scottish churches, and the plan had been dropped only when they were advised that it would be "against the proprieties of Presbyterians"[1] to allow such a procedure. It becomes clear, however, that due to the enthusiasm of certain ministers for the groups' aims, the proprieties were breached in several instances. The composition of the gathering at Castle Wemyss, where the gentry had been almost equalled in numbers by the ministers present,[2] had early reflected the fact that the Singers' objective was indeed one calculated to commend itself to the church. Thus it was that one of the ministers who had attended the concert there, the Rev. John Kinross of the Church of Scotland, Largs, became immediately sufficiently sympathetic to the campaign not only to invite the group to his parish but also to charge admission at his Church and take a collection on the occasion of their performance.[3]

But in particular, the Jubilee Singers' objective was one guaranteed to secure the sympathies and support of the missionary-orientated United Presbyterian Church; and it becomes evident that several ministers of that denomination readily grasped the opportunity to have them sing in church (although it is unclear whether on-the-spot admission charges and collections were made on these occasions). In the Rev. Dr. Wallace's U.P. Church at East Campbell Street, Glasgow, for instance, they appeared at a Sabbath Service.[4] But perhaps the most momentous incidence of goodwill on the part of a Voluntary minister was shown them when they appeared at David Macrae's U.P. church in Gourock. For in naturally doing his utmost to give them a tremendous welcome, Macrae went the length of draping the make-shift platform in the

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1 See Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 110.

2 See Glasgow Herald, 18 Aug., 1873.

3 See Pike, The Singing Campaign, pp. 111-112.

4 Ibid., p. 132.

church with the American flag, a gesture "much appreciated" by the Singers,[1] but hardly perhaps, the last word in U.P. propriety. Therefore, despite some inherent drawbacks in using the Scottish churches as a principal medium through which to advance their cause, the Jubilee Singers nevertheless almost certainly enjoyed a considerable measure of active co-operation and support from Scottish ministers on an individual basis. And in seeking always the most salutary atmosphere in which to make themselves and their aims known to the Scottish people, they took the chance to appear at a number of revival meetings contemporaneously being held by Moody and Sankey. Their rendition of slave songs on these occasions would obviously have been to great effect in benefiting their cause, for in Edinburgh alone, at two separate meetings at the Corn Exchange in late December, 1873 they were heard by crowds of five thousand and eight thousand.[2]

It did not, however, for the most part require the initial attraction of a Moody and Sankey revival meeting to arouse public interest in the Jubilee Singers. On the contrary, they proved themselves quite capable during their Scottish tour of drawing large audiences on their own account. Indeed, their popularity would appear to have been assured from the very outset: for instance, at the concert at Greenock where they were "thrown entirely on public support for the first time" a crowd of over two thousand packed the hall. And on their second appearance in the town public enthusiasm was still greater. Performances at the nearby Largs, Dunoon, Kilcreggan and Helensburgh met with similar resounding success, the sum of £73 being raised in the latter town alone.[3] Further north, a capacity audience heard their

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1 See ibid., pp. 112-113.

2 Ibid., pp. 154-156. In a subsequent work published after the Singers' second British visit, Pike stated that one of the most "memorable" features of their campaign in the north of Britain during 1873 had been their connection with the Moody and Sankey meetings - see Pike, The Story of the Jubilee Singers (London, 1877), p. 70.

3 Pike, The Singing Campaign, pp. 114-117.

"Service of Song" in the Kinnaird Hall, Dundee on 18 September: [1] and at both Perth and Aberdeen the public's response was highly encouraging. [2]

Within the capital city, their popularity was such that they gave, in all, seven concerts. [3] At the first of these, held on 15 October, many were unable to get places in the crowded Music Hall and Lord Provost Cowan, seeing the overflowing audience, regretted that he had not fixed the seat prices at 10/6 instead of 3/-. [4] The second and third concerts which took place later in the month both attracted similarly full houses. [5] And on the second last evening in October, yet another "large and brilliant" audience at the Music Hall appreciatively heard the chairman on that occasion, the Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, praise the "excellence" of the Singers' programme, declare that it had been "most profitable to listen to the sentiments expressed", and cordially thank the company on behalf of the entire Christian people of Edinburgh. [6] But perhaps the Singers' greatest successes were achieved in Glasgow, where they had been formally welcomed by the civic authorities. [7] Following their last public appearance at the City Hall in early January, 1874, the local press observed that they had "frequently" appeared before large audiences there in the preceding few months; and it was indicated that after one of the group had at the end of the concert given an address in

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1 See Dundee Advertiser, 19 Sept., 1873.

2 Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 132.

3 Ibid., p. 135.

4 See Edinburgh Courant, 15 Oct., 1873.

5 See ibid., 18, 30 Oct., 1873.

6 See report of concert given by the Jubilee Singers in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on 30 Oct., 1873, in ibid., 31 Oct., 1873.
The Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff was a prominent minister and former moderator of the Free Church - see above, Chapter VIII, p. 481.

7 Pike, The Singing Campaign, pp. 130-131.

which he thanked the people of Glasgow for their support and referred to the substantial Scottish contributions which had been received, he and the rest of the company had left the platform to "ringing cheers".[1]

Certainly, to some extent the widespread popularity which the Jubilee Singers enjoyed during their time in Scotland would have derived in the first instance from straightforward appreciation of the entertainment which they provided. But if the actual stage performances constituted the main draw for a substantial section of the large audiences, it nevertheless remained a vital fact that the Singers' mission was so well publicized that no matter what their basic reason for attending, those who went to the concerts could not escape becoming aware of the nature of the performers' aims in appearing before them. Beyond that, however, it might be suggested that the group's success could not have been so well assured had there not been within the country a residual body of people who had retained from earlier years a positive and renewable interest in the welfare and advancement of the American freedmen.

Most significantly these elements were, it seems clear, able to recognize in the Jubilee Singers' effort an exceedingly important sphere of activity on behalf of the freedmen, one which they could unreservedly support. In his speech at Castle Wemyss introducing the group to Scotland, Shaftesbury had made it plain that the Singers' objective was strictly in the tradition of known freedmen's aid objectives. Describing it as a "holy mission", he had stated that following a "great effort" in America they had travelled to Britain to try to "stir the hearts of the English people to join them in elevating the Negro race to the position to which they (sic) are entitled by the laws of God and the great capacities with which [H]e has endowed them (sic)".[2]

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1 See Glasgow Herald, 8 Jan., 1874.

2 Report of speech by Lord Shaftesbury at the Jubilee Singers' concert at Castle Wemyss, 16 Aug., 1873, in ibid., 18 Aug., 1873.

And it would appear that subsequently a large number of Scots did indeed fully appreciate the Jubilee Singers' aim as a really basic, wide-ranging freedmen's aid one, of a kind which had been familiar to them at least since around 1868 when the AMA had begun to concentrate upon the education and evangelization aspect. Hence the prominent Free Church minister the Rev. William Hanna, for instance, was so strongly impressed with the importance of the company's clear-cut objective, with the company itself, and with the individual member of it who had said he hoped the Negro race would prove worthy of the sympathy and interest of its friends, as to write to the Edinburgh publisher Thomas Nelson:

> I am sure that it was the common and deep feeling of all around [at the dinner given by Lord Provost Cowan for the Jubilee Singers] that too much interest, too much sympathy in such a cause as that which he and his companions represented could not be shown, nor could too bright a hope be cherished as to the destiny of the negro race, if only the means of Christian education with sufficient promptness and and in sufficient measure be supplied.[1]

It becomes evident therefore, that the unconventional method by which the Jubilee Singers sought to put across their appeal for support did not obscure or in any way distort their basic aim. And in this connection, it testifies to the earnest dedication and obvious sincerity which they were able to impart in their performances that they succeeded in conveying to the public the solid conviction that they were not engaged in a "novelty" campaign designed to benefit an obscure corner of freedmen's aid activity but were simply seeking, by means of entertainment rather than by means of the well-worn direct verbal address, to raise funds for a widely acclaimed and major facet of the American drive to educate and evangelize the freedmen.

The measure of their success in capturing, through the nature of their performances, the imagination, sympathy and respect of Scottish audiences

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1 Quoted in Pike, The Singing Campaign, p. 138.
Hanna had in 1866 succeeded Guthrie as minister at St. John's Free Church, Edinburgh.

and in communicating the great importance of their mission is revealingly reflected in, for instance, the first reference to them made by the Edinburgh Courant, a newspaper not normally disposed to be complimentary in its estimation of their race. In an editorial comment obviously formed on the basis of the writer's attendance at the Castle Wemyss concert, the Courant followed up a short description of the Singers' aims with a favourable appraisal of their stage performance. Contrasting their type of entertainment with the familiar Christy Minstrel type, the paper approvingly declared that "They neither grin with the 'dental abandon' of their spurious imitators, nor crack the bones nor shake the tambourine". With a display of goodwill totally uncharacteristic of the attitudes generally adopted in discussion of the American freedmen, it went on to wish the Singers a "very successful" Scottish tour and a "hearty welcome" everywhere. But most significantly, in expressing the hope that they would raise "most if not all" of the required sum, the Courant demonstrated not only that it had recognized and accepted the company's objective as a truly worthwhile and extensive one but also that it was anxious that its readers should do so too and respond accordingly:

> People may feel assured that in patronising them they are not contributing to individual enterprise, but are really helping a long oppressed nation to the great means of moral culture and Christian enlightenment. 1

And by the time that the immensely successful first concert was held in Edinburgh in mid October, probably a very considerable proportion of those most readily inclined to sympathize with the effort were in fact fully aware that the Singers' aims did not differ in kind from the aims of speakers who had earlier sought Scottish assistance on the freedmen's behalf, and were consequently quite prepared to acknowledge that this fresh appeal for aid was every bit as deserving of their support as had been the appeals launched in

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1 Edinburgh Courant, 19 Aug., 1873.

previous years. Certainly, the city's Lord Provost, James Cowan, was himself firmly of the opinion that the group's campaign merited every success because the outcome of it would be of major import for the evangelization of the entire Negro race: and furthermore, apparently speaking as a man who, a contemporary churchman claimed, had "a heart so in sympathy with that of the Edinburgh community", [1] he was confident that his appreciation of the far-reaching nature of the objective was shared by many local people.

Hence in introducing the Singers to the audience at the first concert, he congratulated them on the fact that their cause had already "come home to the hearts of the public", this being evidenced, he stated, by the large, "influential audience" which was assembled there at a time when most of the more prosperous were absent from town. No cause, he declared, could create a stronger interest then theirs. Due to the suddenness of the changes brought about by the Civil War, they had undertaken "a mission of the greatest importance" under circumstances of peculiar trial. And referring to Shaftesbury's earlier recommendation of them, Cowan suggested that although it had been made by a highly respected philanthropist it had scarcely been necessary, since the worthiness of the Jubilee Singers' effort was "readily appreciable by all". The people of Edinburgh, he was convinced, were "thankful to give them welcome in a holy cause", and to accord them all possible support. [2]

The actual character of the company's performance obviously contributed greatly towards both arousing and reinforcing sentiments sympathetic to the appeal. Thus in moving a vote of thanks to the Provost at the end of the first Edinburgh concert, for instance, the Rev. Dr. Robertson, minister of New Greyfriars' Free Church, felt compelled also to pay tribute to the entertainers.

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1 See report of vote of thanks to Lord Provost Cowan moved by the Rev. Dr. Robertson, New Greyfriars Free Church, Edinburgh, at a concert given by the Jubilee Singers in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on 14 Oct., 1873 in ibid., 15 Oct., 1873.

2 Report of speech by Lord Provost James Cowan, in ibid.

The songs, he remarked, had been executed in a way which was "exquisitely touching" and which showed "the yearning of a long injured race" whose hopes of redress had during slavery times been firmly fixed in heaven.[1] And in a short critical notice, the Edinburgh Courant credited the Jubilee Singers with "much refinement and general intelligence" in their singing, considering that "despite the dreamy unintelligibility of the words at times,...there was an enthusiasm and a strong expression of triumph in those [songs] referring to their recently-acquired freedom which were more than interesting".[2] Elsewhere in Scotland, concerts were similarly followed by favourable comment in the local press. At Dundee, for example, the "Service of Song" held in mid September predictably elicited lavish praise from Leng's Dundee Advertiser, the paper going so far as to liken one slave melody to "the melancholy wailing of the earlier Jacobite songs".[3] Several days later, the Aberdeen Journal pronounced itself much impressed by the Singers' performance in the city's Music Hall, and accordingly took the trouble to emphasize that they had appeared there in a bid "to provide the means of extending among their class (sic) the mental training so long denied and now so essential".[4]

Certainly, in thus capturing the imagination and sympathy of a considerable proportion of the Scottish people at large, the Jubilee Singers both achieved a principal short-term goal and demonstrated the existence within the country of a readiness once more to support an appeal on behalf of America's emancipated slaves. But it was also a measure of their personal

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1 Report of vote of thanks moved by the Rev. Dr. Robertson, in ibid.

2 Ibid., 15 Oct., 1873.

3 Dundee Advertiser, 19 Sept., 1873.
In view of the strong admiration which, according to Pike, both he himself and the entire company had assumed for the Prentice Boys of Derry and their Protestant supporters (see above, Chapter VIII, p. 525), it might be suggested that the Jubilee Singers would not have found this analogy particularly complimentary.

4 Aberdeen Journal, 24 Sept., 1873.

success and of the depth of continued Scottish interest in the freedmen's cause that appreciative comment on them was not made only in a popular, decidedly public context. As has already been suggested, a mission such as theirs was bound to have commended itself to the patronage of the U.P. Church: and in the event, the exceedingly satisfactory demeanour of the choir members helped the more to ensure that their effort did indeed enjoy that denomination's wholehearted blessing. Accordingly, as we have seen,[1] it was estimated in the February, 1874 issue of the United Presbyterian Magazine that "the great propriety of their behaviour" had won them high acclaim. In addition, the touching sensitivity of the company's performance was a factor which favourably impressed the sentiments of U.P. ministers no less than the sentiments of the general public. Hence in an article published in the United Presbyterian Magazine during the spring of 1874, the writer, in concluding that the Jubilee Singers had given "many thousands" an opportunity to hear "very delightful entertainment", strongly conveyed the impression that he personally had been extremely moved by the "plaintive" and "thrilling" quality of the songs, a quality which had strikingly conjured up pictures of the harshness of slavery.[2]

Committed as the Singers were to benefiting an institution which had as its principal function concentrated its labours upon the teaching of American freedmen as missionaries in the Protestant faith, they could, in fact, hardly fail to engage the sympathies of all Presbyterian churchmen in Scotland. Indeed, in their willingness to support an effort intrinsically connected with the ultimate dissemination of Protestant principles throughout the world, many Scottish ministers probably submerged certain reservations which they might have entertained as to the propriety - the acceptability,

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1 See above, Chapter VIII, p. 375.

2 United Presbyterian Magazine, April, 1874, pp. 173-174.

even - of the method of appeal employed by the Fisk students. Thus there arose, for instance, the somewhat incongruous situation whereby the U.P. Church and the Free Church stood largely opposed to the widespread introduction of the organ in the kirk but openly and loudly proclaimed their praise and admiration for the deeply and undeniably spiritual renditions of the Jubilee Singers.

So far as comment from the Free Church was concerned, it would seem that the fullest consideration given to the aims and the performance of the company was contained in two articles published in the Sunday Magazine and written by that journal's editor, the Rev. Dr. William G. Blaikie. The first of these appeared in the 1873 edition and began by relating how institutions such as Fisk University and Howard University had been organized by "the many friends of the Negro" who following emancipation had "devoted themselves to the cause of Christian education". From there Blaikie proceeded to explain that since the war had "desolated" the South, "unusual devices" had been required in order to replenish Fisk's treasury; and one of the most celebrated of these, he inferred, was the formation of the Jubilee Singers, who went "from place to place singing on behalf of the University". [1] In thus apparently classifying the emergence of the choir as an extraordinary measure brought about purely by the exigencies of the situation in the Southern States, it could conceivably be argued that Blaikie felt some need to excuse, if not to vindicate, the adoption of such an "unusual" fund-raising procedure.

But if he showed himself keenly aware of the quaint nature of Fisk's approach to augmenting its revenues, he certainly did not disapprove of it. Commenting on a newly published book by Pike which contained information

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1 Blaikie, "United States - A Negro Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars" in "The Editor's Room", Sunday Magazine, 1873, p. 657.

about the Singers and about their achievement in collecting $20,000 in America during the period from October, 1871 to May, 1872, he concluded that the whole narrative provided "an interesting testimony to the capacity of the Negro race, while it gives all a hint of a new way of keeping a talent from the napkin and laying it out to usury in the Master's cause".[1] Indeed, he was sufficiently approving of the venture and sufficiently impressed by its success to offer the novel suggestion that Scottish workers in philanthropic causes, instead of concentrating as in the past more or less exclusively on "Bazaars of Ladies' Work", could perhaps take a hint from the Jubilee Singers in adopting new methods of raising funds.[2]

Having thus presented a stirring recommendation of the Jubilee Singers' aims and efforts, Blaikie returned to the subject in the 1874 edition of the Sunday Magazine. In an article written after the group's target sum of £6,000 had been achieved, he asserted that one of the most noticeable features within Scotland during "the past season" had been the great interest taken in "this remarkable company of singers". Praising them for the "real feeling" with which they had invested their performances, he estimated that their songs had a "thrilling interest" from the fact that they had so recently been sung by slaves: and evidence that he had given some considerable thought to the circumstances conducive to their success was afforded in his important conclusion that popular interest in entertainment of that nature would be "lost in another generation".[3]

Once again he was unstinted in his admiration for the "remarkable pluck" shown by the Singers in their unique enterprise, and for the character of their basic objective:

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1 Ibid., pp. 657-658.

2 Ibid., p. 658.

3 Blaikie, "The Editor's Room", ibid., 1874 (month unspecified), p. 572.

> These poor slaves (sic) are aiming at higher things. They want a university for their countrymen and countrywomen. They want the highest culture for their intellect. They have learned to appreciate intellectual riches, and [are] determined to make an effort to get them; and for this purpose they have crossed the ocean, and presented themselves before strangers, who might have laughed at them for anything they could tell.[1]

The moving sincerity of their stage appearances and, in addition, their highly Christian demeanour, had however won them the abundant goodwill of the people of Scotland; "They have gained golden opinions among us, and have excited many a fervent wish for a blessing on their university".[2]

It was therefore the unqualified success enjoyed in Scotland no less than in England during the 1873-74 tour which encouraged the Jubilee Singers to return to Britain in 1875. The immediate object of their second visit was to raise £10,000 for endowments to support teaching staff at Fisk and help "earnest, struggling students to educate themselves for Christian work as teachers and ministers of the Gospel".[3] This subsequent appeal to the British public, undertaken in the year in which the University completed its first decade, was rendered necessary, Pike retrospectively implied, largely because of the disturbing fall-off in American donations during the depression.[4] Yet, deserving though the Singers' mission remained, it might nevertheless have been expected to meet with a substantially reduced response, coming as it did so soon after the initial campaign. In the event, however, no appreciable slump in the former high level of support occurred: and with specific regard to Scotland, all the indications are that the exceedingly warm reception accorded the Singers during their earlier visit there was repeated in full measure.

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1 Ibid., p. 572.

2 Ibid., p. 572.

3 Pike, The story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 81.

4 Ibid., p. 82.

The company arrived in Britain in the spring of 1875 and following appearances in Wales and the South of England during the summer months, made its way to Scotland in the autumn. Perhaps with an optimism and confidence grounded in recollection of the immense success of the previous Scottish visit, the Singers and manager Pike ventured considerably further north in presenting their renewed appeal for support, for apparently one of their first destinations was the town of Inverness. It was in the last week of September that they gave two concerts there, and the response was certainly such as to have made their journey worthwhile. Reporting on a situation where the 2/- and 1/- seats had been "densely packed" and "very many people turned away" for lack of room, the Inverness Courier commented that the performances had attracted "audiences such as have seldom been paralleled in Inverness".[1] And it was a testimony both to the company's renown and to Scottish appreciation of it that these audiences were composed not merely of local citizens but included people from far-flung neighbouring districts: "Persons came from Nairn, Dingwall and Tain to hear the Jubilee Singers; and a deputation from Nairn waited on the manager to solicit a visit from them on their way South".[2]

At the close of both concerts, a member of the company, a certain Mr. Loudin, found it necessary in the face of such markedly enthusiastic support not only to accord the conventional vote of thanks to the audience but to thank the people of Inverness for extending to the Singers patronage far in excess of anything they had expected. That patronage was represented in hard financial terms by total proceeds from the two evenings of £160, of which about half was clear profit. Quite clearly, none of those involved in organizing the Inverness appearances had envisaged so healthy a response.

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1 Inverness Courier, 7 Oct., 1875.

2 Ibid. Pike was unable to accept the invitation for the Singers to appear at Nairn because even by that early stage their time in Scotland had been fully booked.

Taking a retrospective view, however, the Inverness Courier declared that it was not really surprising that the Jubilee Singers' visit had aroused great interest. In the first place, the fundamental objective of their tour was "highly commendable". Furthermore, their singing was "original", and "the appearance of a band of genuine coloured minstrels is a novelty". The paper itself reflected something of the deep interest which had been generated in the locality by providing a detailed review of the programme, which included lengthy discussions on the meanings and dominant themes of the songs and quotations of entire verses. Giving the Singers very high praise, it concluded that on the basis of what had occurred at Inverness and elsewhere there was little doubt but that their mission would be a resounding success.[1]

At least so far as their subsequent performances in the familiar venue of Glasgow were concerned, the Inverness Courier's sanguine prediction proved accurate. The group reached Scotland's major city in mid October, and a section of the community immediately took action to stir up sympathy and tangible support for the cause. Hence just prior to the Singer's first Glasgow appearance a "large company of ladies and gentlemen" assembled at the Corporation Galleries for the purpose of hearing the meeting's chairman, the prominent local merchant and philanthropist William Graham, formally commend the campaign to the sympathies of the public. The predominant theme of Graham's address tended (probably consciously) to convey the message that the Jubilee Singers' new mission should in fact be looked on simply as a worthy extension of the earlier one. Thus, having referred fairly briefly to the specific objective of their renewed appeal, he "dwelt upon the great importance of bringing civilizing Christianising influences to bear upon the four millions of freed negroes in the Southern States, especially in view of the fact that at the date of their emancipation these poor people were in a

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1 Ibid.

state of complete intellectual darkness and physical destitution".[1] The Jubilee Singers, he asserted, were engaged in a really "noble work", and he was confident that the people of Glasgow would contribute a "considerable amount" towards furthering their efforts. His speech concluded with a request to his appreciative audience to enlist their friends' sympathies in actively supporting the cause, and to "give countenance" to the forthcoming concerts in the city.[2]

With energetic re-emphasis on the great merit and importance of the performers' mission therefore having been publicly voiced in advance, the first of these concerts took place in the Crystal Palace at the Botanic Gardens on 15 October. Welcoming the Singers back to Glasgow, the chairman, James White of Overtoun, commended the object of their effort as one "deserving all encouragement from right-minded Britons and Americans". And certainly on that occasion such encouragement was not lacking, for the Crystal Palace was filled to capacity by an audience which gave the Singers a tremendously warm reception.[3] The unqualified success of the event was reflected in the fact that proceeds from it amounted to nearly £325.[4] A concert held one week later in the City Hall attracted a similarly large attendance; and from the chair, hopes were once more expressed (this time by one Alexander Allan) that the members of the company would receive a "substantial token" of the interest taken in their endeavours by the citizens of Glasgow.[5] Almost a year after these initial successes (and probably very shortly before their departure for

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1 Report of speech by William Graham at a meeting called to hear recommendations on behalf of the Jubilee Singers in the Corporation Galleries, Glasgow, 13 Oct., 1875, in Glasgow Herald, 14 Oct., 1875.

2 Ibid.

3 See report on "The Jubilee Singers at the Crystal Palace", in ibid., 16 Oct., 1875.

4 See Pike, The Story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 86.

5 Report of the proceedings at a concert given by the Jubilee Singers in City Hall, Glasgow, 22 Oct., 1875, in Glasgow Herald, 23 Oct., 1875.

America) the Jubilee Singers returned to the city. One of their principal engagements on that subsequent visit would appear to have been a "Service of Song" given in a hall in Kibble Place; and at the performance there the customary massive audience gathered, the "large building" being completely packed.[1] At the end of the concert the company's chief spokesman, Mr. Loudin, made a point of thanking the Glasgow people for the extremely warm welcome which they had always given the Singers.[2]

Clearly, the repeated readiness of the country's largest city enthusiastically and generously to respond to their appeals for aid must have constituted one of the most important and encouraging features of the Jubilee Singers' Scottish tours. At the same time, however, there is every indication that within certain communities elsewhere in Scotland, sympathetic sentiments aroused by the group during its first visit in 1873-74 were equally as capable of being revived. For instance, following their Glasgow performance of late September, 1876, the Singers had proceeded to Dundee where, under the patronage of Provost Cox, a concert given at the beginning of October yielded receipts actually larger than those netted on their "first visit to that city in the high tide of enthusiasm two years before".[3] Furthermore, it might be suggested that only a measure of confidence in a worthwhile outcome, based both on the renewed active help of Lord Kintore,[4] and on the success of their previous performance there, induced them to travel still further north and to present a "Service of Song" at Aberdeen's Music Hall on 10 October, 1876.[5]

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1 Report of the proceedings at a "Service of Song" given by the Jubilee Singers in Kibble Place, Glasgow, 29 Sept., 1876, in ibid., 30 Sept., 1876.

2 See ibid.

3 See Pike, The Story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 86.
The concert took place on 9 Oct., 1876 - see general notice in Dundee Advertiser, 26 Sept., 1876.

4 See Pike, The Story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 82.

5 See general notice in Aberdeen Free Press, 7 Oct., 1876. It was intimated that Lord Provost Jamaison was to preside at the concert.
While in the North-East, the Singers also appeared at Peterhead (11 Oct.) and Elgin (13 Oct.) - see ibid.

And certainly, the overwhelming success which they achieved on their re-appearance in Edinburgh is not in doubt, for on several occasions during the second tour hundreds were apparently turned away from their concerts there after the standing room was full.[1] Indeed, in assessing the general Scottish response to the Jubilee Singers' visits of 1875-1876, Pike significantly stated that "The religious effect of their concert-work was never more gratifying nor manifest".[2]

It seems highly probable that the notable durability of the Jubilee Singers' popularity within Scotland was based essentially on an amalgam of two somewhat distinct but in no sense disparate elements - that is, on full appreciation of and wholehearted support for the nature of their mission, and on a straightforward interest in the form of entertainment which they offered. With regard to the latter aspect, patronage of their concerts was unquestionably helped by the fact that genuine Negro minstrels were rarely seen in Scotland. But when that feature of their success has been recognized, it remains possible to claim that the Singers did also succeed in their own principal aim of arousing a substantial Scottish concern and sympathy for the object of their endeavour. As we have repeatedly seen, the implicit message that their appeal was in the mainstream of freedmen's aid activity and in line with the familiar character of appeal sustained in the late 1860s by stalwarts like Sella Martin was one which got across clearly to those hundreds of Scottish people who became interested, for one reason or another, in the Singers' visits. And obviously there were many Scots who on being presented with a call to assist a mission such as theirs were eagerly prepared to give enthusiastic and positive support. It could therefore perhaps validly be suggested that as they themselves had intended, the Jubilee Singers contributed

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1 Pike, The Story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 86.

2 Ibid., p. 86.

very significantly towards reactivating general Scottish interest in the American freedmen and, more specifically, Scottish awareness of the freedmen's potential for spreading the gospel, at a time when the emancipated Negroes in the Southern states had largely ceased to command the attentions of Scottish philanthropy.

IV The success of the Rev. Josiah Henson's visit to Scotland

But of great importance as the students from Fisk University undoubtedly were in directing attentions back to the concept of assisting the advancement of the former slaves, they were not the only force to reawaken substantial Scottish sympathies towards that sphere of activity during the mid to late 1870s: for also noteworthy in helping to renew a measure of popular public concern for the freedmen was the visit to Scotland in early 1877 of the man widely accepted at the time as the hero of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the Rev. Josiah Henson. In making what was his third journey to Britain, it was Henson's purpose to raise £1,000 to enable him to pay off a heavy mortgage on his farm and property. The cause, his Scottish and English patrons were totally and unhesitatingly convinced, was one fully deserving of British support since the mortgage in question (which had in fact left Henson penniless) had been incurred as the result of a lengthy lawsuit which had directly involved the educational schemes which he had pioneered. Following his escape to Canada, he had founded schools there for other escaped slaves and their children, and had encouraged the families to rent and cultivate portions of land. White opposition to the venture had arisen, however, and a lawsuit over ownership of the land was eventually brought against him. Although he had ultimately won the case, the legal proceedings, having dragged on for seven years, had greatly impoverished him. Nevertheless, by the late 1870s the educational project which he had inaugurated in Canada had progressively developed into the Dawn Educational Institute and then into Wilberforce University. And since the British people had over the preceding years actively contributed

towards ensuring the growth and expansion of the schools, it was judged that under the circumstances, they would be ready to help Henson out of his financial difficulties.[1]

It was in late February, 1877 that "the hero of Uncle Tom's Cabin" made his first public appearance in Scotland. The occasion was a lecture given by him in the London Road U.P. church, Edinburgh, and chairing the proceedings was the minister there, the Rev. J. Davis Bowden.[2] Having in his introductory speech from the chair explained the reason for Henson's visit to Britain at that time, Bowden, who had in fact been one of those instrumental in encouraging and arranging the trip,[3] went on to indicate that Scotland had been included in the itinerary because "many kind friends" there had expressed the desire to have a convenient opportunity of seeing and hearing him before he returned to Canada. A very considerable number of Scottish people, Bowden declared, had in the past given him their "sympathy and substantial aid", and they were accordingly anxious that he should not leave Britain having formed the impression that Scotland had fallen significantly behind England in its willingness to offer him assistance.[4] In the event, the warmth of the reception which he received at that initial meeting in the London Road U.P. church was probably in itself enough immediately to reassure him that there indeed existed an exceedingly

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1 See Edinburgh Courant, 20 Feb., 1877; Glasgow Herald, 20 March, 1877.

2 See report of the proceedings at a lecture delivered by the Rev. Josiah Henson in London Road U.P. church, Edinburgh, 19 Feb., 1877, headed "The Hero of Uncle Tom's Cabin", in Edinburgh Courant, 20 Feb., 1877.

3 See Glasgow Herald, 20 March, 1877.

4 Report of speech by the Rev. J. Davis Bowden, in Edinburgh Courant, 20 Feb., 1877.

enthusiastic Scottish interest in him and in his welfare, for not only was the church crowded to capacity with "every piece of standing ground occupied", but "several hundreds" were actually turned away.[1]

It can be suggested that in a real sense, the overwhelmingly enthusiastic popular response thus demonstrated towards Henson's initial appearance in Scotland testifies to a continuing readiness among Scots to take a positive concern and participation in freedmen's aid activities. Yet, when it has been acknowledged that his appeal for aid obviously did on the most basic interpretation involve the proposition of once more giving support to a former American slave, it would nevertheless seem to place his campaign in a faulty perspective to view it in the context strictly understood by the term "freedmen's aid". For instance, quite apart from the atypical personal nature of his plea, the manner in which he chose to attract attention and sympathy to it was, in its predominant emphasis, somewhat out of keeping with the style employed by earlier official advocates of the freedmen's cause. Thus whereas Sella Martin and his colleagues from the American freedmen's aid organizations had invariably tended to incorporate graphic references to the evils perpetrated during slavery times as essentially minor elements in their public speeches, Josiah Henson (as was perhaps to be expected, considering the basis of his fame) concentrated exclusively on presenting recollections of his years in bondage. It was therefore perfectly indicative of his general approach to capturing the interest of the Scottish people that the first lecture which he gave in the country was "on his experiences of slave life".[2]

If, however, the style of Henson's appeal for aid in 1877 differed significantly from that of the appeals launched a decade or so previously on behalf of a much wider section of the American freedmen, there can be no doubt

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

but that the actual effectiveness of it was every bit as great. Reporting on the initial London Road U.P. church meeting, for instance, the Edinburgh Courant was prompted to observe that the lecture was listened to with "intense interest, the audience at times being deeply affected by his thrilling narrative of the cruelties of slave life".[1] We have already noted[2] that Henson's campaign relied heavily on renewing Scottish audiences' appreciation of the horrors of slavery and that his line of approach enjoyed a marked success. But in the event, that specific method of enlisting popular sympathy was perhaps not after all entirely unique to him. Undoubtedly, the Jubilee Singers, being for the most part ex-slaves themselves and certainly, through their songs, constantly reminding their hearers of slave life, would also have derived a very considerable proportion of their support from renewing the public focus on the abuses which were known to have existed during slavery times. Indeed, the somewhat remarkable success of the Jubilee Singers' effort and that of Henson after them clearly indicates that even in the late 1870s the vivid evocation of the miseries of life in bondage remained a very powerful stimulus for arousing among Scots sympathetic sentiments towards the former victims of that system and, consequently, for encouraging them actively to support such pleas for assistance as specific American freedmen might feel justified in bringing to their attention.

It therefore came about that although Henson's appeal for help was neither in substance nor presentation within the conventional pattern of appeals for freedmen's aid, certain sections of the Scottish community were nevertheless eagerly prepared to take formal steps towards organizing the means for rallying public support to his cause. Thus, on 19 March, one month after he had made his first appearance in Edinburgh, a company of "leading citizens"

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1 Ibid.

2 See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 378-380.

assembled in the Religious Institute Rooms, Glasgow, to hear a statement of the object of his visit. The attendance was large, and amongst those present were several prominent ministers of different denominations. Most significant, however, was the fact that the meeting was presided over by John Burns of Castle Wemyss, the man whose renown as a valuable advocate of the American freedmen's cause during the 1870s had of course already been ensured through his energetic efforts on behalf of the Jubilee Singers. In his speech of welcome, Burns explained to the potential leaders of the city's bid to benefit Henson that the £1,000 required to settle his immediate financial difficulties had in fact by that time already been attained and that the intention amongst Scottish sympathizers was to raise a further £1,000 as a present to him. Of that target sum, £350 had, he indicated, been collected in Edinburgh and the east of Scotland, and he was confident that the remaining £650 would easily be raised in Glasgow and the west. A committee was duly formed to facilitate the advancement of that objective.[1]

Subsequently, no time whatsoever was lost in bringing the project to the attention of the local community, for it was on the evening of the day following the meeting in the Religious Institute Rooms that Henson made his first appearance in Glasgow. A "vast concourse" gathered in the City Hall for the occasion; and throughout the proceedings the members of the audience repeatedly demonstrated their continuing intense hatred of the concept of human

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1 Report of meeting of "leading citizens" held on the afternoon of 19 March, 1877, in the Religious Institute Rooms , Glasgow, to hear of the object of Henson's visit, in article headed "'Uncle Tom' in Glasgow", Glasgow Herald, 20 March, 1877.

John Burns, it was indicated, occupied the chair in the absence of James White of Overtoun. This further suggests that there existed amongst certain Scottish individuals a positive continuum of interest in the American freedmen during the later 1870s since White, no less than Burns, had taken an active role in assisting the Jubilee Singers - see above, p. 301.

slavery, while greeting Henson himself when he rose to speak with "round upon round" of loud applause.[1] John Burns once again acted as chairman, and in keeping with the tenor of Henson's own approach his short introductory speech revolved around condemnation of the cruelties perpetrated by Southern slave-holders before emancipation.[2] For his part, Henson in delivering his address stuck firmly to the same tried and trusted theme (leavening it with frequent and well received witticisms).[3] And indeed it would probably have profited him little to have deviated from it, for the large audience's immensely attentive and enthusiastic response to his statements strongly suggests that concentration on aspects of his life after freedom would not so readily have guaranteed the great success of his appearance at the City Hall as did his concentration on personal recollections of the miseries of life as a slave.

Following these initial moves to arouse public awareness and support, the depth of Glasgow's and western Scotland's regard and concern for the hero of Uncle Tom's Cabin was finally manifested at a farewell meeting held in his honour on 20 April, shortly before his return to America. Once more a very large crowd packed into the City Hall, and in the usual spirit of all such gatherings the platform was occupied by an impressive array of ministers, influential local citizens and country gentry.[4] Alexander Allan presided, and he began his speech to the members of the assembled company by reminding them that they had met to wish their "dear old friend" God-speed home, and to give him tokens of esteem and affection. To loud applause he stated that

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1 Report of proceedings at a lecture delivered by the Rev. Josiah Henson in City Hall, Glasgow, 20 March, 1877, in article headed "'Uncle Tom' in the City Hall", Glasgow Herald, 21 March, 1877.

2 See report of speech by John Burns of Castle Wemyss, in ibid.

3 See report of speech by the Rev. Josiah Henson, in ibid.

4 See report of proceedings at a farewell meeting to Rev. Josiah Henson, held in City Hall, Glasgow, 20 April, 1877, in article headed "Farewell Meeting and Presentation to 'Uncle Tom' ", in ibid., 21 April, 1877.

the "mission to Britain" had been satisfactorily accomplished to an extent which went beyond Henson's own initial expectations; moreover, he added that while the appeal had met with an extremely enthusiastic reception throughout Britain, the Scottish response had been especially strong with Glasgow in particular displaying a tremendous will to support it.[1] And the somewhat remarkable level of support which had indeed been enlisted in Glasgow and the west within the short space of one month was demonstrated in the fact that on the conclusion of his address, Allan handed over to Henson a cheque for £750. That amount was £100 more than the target figure initially aimed at by those who, at the two meetings held in the city in March, had spearheaded the movement to collect for a presentation to Henson, and it was given with the assurance that the people who had contributed towards raising it would continue to accord him their warmest sympathy and include him in their prayers.[2]

When the main presentation of the evening was over, the Rev. J. Davis Bowden (on whose invitation, it will be recalled, Henson had come to Scotland) handed over an inscribed gold watch as a souvenir for Mrs. Henson. The singular purpose of the meeting was therefore such as to prompt Henson to limit his own comments simply to a vote of thanks. On what was his last public appearance in Scotland, he accordingly took the opportunity to indicate how overwhelmed he had been by the "great warmth" of his Scottish welcome. While finding especially remarkable the fact that his objective had been obtained by an entirely spontaneous, voluntary effort on the part of the general public, he stated that his Scottish visit had far exceeded his expectations in every way. In conclusion, he warmly thanked the Scottish people for their liberality and kindness, declaring that he would remember the quality of their response to his plea for as long as he remembered anything.[3]

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1 See report of speech by Alexander Allan, in ibid. The remainder of Allan's speech was devoted to the general theme that the British people's warm welcome to Henson had been very largely based on their total detestation of slavery - see above, Chapter VIII, pp. 378-379.

2 Glasgow Herald, 20 April, 1877.

3 Report of speech by the Rev. Josiah Henson, in ibid.

It is abundantly clear that the great impact which Josiah Henson made and the unqualified success which his mission achieved in Scotland was very largely derived from the chord which he struck in the popular memory and imagination as the hero of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel. Yet that circumstance should not be held significantly to depreciate his importance as a focus for a form of freedmen's aid activity: for the fact that in Scotland £1,000 was raised on his behalf with absolutely no difficulty whatsoever is tangible evidence of the existence within the country of a real measure of willingness to advance the cause of former slaves in America. And, if, at the late date of 1877, that willingness could most effectively be activated by unashamed recourse to revived mental images of the (apparently fascinating) cruelties of slavery times, even that does not in a real sense reduce the standing of the Scottish effort as a contribution for freedmen's aid. After all, although certainly outside the sphere of the campaigns which must be regarded as constituting the conventional "freedmen's aid movement", Henson's venture nevertheless did share a common basis with these insofar as all appeals on behalf of the freedmen depended to a greater or lesser degree on reminding the potential supporters that it was in the first instance the evils of slavery which had made such fund raising efforts necessary. Furthermore, his mission also in a sense shared some common ground with the later objectives of the AMA in that it was necessitated (albeit indirectly) by his attempts to provide education for former slaves of all ages. It might even be suggested that the prominent support given to him by ministers of all denominations was a feature of Henson's Scottish reception which indicates that his appeal for assistance was looked upon by individuals well versed in freedmen's aid activity not as an unacceptably bold, self-centred one but as a genuine effort to arouse help for a deserving cause.

In general, then, it appears that in shrewdly fashioning his public

speeches around the popularity which attached to him as "Uncle Tom", Josiah Henson was successful, like the Jubilee Singers before him, in communicating to the Scottish people, exclusively through responsible recollections of life in slavery, the message that their goodwill and pratical aid was still occasionally required during the 1870s to help advance the interests of the freedmen in America.

V. Conclusions

Within Scotland in the years between 1865 and 1877 - or perhaps more precisely between 1865 and the late 1860s - there undoubtedly existed a very considerable potential for objecting to Scottish participation in the freedmen's aid movement. But despite the opportunity which there was to voice general opposition through concentrating an attack on the activities of such prominent but controversial figures as the Duke of Argyll, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie and the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod in that sphere, the potential was not greatly exploited. Various reasons have already been put forward as to why this should have been so, but one other can be suggested here. Taking into consideration the overall pattern of the Scottish response, it may well have been that the lack of a structure of coherent freedmen's aid organizations in Scotland significantly diminished the scope - and, indeed, the need - for criticizing such involvement as there was in the cause. The essentially desultory, fragmented nature of Scottish support for the several appeals would obviously not have been conducive to generating a really weighty and sustained attack on the principle of aiding the freedmen.

The peculiarly independent, individualistic Scottish approach to the general concept of helping the former slaves can perhaps be seen to have come into its own during the mid-late 1870s in respect of the appeals launched by the Jubilee Singers and the Rev. Josiah Henson. We have observed that both

received exceedingly warm welcomes and liberal support in Scotland. And these highly favourable receptions may in part have been grounded in the well-established Scottish tradition of responding to broadly similar campaigns for aid not through organizational channels (such as the freedmen's aid Societies of England) but by means of spontaneous support given in the context of largely unco-ordinated public appeals. In other words, Scotland, possessing a previous pattern of support for freedmen's aid which was characterized by a general lack of integrated activity and, consequently, a lack also of formal, consistent association with specific American freedmen's aid Societies, was perhaps relatively better equipped than England to give the appeals put forward by the Jubilee Singers and Henson something like the same measure and manner of support as had been accorded the earlier campaigns of Sella Martin and his colleagues.

As has been argued in this chapter, neither of these two later American missions was strictly in line in every major respect with the character of the American freedmen's aid missions which had gone before, yet both (and most especially the Jubilee Singers' effort) did nevertheless have basic affinities with the appeals mounted by the American deputies in the period from 1865 to 1868. But of course in considering the popular Scottish enthusiasm shown for the Jubilee Singers and then for Henson, factors other than the will to assist certain sections of the American freedmen need to be taken into account. In both instances it seems probable that at least the initial interest in these particular individuals' endeavours was to a very considerable extent based not so much in a straightforward philanthropic impulse but more in the wish to hear, in the Jubilee Singers' performance, a form of entertainment unusual in Britain, and subsequently, to see and hear "Uncle Tom". Inextricably connected with that likely motivation for interest was the public's apparently continuing capacity to become absorbed in details

relating to life in bondage: for the fact that the Jubilee Singers and Josiah Henson were by far the most successful American claimants for aid to appear in Scotland during the 1870s strongly suggests that if immediately after the end of the Civil War the Scottish people had tended to maintain a great interest in slavery and slave life,[1] to a remarkable extent, the same held true at the close of the Reconstruction era.

Yet, it is equally clear that the basic aims of the Jubilee Singers and of Henson were adequately communicated to those who heard them and that these aims did commend themselves to the liberality of the Scottish people. Therefore, the evidence that there remained in the later 1870s a positive measure of sympathy and support for the needs of the American freedmen combines with an earlier lack of any really substantial body of criticism to participation in the freedmen's aid movement to build up the picture of an essentially placid and creditable - if somewhat unspectacular - Scottish response to campaigns on behalf of the former slaves during the period of American Reconstruction. If intensive activity towards arousing public support in Scotland for freedmen's aid was at best a haphazard and short-lived affair, spanning only the years from about 1865 to 1868, enthusiasm and support for the missions of the Jubilee Singers and Josiah Henson nevertheless proved that, from a firm base of abolitionist sentiment earlier in the century, Scottish goodwill towards the freedmen and a ready willingness to aid them still remained strong more than a decade after the end of the American Civil War.

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1 See above, Chapter II, pp. 69-75.

CHAPTER XI

Conclusion

At least partly as a consequence of the colossal scale of the bloodshed and its particularly distressing fratricidal nature, the Civil War had for its duration not only focussed British attention firmly on America but had also aroused within Britain intense feelings on the relative merits of the causes for which the antagonists fought. That being so, it was inevitable that throughout the land a very considerable interest would continue to be taken in American affairs during the post-war period, more especially since even after the conflict's end there remained for observation and consideration such highly emotive issues as the immediate condition and future status of the freedmen, the social and economic condition of the Southern states and the ultimate fate of the former slaveholding class, the temper of the Northern people towards the ex-slaves and ex-slaveowners, and of course, the question of the necessity, or perhaps more precisely the justification, for the political course of action embodied in Congressional Reconstruction.

Within this wider British concentration upon the working out of American Reconstruction, a combination of circumstances rendered it hardly feasible that Scotland would display anything less than an exceedingly deep and thorough measure of interest. The country had shown itself greatly concerned about the fluctuating fortunes of the combatants during the Civil War, a concern heightened and substantially sustained in centres such as Glasgow and Dundee by very positive, important commercial links with one specific side. Obviously, the strong convictions and emotions towards the antagonistic North and South which had been formed not merely in these two Scottish cities but throughout the whole of the land could not promptly be discarded upon the cessation of armed hostilities, and for at least the first five years or so after the end of the war fairly constant, widespread attention was

bound to be paid to the emergent character of the tenuously re-united American nation.

In addition to the obvious immediate impetus provided by recent concentration and deliberations upon the Civil War there were, however, other factors which helped to ensure substantial and vigorous Scottish interest in the Reconstruction years in America. Thus the nature and intensity of Scotland's outlook towards the United States in the post-Civil War era was also governed by such highly significant features as the long-standing Scottish focus and debate on American democracy; the (admittedly somewhat amorphous) consciousness that Scotland's cultural and political heritage gave it specific and unique affinities with both the democratic, egalitarian ideals of the Northern states and the independent "nationalistic" aspirations of the South; the continuing Scottish interest (stemming from at least the early decades of the nineteenth century) in lengthy discussions concerning questions of race; and the legacy of the extremely active Scottish anti-slavery campaign. With regard to the ready disposition to examine and evaluate the essence and importance of racial characteristics, this trait found wide expression in the 1860s and '70s in the natural tendency to speculate and to make judgements upon the inherent ability of the emancipated American Negroes (both in the immediate post-war era and in the forseeable future) to meet responsibly their social obligations and political "privileges". And so far as the earlier Scottish activity on behalf of the American slaves is concerned, that particular sphere of involvement was given very definite scope for extension in the opportunity which the freedmen's aid movement afforded erstwhile abolitionists' to maintain their energetic commitment to the welfare of America's black population.

Essentially, well-established strands of approach towards specific aspects of American affairs and towards wider issues which had a direct bearing on these affairs were maintained and in some respects reinforced following the

Federal victory. Thus, while Scottish participation in the anti-slavery movement had been markedly strong and vigorous, there were also elements within Society which displayed a notably deep and enthusiastic involvement in the less institutionalized Scottish effort on behalf of the freedmen: the United Presbyterian Church, the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, the leading men within the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society, and individuals such as the Duke of Argyll, the Rev. Drs. Thomas Guthrie and Norman Macleod, and W. E. Baxter are cases in point. Equally, there was carried on within Scotland during the years of American Reconstruction at least every bit as vehement and partisan an argument as there had ever been about the merits and demerits of the United States' democratic institutions. Alarm lest the apparent victory for the forces of political radicalism which the Northern success was seen to represent should create a climate for the Americanization of British political institutions encouraged Whig organs such as the Scotsman, no less than more blatantly Conservative mouthpieces, to intensify their attacks on American democracy. And that was of course a move which in its turn increased the readiness of pro-American elements eagerly to defend the United States system. On the Conservative side, Charles Mackay writing in Blackwood's Magazine ensured that the vitriolic bitterness which had characterized at least a portion of Scottish opposition to American democracy earlier in the century (and especially the opposition previously voiced in Blackwood itself) remained vividly alive in certain assessments of the post-Civil War nation. Moreover, in Mackay's trenchant prose there also survived into the Reconstruction era the spirit and substance of Thomas Carlyle's earlier virulent condemnation of philanthropists involved in providing for the wellbeing of the American Negroes, and his scathingly hostile attitude towards the Negroes themselves.

Charles Mackay's views on America in the mid 1860s and '70s were of

course governed by a recent spell as a rabidly pro-Southern partisan in the war-torn Northern states; but other Scots who visited the United States in the period just after the end of the conflict tended for the most part to increase their countrymen's understanding of the situation there by providing a more balanced view of the problems facing the nation, of the nature of the measures - legislative and otherwise - being taken to deal with them, and of the general frame of mind of the various elements within the Northern and Southern states. David Macrae, Sir George Campbell, and Robert Somers, for instance, all contributed in their different ways towards producing a reasoned appraisal of conditions as they interpreted them in the South, and towards creating among Scots at home a greater appreciation of the problems and prospects there.

The Scotland which surveyed the situation in America after the end of the Civil War was a country long accustomed to casting its sights on the transatlantic Republic, and it was therefore perhaps largely inevitable that the attitudes held by various sections of the community towards the several social and political aspects of Reconstruction would for the most part tend to be formed along the lines of pre-conceived attitudes towards such basic issues as the acceptability of American democracy as a practical political creed and the ability of the Negro race to cope responsibly with freedom. Yet, so complex was the actual process of Reconstruction, and so unpredictable were the ways in which certain aspects of the post-war situation developed that it did tend to become impossible for all but the most intractably partisan Scottish observers to maintain what could retrospectively be seen as a fully consistent stance - either radical or conservative - on every facet of the changing scene. Hence on occasion there were notable instances of Scottish radical forces displaying a somewhat startlingly Whiggish attitude towards some specific feature of the unfolding Reconstruction drama, and at other times, evidence of solid bastions of Scottish Whiggery and Conservatism

exhibiting an uncharacteristically generous and carefully reasoned stance on an American move or mood which might have seemed certain to arouse their immediate and unqualified condemnation. Increasingly as the years went on, then, Scottish attitudes to American Reconstruction became a kaleidoscope of constantly and subtly shifting viewpoints on specific issues, forming in general a pattern still manifestly dominated by pre-conceived ideologies, sentiments and convictions but one nevertheless by no means static or totally inflexible.

The basic kinship which in their more benign moments even the most ultra-Conservative Scots were prepared to recognize as existing between the British and the Americans unquestionably did much to both stimulate and sustain interest in the United States during Reconstruction and to produce a generally sympathetic awareness of the problems which that process entailed. And these problems were such as to engage Scottish attentions in the spheres of political principles and practice, social reorganization, and straightforward humanitarianism. Having over preceding generations demonstrated a marked disposition to take a widespread measure of interest and concern in these areas of debate and activity as they related to the United States of America, it was only to be expected, therefore, that the Scottish people would continue with scarcely diminished concentration and enthusiasm to praise, to criticize, and materially to assist the Americans in the exceedingly difficult transition period which followed the unprecedented martial devastation of their Civil War.

A Note on Newspaper Sources

While the information and opinions contained in the daily and weekly journals would naturally constitute an important aspect of any examination of "Scottish attitudes" to a specific subject, the paucity of extant manuscript material relevant to the period and theme of this dissertation forced a particularly heavy reliance on the Scottish newspaper press. Yet, however necessary the concentration on that source, it could nevertheless still be contended that to rely so greatly upon it is to use a basis for the formation of conclusions which is open to challenge in several respects. Thus it might be argued, for instance, that press comment is at best an essentially unreliable means of gauging a society's outlooks on international (or, indeed, domestic) issues and situations because there exists no way of accurately assessing how closely the various journals reflected or led the attitudes of those who read them. And along the same lines, a yet more damaging argument could be offered to the effect that it cannot even be known how many people bothered to read at all the information published on such complex subjects as the state of affairs in America during the years immediately after the Civil War. Furthermore, there does exist, perhaps, some scope for suggesting that even the two most important Scottish newspapers of the period, the Scotsman and the Glasgow Herald, tended to be strongly influenced in the formation of their opinions (and most especially their opinions on foreign affairs) by the London Times and therefore did not represent a strictly Scottish viewpoint on the subjects upon which they commented. Finally, on a more specific level, the consideration given throughout the thesis to opinions put forward in small, remote regional journals may well appear to be totally disproportionate to the influence and significance which these wielded. On all of these counts, however, it is possible to offer some defence.

In the first place, while it is certainly impossible to determine how

well a newspaper matched its readers' pre-conceived opinions or guided their opinions into acceptable channels, it is nevertheless clear that in most instances the Scottish papers which continued to appear throughout the 1860s and '70s must have been fairly successful in doing so because otherwise circulation figures would surely have dropped to an extent which would have made publication no longer a viable proposition. In other words, in order to survive a newspaper obviously needed to pay heed to what were likely to be its principal readers' natural outlooks on matters of contemporary importance, and to cater for these outlooks. Relevant in this connection is the fact that many Scottish journals had been founded in the first instance for the purpose of meeting a specific need on the part of a section of the local community.

Secondly, although a proportion of those who regularly received one or other of Scotland's more important newspapers would undoubtedly have taken little more than an occasional, passing interest in the news of American affairs, the immense volume of articles and editorial comment on Reconstruction which filled the Scottish press strongly suggests that there must have been a very substantial public demand to be kept informed of developments political, social and economic in the United States during the decade or so after the end of the Civil War. As has already become evident, in many different ways Scots demonstrated a very great interest in America at that period. And as the only regular communication medium, the newspaper press would, in frequently publishing news and comment on the United States, have provided a valuable and much appreciated service for those thousands who were thus deeply concerned about the pattern of events on the other side of the Atlantic.

With regard to the nature and derivation of the standpoints adopted on matters of national and international import by Scotland's two leading journals, it has already been recognized that it was hardly possible for

provincial newspapers to escape the influence of the mighty Times. But this said, it should be stressed that both the Scotsman and the Glasgow Herald were in a very real sense nevertheless predominantly Scottish papers, giving wide coverage to news stories from all over Scotland and devoting a large proportion of space to issues specifically concerning that country. If their views did tend often to parallel those of the Times, it could perhaps validly be claimed that each was after all probably aiming first and foremost to please a Scottish readership akin in social status and general point of view to the readership of the London paper. More precisely, the Scotsman and the Herald were directed at catering primarily for the comfortably affluent, "moderate-Liberal" bourgeoisie of Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively; and as such, they could therefore be said to have reflected the attitudes of an influential portion of Scottish society at least as much as they reflected, at second-hand, the views of the London Times. The fact that both newspapers (but especially the Scotsman) were by the mid-1860s and '70s being dispatched over the greater part of Scotland would also possibly have encouraged them to maintain (if not to increase) a distinctively Scottish flavour, and would certainly have given them some real opportunity to mould public opinion on international issues - on issues, that is, which small regional journals, with their much more limited facilities, would have found it difficult to comment upon in an equally comprehensive and authoritative manner.

So far as these small regional journals themselves are concerned, the attention given to such opinions as they may have expressed on the situation in America during the years following the Civil War would seem to be justifiable for a number of reasons. In the first place, it seems clear that far from reaching only a scattered number of interested and relatively more learned persons, even papers produced in such apparently unpromising territory as small towns set in the midst of sprawling rural areas would have been

assured of a very substantial and enthusiastic local readership. Hence a fairly modest burgh such as Elgin in Morayshire could boast no less than three flourishing weekly publications in the mid 1860s. Indeed, all the indications are that amongst a Scottish population in whom educational traditions had tended to produce impressive degrees of literacy even in small, remote country parishes, the newspaper, both local and national, had a very real and important function to perform in bringing world news within the reach of those far removed from the metropolitan centres of London and Edinburgh. In this connection, it is perhaps worthwhile to note that there is some evidence to suggest that in rural districts during the mid century the weekly or daily journals of the nearest "big town" were eagerly awaited and thoroughly scrutinized by many of the local people.

Thus it has been described how in one small Aberdeenshire village in the 1850s, one or other of the three principal weekly papers published in Aberdeen (usually the Aberdeen Journal) would be taken by several people together in order to ease the cost, and once acquired, would be passed round within the community. The various readers would "commence regularly at the beginning, and follow the paper through line by line, until in due course, perhaps by the end of the third day, ... it was a neighbour's turn to have the paper".[1] On a yet more general level of observation, Dr. William Alexander, sub-editor of the Aberdeen Free Press during the 1860s (editor after 1870) and a man thoroughly acquainted with the way of life in North-East Scotland, looked back late in the century on past times when "the [weekly] leading articles of the 'able editor' were not only read with deliberation and care, but formed topics of discussion for days on end; and the village tailor, 'souter', or weaver was often a keen and exactly informed politician".[2]

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1 Nicoll, James Macdonell: Journalist, p. 27.

2 Quoted in ibid., p. 27.

By the mid 1860s and 1870s, it was not merely the weekly journals of the most immediate large town or city which in these rural areas augmented the news carried in the small local papers: for in that period railway expansion was making possible an ever wider, quicker distribution of the national daily press. Against this new competition, a surprising number of these regional journals did, however, hold their own, surviving by such tactics as lowering their selling price and/or publishing daily instead of weekly. Accordingly, the Banffshire Journal, for instance, was still able to boast in 1865 that it circulated "throughout the counties of Banff, Aberdeen, Moray, Nairn, and Inverness, and partially in most large towns in the kingdom", and that it was "among the largest [of the newspapers] in the kingdom".[1] At least as successful in the north-eastern corner of Scotland at that time was the Elgin Courant, a paper which, having suffered indifferent fortunes in the first three decades of its existence, made marked progress after James Black (a man previously connected with the newspaper press in the north) became its proprietor in 1860. Thus by 1872 when it began to be published twice weekly, its circulation averaged from 3,000 to 4,000 copies per week. And already in the early 1860s the Inverness Courier had achieved a weekly readership of almost 4,000. The obvious ability of newspapers such as these not only successfully to withstand the challenges posed by the encroachment of the national dailies but apparently to actually flourish amid the difficult, changing circumstances of the 1860s and '70s indicates that they continued to have a positive and important function to perform within their relevant localities. That being so, it was therefore considered valid to include in a general survey of Scottish press attitudes towards post-Civil War America the views of at least a handful of the more obscure local publications.

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1 See Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory, 1865, p. 91.

Although on the broad subject of American affairs there was in their columns inevitably some regurgitation of the opinions put forward in both the London Times and the Scotsman, most of the small provincial journals examined did in fact preserve a very fair share of independent comment, and on occasion even displayed considerable individualistic insight into specific facets of the Reconstruction period. Partly responsible for that trait would seem to have been the fact that behind newspapers with even so uninspiring and parochial a label as the Banffshire Journal there was often a competent and scholarly editor. In the particular case of Banff's weekly effort, it was Alexander Ramsay. An estimable man of letters, Ramsay, having worked with the Edinburgh publishers Oliver and Boyd and with Government printers in London, had become editor of the paper in 1847 (just over a year after its inception) and owner two years later. He retained the latter position until his death in the 1890s and during the years of his active editorship he ensured that his paper did not confine itself merely to reporting the local news (although its coverage in that sphere was certainly extensive) but that it also paid considerable attention to national and foreign affairs, and to literature.

More distinguished still was the proprietor of the Inverness Courier, Dr. Robert Carruthers. Controller of the paper for half a century (from 1828 when he became editor until his death in 1878) and owner for only three years short of that, Carruthers succeeded in making it a substantial journalistic force which became widely known and fairly famous nationally (as well as one of the most popular newspapers in the north of Scotland). The wide and important London connection which the Courier enjoyed derived largely from his personal friendship with many of the leading literary men of his time. Having early shown a keen interest in literature, a penchant which had won him the editorship of the Dumfries Courier and later the post of

master at a school in Huntingdon, Carruthers himself produced some considerable literary work. His collaboration with the Edinburgh publishers William and Robert Chambers (and most especially his major involvement in their Cyclopaedia of English Literature) has already been noted, and he also contributed regularly to the North British Review as well as writing a number of biographies (including that of William Penn) for the eighth edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica. Perhaps he was best known, however, as an editor and biographer of Pope. Awarded an honorary LL.D. by Edinburgh University in 1871, he was the friend and correspondent of several eminent contemporaries, including Shirley Brooks of Punch and William Thackery, who was his guest when lecturing at Inverness on The Four Georges.

Under Carruthers' vigorous direction (in which he was latterly assisted by his son and successor, Walter), therefore, the Inverness Courier was in no respect content merely to follow the lead of the Times and the Scotsman or to become essentially a parochial organ. Certainly, as the leading journal to cover news in the far northern counties of Inverness-shire, Rossshire, Sutherland and Caithness, it devoted "much attention to local interests and occurrences, particularly to agriculture, and to those important interests in the North, grouse-shooting, deerstalking and salmon-fishing". But, reflecting the character and interests of its proprietor and editor, it could also with justice claim to have "a large correspondence both at home and abroad on subjects of natural history, antiquities, and general literature".[1] Such breadth of subject was (perhaps inevitably) paralleled by a natural tendency to form fairly independent views and conclusions on issues of national and international importance.

It becomes clear, therefore, that at least some of the less illustrious elements of the Scottish newspaper press during the 1860s and '70s commanded

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1 Ibid., p. 97

a very considerable and enthusiastic regular readership, devoted a reasonable amount of space to foreign as well as to domestic and local affairs, and were conducted by men who invested them with a healthy spirit of independent observation and criticism. But if, having taken these circumstances into account, further justification is needed for the examination of seemingly obscure regional journals it must lie in the fact that in 1865, no less than 140 newspapers were being published in Scotland, while by 1877 the figure had risen to 161. Even granted the large concentration of publication in Edinburgh and Glasgow (thirteen in Edinburgh in 1865, twenty in Glasgow), the numbers are impressive and serve to remind us that the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow are not, after all, Scotland. To try to acquire some sense of what Scots in widely divergent geographical regions of the country were thinking about American Reconstruction - indeed, to determine whether they were thinking about it at all - it seemed only reasonable to give attention to at least a few of the lesser known local organs which, it can only be hoped, reflected to some extent the opinions of those for whom they catered.

Having indicated the reliance which was necessarily placed on the Scottish newspaper press at all its levels, it remains now to glance at some salient facts pertaining to the principal journals examined in Scotland's four largest cities. Outside of the two main urban centres of population, Dundee and Aberdeen could both boast at least two newspapers which throughout the 1860s and 1870s paid steady, close and critical attention to the situation in the United States. In Dundee, these were the Dundee Advertiser and the Dundee Courier. Of the two, the Courier's basic character is the more difficult to define. For instance, the identity of its editor at that period unfortunately remains unknown; and all that has emerged regarding the proprietorship is that it was owned by a group of local businessmen.

In 1865 and thereafter it was listed in Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory as politically "Independent". In practice, however, its political affiliations were on the whole Whig: but largely influenced, perhaps, by the phenomenally beneficial impact which Dundee's wartime jute trade with the Northern states had had on the city's economy, it did not assume during the Reconstruction years a markedly anti-democratic or even solidly pro-Southern attitude towards the American situation. Adopting instead a generally moderate line on that subject, its well sustained coverage of United States affairs following the war was useful and important because it would have provided full information on transatlantic developments for Dundonians who were not of a radical turn of mind and who consequently would have been unlikely to have read the copious comments on America in the "advanced Liberal" Dundee Advertiser.

Much has been written in the course of the dissertation about the firmly radical spirit of the Dundee Advertiser and the nature of its views on the United States during and after the Civil War. As editor and proprietor, John Leng (on whom there is a biographical note in Appendix I) made publication of the Advertiser one of the most progressive journalistic ventures in Britain. Almost immediately on taking control in the early 1850s (he became editor in 1851 and part proprietor the following year) he thoroughly reorganized both the literary staff and the printing machinery, and by 1859 had built the first portion of new publishing premises. In June, 1870 he became one of the first Scottish newspaper proprietors to establish an office in Fleet Street; and the move was made the more notable by the fact that the office had direct telegraphic communication with Dundee. Always in the forefront in adopting the latest printing techniques, he was also the first to attempt illustrations in a daily paper. Since improvements in the standard of the Advertiser's critical comment and reportage were at least equally as impressive under his guidance, Leng in fact succeeded in turning it into a journal widely

known about and respected not only throughout Scotland but also in England. Thus, the opinions expressed in the Dundee Advertiser from the mid 1860s and on through the 1870s were by no means simply those of an essentially provincial newspaper produced daily (after 1861) in the fourth city of Scotland but were on the contrary those of a newspaper which for various reasons - most notably the unwavering soundness and sincerity of its radicalism, the pioneering innovations in its publication, and the great renown of its editor - was recognized as an element of some considerable import in British journalistic circles as a whole.

Interestingly, with regard both to the intensity and character of its political sympathies and to the impact of the man who edited it, the Aberdeen Free Press closely matched the Dundee Advertiser. In examining the views of the Free Press, it has accordingly been made plain that its radical stance towards the working out of American Reconstruction was merely in keeping with a strong radicalism in its attitudes to domestic affairs: and in fashioning its politics and predilections, the editor and part proprietor, William McCombie, assumed just as critically important a role as did John Leng in Dundee. The influence of the scholarly, politically-minded McCombie (on whom there is a biographical note in Appendix I) and his journal in advancing the creed of Liberalism in Aberdeenshire and the surrounding areas has already been discussed at some length, and the significant fact that the Free Press was actually established in 1853 on a solid radical-dissenting foundation has also been duly noted (see Chapter VI, pp. 127-137). But by way of further elucidating the broad standpoint from which it functioned in the 1860s and 1870s, it should perhaps be added here that in the 1865 issue of Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory it was described as advocating the extension of the suffrage, free trade in land, the voluntary principle, national education, and "the social elevation of the working classes", and as being in general

"Liberal and progressive" in its politics. Such a bold and distinct statement of the paper's policy contrasts markedly with the very much more insipid and restrained information furnished in respect of the equally radical Dundee Advertiser, and it suggests that the Aberdeen Free Press was remarkably eager openly to proclaim its total commitment to the cause of "advanced Liberalism". Nor would that political commitment appear to have had a restrictive effect on its popularity (with a quaint, if barbed, complacency it claimed circulation amongst "the intelligent, active, and thinking classes"), for it would seem to have been the success rather than otherwise of the weekly Free Press which led to its becoming a daily in 1872.

Competing for the highest circulation figures in the city and surrounding district was the Aberdeen Journal. The Journal had the distinction of being Aberdeen's oldest established newspaper, it having been founded in 1748 by James Chalmers, eldest son of the then Professor of Divinity in Marischal College (and, incidentally, the great grandfather of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie's wife). The paper continued in the family of the founder until May, 1876, when it was transformed into a limited liability company under the name North of Scotland Newspaper and Printing Company. From 1859 until 1876 it was conducted by James and John Gray Chalmers, sons of the proprietor, David Chalmers. Remaining generally neutral in politics for probably the first century or so of its existence, by 1865 it was listed in Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory as "Conservative". But as has repeatedly been pointed out, in its outlooks towards Reconstruction America it certainly did not consistently display the attitudes of a truly Conservative journal; and it has also been noted that in 1872, a contemporary authority on the British newspaper press regarded Aberdeen's senior paper as one still likely to be acceptable to readers of quite diverse political persuasions.

In common with the rival Free Press, the Aberdeen Journal did, however,

possess from the mid century until the 1870s a forceful and dynamic editor - Aberdeenshire-born William Forsyth (see biographical note in Appendix I). Basically something of a Liberal-Conservative in his politics, but always prepared to assess important issues on their individual merits and to form independent judgements on them, Forsyth put his personal stamp firmly on the paper and among other things was entirely responsible for making it one of the few Scottish journals to advocate the Northern cause during the Civil War. During his three decades as editor he fully succeeded in maintaining the reputation of the Journal as not only one of the oldest but also one of the most influential newspapers in Scotland; and with a circulation averaging 4,000 per week during the 1860s and 1870s (that is, even after the advent in the North-East of the Scotsman and the Glasgow Herald), it probably did reach a somewhat greater number of people in the locality than any other Aberdeen paper.

Less healthy, however, was the position of the city's third newspaper at that period. It is clear that by the 1860s, the Aberdeen Herald had begun to lose much of its earlier influence and popularity as a moderate Liberal organ. Established in 1832 by a group of town and county gentlemen who in that year bought the ultra-radical Aberdeen Chronicle for the express purpose of extinguishing it and creating a new journal which reflected their own more Whiggish brand of Liberalism, the Herald was by the later 1860s suffering seriously from the arrival on the northern scene of the Edinburgh morning papers, and most especially, of course, from the impact of the politically akin Scotsman. Furthermore, its circulation had probably tended to diminish appreciably after the death in 1862 of its controversial and long-standing editor, James Adam (see Chapter VI, p.128).At all events, it was a marked decline in readership which necessitated reducing its price from threepence to one penny and switching to daily publication in 1872.

Turning attention to Scotland's largest city, within the local press the obvious first choices for examination were the Glasgow Herald and the Glasgow Sentinel. Previously published (from 1779) as, successively, the Glasgow Advertiser and the Glasgow Advertiser and Herald, the Glasgow Herald as such was established in 1802. Around 1840, increasing advertisements and other demands on its space resulted in daily instead of twice weekly publication; and throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, under the editorship of its principal proprietor Hunter, it probably outdid the Scotsman for the distinction of being considered the Times of Scotland. Certainly, in mid century its circulation considerably exceeded that of Edinburgh's leading journal, the copies sold during 1855, for instance, being 561,000 and 359,000 respectively. And the Herald's readership actually increased enormously on that figure when some years later its price was reduced to one penny. In 1865 (by which time it was owned by George Outram and Company) it was claiming to have the largest circulation of any daily north of Manchester, with copy exceeding by several thousands daily that of any other Scottish newspaper.[1] Undoubtedly, it did indeed "circulate ... extensively throughout the whole of Scotland" and enjoy the prestige of being "one of the most influential organs" in the country.[2] And while the debate continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s as to whether the Herald or the Scotsman was the worthiest Scottish replica of the London Times, it is beyond question that the former did easily remain the principal journal for Glasgow and the west of Scotland - and that even after its hegemony was challenged in 1872 by the Scotsman's pioneering idea of running a special early morning train to make it possible for the Edinburgh paper to be available to Glaswegians as early as the papers published in their own city. It hardly needs to be re-stated here that the

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1 See advertisement for Glasgow Herald in ibid., p. 159.

2 Ibid., p. 95.

Glasgow Herald was, of course, a Whig journal which in politics and general approach was designed to articulate and cater for the views of basically the same social strata as the Scotsman.

The Glasgow Sentinel had a claim to attention not only as that rare commodity in Scotland, a paper passionately committed to the cause of the worker, but also on the basis of the great interest which it took in the American Civil War and the strongly pro-Confederate line which it maintained throughout most of the period of hostilities. These features of the Sentinel's transatlantic outlook have already been referred to in the preceding chapters, as has its switch in attitude during the Reconstruction years towards a considerably more generous view of the Northern effort and a readiness to approve (on occasion) the general direction and intent of Congressional Reconstruction. It is not proposed to give here a detailed account of the origins and distinct political ideology of the Sentinel throughout the nineteenth century: that subject has been adequately dealt with by R.M.W. Cowan in The Newspaper in Scotland, by Royden Harrison in "British Labour and the Confederacy" (1957) and "British Labor and American Slavery" (1961), and more recently in an admirable study by W. Hamish Fraser.[1] Furthermore, some consideration has already been given within the text of the dissertation to the temper and traditions of the paper. Since its antecedent political stance was, however, of critical importance in determining both its character and its continuing popularity in the 1860s, it is perhaps apposite to recapitulate the principal strands in the paper's evolution, as well as to draw on Dr. Fraser's information regarding its attitudes and progress during the later 1860s and 1870s.

The Glasgow Sentinel was founded in 1850 by a small group of Liberal gentlemen. Owing its existence largely to the specific political spirit

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1 W. Hamish Fraser, "'A Newspaper for its Generation': the Glasgow Sentinel 1850-1877" in Scottish Labour History Society Journal, No. 4, July, 1971.

and ideals enshrined in the Chartist agitation, it remained over the succeeding years an active and important supporter of many of that movement's objectives (most especially the demand for manhood suffrage), while at the same time always aiming to dissociate itself from the class nature of Chartism and to advocate the achievement of democracy not by revolution but through concession. From the very outset it was markedly successful, and its popularity continued to increase after it was bought in May, 1851 by an Ayrshire man, Robert Buchanan. The self-made owner of a tailoring business and a follower of Robert Owen, Buchanan personally assumed the editorship, and his competence and flair in conducting the paper was reflected in an average weekly circulation of 3,200 copies by 1853 (comparing respectably with the circulation figure of 4,500 achieved at the same period by the twice weekly Glasgow Herald). Under his guidance, the Sentinel assiduously advocated progressive social and political policies, and vigorously championed the growing Trade Unions: but damaging pressures caused by the very strong anti-Russian line adopted during the Crimean War and the competition created by the new daily journals which sprang up after the abolition of the stamp duty on newspapers in 1855 brought Buchanan serious financial difficulties which culminated, in 1860, in bankruptcy and disposal of the paper. Following that, a group of unidentifiable proprietors took over but their involvement was short-lived and in 1861 the Sentinel was purchased by James Watt, a professional publisher whose father had owned the Montrose Review. Watt soon made it once again the principal working class journal in Scotland, and he remained at its head until his death in June, 1870, whereupon ownership passed to his son. From that time onwards, however, the paper "lost much of its crusading fervour",[1] and in 1875 it became again the property of an undistinguished consortium. Under what was therefore probably uninspired

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1 Ibid., p. 29.

direction, it finally ceased publication at the end of 1877.

So far as the Glasgow Sentinel's stance on the American Civil War is concerned, Dr. Fraser has convincingly demonstrated that its approach to that issue was more complex than Royden Harrison's conclusions suggest. Thus from his essay it emerges, for instance, that as early as 1851 (in giving critical consideration to the Fugitive Slave Act) the paper was already strongly entertaining the idea that the dissolution of the American Union was perhaps inevitable. In mid January, 1861 it was actually vociferously condemning Southern secession, although also importantly maintaining that if the only means of preserving the Union was through a compromise on slavery it would be better, for the sake of Republicanism, that it perish. Hostility towards the Confederates - and towards the many elements of the British press which supported them - was kept up until the end of 1861; and it was only after the Sentinel was acquired by Watt in November of that year that a complete change in attitude took place. The depth of Watt's personal preference for the Southern cause is unknown, but it is clear that he had for long been connected with the strongly pro-Confederate editor of the Bee-Hive, George Troup, the latter having earlier in the century served as editor on Watt's father's paper, the Montrose Review. For the duration of the war, the Sentinel virulently denounced the Federal cause, largely on the basis of the argument (formulated and most persistently advanced throughout 1862) that the North was fighting for "territorial aggrandisement". Significantly, there is, according to Fraser, no real evidence that the Sentinel's attitude towards the Civil War stemmed from the "class-consciousness" of its staff: of critical relevance in this connection is the fact that the paper's attack hinged always on the motives of the Northern leaders and never on the capitalist system of the North. Thus it was firmly believed that the men conducting the Federal offensive were not genuinely opposed to slavery, and that being

so, the fundamental issue of the Civil War was identified as one of self-determination, in which the South was battling against the unwarranted attempt of the North to dominate the American continent.[1]

The essentially acrimonious relationship which existed between the Sentinel and the middle class radicals of Glasgow and the important part which their respective attitudes to the Civil War and (to a lesser extent) American Reconstruction had in aggravating the situation have already been noted, and it only remains to re-emphasize here that at least until the close of the 1860s the paper remained profoundly suspicious of the motivations of the city's prosperous "advanced Liberals". Undoubtedly much influenced by the political outlooks of Alexander Campbell, the veteran Owenite and old associate of Robert Buchanan who had maintained constant if informal links with the papersince its inception and who eventually edited it for a period in the mid 1860s, the Sentinel sturdily adhered to the opinion that middle class radicals such as James Moir strove for reform only in order to advance their own commercial interests. Continuing strenuously to advance extensive social and political change and to defend and actively support the Trade Unions (most notably Alexander MacDonald, president of the miners' union), the paper would appear to have been attempting in the last decade of its life to make the cause of the working man in Glasgow and, indeed, in Scotland as a whole, exclusively its own.

Also professing a predominant working class (or perhaps more precisely, reformist) bias was Glasgow's North British Daily Mail. Established in 1847 the Mail had at one stage been edited by George Troup, the professional Scottish journalist who as the first editor of the London paper the Bee-Hive became "the most influential friend of the Confederates in the working class press".[2] During his time on the Mail, Troup had become closely associated

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1 See ibid., pp. 25-29.

2 Harrison, "British Labour and the Confederacy", p. 95.

with a group of local industrialists and shipowners, and after his departure in 1861 the paper's cordial connections with the city's shipping interests were substantially maintained. Partly, it would seem, in consequence of that, it adopted a solidly pro-Southern stance during the Civil War years, and in so doing would definitely have helped to lead as well as merely to reflect the sentiments of Glaswegians. Indeed, the Mail's editorial comment almost certainly commanded considerable attention far outwith the immediate radius of Glasgow and the larger towns of Western Scotland, for by the mid 1860s it was probably already one of the foremost and most reputable labour journals in Britain. And unquestionably, its reputation was further enhanced after the appointment in 1864 of Dr. Charles Cameron as editor.

Cameron, a highly distinguished medical graduate and the son of a newspaper proprietor of Glasgow and Dublin (see biographical note on him in Appendix I), remained in that post until his entry into Parliament in 1874, and there is every indication that he brought to it a formidable talent and energy. For instance, The Bailie, the satirical Glasgow publication which was always much more ready to deflate local personalities than to praise them, printed in the autumn of 1873 an unreservedly complimentary assessment of him, crediting him with "a special aptitude" for newspaper editing: "He is licensed to kill both ways. Whatever the Doctor's career as a medical man might have been, there is no doubt at all as to his distinction as an editor". The management of the Mail was characterized by "A degree of originality and enterprise not often associated with the control of a Scotch journal". Cameron's conception of his role, it explained, involved an objective higher than that of merely supplying the news and echoing public opinion in leaders: "He has aimed, and not without success, at leading and forming public opinion; at giving public opinion fresh and original material on which to form itself; and at making his journal a formidable weapon for

the assailing and destruction of abuses wherever they can be shown to exist".[1] It seems clear, therefore, that it would have been the forceful and impressive new editor who was responsible during the years of American Reconstruction for very greatly modifying the pro-Southern attitude assumed by the Mail throughout the period of the Civil War.

If Charles Cameron quickly asserted his personality on the politics and viewpoints of the North British Daily Mail, across the country in Edinburgh a similar situation obtained in respect of the editorship of the Scotsman. Established in 1817 as a Liberal challenge to the ultra- Toryism which prevailed in Scotland - and most especially in the capital city - at that time, the paper had by the 1860s and '70s become closely, indeed completely, identified with the particular brand of Liberalism of Alexander Russel, active editor from 1849. Russel, a self-made man who had worked his way up from a printer's apprentice to be editor of, successively, the Berwick Advertiser, the Fife Herald and the Kilmarnock Chronicle, joined the Scotsman as assistant editor in 1845 and having in reality assumed the main functions of the editorship a year later, he was formally promoted to editor in 1849 (see fuller biographical details in Appendix I). It was a post which he held until his death in 1876; and while Charles A. Cooper, who became assistant editor in early 1868, took pains to stress that Russel made no attempts to use the paper solely as a vehicle for his own opinions "without regard to its responsibility and its reputation for consistency", at the same time it becomes quite clear that as a "writing editor" down through the years, and as a man engrossed in politics and possessed of formidably intense political convictions, the editor's impact on the political character of the Scotsman was deeply pervasive.

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1 The Bailie, 8 Oct., 1873, pp. 1-2.

Claiming that he knew "the innermost recesses of his editorial mind" perhaps better than anyone, Cooper's analyses of Russel's political opinions are highly illuminating, and the more relevant for this study because they are based on an association with Russel which was formed in, and exclusively confined to, the years in which the process of Reconstruction was being worked out in America. The cardinal point to emerge from the sketch is the extremely solid, indomitable nature of Russel's Whig convictions. Refuting a suggestion that, by his personal antagonism to the manner of Duncan McLaren's radicalism, the editor was sometimes pushed into adopting and disseminating attitudes which were more inflexibly Whig than he himself was, Cooper insisted that even after the active antipathy to McLaren had passed, Russel continued to battle with all his powers against what he regarded as the extreme opinions contained in advanced radicalism. Certainly, he for long preserved a stinging hostility towards McLaren as the founder of Edinburgh's radical Independent Liberal Party, and as a politician whom he believed to be motivated largely by personal animosities and ambitions.

But the ardour of his Whig principles did not derive primarily from feelings of rancour towards an old adversary. On a much broader plane, it was Russel's sincere conviction that the Whig hegemony in Scotland, the existing order as established after the 1832 Reform Bill, was basically sound and as such worth fighting to preserve. When the Liberal party was in power, he did not scruple to castigate government measures which over-stepped the bounds of his strict Whig principles. Cooper indicated that the editor's "liberalism" was grounded in the fervent support of three concepts - freedom from restraints, no oppressive privileges, and progressive improvement. The acceptance of these essentially modest liberal tenets clearly precluded any sympathy for a more dynamic "ultra-radicalism", and Russel indeed spurned the spirit of democracy because he understood it to involve a wide dispersal of material wealth

and power which could only be accomplished at the expense of certain sections within the community.

Logically, then, he rejected the argument that the general wellbeing of the nation could be substantially increased by class legislation, and spoke out consistently against granting special consideration to the working class. Shortly before his death, he personnally contributed an article to his paper, denouncing and ridiculing the radicals who sought, as he believed, excessively to elevate the role of the working man and to insist that he ought to have exceptional legislation which would relieve him of taxes while increasing his privileges. By at least one acquaintance, he was remembered as one who "did not deal with questions from a humanitarian point of view, and [whose] defective sympathy made his writing on trades' unions and other working-class interests appear peculiarly hard and unfeeling".[1]

It has already been suggested that on the general issue of reform, the Scotsman's attitudes were, however, probably fairly representative of mainstream Scottish Liberal opinion during the 1860s and '70s. Certainly, aside from the popular appeal indicated by the impressive circulation figures, there is some evidence that the paper was held in high esteem by Liberal politicians in Scotland and, moreover, by at least some of their influential colleagues south of the border. As early as 1859, no less than £1,770 had been raised - helped substantially by contributions from "almost every man of note on the Liberal side of politics" - for a testimonial to the editor in recognition of "his able, consistent, and powerful advocacy of enlightened political principles, having largely contributed to the diffusion of sound Liberal opinions in Scotland".[2] And in the early 1870s, for instance, David Robertson, Liberal M.P.

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1 The information on Russel's political views cited here is contained in Cooper, An Editor's Retrospect, pp. 226-250.

2 Ibid., pp. 257-258.

for Berwickshire (and incidentally an avowed supporter of the Northern cause during the American Civil War) extolled Russel for having given a service to the Liberal party "unequalled and unsurpassed by any man in Scotland ... [L]ike Gladstone, I don't know what we should do without you ... [and the Scotsman] in Scotland".[1] In 1875, he was elected a member of the Reform Club on the basis of his "distinguished service to the Liberal party".[2] By 1876, the prominent M.P. for Edinburgh and St. Andrews University, Lyon PLayfair, was assuring the durable editor that leading politicians considered the Scotsman the only real liberal journal of ability on which the Liberal party could rely, and indicating that Goschen was deeply interested in the possibility of making the paper London as well as Edinburgh based.[3]

Openly acclaimed as the Scotsman therefore was by prominent Liberal politicians in the later 1870s as an organ of the utmost value to their cause, the beginnings of its rise to eminence as a national daily can in fact be conveniently dated from 1865 when an arrangement (the first of its kind in Britain) was come to whereby the paper was carried daily by rail to distribution agents throughout Scotland. A phenomenal increase in circulation resulted - from 17,000 copies per day in early 1865 to 27,000 per day in mid 1866, 40,000 in 1872, and 50,000 in 1877. The extremely influential position which it had thus rapidly come to enjoy within the country was summed up in 1880: "[I]n Scotland, where there was only one powerful representative Liberal paper, ... which was read by men of both parties and of all ranks, its influence was enormous to shape political thought in every town and village in the country, and every class of people".[4]

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1 David Robertson to Alexander Russel, 14 Oct., 1872, Russel MSS., MS. 1845, Acc. 864, fol. 93, in National Library of Scotland.

2 Cooper, An Editor's Retrospect, p. 265.

3 Lyon Playfair to Alexander Russel, 22 July, 1876, Russel MSS., MS. 1845, Acc. 864, fol. 21.

4 H.G. Graham, "Russel of 'The Scotsman'", in Fraser's Magazine, Vol. 102, Sept., 1880, p. 304.

Yet, although the mid 1860s and the 1870s saw the blossoming of the Scotsman as a significant force in the national press, it perhaps nevertheless remained first and foremost the organ for dissemination of the Whiggish liberalism which by that era would appear to have formed the main political persuasion of the Edinburgh middle class. The point has already been made that with regard to the capital city, it probably catered primarily for readers with backgrounds and convictions little removed from those of the readers of the Conservative Edinburgh Courant. And certainly, the Scotsman's views on America in general (and on American democracy in particular) during the mid 1860s and '70s differed more in degree than in kind from those of the Courant. Founded in 1718, the Edinburgh Courant had from 1780 until 1840 been in the hands of one family called Ramsay, and had in that period maintained a strict neutrality on political affairs. Following the Crimean War, however, it began to veer more definitely towards Lord Derby and the Conservative party; and from 1860, when James Hannay, the popular author and contributor to monthly magazines, was appointed editor, it became "the accredited organ of the Edinburgh Conservatives".[1] During the period of the paper's most sustained interest in American Reconstruction, that is, from 1866 to 1869, it was owned by Charles Wescomb, ex-proprietor of provincial journals in his native Exeter and owner from about 1866 of the London Globe, a paper which he had "the satisfaction of converting ... from a faithful and devoted exponent of Whig principles to an able Conservative organ".[2] Shortly after acquisition of the Globe he became proprietor of the Courant at the request of a number of leading Scottish Tories. Cultivating wide connections with the Conservative press in Scotland and England, he was himself an extremely keen Tory who actively sought to promote the party's welfare. As Gladstone appreciated Russel's efforts for

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1 Cowan, The Newspaper in Scotland, p. 280.

2 Obituary notice in Edinburgh Courant, 11 May, 1869.

the Liberal party, so Disraeli congratulated Wescomb for the efficiency with which he worked for the Conservative cause.

Yet, not only for the reason already suggested but also, it would seem, because the Scotsman offered a particularly well informed, well presented coverage of events domestic and foreign and - most importantly - the best advertising medium in Scotland, the solidly Conservative Edinburgh Courant found itself progressively more seriously challenged by its Liberal rival as the 'sixties and 'seventies wore on. The pressure had been early reflected in the usual way - price reduction and the change over from twice weekly to daily publication in mid-century.

While the Courant therefore apparently suffered from the success of the Scotsman, the latter also drained the readership of an Edinburgh journal at the other end of the political spectrum, the Caledonian Mercury. It has already been noted that the Mercury was by the mid 1860s the city's organ of Brightian radicalism and that it had been widely recognized as one of the few British newspapers to remain constant and strong in its support of the North throughout the American Civil War. Claiming (without, apparently, any real proof) to be the successor to the Mercurius Caledonius which had been founded in 1660, the Caledonian Mercury as such was first published in 1720, and during the remainder of the eighteenth century it had a chequered existence under proprietors as widely diverse as the active Jacobite sympathizer James Grant, and Thomas Allan, a wealthy and influential Edinburgh banker whose son Robert, as well as assuming ownership of the Mercury, also became proprietor of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica. In 1856 it came under the editorship of James Robie, an individual about whom, unfortunately, nothing is known beyond the fact that he was Irish. Inheriting a running deficit of over £1,700 per annum, Robie had within five years made the paper pay, and having aligned it firmly with the cause of the radicals in Edinburgh, Scotland and Britain generally,

had by 1862 gathered round him as valuable supporters the chief members of the city's radical party.

In that year, however, the Mercury's future was put in doubt when for a variety of reasons (but mainly because of the competition from the Scotsman and the difficulties of being associated with a radical journal while following the occupation of sharebroker) its proprietor, Robert Allan, decided to give the paper up. Duncan McLaren, whose political ideologies and career had of course been vigorously championed in its columns, was extremely anxious that the paper remain viable, and he made several moves, including personal heavy investment in it, to keep it so. He did not remain constant on his offer to take the whole responsibilities of the proprietorship into his own hands, however; and in general terms, the positive practical help which he and other Edinburgh radicals actually gave towards keeping the Mercury alive was very sporadic and inadequate. Eventually, from late 1863 onwards, Robie was obliged to carry on conducting the paper as best he could with virtually no assistance from those "advanced Liberals" who had initially been most concerned to ensure its survival.

The presentation to him in October, 1865 of a Testimonial of £700 in appreciation of the enlightened stance which he had taken on the American Civil War (see Chapter IV, p.377) probably helped and encouraged him to continue publication over the ensuing eight months. But, seriously affected by Robie's final break with McLaren over the latter's failure, once elected as M.P. in 1865, to abolish the Clerico-Police Tax and his steadily deteriorating relationship with Edinburgh's other leading radicals, the Mercury continued to founder, and its presses ultimately closed down in June, 1866. In keeping with the unhappy fortunes of the paper in the last years of its existence, its disposal was not accomplished without the intensification of bitterness and antagonism between Robie and McLaren, Councillor Andrew Fyfe, and other city

radicals who still had money invested in it. A heavy loss on the selling of the plant, machinery and so forth infuriated those who had subscribed to its upkeep; and James Robie, having been forced to declare himself bankrupt, bitterly attacked his erstwhile radical colleagues for their callous treatment of him. It was a central irony of the ailing Mercury's position that its avowedly "radical" readers were apparently so ready to desert to the Whig Scotsman as to help precipitate in 1862 a crisis in its proprietorship from which it was unable to recover.

Sometime in the late 1850s, when the Caledonian Mercury was at the height of its influence and popularity, Robie had been offered £5,000 to make it the organ of the Free Church. He had refused; and in the wake of that refusal the Free Church had in 1861 established its own Edinburgh journal, the Daily Review. The Review was primarily intended as a public channel through which to counteract and refute the attacks made on the Free Church by the Scotsman, and one of its principal founders was David Guthrie. The son of an Ayr merchant, Guthrie had studied at Glasgow University with a view to entering the ministry, but bad health had compelled him to abandon his original plans and to pursue a less demanding profession. Eventually, he set up as a bookseller in Ayr and gradually formed connections with journalism, becoming initially part proprietor and conductor of the North British Agriculturist, then published in his native town. He subsequently assumed full ownership of the paper, and successfully moved its publication to Edinburgh. Having zealously urged the need for the establishment within the capital city of a new Liberal journal which would be purely secular but which would nevertheless defend and uphold the doctrines of the Free Church against the "mere acid negation and scepticism" of the Scotsman, he became editor of the Daily Review at its inception. During his eight years in that post he personally wrote little for the paper, but at the same time he did strongly impress his

viewpoints and personality upon it by always exercising an authoritative and central supervision over the editorials.[1]

Following Guthrie's death in early August, 1869, the popular novelist Henry Kingsley was appointed editor, but the choice was an extremely unfortunate one and he resigned a year and a half later. Around the time of his departure new proprietors took over, but the identity of the members of that consortium and the identity of the editor (or editors) who immedaitely succeeded Kingsley remain unknown. Indeed, in general, little substantial information regarding the Daily Review has come to light. For instance, it is not even clear as to how long the predominant Free Church influence was maintained. It has been stated that it did not in fact survive for many years:[2] but it seems certain that at least while David Guthrie continued to be editor there would have been a persistent strong tendency for it to reflect Free Church thinking. Therefore, in the years between 1865 and 1869 - in the years, that is, of the paper's closest attention to the situation in post-Civil War America - there is no real reason to assume that it ceased in a significant sense to be the mouthpiece of the Evangelicals in Scotland. Accordingly, even although its circulation figures were probably not particularly impressive, its views on the working out of American Reconstruction were thought worthy of some consideration.

Acknowledging the obvious pitfalls of using the newspaper press as a main source of information on a country's attitudes to a specific issue, but recognizing also that the various newspapers consulted must after all have reflected or given a lead to the views adopted by a considerable proportion of the population, there remain certain basic advantages in deriving opinions on American Reconstruction from contemporary daily or weekly journals. In the first place, these journals (especially the more important ones) provide a continuing commentary on transatlantic affairs over the years which affords

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1 See obituary notice in Daily Review, 3 Aug., 1869.

2 Grant, History of the Newspaper Press, Vol. 3, p. 451.

the opportunity to discern the manner and development of certain Scottish views on the changing situation. Closely related to this, they obviously give informed comment over a wide range of aspects of Reconstruction and over a prolonged time span in a way in which no single individuals could do. And of course their attitudes are very amenable to critical assessment since they can be compared and contrasted with the attitudes expressed in journals of different (and, as importantly, similar) political persuasions.

The newspaper press also clearly provides the best means of conveying some broad idea of how much interest was being taken in post-Civil War America by the Scottish people. The volume of comment, both narrative and (more importantly) critical, in the press must to a significant extent have reflected the volume of concern to know about the American situation which existed throughout the country. It is also important to appreciate the measure of attention devoted to American Reconstruction in the Scottish press (and most especially in such leading journals as the Scotsman and the Glasgow Herald) because press comment, as well as reflecting public interest in that subject, would also, of course, greatly have helped to generate it. Finally, although certainly by no means a perfectly precise guide to the attitudes held by the bulk of their readers, the Scottish newspapers nevertheless do provide probably the only approximate indications of the general way in which certain substantial sections of the community tended to feel about developments in America after the Civil War.

APPENDIX I

Biographical Notes

ANDERSON, Rev. William, LL.D.

Born 6 January, 1799, in Kilsyth, Stirlingshire.

The son of a Relief minister at Kilsyth, Anderson followed up a distinguished career at Glasgow University by himself becoming licensed to preach by the Relief Presbytery in 1820. The next year, he was chosen as minister by the congregation of John Street,church, Glasgow, but his ordination was delayed for nearly a year because of a dispute with the Glasgow Relief Presbytery over his reading of sermons. The controversy induced him seriously to consider emigrating to the United States, but he was dissuaded and duly took up the John Street charge. There, he rapidly attracted attention and great popularity as a teacher and preacher, and in the space of a decade had built up a large congregation. A highly unconventional minister, he used great plainness of speech and frequently brought current political questions and foreign affairs into his sermons, defending his political preaching on the grounds that religion should have its own sphere of legitimate political action. He was a constant and formidable orator on Glasgow platforms, being involved in a multitude of public causes, including political reform, Irish education, temperance, the reforming movement in the Methodist body and - perhaps most zealously of all - the abolition of Negro slavery. His public advocacy of the anti-slavery cause stretched at least as far back as the mid 1830s, and he remained throughout mid century thoroughly immersed in abolitionist activity. A vigorous defender of all struggling and oppressed nationalities (most notably Greece, South America, Poland, Hungary and Italy), he naturally was not tempted to view the Southern Confederacy as falling within that category, and he firmly and outspokenly supported the North throughout the entire period of the American Civil War. In 1867, he presented

the address to Garrison at the Public Breakfast held in the American abolitionist's honour in Glasgow. Although in 1865 a junior colleague assumed most of the duties at the John Street church, Anderson did continue to preach once a month: and in 1871, his fifty years as a minister were recognized by a series of meetings and celebrations and the gift of £1,200 from his congregation and friends. Awarded an LL.D. by Glasgow University in 1850, he was at his height a household name in the west of Scotland, having become a celebrity very largely on the strength of his many eccentricities.

Died 15 September, 1872.

ARGYLL, Elizabeth Georgiana, 8th Duchess of

Born 30 May, 1824.

Born Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson Gower, the 8th Duke of Argyll's first Duchess was the eldest daughter of George Granville, 2nd Duke of Sutherland, and Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana, Duchess of Sutherland and the third daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle. Her mother took an extremely enthusiastic and prominent (if highly controversial) involvement in the British anti-slavery movement, making her London residence, Stafford House, the centre of aristocratic abolitionist activity, and Lady Elizabeth early came to appreciate and to share the Duchess of Sutherland's concern for the cause, accompanying her, for instance, to the Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840 and consequently making the acquaintance at that time of many leading American abolitionists. In 1842 she met for the first time George, Marquis of Lorne (who became, five years later, the 8th Duke of Argyll), and in the summer of 1844 married him. After her marriage she maintained, as did her husband, exceedingly strong and active associations with the Stafford House abolitionist circle; and most especially in 1848 and 1849, as the new Duke and Duchess of Argyll, they came into contact with

a great number of visiting American anti-slavery advocates, many of whom became their firm, lifelong friends. The friendship thus established with Charles Sumner (who stayed at Inveraray Castle on many occasions during the 1850s) was particularly close: and, despite some occasional chagrin at him for his complete failure to understand the reasoning behind much of the British support for the South in the Civil War and his fiercely antagonistic attitude towards Britain, the bond endured until the American's death, the Duchess sustaining a regular correspondence with him both during and after the war. Throughout the American conflict she fervently and consistently championed the Federal cause; and in the early post-war years she was much concerned about the immediate welfare and future prospects of the freedmen, attending at least on one occasion a public freedmen's aid meeting in Scotland at which her husband was chairman. In 1867 she and the Duke were hosts to the visiting Garrison, and six years later, gave valuable support to the Jubilee Singers. Probably involved throughout her life in the advancement of numerous philanthropic projects, she was certainly instrumental in encouraging the Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie to establish the Original Ragged Schools, and remained over the years deeply interested in their management and progress. She was Mistress of Robes to Queen Victoria from December, 1868 to January, 1870.

Died 25 May, 1878.

ARGYLL, George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of

Born 30 April, 1823, at Ardincaple Castle, Dumbartonshire.

The son of John, 7th Duke of Argyll and his wife, the former Joan Glassell (whose family was connected with the Earl of Dalhousie), Argyll was brought up and privately educated at Ardincaple Castle. As a youth he read widely, and at the age of eighteen made his first contribution to public questions when he had published anonymously "Letter to the Peers from a Peer's Son",

a pamphlet on the patronage conflict within the Church of Scotland which tended strongly towards the anti-patronage viewpoint and advocated Parliamentary action to deal with the issue. On his father's death in 1847 he entered the House of Lords and took his place among the Peelites as a convinced free-trader. In 1853 he became privy seal in Aberdeen's coalition, and then from 1855-58 was postmaster-general, becoming in 1859 privy seal again under Palmerston and retaining that office under Russell following Palmerston's death six years later. From the outbreak of the American Civil War he vigorously and staunchly supported the North, as much on the basis of a strong desire to see the Union preserved as on the basis of a strong hatred of slavery: and in 1862 he and Russell were the only members of the government to advocate detention of the 'Alabama'. His marriage in 1844 to the Duchess of Sutherland's eldest daughter had done much to bring him into close and continuing contact with the transatlantic abolitionist movement, and after the Civil War he extended that connection by becoming extremely active both at national and provincial (Scottish) level in the British freedmen's aid campaign. In 1868 he was appointed Secretary of State for India and retained that office until the fall of Gladstone in 1874. His blistering attacks on the subsequent Tory administration and his spirited efforts to oust it helped to ensure Liberal victory in 1880, but in the following year he himself resigned from the government in protest at the legislation on ownership enshrined in the Irish Land Bill. Ultimately, he severed totally from Gladstone over Irish Home Rule, and from 1886 until 1891 laboured with great energy outside Parliament in support of a land purchase bill and against home rule. Throughout his life he was intensely interested in the study of scientific subjects and produced over the years a voluminous body of literature on various aspects of science, gaining for himself a substantial reputation as a writer in that sphere. He was elected F.R.S. in 1851 and ten years later became President

of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In 1851 he was elected chancellor of St. Andrews University, and in 1854 rector of the University of Glasgow. A prominent public figure in nineteenth century Scotland, his somewhat arrogant and over-ambitious character causedhim to be regarded in several quarters with considerable antipathy.

Died 24 April, 1900.

ARNOT, Rev. William

Born 6 November, 1808, in Scone, Perthshire.

The son of a farmer, Arnot was apprenticed in early life to a gardener but the deep impression made on him by the death of a religiously minded brother led him to study for the ministry. Accordingly, he proceeded to Glasgow University where he gained a measure of academic distinction. While there, he took some interest in the growing abolitionist movement and in the agitation for political reform. In 1838, he was called to St. Peter's Church, Glasgow, and soon became one of the city's most popular ministers. At the Disruption, he carried his congregation along with him into the Free Church; and his ministry continued to be characterized by his active work in the temperance cause and in other schemes designed to advance the welfare of the working class. In 1845, he undertook for several months ministerial duties in the newly organized Free Church in Montreal, Canada, but turned down an offer from the Theological College, Toronto of a permanent position as professor there. He made a quick trip through the United States in late 1846. In 1863 he moved to the Free High Church, Edinburgh, where he became a conspicuous figure for the last ten years of his life. During that time, he edited a monthly religious magazine, the Family Treasury. A staunch supporter of the North during the American Civil War, he was an enthusiastic and useful public advocate of the freedmen's aid cause in Scotland. In 1870 he went (along with the Rev. Dr. W.G. Blaikie) as a delegate from the Free Church to

the reunion of the American Presbyterian Churches and was in the United States for three months. He returned there in 1873 as Scottish representative at the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance at New York. His two eldest sons established businesses in the United States. The degree of D.D. was virtually offered him by Glasgow University and was formally offered by the University of New York, but he declined to accept on both occasions.

Died 3 June, 1875.

BAXTER, William Edward

Born 1825, in Dundee.

The son of Edward Baxter who in the mid 1820s had retired from partnership in his father's flourishing textile firm to start business on his own account as an export merchant, Baxter was educated at Dundee High School and Edinburgh University. He subsequently entered his father's counting-house and some years later became partner in the highly successful firm which was thereafter styled Edward Baxter & Son. At an early age he began to write, contributing many leaders, reviews, letters and so forth to Scottish newspapers. His first book, Impressions of Central and Southern Europe, was published in 1850, and there followed two years later The Tagus and the Tiber. In 1853-54 he paid a lengthy visit to the United States, making a special point of going to the districts which he had missed on a shorter, initial trip in 1846 but aiming above all to derive a better understanding of the people, the political institutions, and society in general. An account of his impressions, entitled America and the Americans, was published in 1855 and achieved very large sales. In that same year he successfully contested Montrose Burghs as an advanced Liberal, and was subsequently returned to Parliament by that constituency at every election until his retirement from politics in 1885. A follower of John Bright, he always voted with the radicals in the Commons. His political stature was increased when his instruction to the committee on Disraeli's Scotch Reform Bill to provide

additional members for Scotland by disfranchising English burghs with less than five thousand inhabitants was successfully carried through; and, having previously refused to serve under Palmerston and Russell, he became in late 1868 Gladstone's Secretary to the Admiralty. In that office he completely reorganized Admiralty staff, changed the dock-yards situation, and attempted thorough reforms to check dishonesty and bribery. He was appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury in 1871 and Privy Councillor to Gladstone two years later. From the time of his first visit there, he maintained an exceedingly strong fondness for and interest in the United States, and on the outbreak of the Civil War unhesitatingly supported the North. He communicated his strongly-held views on the subject in several public lectures (he having in 1853 started a lifelong habit of public lecturing), one of which, on "The Social Condition of the Southern States of America", was published in 1862 and widely circulated: but the most controversial of these, criticized as it was by almost every British paper, was the one delivered at Blairgowrie in early 1865 in which he confidently predicted a Federal success. After the war, he played an active and enthusiastic part in supporting the freedmen's aid cause in Dundee. He became senior partner in the new firm of W.E. Baxter & Co. when it was decided to dissolve his father's firm in 1870. In 1885 he announced that he would not stand for re-election to Parliament; but after retirement he retained a keen interest in public affairs.

Died 10 August, 1889.

BLACKIE, John Stuart

Born 28 July, 1809, in Glasgow.

His father having left Glasgow to become manager of the Commercial Bank at Aberdeen, Blackie was educated at the Grammar School and, from 1821-24, at Marischal College there. Embarking on study for the ministry, he spent two years in Edinburgh and then a further three on the theological course

at Aberdeen. During the latter period he became influenced by the professor of humanity and chemistry at King's College, Aberdeen, who turned him to the study of the Greek testament. He went to study at Göttingen in 1829 and then in Italy, where he learned to speak modern Greek. On his return home in 1831 the idea of the ministry was finally given up and, receiving financial and other encouragement from his father to study for the Scottish bar, he was admitted as a member of the faculty of advocates in 1834. He got little business, however, and supported himself by writing for Blackwood's Magazine and the Foreign Quarterly. In 1839 he was appointed first regius professor to the new chair of humanity (Latin) at Marischal College but was not installed until late 1841 because of a protracted dispute with Aberdeen presbytery over his attitude towards signing the necessary document subscribing to the Westminster Confession. He remained at Aberdeen for eleven years, during which time he was prominent in promoting the popularity of Greek literature. In 1851 he was elected professor of Greek at Edinburgh University, where he subsequently aroused considerable enthusiasm in his classes but only rarely succeeded in creating a serious interest in Greek scholarship. Deeply attached to the cause of preserving and reviving the Celtic culture, he laboured long and energetically for the foundation of a chair in Celtic at Edinburgh University, and finally succeeded in 1882. His attachment to a yet broader strain of Scottish patriotism was reflected in his standing in the late 1880s as honorary chairman of the general committee of the Scottish Home Rule Association. He was a frequent speaker on public platforms, and in 1867 engaged in a much publicized debate on American democracy with ex-Chartist Ernest Jones. Helped by his genial eccentricities, he was widely known throughout Scotland.

Died 2 March, 1895.

BLACKWOOD, John

Born 7 December, 1818, in Edinburgh.

The son of a well-established Edinburgh publisher, Blackwood was educated at the city's High School and University. At the close of his college career he spent three years in continental travel, and on his return in 1839, entered the house of an eminent London publishing firm. The family publishing business having been conducted since the father's death in 1839 by Blackwood's two brothers, he took charge in 1840 of a branch which they were establishing in London. He occupied that position for six years, during which time his London office became a meeting place for a large number of the most distinguished literary men of the period. While there, he showed marked success in recruiting writers for Blackwood's Magazine (then edited by his eldest brother). On the death of his eldest brother in 1845, he returned to Edinburgh and assumed the editorship of Blackwood's Magazine; and when seven years later another brother died he became the virtual head of the publishing business also. He retained both positions until his own death over a quarter of a century later. A staunch Conservative and (according to the DNB) "the conductor of the chief monthly organ of conservatism", he nevertheless made it his policy as an editor and publisher to welcome what he considered to be literary ability, regardless of the political and religious opinions of the writer. At the same time, however, he saw to it that his journal remained over the years scathingly and unwaveringly hostile to American democracy; and his acceptance of Charles Mackay as the only frequent contributor of lengthy articles on the situation in post-Civil War America committed Blackwood's Magazine to the dissemination of a vehemently Conservative attitude towards that subject. Blackwood himself had been a fervent supporter of the South during the war, a personal predilection which had been amply reflected in the nature of the pro-Confederate material published in Blackwood during the conflict. He was an admiring host

to the visiting Jefferson Davis in 1869. A critical and suggestive as well as an appreciative editor, he dispensed liberal hospitality to authors with whom he formed a business connection.

Died 29 October, 1879.

BLAIKIE, Rev. William Garden, D.D.

Born 1820, in Aberdeen.

The son of an Aberdeen advocate who was a former Provost of the city, Blaikie progressed from a brilliant career at Aberdeen Grammar School to studies for the ministry at Marischal College. Having spent the third divinity session in Edinburgh, he was licensed to preach by Aberdeen Presbytery in 1841. In the following year he was ordained minister at Drumblade, Aberdeenshire; and a Free Church was erected there when at the Disruption his congregation seceded with him. He moved in 1844 to Pilrig, a new charge in Edinburgh, and remained there until 1868. His ministry was characterized mainly by his strong concern for the welfare of the poor, in which sphere he was most notable for the promotion, establishment and management of model homes for the workers. In that connection he had published in 1863 Better Days for Working People, a very popular book based on lectures written fourteen years earlier, and followed it up in 1865 with Heads and Hands in the World of Labour. He became in 1868 professor of apologetics and pastoral theology at New College, Edinburgh, a post which he retained till 1897. In 1870 he visited the United States as a Free Church deputy (along with Arnot) to the General Assembly of the reunited American Presbyterian churches, and on his return to Scotland, wrote copiously on his observations and experiences in the Sunday Magazine. The trip was also recalled at some length in his Autobiography (published 1901). From 1864 he assisted the Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie in editing the Sunday Magazine and became editor of it for a short time (1873-74) following Guthrie's death. Over the years, he also edited the

Free Church Magazine (1849-53); the North British Review (1860-63); and the Catholic Presbyterian (1879-83). Producing in his lifetime a huge output of theological and literary works, he wrote in 1880 the first major biography of David Livingstone. He received an honorary D.D. from Edinburgh University in 1864 and an LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen in 1872.

Died 11 June, 1899.

BLYTH, Benjamin Hall and Edward Lawrence Ireland

Benjamin Hall Blyth was the son of Robert Brittain Blyth, a Birmingham merchant who on his marriage to a merchant's daughter from Edinburgh had settled there, begun business as a general wholesale metal merchant, and founded the firm of Gallie, Laird & Co. Benjamin Blyth was apprenticed at an early age to the engineering firm of Grainger & Miller and, progressing extremely well there, was appointed by Miller to be resident engineer on the Kilmarnock Extension of the Glasgow and Ayrshire Railway. Eventually, he became Miller's chief assistant and assumed the principal part in conducting the business. On Miller's retirement in 1850 he started business on his own account, taking his younger brother Edward into partnership several years later. The first work undertaken by his firm was the Bo'ness and Grangemouth Railway, and he subsequently held the engineering of the Great North of Scotland line. Achieving great success in these enterprises, he went on to hold many appointments, including that of consulting engineer to the Caledonian Railway. He became the foremost man in his profession in Scotland and was in the very first rank of British civil engineers, being much in demand to give evidence before railway committees in Parliament and highly regarded in that connection. A member of the U.P. Church, he took a public interest in the freedmen's aid campaign and made exceedingly liberal donations to the Edinburgh fund established in 1865.

Died August, 1866.

Edward Lawrence Ireland Blyth was born in Edinburgh on 7 June, 1825. He turned to civil engineering after some years in mercantile life, and having served as his brother's principal assistant for a time, joined him as a partner in 1854 to form the firm of B. & E. Blyth. After Benjamin's death, he took one George Cunningham into partnership and the firm became Blyth & Cunningham. He retired from active work in 1880 and from the firm six years later. An extremely active philanthropist, he contributed generously to, amongst other causes, freedmen's aid, giving £100 in response to the Edinburgh appeal of late 1865 and, very probably, £25 to the Glasgow fund in 1868. In politics, he followed his father's reformist principles and was a Liberal, breaking with Gladstone in 1886, however, over the Home Rule Bill.

BURNS, John

Born, 1829, in Glasgow.

The son of George Burns, co-founder (with his brother) of the Cunard Line of Burns, Cunard & McIver, Burns studied at Glasgow University and on his father's retirement assumed control (along with his brother James Cleland Burns, Charles McIver and William Cunard) of the business. Under his energetic and inspired direction, the Cunard fleet was enlarged to become one of the greatest private shipping companies in the world. A popular and highly respected figure in his time, he was a dedicated philanthropist (most especially in relation to the youth of Glasgow) whose efforts eventually resulted in his becoming President of Cumberland Training Ships and Honorary President of both the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society and the United Y.M.C.A. In 1873 he did much to assist the Jubilee Singers during their campaign in Scotland, and four years later he took an active part in advancing the cause of Josiah Henson. He was a zealous member of the Church of England, and gave prominent and generous support to the Scottish Episcopal Church. His involvement in charitable schemes and organizations was matched by wider interests

which led, for instance, to his being elected Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and of the Royal Geographical Society.

CAMERON, Charles

Born 1841, in Dublin.

The son of John Cameron, a newspaper proprietor of Glasgow and Dublin, Cameron was educated at Madras College, St. Andrews and at Trinity College, Dublin. Studying medicine at Dublin University School, he gained great academic distinction, becoming the first senior medical prizeman in 1860, first senior medical exhibitioner in 1862, and prize essayist and gold medal-list of the Dublin Pathological Society in the same year. He graduated B.A. with high honours and took first place in the examination for the M.B. and Master of Surgery degrees. Studies at the medical schools of Paris, Berlin and Vienna followed; and in 1865 he became an M.D. and an M.A. He took the degrees of LL.B. and LL.D. in 1871. In 1864, he became editor of the famous Glasgow newspaper, the North British Daily Mail an influential and effective organ in attacking social and political abuses. Throughout that period also, considerable critical attention was devoted to the situation in America and the attitudes expressed reflected a substantial modification of the bellicose pro-Southern sentiments published in the paper during the Civil War years. From 1874 until 1885 Cameron was Liberal M.P. for the College division of Glasgow, and then from 1885 till 1895, for the Bridgeton division of the city. Defeated at the 1895 General Election, he again returned to Parliament as the representative of the College division in 1897 following his success at a by-election held on the retirement of the sitting member, the Rt. Hon. George Otto Trevelyan. He did not stand at the General Election in 1900. During his years in the Commons, he took a prominent part in introducing bills relating to social issues; and as a radical, he favoured such policies as disestablishment, land law reform, and free education. In 1893 he was

created a baronet, becoming Cameron of Balclutha, Greenock. His son, Sir John, became the 2nd Baron, but the line became extinct in 1968.

Died 2 October, 1924.

CAMPBELL, Sir George

Born 1824.

The eldest son of Sir George Campbell of Edenwood, Fife, and nephew of John, first Baron Campbell, Campbell spent two sessions at St. Andrews University before entering the East India Company's college at Haileyburn, where he studied for two years. He went to India in 1842 and became the following year assistant magistrate and collector at Badaon in the North-West provinces. In 1845 he was promoted to the joint magistracy of the district of Moradabad, and began to study land tenures there. He was given temporary charge of Khytul and Ladwa in 1846 and remained there until ill health forced his return to Europe in 1851. In Britain till 1854, he was called to the bar and appointed associate of the court of queen's bench. On return to India, he was appointed, successively, magistrate and collector in the province of Benares, commissioner of customs for Northern India and assistant in the general government of the provinces, and commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States. Following the mutiny of 1857 he became secretary to the government of the North-West provinces and later the second civil commissioner of Onde, in which position he successfully strove for a system of tenant rights and introduced new codes of civil and criminal procedure. Appointed judge of the high court of Bengal, he undertook several legal investigations in the North-West provinces and his recommendations became the basis on which the new high courts were established in 1865. In 1866, as head of a commission sent to report on the causes of a recent famine at Orissa, he submitted an enlightened report recommending improvements in local public services and increased expenditure and security of tenure for cultivators. The following year he was appointed chief commissioner of the

central provinces, and in that capacity carried through extensive reorganization and reforms beneficial to the local communities. Back in Britain in 1868 due to bad health, he stood as M.P. for Dumbartonshire but retired before polling-day; and in 1869 he twice visited Ireland to study the land question, publishing his findings and conclusions as a book. He returned to India in 1871 and became lieutenant-governor of Bengal. His administration was characterized by progressive policies, especially in taxation and education, designed to help the province's population. He entered the Indian parliament in 1873 and was knighted. Partly because of differences with the government and partly because of bad health, however, he finally left India in 1874. That year, he presided over the economic and trade department at the Scottish Social Congress in Glasgow, and in 1875 was returned as Liberal M.P. for Kirkcaldy. Although he retained the seat until his death, he was a complete failure as a politician, attaining distinction only, it would seem, as one of the biggest bores in the Commons. In the autumn of 1878, he visited the Southern states of America to study the situation regarding the emancipated Negro population there. A comprehensive account of his conclusions was published the following year.

Died 18 February, 1892.

CANDLISH, Rev. Robert Smith, D.D.

Born 1806, in Edinburgh.

The son of a lecturer on medicine, Candlish never attended school but received all his early instruction from his mother, sister and brother. He became a distinguished student at the University of Glasgow, and on completing his studies there was appointed tutor at Eton to the son of one of the Edinburgh gentry. Returning to Glasgow some two years later, he was licensed as a probationer and served for about four or five years as an assistant first in a Glasgow church then at Bonhill, near Loch Lomond. In late 1833 his great

gift as a preacher earned him the appointment as assistant to the minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, the most influential congregation in the city. Within a very short time he was appointed minister on the death of the former incumbent. He concentrated on parish work for several years, then in 1839 threw himself into the patronage controversy, making a speech at the General Assembly which raised him to the front rank of church debaters. It was he who a few months later, at the request of friends, proposed the motion which effectively began the process which led ultimately to the Disruption. For the next few years he was engrossed in the controversy, constantly giving his counsel, expounding and enforcing his views at many public meetings, and greatly contributing to the popularity of the cause. At that time, he was nominated as first professor to the new chair of biblical criticism at Edinburgh University but because of his open opposition to civil courts and the law the appointment was bitterly opposed even at House of Lords level and the nomination cancelled. Next to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers himself, he was the leading spirit in the non-intrusion party and in forming and organizing the Free Church: and for three decades following the Disruption he remained one of the (if not the) most eminent, influential and dominant ministers within the denomination. His remarkable activity and versatility led to his taking a share in every department of the Church's work, and a principal role in conducting General Assembly business. As early as 1847 he was appointed professor of theology in New College, Edinburgh on the death of Dr. Chalmers, but when his former congregation's new minister died before being inducted, he resigned his appointment as professor and returned to his charge at Free St. George's. An extremely gifted and popular preacher, his sermons were invariably attended by people of various religious denominations. He assumed an active part in many Christian schemes and humanitarian movements; and although in 1846 he had delivered a brilliant speech in defence of the

Free Church's association with the Presbyterian Church in the Southern states, he was then, and became increasingly more so through mid century, an outspoken critic of slavery (even becoming in 1854 one of the more illustrious members of the New Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Association). With the outbreak of the American Civil War he supported the North, and publicly declared his opposition to a British war with the Federal states over the 'Trent' episode. After the war's end, he lent his immense influence to advocating (most especially in the context of the Free Church General Assmbelies) Scottish support for freedmen's aid. He held the position of Moderator of the General Assembly in 1861, and in the following year was appointed Principal of New College, an office which he retained until his death. From 1863 onwards he strenuously worked for union between the Free and U.P. Churches, and died deeply disappointed by the failure of his efforts and the success of some of his fellow Free Churchmen in frustrating the move. He was a D.D. of the universities of Princeton (1841) and Edinburgh (1865).

Died 19 October, 1873.

CHAMBERS, William

Born 16 April, 1800, in Peebles.

Educated at local schools, Chambers received the ordinary elements of a Scottish education, and in 1813 moved with his family to Edinburgh when his father, who was connected with the cotton trade, fell into increasing financial difficulties. From 1814-19 he was apprenticed to a bookseller, and experienced during these years great poverty. Immediately his apprenticeship was over he started up business as a bookseller on his own account, purchasing an old printing press and types and printing several little works. By 1823 he was able to move to better premises and in collaboration with his brother Robert began to achieve increased success writing and publishing works on Scotland. Quick to answer the public demand for cheap literature,

they published the first issue of the very successful Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in 1832. At around that time the firm of W. & R. Chambers was established, with William as director. It rapidly became an extensive and highly successful publishing enterprise, aimed at the production of cheap and useful literature. William Chambers visited the United States in 1853 and subsequently published in 1854 an account of the trip entitled Things as they are in America. This work was followed in 1857 by American Slavery and Colour. Over the ensuing years, he retained his interest in the United States in general and American slavery in particular, speaking on the latter subject, for instance, at a rally sponsored by the ELES in late 1860. During the American Civil War, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal spoke out strongly and persistently against slaveholding and against the Confederate cause; and after the end of the conflict, Chambers gave valuable support to the freedmen's aid campaign both on the public platform and in terms of financial aid. In 1865, he was chosen Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and during his term of office was chief promoter of the Edinburgh City Improvement Act which led to a vast project of demolition and rebuilding. Re-elected Provost in 1868, he resigned the following year and devoted his later life to a scheme for the restoration of St. Giles Church. He received an LL.D. from Edinburgh University in 1872, and accepted Gladstone's offer of a baronetcy but died before it was conferred.

Died 23 May, 1883.

CLAYDEN, Peter William

Born 20 October, 1827, in Wallingford, Berkshire.

The son of an ironmonger, Clayden was educated at a local private school and early commenced a business career. He was brought up amongst Congregationalists, but adopted Unitarian views and was eventually admitted to the Unitarian ministry. In 1855 he took up his first charge at a church in Boston, Lincolnshire, moving four years later to Rochdale and then, in 1860,

to Nottingham where he remained until 1868. He became secretary of the Free Church Union on its formation in 1866. During his years as a minister he increasingly devoted himself to journalism, becoming editor of the Boston Guardian for a time and, while at Nottingham, contributing articles on political and social questions to the Edinburgh Review, the Fortnightly Review and the Cornhill Magazine. In 1865, he was engaged as an occasional writer on the London Daily News (having been introduced to the paper's editor by Harriet Martineau). He strongly supported the Federal cause during the American Civil War; and in the spring of 1866 wrote for the Edinburgh Review a lengthy and carefully reasoned article on American Reconstruction, the only essay to be published on the subject in that erstwhile fervently pro-Southern periodical. In 1868 he resigned from the ministry and joined the regular staff in London as leader writer and assistant editor of the Daily News, in which position he presumably strove to reinforce the advanced liberal stance which that paper took on the question of the American freedmen's rights. He became night editor in 1887, a post which he retained until 1896, and throughout his long formal association with the paper, greatly increased its influence as an organ of liberal and nonconformist opinion. An ardent Liberal in politics, he was a member of the executive committee of the National Liberal Federation and stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1868, 1885 and 1886. In 1893 he was elected President of the Institute of Journalists, and in the following year, President of the International Congress of the Press.

Died 19 February, 1902.

FERGUSON, William

Born 21 December, 1823, in Kinmundy, Aberdeenshire.

The son of James Ferguson of Kinmundy, the representative of a family which had owned an estate at Kinmundy since the early seventeenth century, Ferguson studied at Aberdeen University but left without taking his degree

to follow a business career first at Leith, then at Glasgow and, in 1852, at Liverpool. In 1854 he became partner in the railway engineering firm of Robert Benson & Co., London, and eight years later returned to Liverpool to carry on business of a similar nature as partner in the firm of Cropper, Ferguson & Co. Settling in Birkenhead, he remained there until his retirement from business in 1872, and during these ten years took an exceedingly active part in the life of the local community being, at various times, Chairman of Birkenhead Police Commissioners, President (1868-69) of Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society, a member of the Council of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, treasurer of the Sick Children's Hospital, a member of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society and of the History Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Extremely interested in antiquities, botany and geology, he achieved considerable renown and distinction in the latter field, becoming an F.R.S of Edinburgh and of the Linnean and Geological Societies of London, and publishing a substantial number of learned pamphlets on the geology of his native Aberdeenshire. He was a founder member of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. In 1855, he visited the United States to enquire into the workings of the American railway system, and in addition to an exhaustive report on that subject, published on his return a lengthy account of his trip, entitled America by River and Rail. Having during his transatlantic travels gained some personal insight into the slavery system in the South, he rendered considerable service, after the Civil War, to the freedmen's aid cause, assuming the position of either secretary or treasurer of the Birkenhead Freedmen's Aid Society, and helping to arouse sympathetic interest in the movement in districts near his home at Kinmundy. Of a profoundly religious character, he had originally intended to become a minister but had been prevented from doing so by personal circumstances. He nevertheless maintained a tremendously active role as a constant and enthusiastic

worker in religious movements and, as a staunch member of the Free Church, frequently attended its General Assemblies. In 1872 he retired from business and having succeeded his father in the family estates, settled in Aberdeenshire for the rest of his life. He subsequently became a J.P. and deputy Lieutenant for the country of Aberdeen, a director (and for twenty-five years, chairman) of the North of Scotland Railway, a director of the North of Scotland Bank and of the Scottish Provident Institution, the chairman of East Aberdeenshire Conservative Association, and a director of the Aberdeen Journal.

Died 11 September, 1904.

FORSYTH, William

Born 24 October, 1818, in Turriff, Aberdeenshire.

The son of a watchmaker, Forsyth was educated at Fordyce Academy (a Banffshire school with a formidable academic reputation) and at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. After studying medicine for some years he became assistant to a country doctor and twice acted as surgeon on a Greenland whaler, but he never took his medical degree and eventually abandoned medicine for literary work. In 1842 he was appointed sub-editor under Dr. Robert Carruthers of the Inverness Courier, and while in that post gave much assistance to Carruthers in the preparation of Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. He became sub-editor of the Aberdeen Herald the following year, and in 1848 joined the staff of the Aberdeen Journal. Assuming the editorship of the paper a year or so later, he remained in that office for thirty years. The Journal was recognized as a Conservative organ (or at least as the most Conservative of the Aberdeen newspapers) and his own personal politics were inclined to be of a liberal-Conservative brand. But for the most part conducting the paper in a spirit independent of strict party political allegiance, he openly advocated the cause of the North in

editorial comment during the American Civil War, and thereafter steered his journal into an open- but generally fairly liberal-minded approach to the problems of Reconstruction. He was an enthusiastic supporter of schemes and movements aimed at alleviating the plight of the poor, and was, for instance, largely responsible for the establishment of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, of which organization he was an active committee member and, for six years, gratuitous secretary. He was elected a member of the first Aberdeen school board and did much good and active work on it: and in several spheres of action designed to benefit the local community as a whole, he gave valuable services to Aberdeen. Something of an authority on church questions, his opinions in that field were valued by Scottish ministers. He was also a minor poet, and had published several volumes of poems, many of which had originally appeared in the leading literary periodicals.

Died 21 June, 1879.

GILFILLAN, Rev. George

Born 30 January, 1813, in Comrie, Perthshire.

The son of the Secession (i.e. Covenanting) church minister at Comrie, Gilfillan was from youth a firm adherent to the Covenanter's and Seceder's faith. In 1825 he went to Glasgow University and quickly acquired a tremendously strong interest in literature: and it was only because he was very poor and useless in business matters that he decided not to pursue the essentially precarious literary life but to become a minister. Towards that latter end, he enrolled in the theology course at Glasgow in 1830, and in 1836 he was ordained Secession minister of the School Wynd congregation in Dundee, a charge in which he remained until his death. An exceedingly vehement and demonstrative preacher, he actively upheld the cause of voluntaryism, eventually becoming one of those who most vigorously and persis-

tently opposed the proposals for union between the U.P. Church and the Free Church. In common with many other Scottish Seceder ministers, he took an active involvement in social and political reforms, and was during the most intensive phase of the anti-slavery campaign in Scotland a zealous and prominent supporter of abolition. His hatred of slavery continued unabated over the years, but a tendency to view the Confederates as fighting against potential domination by the North, and a total conviction that the Northern states had entered the war only to preserve the Union, caused him openly to favour the South during the Civil War. A controversial figure throughout his life, his ministerial duties were not allowed to restrict his literary output; and continuing always to devote much of his time to literature he wrote a prodigious number of books and pamphlets and made innumerable contributions to leading magazines and newspapers. Gaining very considerable distinction by his works, he was the friend of many of the most eminent literary men of the period.

Died 13 August, 1878.

GUTHRIE, Rev. Thomas, D.D.

Born 12 July, 1803, in Brechin.

Although the family had been of farming stock through several generations, Guthrie himself was the son of a trader and banker in Brechin. Entering Edinburgh University at the age of twelve, he spent ten years there (1815-25), four in the arts course, four in divinity, and two in the study of medicine and science. He was licensed to preach by Brechin Presbytery in 1825 but due to difficulties encountered under the patronage system he did not secure a living until 1830. In the interval, he studied natural philosophy, chemistry and comparative anatomy at the Sorbonne in Paris and, returning to Scotland in 1827, was for two years manager of his father's bank. In 1830 he was ordained minister of the parish of Arbirlot, near Arbroath, and was extremely

popular with the rural community there, starting such innovations as a savings bank, Sunday School, and parish library. He became one of the ministers of Old Greyfriars church, Edinburgh in 1837, and three years later was appointed to the city's St. John's parish. An exceptionally original, forceful and dramatic preacher with an imposing presence, he attracted large congregations which were not confined to members of his own denomination. The Disruption cause, of which he was a vigorous supporter, benefitted greatly from his eloquence and popularity; and in 1843 he seceded and became minister of Free St. John's Church, Edinburgh, taking most of his congregation with him. Constantly active in many of the social movements of his time (including temperance and the institution of a national education system in Scotland), his chief concern was with the "Original Ragged Schools" which he established (having got the idea from the Ragged School founded in Aberdeen by Sheriff Watson in 1841) in Edinburgh in 1847. During mid century he also became involved in the anti-slavery campaign; and although always sceptical about the extent to which abolitionist sentiment governed the actions of the Northern states during the Civil War, he readily championed the Federal cause after the promulgation of the Emancipation Act. From the end of the war until the close of the 1860s he gave invaluable service to the freedmen's aid cause in Scotland. In 1867 the Free Church appointed him as a deputy to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches of America, but illness prevented him from undertaking the trip and he was never able to visit the United States, despite a strong, lasting desire to do so. Throughout his life he made the acquaintance of many American Presbyterian ministers and professors in Britain and when travelling abroad, and his published works circulated almost as widely in the United States as in Britain. His interest in America was increased in 1869 when his son Alexander settled in California. A voluminous writer, he was the editor of the Sunday Magazine from 1864 until

his death, and contributed many articles to Good Words. The University of Edinburgh made him a D.D. in 1849.

Died 24 February, 1873.

LENG, John

Born 10 April, 1828, in Hull.

The son of a businessman engaged in commerce and the younger brother of Sir William Christopher Leng (knighted 1887), the renowned editor of the important Conservative organ the Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Leng was educated at Hull Grammar School. While employed as assistant teacher at a private school, he attracted the attention of the Hull Advertiser's editor who in 1847 appointed him the paper's sub-editor and reporter, a post which he held until 1851 when he was selected from among seventy candidates as editor of the bi-weekly Dundee Advertiser. The Advertiser was at that time in a backward state, but he soon raised it to a position of high esteem in both local and international affairs. Becoming part-proprietor in 1852, he carried through a thorough overhaul of the paper, and continued to streamline its production over the years (see note on newspaper sources). In 1858 he established the People's Journal, a weekly which rapidly achieved the largest circulation of any similar contemporary Scottish paper; and eleven years later there appeared the People's Friend, a literary weekly which in his time reached a circulation rivalling that of its London equivalents. A halfpenny daily, the Evening Telegraph, was started in 1877. He conducted the Dundee Advertiser in the spirit of advanced Liberal politics; and, a keen admirer of America and American democracy, he committed it during the Civil War to a staunchly pro-Federal line and subsequently to a well-reasoned (and somewhat unique) support of Congressional Reconstruction. A board member of the Oregon and Washington Trust Investment Co., Ltd., a Dundee land mortgage concern registered in 1873, he went to the United States in 1876 to check on North-West investments and to

consider prospects for extending the company's range of operations. On his return, he wrote a brief account of his impressions of the country, entitled America in 1876. In 1889 he was returned unopposed as Liberal M.P. for one of Dundee's two seats and was re-elected by large majorities in 1892, 1895 and 1900, finally retiring from Parliament in 1905. Active in the Commons as an advanced radical, among the topics which he brought up for discussion there were the excessive hours of railway workers, the appointment of female inspectors of factories and workshops, and the boarding-out of pauper children by parochial boards: and he strongly backed the employer's liability bill. A champion of "home rule all round", he was an honorary Vice-President of the Scottish Home Rule Association and a prominent supporter of Gladstone's 1893 Home Rule Bill for Ireland. In that same year he was knighted and made a deputy-lieutenant for the county and city of Dundee. He became an honorary Burgess of Dundee in 1902 and an honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews University two years later. A redoubtable traveller (especially to Europe), he paid a second visit to America in 1905 but fell ill when on the start of a third trip the following year.

Died 12 December, 1906.

LORNE, John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquis of

Born 6 August, 1845, at Stafford House, London.

The eldest son of the 8th Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Lorne was educated at Edinburgh Academy, Eton, St. Andrews University and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1868 he entered Parliament as Liberal M.P. for Argyll and retained the seat for ten years, acting from 1868 until 1871 as private secretary to his father who was at that time Secretary of State for India. He married Princess Louise, the fourth daughter of Queen Victoria, in 1871, became a Privy Councillor four years later, and in 1878 was appointed Governor-general of Canada. His period of office there was uneventful; and

although conscientious, interested in the country and a fair speaker, he did not display a strong personality. In 1883 he returned to Britain and unsuccessfully contested Hampstead at the General Election a year later. Following his father out of the Liberal Party over Home Rule, he failed to be elected at Bradford in 1892 but was returned as the Unionist member for South Manchester in 1895. He retained that seat until succeeding to the Dukedom in 1900. In his later teens and early twenties he would appear to have strongly resented his parents' somewhat arbitrary organization of his life and career - most especially their decision to send him to Cambridge, their automatic assumption that he would become M.P. for Argyll, and their vehement opposition to his wish to follow an army career. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps partly by way of asserting a measure of independence of thought and opinion that he adopted in relation to the American Civil War a viewpoint diametrically opposed to that of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, becoming as staunch a supporter of the South as they were of the North. At the beginning of 1866, he set out on a six months' visit to the West Indies, Cuba and America, and for the duration of the trip maintained a steady correspondence with his mother, his long, descriptive and critical letters being ultimately published in book form as A Trip to the Tropics and Home Through America (1867). In 1907 he wrote a two volume autobiography entitled Passages from the Past. Always more interested in dilettante literary pursuits than in politics, he seldom spoke in Parliament/(and much to his mother's disappointment) never held ministerial office.

Died 2 May, 1914.

MACAULAY, James

Born 22 May, 1817, in Edinburgh.

The son of an eminent Edinburgh physician, Macaulay took the course in arts and then in medicine at Edinburgh University, graduating M.A. and M.D.

in 1838. He subsequently travelled as a tutor in Italy and Spain, and spent some months in Madeira. Eventually settling in London, he abandoned medicine for literary and journalistic work, and in 1850 joined the staff of the Literary Gazette. Eight years later he became editor of two weekly periodicals, Leisure Hour and Sunday at Home, both of which had moral and religious aims and were popular with the young. He held these editorial posts until 1897, and was also for many years general editor of the Religious Tract Society. Despite what was therefore a predominant involvement in literary pursuits, he was elected F.R.C.S, Edinburgh, in 1862. In 1871 he visited the United States and on his return to Britain wrote a series of articles in Leisure Hour in which he recorded his attitudes towards many aspects of life in the Northern and Southern states during the 1870s. These essays were later published as a book entitled Across the Ferry: First Impressions of America and its People.

Died 18 June, 1902.

McCOMBIE, William

Born 1808, in Alford, Aberdeenshire.

A farmer throughout the whole of his early life, McCombie, along with several friends of the same political persuasion, founded in 1853 the Aberdeen Free Press. Although always retaining his farm in the county, he moved to Aberdeen and became the paper's editor from its inception until his death in 1870. Under his control the Free Press, which had been established as a dissenting, advanced Liberal journal, retained a soundly radical outlook upon contemporary social and political issues. An open admirer of what was best in the democratic institutions of the United States, he guided his paper into firm support for the North during the Civil War; and during the Reconstruction years its columns expressed much concern for the welfare of the freedmen and much sympathy and understanding for the policies of the

Congressional Radicals. Deeply committed to advancing the cause of Liberalism in his native Aberdeenshire, he ultimately did more than any other individual to break the Tory stranglehold on the county and to secure the return as Liberal M.P. at the 1868 General Election of his cousin, William McCombie of Tillyfour, Alford, a leading farmer and nationally renowned authority on cattle-breeding. He was a keen and original thinker on the principal political questions of his time; but his interests and his literary contributions stretched well beyond the sphere of politics. Having received no regular education, he became one of the most notable self-taught men in Scotland and acquired some considerable reputation as an able writer, most especially in the fields of speculative philosophy and ecclesiastical polemics. Before he undertook the venture of founding the Free Press he had already had published several works. He was intensely religious (a character trait which had helped to stimulate his will to read and study), and although becoming in the late 1850s a member of the Baptist Church he never completely turned away from the U.P. Church in which he had been reared, and was one of its most generous local supporters. As well as imposing his political creed on the Aberdeen Free Press, he also instilled into it a measure of his fervent religiosity, making it a journal of strict Christian principle.

Died 6 May, 1870.

MacDONALD, Alexander

Born 21 June, 1821, in New Monkland, near Glasgow.

The son of a miner, MacDonald himself went down the mines at the age of eight but attended school in his spare time and was determined to qualify for a profession. He entered Glasgow University in 1846 and studied there for about two years, maintaining himself on his savings. In 1850 he became a teacher, but subsequently gave that up to concentrate on becoming the miners' spokesman. His reputation as a campaigner in working class movements grew

throughout mid century, and in 1863 he became the first President of the newly formed Miners' National Association. Although in that position he initially encountered some opposition from a group out of sympathy with his policy of avoiding industrial disputes and relying on conciliation and arbitration, the challenge soon waned and he remained the dominant influence within the mining unions throughout the 1860s and '70s. Probably a member of the consortium which briefly controlled the Glasgow Sentinel in 1861, his career as a leading Trade Unionist was strongly and consistently championed in that paper. During the American Civil War, he matched the Sentinel's sentiments in supporting the Confederacy and calling for British recognition of it on the grounds that such action would lead to a great increase in Scottish trade and prosperity. Between 1869 and 1877 he made a series of trips to the United States to discover the prospects for Scottish miners there. The Glasgow Sentinel duly reported on his visits; and it also published during that period many extracts from letters sent to him by emigrant Scotsmen describing working conditions, etc. in the United States. At the 1868 General Election he stood as an Independent for Kilmarnock Burghs but withdrew his candidature before polling day. In 1874 he was returned as M.P. for North Staffordshire, having been greatly helped in meeting his election expenses by gifts and contributions from Scottish miners.

Died 1881.

MACDONELL, James

Born 1842, in Dyce, Aberdeenshire.

The son of a staunchly Roman Catholic father and a Protestant mother, Macdonell's father's work as an exciseman involved the family in occasional moves of residence, but especially from 1853 onwards his education progressed greatly under the influence and guidance of gifted parish schoolmasters at Dufftown in Banffshire and Rhynie in Aberdeenshire. At Rhynie in the mid

1850s, vigorous local controversy over church questions sparked off warm discussion within his family about the Roman Catholic Church, and he developed a lifelong enthusiasm for church dialectics. The proposal that he should be trained for the priesthood caused him to examine the grounds of his own religious faith and to study the work of Protestant divines, an exercise which eventually led to quarrels with his father, a keen interest in the principles of the Free Church, and ultimate adherence to its tenets. In 1858, he went to Aberdeen as clerk in a paper mills, and quickly came into contact with the exceedingly strong Liberal, Free Church element within the city at that time. He soon formed a friendship with William McCombie of the Aberdeen Free Press and became connected with that paper. In the Aberdeen environment he began seriously to doubt the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, and embarked on an intensive examination of both Catholic and Protestant creeds in an effort to find the form of faith which best suited him. He finally adopted an exceedingly strong brand of Protestantism, and committed himself to exposing the "corruption of Rome". Towards that end, he wrote a series of leaders for the Free Press in 1860; and along with McCombie, became a leading figure in the Baptist Church in Aberdeen. Early in 1861, he joined the staff of Edinburgh's Free Church organ, the Daily Review, and became the friend of Gilzean Reid, editor of the Edinburgh Review, leader in movements to aid the working classes, and a strong Free Churchman. In less than a year, he was appointed editor of the Newcastle Northern Daily Express, leaving it in 1865 to become trainee assistant editor on the London Daily Telegraph. Although already by that time employed on the Daily Review, in June, 1861 he wrote for the Aberdeen Free Press an editorial vehemently denouncing slavery: and in 1873 he again made clear his strong sympathies and sentiments in that regard when in writing of John Stuart Mill's death he specifically cited as worthy of praise Mill's secret donation during the

American Civil War of £500 to the Secretary of the Emancipation Society and his subsequent contribution (in 1865) of a further £500 to the Jamaica Committee's fund for the prosecution of Governor Eyre. His faith in and admiration for the political institutions of the United States was total, and had led him by the early 1870s to speak out vigorously in support of republicanism.

Died 2 March, 1879.

MACKAY, Charles

Born 27 May, 1814, in Perth.

The son of a Royal Artillery officer, Mackay was educated at London schools and for two years (from 1828) at a school in Brussels (to which city his father had retired) where he became proficient in languages. In 1830 he became private secretary to an ironmaster near Liege and began writing in French in the Courrier Belge and in English to a locally produced paper, The Telegraph. Returning to Britain as a private tutor in Italian, he increasingly devoted his time to writing verse and in 1834 brought out his first work, Songs and Poems, which earned him the post of assistant sub-editor on the Morning Chronicle. He remained at the paper until 1844, cultivating friendships with Charles Dickens and with many prominent literary lights in Edinburgh. In 1844 he became editor of the Glasgow Argus and began to write poetry prolifically. A collection of verses which had appeared in the Daily News (and which included his most famous work, "There's a Good Time Coming") was published under Dickens' editorship in 1846; and in the same year Glasgow University awarded him an LL.D. He resigned the editorship of the Argus in 1847 and the following year joined the staff of the Illustrated London News, becoming its editor in 1852. During his early association with the journal he produced several extremely popular "musical supplements" for it, and grew increasingly vain. In the autumn of 1857 he embarked on an eight months'

lecturing tour of the United States and Canada and sent back to his paper reports on his impressions of the country which were afterwards published as a two volume work entitled Life and Liberty in America. He severed connections with the Illustrated London News in 1859, and for the succeeding two years unsuccessfully attempted to establish a couple of literary periodicals. In early 1862 the London Times appointed him a correspondent (based in the Northern states) on the American Civil War; but his virulently anti-Federal reports and his totally misleading accounts of Southern prospects led to his being sacked in April, 1865. With publishers and influential Fleet Street acquaintances generally inclined, in the immediate aftermath of his dismissal, to have nothing to do with his work, he nevertheless succeeded in convincing the influential Edinburgh publisher John Blackwood of his value as an informed commentator on post-war America, for between the spring of 1866 and the spring of 1870 he contributed to Blackwood's Magazine twelve lengthy articles on the most important social and political aspects of the contemporary American situation. The articles were uniformly extreme in the sentiments and arguments expressed. Constantly in financial difficulties, he seduously attempted during the mid 1860s to have his daughter become an accomplished pianist who would be able to support the family, and towards that end forced her to practice exceedingly hard and invited reviewers and other influential persons to attend drawing-room concerts where she was performing. The daughter was Marie Corelli (or more prosaically, Minnie Mackay), later to become a celebrated novelist with a success based on the same manner of lurid prose as her father's; and when her literary talents became obvious, Mackay tried to exploit these, too. Inordinately vain and egotistical, he was convinced not only that he was a major poet but that he could produce an authoritative work on the United States which would completely supersede all other works on the subject. The massive project that he had in

mind did not materialize, but in 1867 there did appear The History of the United States of America (two volumes) and in 1885, The Founders of the American Republic.

Died 24 December, 1889.

McLAREN, Duncan

Born 12 January, 1800, in Renton, Dumbartonshire.

The son of a farmer, McLaren was at the age of twelve apprenticed to a draper at Dunbar. After four years there he moved to Haddington and in 1818 to Edinburgh, where he was an assistant in a wholesale and retail drapery business until commencing business as a draper on his own account in 1824. In Edinburgh, he quickly became involved with advanced Liberal opinion and movements, attending reform demonstrations and connecting himself with the Rev. J. Peddie's Bristo Street U.P. Church, one of the chief centres of Liberal dissent in Scotland. In 1833 he entered a town council full of reforming spirits and rapidly became a prominent member, being appointed, successively, baillie, treasurer and Provost, holding the latter civic post from 1851 till 1856. As treasurer (appointed 1837), he achieved a marked success in bringing Edinburgh back to solvency from its bankrupt state. His Provostship was characterized by a clearing up of corporation debt, municipal improvements, and increased attention to the rights and needs of the poor. As Provost he also took an enthusiastic interest in supporting charitable and philanthropic Societies and social and political reforms: he was a leading temperance advocate, an active participant in the agitations of the Anti-Corn Law League, a major figure in the Peace Society during the Crimean War, and earlier, a strong supporter of the abolitionist movement. Having established an Independent Liberal party in the city comprising mainly Dissenters, Free Traders and social reformers, he unsuccessfully contested Edinburgh in 1852. He again stood as an Independent Liberal at the General

Election of 1865 and was returned as one of the city's two M.Ps. Retaining his seat for sixteen years, he remained constant in his opposition to the over-centralization of government and relentlessly brought up Scottish issues in the Commons. During the American Civil War, he matched his brother-in-law and political mentor, John Bright, in steadfastly supporting the Northern cause; and after the war he took some active involvement in the freedmen's aid campaign. Bitterly disliked by the Whigs of Edinburgh, he was a staunch adherent to the political radicalism of John Bright, whose sister Priscilla he married in 1848.

Died 26 April, 1886.

MACLEOD, Rev. Norman, D.D.

Born 3 June, 1812, in Campbeltown, Argyll.

The son of the parish minister at Campbeltown, Macleod entered Glasgow College in 1827 and for four years pursued a fairly undistinguished career there. In 1831 he moved to Edinburgh and studied divinity under the famous Thomas Chalmers, on whose recommendation he became tutor to the son of a landed family in Yorkshire. Having held that post for three years, he resumed his studies at Glasgow and was licensed to preach in 1837. The following year he was ordained minister of the parish of Loudoun in Ayrshire, and in late 1843 accepted a call to Dalkeith. He remained in the Church of Scotland at the Disruption, and in 1845 was appointed by the General Assembly to visit associated congregations in Canada. Active and successful in parochial work, he began to take a prominent part in the general business of the Church, especially in foreign missions. In 1851 he was appointed minister of Barony Church, Glasgow, and his two decades there were characterized by exceedingly energetic work in devising and establishing schemes for advancing the welfare of the needy (e.g. the establishment of a penny savings bank, refreshment rooms for working men, new schoolhouses, a mission church for the poor). One

of Scotland's most eloquent preachers, he was in 1857 appointed chaplain to Queen Victoria. Three years afterwards, his literary talents were given vent when he became editor of the religious magazine, Good Words. Retaining a strong interest in foreign missions, he was appointed convener of the India mission of the Church of Scotland in 1864 and in that same year toured Egypt and Palestine. In the mid 1860s, he followed up an earlier sympathy for the Northern states in the American Civil War by publicly supporting the freedmen's aid campaign. A visit to mission stations in India was undertaken in 1867 at the behest of the General Assembly; and two years later he became Moderator of that body. Widely known and celebrated throughout the country as an impressive preacher, a tireless philanthropist, the writer of popular Scottish song and verse, and a genial man with a ready wit, he was one of Scotland's most notable and distinguished nineteenth century ministers.

Died 16 June, 1872.

MACRAE, David

Date of birth unknown.

The son of a United Secession (later U.P.) minister who in 1852 had undertaken formidable evangelistic work at a new charge in the Gorbals, Glasgow, Macrae entered the U.P. Theological Hall (the denomination's training institution for divinity students) in 1859. Throughout the ensuing ten years or so, however, he devoted most of his time to literary work, in which sphere he earned a considerable reputation and popularity; and it was not until 1871 that he finally received his licence to preach. In 1868 he visited America with the explicit intention of gathering sufficient information about the country - its institutions and its people - to enable him to add to British understanding of it. Accordingly, he travelled extensively in every region of the United States, assiduously recording a mass of facts and personal observations on both general and specific aspects

of American life, politics and national development. The fruits of his labours were published in 1870 in the two volume work, The Americans at Home. Well received by literary critics on its appearance and extremely popular with the Scottish reading public (a popular revised edition was published in 1874, and following publication of the original edition, Macrae was much in demand to deliver public lectures on his American trip), the book amply reflected its author's predominant interest in the state of society within the post-war South. Particularly concerned to investigate the freedmen's general condition and progress, he became closely acquainted with the work of the AMA and on his return to Scotland, spoke on behalf of that organization at the 1869 General Assemblies of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. In that same year he assumed a (probably the) critically important role in the launching and directing of the immensely successful U.P. Theological Hall Missionary Society's effort for the American freedmen. In 1872 he was ordained minister of Gourock U.P. church; and mainly as a result of the introduction of innovations designed to enliven the form of worship there, he soon became a highly controversial figure. Serious trouble then arose in January, 1877 when as a member of Paisley and Greenock Presbytery he moved an Overture to the Synod for a revision of the Westminster Standards, the strict creed which still in theory bound U.P. office-bearers to hold to such harsh doctrines as that which insisted on ever-lasting torment being the doom of the non-elect. The Presbytery rejected his Overture, but he continued to agitate vociferously for revision, even introducing another (unsuccessful) Overture from his own Gourock session in April. The controversy raged on with increasing acrimony throughout the year and into 1878, with Macrae using ever stronger language in stating his arguments and criticisms. When in early 1879 he went the length of calling his brethren "Jesuitical", a committee was appointed to discuss his case, and at the Synod in May he was

finally suspended from office. He protested against the decision but the protest was dismissed in July and he was formally pronounced no longer a minister of the U.P. Church. In August, 1879 he took possession of the pulpit at Gourock and denied the Presbytery's representative access until he had read a protest. Proceedings were begun to get possession of his church and manse, but in October he accepted a call from sympathetic elements in Dundee becoming, in fact, the successor to Gilfillan (who had sympathized with his cause) at the School Wynd charge. Following the induction of another minister there in 1880, there was built the Gilfillan Memorial Church, a charge which became closely associated with the Congregational churches in Dundee. There, Macrae ministered to a large body of people until his retirement in 1897. Possessing a tremendous independence of character, he was by nature a fighting man. During his later years he became deeply involved in the movement to preserve the identity of Scottish history and culture, and became honorary president of the Scottish Patriotic Association. He continued to produce literary works; and in 1908 published an account of a return visit to America.

MOIR, James

Date of birth unknown.

No information regarding Moir's early years has come to light; but he first emerged as a public political figure at the beginning of the 1830s. He was a member of the Glasgow Political Union during the reform agitation of 1831, and over the following seven years became increasingly conspicuous in Glasgow politics as a fervent member of a group of Liberal reformers who aimed to reform and then to direct municipal affairs. In 1838 he gravitated towards positive association with the city's advanced radicals and was in April of that year a prominent speaker among the many local middle class reformers who met to approve the Birmingham radicals' plan to hold a monster reform

demonstration on Glasgow Green the following month. The demonstration in effect marked the launching of the Chartist movement: and in August, 1838 Moir took his place as one of the two Chartists representing Scotland at the first Chartist Convention at Newhall Hill. Chartism in Glasgow being directed by a number of capable, intelligent, ardently sincere but not particularly inspiring or outstanding men, he became, in the absence of a more dynamic personality, the leader and symbol of the movement there from 1839 until its demise. Mildly in sympathy with O'Connor in several respects (although eventually quarrelling with him over Chartist participation in local government), he was nevertheless essentially a moderate and presided over striking achievements in moderate Chartist agitation within Glasgow between 1839 and 1842. In 1848 he was elected to the city council, and except for a break from 1865 to 1868, constantly retained a seat there for nearly thirty years. A prosperous tea merchant of impeccable middle class status and respectability, he attracted (especially after election to the council) the increasing hostility of those more strictly working class elements within the city (principally the individuals associated with the Glasgow Sentinel) who vied with him for leadership of popular movements and who accused him and his colleagues of having become radicals merely for purposes of personal gain. The rancour was the deeper because throughout his years as a councillor he maintained an active interest in political reform, becoming, for instance, chairman of the Glasgow Reform Association in 1858 and President of the Scottish National Reform League in 1867. Following the outbreak of the American Civil War he assumed membership of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society and became one of the leaders of the pro-Federal movement in the city. He was a committee member at the inaugural meeting of the GFAS in early November, 1864, and was subsequently appointed chairman of that organization, his reform activities previously having brought him into contact with many

of the other committee members. In the early 1870s he became a baillie and J.P.; and his lengthy service on the council was ultimately recognized by an official funeral.

MURDOCH, John

Born 15 January, 1818, in Ardchloch, Nairn.

The son of a crofter, Murdoch moved with his family in 1827 to a small farm which his father had rented on the island of Islay and lived there for eleven years, absorbing the culture, customs and folklore of the Highlanders. In 1838, he went to Paisley as a grocer's assistant but within weeks had been found a job in the Excise. On completion of training in Edinburgh, he worked as an Excise Officer in Kilsyth and in Middletown, Ireland before being promoted in 1841 to a post in Lancashire. While there, he came into contact with Owenites, Chartists, and campaigners from the Anti-Corn Law League, and developed a basic sympathy for the ideas on land and labour expounded by Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien and Ernest Jones. In 1845 he returned to work in Islay for a short period, then moved on to employment in Dublin, Shetland and Inverness. During his time as an Excise Officer in Dublin he became active in agitating for improvement in his fellow Officers' pay and conditions; and he also contributed articles to the Irish press (including the Nation) on a wide variety of agricultural subjects. In 1873 he retired from the Excise to found and edit the Highlander, a newspaper which he published in Inverness from 1873 until 1882. The main purpose of his journal was to encourage the Highland people to assert their cultural identity and traditions and to strive to maintain their rightful place on their native soil. Towards that end he made the Highlander an exceedingly radical organ, committed to scathing denunciations (both general and specific) of avaricious landlords, unjust land laws, and all measures and policies which tended in any way to threaten the survival of the Gaelic crofting community. In 1870

he began a campaign in its columns for the establishment of a royal commission on the Highlands. Following the founding in 1879 of the American Land League, he toured the United States, earning in the process valuable financial support for the Highlander. Throughout the 1880s (by which time his basic approach was being built upon by Henry George and Michael Davitt) he remained - even after the demise of his paper - a vigorous agitator on behalf of land reform and was in 1885 the parliamentary nominee of the Scottish Land Restoration League. He campaigned for Keir Hardie at the mid-Lanark by-election of 1888 and later assisted him in the formation of the Scottish Labour party.

Died 1904.

NELSON, Thomas

Born 25 December, 1822, in Edinburgh.

The son of Thomas Nelson, sen., the founder of the publishing firm of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Thomas Nelson, jun. was educated at Edinburgh High School and entered his father's business when he was seventeen. The business was at that time extending, and in 1844 he was given the task of establishing a London branch, over which he subsequently remained in charge for more than a year. In 1846 the family firm moved to larger premises in Edinburgh and he became superintendent of the manufacturing department there. Of a mechanical bent, he invented in 1850 a prototype rotary press, and over the years he also introduced into the business many devices in printing. In 1854 he went to America to establish the first branch of a British publishing house in the United States, and made a return visit during the winter of 1862-63. A staunch critic of slavery from at least the time of his first American trip, he spoke at length at a meeting addressed by Beecher in Glasgow in the autumn of 1863, declaring that the South was fighting for empire and urging Britons to support the North. After the Civil War, he played an active part on

behalf of freedmen's aid and contributed generously to the cause. A Liberal in politics and an ardent Free Churchman, he identified his firm with the Free Church, publishing its Monthly Record, Children's Record, and other official documents. His decision to publish school books enormously enhanced the firm's profits; and he died a millionaire.

Died 20 October, 1892.

NICHOL, Elizabeth Pease

Born 1807, in Darlington.

A member of the well-established old family of Pease in Darlington, Elizabeth Pease (later Nichol) was the daughter of Joseph Pease who for nearly twenty-five years was a partner with his elder brother in the family's wool factory before giving up his share in running it to devote all his time to the abolition of slavery and other liberation causes. Having experienced a conventional Quaker upbringing, she was early brought into sympathy with the cause of the oppressed and especially with agitation against the slave trade. Following her invalid mother's death in 1824, she drew close to her father and together they became forceful advocates of social reforms and, in particular, proponents of universal emancipation and of abolition without compensation in the West Indies. She took an exceedingly active share in the anti-slavery campaign of the 1830s, forming close associations with George Thompson, on whose instigation she organized the Darlington Women's Abolition Society. As secretary of that organization, she came into contact and correspondence with all the leading British and American abolitionists, meeting Garrison for the first time in 1833. From 1838 until 1840 she and her father devoted most of their energies to rectifying the mismanagement of taxes and monopolies in India, but her concern to secure abolition in America remained unabated and at the 1840 Anti-Slavery Convention in London she strongly supported the Garrisonian standpoint. Her contact with Scottish Garrisonians

was deepened when in 1847 she visited Edinburgh and made closer acquaintance with the Wighams. After her father's death in 1846 she began to attend a health resort and there in 1852 met professor John Pringle Nichol, professor of astronomy at Glasgow University and a known sympathizer with oppressed peoples in Europe and elsewhere. She married Nichol the following year and went to live at Glasgow Observatory where she continued to take an extremely active interest in American slavery as well as in European movements for freedom, and to entertain celebrities from both these spheres of action. Widowed in 1859, she moved to Edinburgh the following year and by the mid 1860s was President of the ELFS, thereby presumably becoming influential in channelling the activities of that organization into freedmen's aid work. In later years she became a valuable member of the Women's Suffrage Committee organized by Priscilla Bright McLaren and formed official connections with numerous philanthropic and socially conscious Edinburgh Societies, including the Clothing of the Poor Association, the Ladies' Educational Association and the Contagious Diseases Association. In 1876 she took an active interest in Orphan Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the welfare of refugees from there who had crossed into Austria.

Died 3 February, 1897.

OLIPHANT, Laurence

Born 1829, in Capetown.

The son of Sir Anthony Oliphant, attorney-general at the Cape, Oliphant received his early education in England but went to Ceylon with a private tutor when his father was knighted and made Chief Justice of Ceylon in 1839. Instead of going to Cambridge, he accompanied his parents on a continental tour from 1845-48 and was in Italy at the time of the 1848 insurrections. Having been his father's private secretary for a time, he was called to the colonial bar and in 1851 returned to England to study law at Lincoln's Inn. While there,

he took an interest in the labours of Shaftesbury and others on behalf of London's poor. In 1852 he began studies at Edinburgh with the intention of being called to the Scottish bar, but he interrupted these to visit Russia and the Crimea. He accepted in 1854 an appointment offered him by Lord Elgin, Governor-general of Canada, becoming secretary to him during negotiations at Washington on the reciprocity treaty with Canada. He was subsequently appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, but declined offers of an appointment under Elgin's successor and returned to Britain in late 1855. Desperately anxious to be involved at first hand in the Crimean War, he immediately embarked on a visit to the Circassian coasts with the Duke of Newcastle, and eventually joined the force fighting under Omar Pasha. He reported on the expedition to the London Times, and in the summer of 1856 accompanied the paper's editor, Delane, on a trip to America, during which he visited the South. In 1857 he acted as private secretary to Lord Elgin during a visit to China; and he also visited Japan and Hong Kong, where he helped to storm Tientsin during the bombardment of Canton. In 1861 he was appointed as first secretary of the legation in Japan, but after being wounded in an attack on the embassy, returned to Britain and, in 1862, visited Corfu (with the Prince of Wales), Herzegovina and Abruzzi. Retiring from the diplomatic service, he travelled privately in Schleswig-Holstein during the war in 1863. According to the DNB, "He was now disposed to settle down", and in 1865 was returned as Liberal M.P. for Stirling Burghs. Shortly after the end of the American Civil War he visited the Southern states and on his return used the text of public lectures which he gave to his constituents as the basis for a well received pamphlet which he wrote on post-war social conditions there. Fairly ineffectual in Parliament, he resigned his seat in 1867 after having become very involved with the mystical creed of Thomas Lake Harris, head of a religious community at Brocton in the United States. He came completely under Harris's influence

and it was on his orders that he returned to Britain in 1870 and took up the post of Times' correspondent on the Franco-German war. Throughout the rest of the decade, he was involved in various commercial enterprises supposedly for the benefit of the community. In 1881-82 he broke with Harris and returned to Britain where he became himself a leader of the creed. A few months before his death he married as his second wife the daughter of Robert Owen.

Died 23 December, 1888.

RUSSEL, Alexander

Born 1814, in Edinburgh.

The son of a solicitor, Russel entered a printing establishment immediately on leaving school. He became early acquainted with John Johnstone, the then editor of the Inverness Courier, and with his wife who edited Tait's Magazine and was introduced into literary work by them, beginning to make himself known in these early days by writing for Tait's Magazine. Through association with that periodical he gained a thorough knowledge, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of Liberal politics, and although always cultivating a marked independence of view, he soon became wholeheartedly committed to Whig principles and a stout defender of them. In 1839 he was appointed editor of the Berwick Advertiser (a post which afforded him enough spare time to study the works of standard English authors), and three years later he assumed the editorship of the Fife Herald. Entering with enthusiasm into the extremely keen political spirit and strong party affiliations which existed in Fife, he began to bring very considerable influence to bear on the local political climate by engaging the columns of the Whig Herald in a fierce and vigorous weekly battle with the Tory Fife Journal. In 1844 he became editor of the Newly established Kilmarnock Chronicle and during his time in that post, complied with requests from Edinburgh's radical city treasurer, Duncan McLaren,

to write leaders supporting the Anti-Corn Law League and attacking the Protectionists, a brief collaboration which eventually led to a bitter quarrel and the commencement of a deep, lifelong feud between the two men. Prior to his move to the Chronicle, however, his editorials in the Fife Herald had attracted the attention of the Scotsman's editor, Charles Maclaren, and in 1845 he was appointed sub-editor and occasional reporter on the Edinburgh paper. By the end of that year, he had in practice assumed most of the duties of editor from the ageing Maclaren, and in 1849 he took over that office when Maclaren formally retired. For the following twenty-seven years he retained dominant sway over the paper, sometimes writing as many as three articles a day for it, imbuing it with solidly Whig principles and viewpoints (although still maintaining a substantial degree of independence from the strict party line), and becoming totally and widely identified with it. Thus the staunchly pro-Southern sentiment of the paper during the American Civil War and its attitude towards every aspect of the post-war situation admirably reflected his own personal hatred and mistrust of American democracy and his anxiety to prevent the over-democratization of British political institutions. A tireless worker in the cause of "moderate Liberalism", he was constantly active in finding and encouraging able men of that persuasion to stand as parliamentary candidates. Not attached by conviction to any religious denomination, he was brought up a United Presbyterian but died connected to the Church of Scotland, having established close friendships with many of its clergy and having formed a respect for its general liberality of outlook.

Died 18 July, 1876.

SMEAL, William

Born 1793, in Leith.

The son of William Smeal, sen. who in 1802 established himself as a tea merchant in Glasgow, Smeal joined his father's business and remained in that

line of commerce and in the city of Glasgow throughout his life. Although he did not have a birth-right in the Society of Friends he applied for membership fairly early in life after serious deliberation and subsequently became a pillar of the small Quaker community in Scotland, achieving national renown, for instance, as the joint editor (along with his younger brother Robert) from the early 1840s until 1861 of the British Friend (the journal came under Robert's personal management from 1861 until his death in 1886). Within the Glasgow circle of Friends, he was clerk to the Preparative Meeting, to the General Meeting, and to the Two-Months Meeting for more than fifty years. Over a similarly lengthy span of time he was closely identified with a multitude of public movements of a benevolent, philanthropic and reforming character in the city. In that connection, he first formed links with the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, in which organization he became actively interested from 1815: but his most fervent, enduring and publicly recognized association was with the abolitionist movement. One of the founders in 1822 of the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society, he assumed a leading part eleven years later in establishing its successor, the Glasgow Emancipation Society. He remained secretary of the GES from its inception until his death, and throughout these forty-four years was one of its most active and prominent spirits, being largely responsible for making it at the height of the British abolitionist campaign one of the country's most significant and influential emancipation associations and one staunchly committed (after the split of 1841) to Garrison's policies and approach. He was in the forefront of those who welcomed Garrison on the latter's visit to Glasgow in 1867, and was publicly thanked by the American for his untiring efforts on behalf of emancipation. During the American Civil War he was a member of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society and assiduously advocated the maintenance of amicable relations between Britain and the Federal states: and from 1864 until its demise some

four years later he was secretary and treasurer - and unquestionably the most conscientious committee member - of the GFAS. Contemporaneously, he was successfully turning the attention of the GES to those parts of the world where slavery still existed; and his last public effort in the anti-slavery cause was the organization in early 1876 of a citizens' meeting to register a protest against and urge the withdrawal of the British government's Fugitive Slave Circular. In addition to his fifty-five years' official connection with the abolitionist cause, he was also closely involved with (amongst other causes) the temperance movement, the campaign to secure national education, the moves to establish a free press, the Anti-Corn Law League agitations, the movement to liberate the Church from State control, the campaign for the abolition of capital punishment, and the Peace movement. As a Quaker, he was particularly deeply attached to the latter cause and was for thirty years secretary and treasurer of Glasgow's Peace Committee, during which time he did much to enlist the support of influential local citizens in advocating peace and arbitration as opposed to war. He played a leading role in the Peace Party's efforts to keep Britain out of the Crimean War. Greatly interested in domestic politics, he was a staunch Liberal throughout his life and enthusiastically aided and supported all local meetings promoting Liberal principles and reforms. He was a member of Glasgow Reform Union and of the Scottish National Reform League, and took an active part in municipal politics as chairman for many years of the Third Ward committee and as the holder of other offices.

Died 18 August, 1877.

SOMERS, Robert

Born 14 September, 1822, in Newton-Stewart.

Early in life, Somers acquired considerable standing and fame as a lecturer on social and political questions. In 1844 he attracted attention

with a pamphlet on "Scottish Poor Laws" which contained criticism of the Poor Law Amendment Act then passing through Parliament. Following its publication, he accepted an offer to become editor of the Scottish Herald, at that time just starting as a newspaper in Edinburgh. Its management was soon afterwards amalgamated with that of the Witness, edited by the prominent Free Churchman Hugh Miller, whose colleague and assistant Somers became. In 1847 he joined the staff of the North British Daily Mail; and in the autumn of that year visited the Highlands as the paper's commissioner to inquire into the distress caused by the potato famine of 1846. The results of his inquiry were published in Letters from the Highlands (1848). From 1849 until 1859 he was editor of the North British Daily Mail; and for the following eleven years edited Glasgow's Morning Journal. He increasingly devoted attention to the study of monetary and commercial affairs and became a recognized authority in that sphere, occasionally publishing pamphlets dealing with banking, educational and labour questions. From the autumn of 1870 through the spring of 1871 he travelled extensively through the Southern states of America investigating the effect on the local economy of the Civil War and the ensuing political and social changes. Over the months, he furnished for the Glasgow Herald a series of remarkably comprehensive and carefully considered reports on his findings. The articles were subsequently published as The Southern States of America 1870-71

Died 7 July, 1891.

STODDARD, Arthur Francis

Born 1810, in Massachusetts.

Born into a wealthy and well connected American family, Stoddard was sent as a young man to London to be a partner in one of the family businesses centred on the importation of dry good into the United States. At the age of fifty he retired and went to live at Broadfield, a house near Port Glasgow.

His fervent opposition to slavery decided him against returning permanently to America, and he became a naturalised British subject. In 1862, being probably bored in retirement, he bought a recently closed textile mill at Elderslie. Although possessing no previous knowledge of that line of business, he soon expanded the original works and work-force, and with his business experience, wealth and connections, succeeded in building up a flourishing carpet factory. Within five years, three-quarters of the company's total production of carpets was being sold in the United States; and sales were successfully extended into Europe when American tariffs rose. Following the outbreak of the American Civil War he frequently spoke in support of the Federal cause at public meetings in Glasgow and the surrounding district, and occasionally wrote to the local press bitterly and vehemently chastising the British people for their hostile or, at best, lukewarm attitude towards the Northern states. He entertained Garrison at Port Glasgow during the abolitionist's Scottish visit; and in 1868, he was appointed convener of the Glasgow fund for the education and evangelization of the freedmen and himself contributed to it. General Sherman was his guest in 1872. Extremely outspoken and impatient, he was an autocrat who generally struck fear into his employees and made enemies easily. He also had a strong sense of social justice, however, and was interested in contemporary social problems and in providing, by philanthropic effort, practical relief for them.

WEDDERBURN, Sir David, Bart.

Born 20 December, 1835, in Bombay.

The son of John Wedderburn of the Bombay Civil Service (1806-36) and from 1858 owner of the family estate at Balindean, Perthshire, Wedderburn was brought to Scotland on the family's return there in 1837. From 1844 till 1847 he travelled with the family on the continent, and along with his brother, stayed on to be educated at a school near Bern. Returning to Britain on the

outbreak of the 1848 revolutions, he attended a school run on continental lines in Worksop and from there went on to distinguish himself academically at Loretto House, Musselburgh. He entered Edinburgh University in 1851 and Trinity College, Cambridge in 1854, where he gained a scholarship three years later but did not compete for a Fellowship. Following degrees in mathematics and natural science in 1858, he studied law at Edinburgh University; and after a period reading Roman Law at Heidelberg, was called to the Scottish bar in late 1861. Never really content as a lawyer, however, he became increasingly devoted to politics and political discussion, expressing strong views on contemporary questions. His law activities were constantly interrupted for the purpose of making lengthy trips abroad; and between 1863 and the summer of 1866 he went to Scandinavia, Spain, Egypt, India and Ireland. From August to December, 1866 he visited the United States, recording his impressions and opinions of the country at that time in his journals. On his return, he lectured extensively in Scotland and England on the tour, and his Edinburgh lectures helped earn him public attention. In the autumn of 1868, Russel of the Scotsman asked him to stand as Liberal candidate for the new constituency of South Ayrshire and he was returned with a small majority. In Parliament till 1873, he decided not to contest the Ayrshire seat again; but in 1879 he was returned as Liberal M.P. for Haddington Burghs and retained that seat until forced to resign through ill health in 1882. From 1869 onwards he continued to journey extensively in all parts of the world, and in 1877, briefly re-visited the United States on his way back from a trip through India, Java, China and Japan. He was the 3rd baronet Wedderburn.

Died 18 September, 1882.

WIGHAM, Eliza

Born 23 February, 1820, in Edinburgh.

The daughter of John Wigham who had left the old home of the Wigham

family in Northumberland to join a cousin who had earlier commenced business as a shawl manufacturer in Edinburgh, Eliza Wigham was born into a devoutly Quaker household and soon came to display the deep concern which all the members of her family took in the social, political and philanthropic movements of the time. Her father's cousin, John Wigham, jun., maintained an exceedingly keen interest in contemporary politics and in social reform, and at his house she and her brothers and sisters met numerous eminent reformers and philanthropists. In 1833 her father's second wife, William Smeal's sister Jane, became secretary of the newly inaugurated ELES, and throughout the mid century she worked in close co-operation with her stepmother in vigorously campaigning for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies and in America. As virtually the two leading spirits within the ELES during the most active and important phase of its existence, they were largely responsible for making it, after the contentious 1840 Convention, one of the most fervently Garrisonian organizations in Britain. By the mid 1840s Jane Smeal Wigham had become President of the Society and Eliza herself was secretary, an office which she continued to hold (jointly in the later years) until the Society's demise in 1867. Capable of considerable bitterness against those whose actions she strongly deplored, she assumed in 1846 a prominent role in vehemently castigating the Free Church for accepting funds from Southern slaveholders. In 1863 she had published The Anti-Slavery Cause and its Martyrs, a fairly lengthy panegyric on abolitionists (and especially Garrisonian abolitionists) which forthrightly insisted that it had not been anti-slavery sentiment which had initially impelled the Northern states to fight in the Civil War. After the war, as joint secretary and one of the most senior members of the ELES, she was almost certainly the principal figure in committing the Society to advocating the cause of freedmen's aid, becoming personally involved in collecting public contributions and arranging public meetings. Over the

years, she also maintained active participation in numerous other humanitarian and social reform movements, including temperance (she eventually became a Vice-President in the Scottish Women's Christian Temperance Union), workhouse management, the running of a home for neglected and destitute young girls, women's suffrage (she was the first secretary of the Edinburgh Society), the admittance of women to the medical profession, and the Peace movement. Following the Franco-German war she organized working parties to send clothing to the poor in badly hit areas and did similar work for the victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She remained throughout her life a staunch adherent to the principles and practice of the Society of Friends and was recorded as one of its ministers in 1867. In 1898, she went to live in Dublin (her sister Mary had in 1840 married Joshua Edmundson of Dublin and her brothers John and Henry had also subsequently settled there), and prior to her departure a number of leading Edinburgh personalities met to present her with an Address regretting her going and recognizing her lifelong dedication as a campaigner for worthy causes.

Died 3 November, 1899.

APPENDIX II (a)

The social and occupational background of the contributors to the Aberdeen appeal for the freedmen's aid fund*

* Appeal launched at a public meeting held in the Belmont Congregational Church, Aberdeen, on 29 September, 1865.

First Subscription List (published in the Aberdeen Free Press, 13 October, 1865

	£	s.	d.
Adam, J.B. - ship and insurance broker	0:	10:	6
Adamson, Henry - ship and insurance broker	1:	1:	0
Adamson, William - probably of Adamson & Horne, sharebrokers and agents for Edinburgh Life Assurance Co.	5:	0:	0
Aiken, David - of Neil Smith & Co., merchants	0:	5:	0
Blaikie, John - probably of either J. Blaikie & Sons, plumbers, brass-founders, coppersmiths, or Blaikie Brothers, ironfounders, engineers, millwrights, blacksmiths	1:	1:	0
Brand, A.- account and assurance agent	1:	1:	6
Burgess, James - occupation unlisted	2:	2:	0
Cochran, F.J. - of Smith & Cochran, advocates	3:	3:	0
Cook, John - ship and insurance broker	0:	10:	0
Edmond, Francis - advocate	5:	0:	0
Friends	1:	1:	0
Hall, James - of A. Hall & Co., shipbuilders	1:	1:	0
Hall, William - ditto	1:	1:	0
Henderson, William - probably of W. Henderson & Sons, architects and builders	5:	0:	0
Horne, R.B. - of Adamson & Horne, q.v.	1:	1:	0
McCombie, James Boyn - of Murray & McCombie, advocates	1:	1:	0
Murray, Andrew - ditto	0:	10:	6
Nicol, Alexander - ship and insurance broker	3:	3:	0
Pirie, Alexander - of Alexander Pirie & Sons, paper manufacturers and wholesale stationers	1:	1:	0

	£	s.	d.
Rennie, John T. - ship insurance and share agent	1:	1:	0
Rose & Co. - possibly Rose, Donaldson & Co., shipowners and timber merchants	3:	0:	0
Sheed, John - wine, spirit, and liquer merchant, plate glass factor and general commission merchant	0:	10:	6
Smith, Neil, jun. - of Neil Smith, jun. & Co., merchants	2:	0:	0
Thompson, George, jun. - of George Thompson, jun. & Co., merchants and shipowners, insurance brokers	10:	0:	0
Wood, Joseph - ship, share and insurance broker and commission merchant	0:	10:	6

Second Subscription List (published in the Aberdeen Free Press, 30 March, 1866)

	£	s.	d.
Aberdeen Free Press office	0:	10:	6
Aberdeen Herald office	0:	10:	6
Abernethy, James - of James Abernethy & Co., iron founders, engineers, millwrights, blacksmiths	0:	10:	6
Aid	0:	10:	0
Banff, etc., in all	36:	17:	3
Brown, Charles - of Sclattie, Aberdeenshire	1:	0:	0
Chalmers, D. & Co. - printers and publishers, Aberdeen Journal	1:	1:	0
Chivas, Alexander - advocate and agent for the National Bank of Scotland	1:	1:	0
Cruickshank, Anthony - farmer (and member of a prominent Quaker family), Sittyton, Aberdeenshire	1:	1:	0
Davidson, Alexander - unidentifiable	0:	10:	0
Dewar, Rev. Dr. Daniel - lately Principal of Marischal College	5:	0:	0
Fiddes, Edward - of the North of Scotland Bank	0:	10:	0
Flinder and Old Town, Kennethmont (friends at)	3:	0:	0
Fraser, Baillie - of Thomas Fraser & Sons, bootmakers	1:	1:	0
Fraserburgh Congregational Church	3:	18:	0

	£	s.	d.
Friend in the country - per Anthony Cruickshank	1:	0:	0
Garden, James - of Murray & Garden, advocates	0:	10:	6
Gibb, A. - of J. & A. Gibb, wholesale warehousemen	1:	0:	0
Gibb, Ebenezer - of New Byth, Aberdeenshire	1:	0:	0
Glover, James L. - of Glover Brothers, ship insurance brokers	0:	10:	6
Gordon, Mrs. Maxwell	1:	0:	0
Grant, D.R. Lyall - of Brebner & Grant, merchants	2:	2:	0
Henderson, W. & Sons - architects and builders	0:	10:	0
Horn, James - of Pitmedden, Aberdeenshire	1:	0:	0
Hunter, Mrs. - of Albyn Place; wife of William Hunter, advocate	1:	0:	0
Jackson, H. - medical doctor, surgeon	0:	10:	6
Jamieson & Mitchell - wholesale tea, coffee, and wine merchants	1:	0:	0
Keith, John - of Pratt & Keith, warehousemen and manufacturers	1:	1:	0
King, George - retired shipmaster	1:	1:	0
Leslie William - architect	2:	2:	0
Littlejohn, W. - cashier, Aberdeen Town and County Bank	1:	0:	0
McCombie, William - editor, Aberdeen Free Press	0:	10:	0
Macduff (additional)	0:	2:	6
McGregor, John - probably dyer	1:	0:	0
McRobie, Mrs.	1:	0:	0
Marquis, George - accountant	0:	10:	6
Matthews, James - architect	0:	10:	0
Miller, Rev. J.D. - minister	0:	10:	0
Peterhead	13:	3:	0
Public meeting - collection at	2:	15:	0
Rettie, M. & Sons - silversmiths, jewellers, lamp manufacturers, "purveyors of oil to her Majesty"	0:	10:	0
Rose, George - either turner or flesher	0:	10:	0

	£	s.	d.
Sangster, R., sen. - flesher	0:	10:	6
Sinclair, James A. - accountant and agent for the Bank of Scotland	0:	10:	6
Spottiswood, R.S.F. - of Yeats & Spottiswood, advocates	1:	1:	0
Stronach, A. - of Stronach & Duguid, advocates	0:	10:	0
Urquhart, J. - of J. & R. Urquhart, wholesale tea and coffee dealers	0:	10:	0
Urquhart, Robert - ditto.	1:	0:	0
Walker, John - clerk at Rettie & Sons, q.v.	0:	10:	6
Weekly News office	0:	10:	6
White, John F. - grain and flour merchant	1:	1:	0
Williamson, William - dental surgeon	0:	10:	0
Yeats, William - of Yeats & Spottiswood, q.v.	1:	0:	0

Forty-six sums under ten shillings	10:	3:	6

APPENDIX II (b1)

The social and occupational background of the contributors to the Dundee appeal for the freedmen's aid fund*

* Appeal launched at a public meeting held in Ward Chapel, Dundee, on 26 September, 1865.

First Subscription List (published in the Dundee Advertiser, 20 October, 1865)

	£	s.	d.	
Adam, John - librarian	1:	0:	0	
Adie, Andrew - of Andrew & James Adie, spinners and manufacturers	5:	0:	0	
Adie, James - ditto	5:	0:	0	
Anderson, Mrs. R. - mangle-keeper	0:	10:	0	
Anderson, Patrick - of F. Mólison & Co., merchants	11:	1:	0	c
Anderson, Robert - either agent or flour-miller	1:	0:	0	
Baxter, Edward - of Edward Baxter & Son, merchants (father of W.E. Baxter)	43:	3:	0	c
Baxter, W.E. - ditto	11:	1:	0	c
Brough, Thomas - manufacturer of sailcloth, tarpauline, etc.	5:	0:	0	
Brown, Andrew - of Andrew Brown & Co., spinners and manufacturers	5:	0:	0	
Buist, A.J. - flaxspinner	2:	0:	0	
Caird, Edward - merchant and manufacturer	6:	0:	0	c
Cox Brothers - flax and jute spinners and powerloom manufacturers	21:	0:	0	c
Cunningham, James - of Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co., spinners and manufacturers	11:	0:	0	c
Ewan, John - spinner and manufacturer	5:	0:	0	
Fergusson, H.B. - of William Fergusson & Sons, powerloom linen manufacturers	11:	1:	0	c
Friend, a	10:	0:	0	
Gellatly, W. - merchant	1:	0:	0	
Gibb, Alexander - merchant	1:	0:	0	
Gordon, John & Co. - merchants	10:	0:	0	

	£	s.	d.	
Grimond, A.D. - of J. & A.D. Grimond, flaxspinners and manufacturers	25:	5:	0	c
Grimond, Joseph - ditto	5:	0:	0	
Guthrie, Alexander - of James & Alexander Guthrie, flaxspinners	5:	0:	0	
Guthrie, James - ditto	5:	0:	0	
Henderson, Alexander - of Watson & Henderson, silk mercers	21:	1:	0	c
Henderson, Frank - of H. Henderson & Sons, tanners curriers, leather merchants	2:	2:	0	c
Henderson, Henry - ditto	1:	1:	0	
Henderson, James - ditto	1:	1:	0	
Henderson, John & Son - spinners and manufacturers	10:	0:	0	
J.K.C.	1:	1:	0	
Keiller, George C. - merchant	1:	10:	0	c
Kinmond, Luke & Co. - spinners and powerloom linen manufacturers	10:	0:	0	
Low, Alexander - of Alexander Low & Son, merchants and manufacturers	6:	0:	0	c
Martin, David - of David Martin & Co., agents for Thomas Kelly & Co., publishers	5:	0:	0	
Moir, John & Son - powerloom linen manufacturers	2:	0:	0	
Moncur, A. & Son - manufacturers	15:	0:	0	
Morison, W.R. - of W.R. Morison & Co., merchants and manufacturers	6:	1:	0	c
Mudie, R.A. - coal merchant and ship owner	1:	1:	0	
Ogilvie, David - of Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co., q.v.	16:	0:	0	c
Power Loom Weavers at Gilroy's	6:	17:	9	
Ramsay, James - of James Ramsay & Co., flaxspinners	5:	0:	0	
Ree, H.P. & Co. - merchant and manufacturer	10:	0:	0	
Rough, George - merchant	5:	0:	0	c
Scott, Mrs. Capt. P.	10:	0:	0	
Scott, Patrick - of Scott & Bell, merchants	3:	0:	0	

	£	s.	d.	
Sharp, John - flaxspinner	20:	0:	0	
Smith, Henry - of Henry Smith & Co., and Smith Mitchell, & Co., merchants and manufacturers	10:	0:	0	
Tayport Baptist Church	1:	0:	0	
Watson, Patrick - of Watson & Henderson, q.v.	20:	5:	0	c
Weavers and spinners at Bank Mill	1:	2:	1	
Workers at Ramsay Works	1:	17:	0	
Workers at Wallace Works (calenderers)	2:	5:	6	
Wybrants Brothers - spinners and manufacturers	5:	0:	0	

Second Subscription List (published in the Dundee Advertiser, 27 October, 1865)

	£	s.	d.	
Berrie, Alexander - flaxspinner	11:	1:	0	c
Christie, James - medical doctor	1:	0:	0	
Friend, a	1:	0:	0	
Henderson, John - either agent, National Bank, or of John Henderson & Co., tea merchants	1:	1:	0	
Keiller, Alexander - of James Keiller & Son, confectioners	5:	0:	0	
Keiller, William - ditto	2:	0:	0	
Mills, James - either of J. & A. Mills, manufacturers, or shipmaster	8:	1:	0	c
Shepherd, Mrs. Sarah - oil merchant	2:	2:	0	
Workers at Verdant Works	3:	10:	0	
Workers at Wallace Works	6:	0:	6	

Third Subscription List (published in the Dundee Advertiser, 7 November, 1865)

	£	s.	d.
Bruce, David, jun. - either merchant or agent	0:	10:	0
Carmichael, James & Co. - engineers, millwrights	10:	0:	0
Constitution Road Chapel - collection at	15:	5:	1

	£	s.	d.
Cooper, W.W. - clothier	2:	2:	0
Durham, John - of John Durham & Son, wholesale stationers, printers, and paper bag manufacturers	2:	2:	0
Easson, Alexander - merchant	2:	0:	0
Friend, a	3:	3:	0
Henderson, James, jun. - accountant and sharebroker	0:	10:	0
Henderson, K.W. - agent, Commercial Bank	0:	10:	0
Low, James - of James Low & Co., drapers	0:	10:	0
McWalter, Alexander - shawl merchant and silk mercer	2:	2:	0
Martin, William, jun. - calenderer and insurance agent	3:	0:	0
Smith, Mrs. Henry, sen. - wife of Henry Smith, q.v.	2:	0:	0
Spence, James - of James Spence & Co., drapers and general warehousemen	2:	2:	0
Tay Square Church - balance of amount collected for clothing	4:	0:	1
Workers at Taybank Works	0:	14:	8½

Sums under ten shillings	4:	1:	9

NOTE Figures followed by the letter "c" represent in each instance the combined amount of the two separate donations by the contributor.

APPENDIX II (b2)

The social and occupational background of the contributors to the Dundee appeal for the freedmen's aid fund*

* Appeal specifically for help with the "education and evangelization" of the American freedmen launched at a public meeting held in Ward Chapel, Dundee, on 6 January, 1868.

Subscription List (published in the Dundee Advertiser, 25 February, 1868)

	£	s.	d.	
Adie, Andrew - of Andrew & James Adie, spinners and manufacturers	1:	1:	0	+
Anderson, Alexander - merchant	2:	0:	0	
Armistead, George - of George Armistead & Co., merchants	10:	0:	0	
Baxter, Edward - of Edward Baxter & Son, merchant	10:	0:	0	+
Begg, Arthur - of Arthur Begg & Son, tailors and clothiers	1:	0:	0	
Bell, J.H. - of J.H. & A. Bell, merchants	1:	1:	0	
Buchan, David - baker	2:	0:	0	
Buist, A.J. - flaxspinner	1:	0:	0	+
Cox, George - of Cox Brothers, flax and jute spinners and powerloom manufacturers	1:	1:	0	+
Cox, James - ditto	2:	0:	0	+
Cox, William - ditto	1:	0:	0	+
Cunningham, James - of Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co., spinners and manufacturers	1:	1:	0	+
Fergusson, H.B. - of William Fergusson & Sons, powerloom linen manufacturers	1:	0:	0	+
Gibson, Charles P. - resident secretary, Scottish Widows' Fund Life Assurance Society	1:	0:	0	
Gibson, William - either of G. Farquharson & Co., spinners and manufacturers, or flax inspector	1:	0:	0	
Grimond, A.D. - of J. & A.D. Grimond, flaxspinners and manufacturers	5:	0:	0	+
Grimond, Joseph - ditto	5:	0:	0	+
Henderson, Alexander - of Watson & Henderson, silk mercers	5:	0:	0	+
Henderson, John - of John Henderson & Son, spinners and manufacturers	0:	10:	0	+

	£	s.	d.	
Howat, Edward - merchant	1:	1:	0	
Jobson, Mrs. and Misses	2:	0:	0	
Maxwell, Charles C. - of James Keiller & Son, confectioners	0:	10:	6	
Miln, T. Weston - retired merchant	2:	0:	0	
Ogilvie, David - of Malcolm, Ogilvie & Co., q.v.	1:	1:	0	+
Pirie, George C. - medical doctor	1:	0:	0	
Ritchie, William - of Ritchie & Simpson, merchants and manufacturers	1:	0:	0	
Robertson, D. - of D. Robertson & Co., manufacturers	1:	0:	0	
Robertson, John Earl - of James Spence & Co., drapers	1:	0:	0	
Rough, George - merchant	3:	0:	0	+
Ryley, William - collector of Inland Revenue	1:	0:	0	
Simpson, George B. - of Ritchie & Simpson, q.v.	1:	0:	0	
Smith, Henry - of Henry Smith & Co., and Smith, Mitchell, & Co., merchants and manufacturers	1:	0:	0	+
Smith, James - ditto	1:	0:	0	
Smith, Thomas - ditto	1:	0:	0	
Stephen, George - ironmonger	1:	0:	0	
Three Friends	0:	10:	0	
Urquhart, David - of William Urquhart & Sons, nurserymen	1:	0:	0	
Ward Chapel - collection at	6:	5:	7	
Watson, Patrick - of Watson & Henderson, q.v.	10:	0:	0	+

NOTE In each instance, a cross indicates that the contributor also gave financial support to the Dundee freedmen's aid appeal of 1865.

APPENDIX II (c)

The social and occupational background of the contributors to the Edinburgh appeal for the freedmen's aid fund*

* Appeal launched at a public meeting held in the Freemason's Hall, Edinburgh, on 5 December, 1865.

First Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 14 December, 1865)

	£	s.	d.	
Armour, Harry - printer (printed the Annual Report for Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society)	1:	0:	0	
Arnot, Rev. William - minister at Free High Church, Edinburgh	1:	1:	0	
Blyth, Benjamin - of B. & E. Blyth, civil engineers	250:	0:	0	c
Blyth, Edward - ditto	100:	0:	0	
Bryce, Dr. - either A.H., LL.D., or Rev. Dr. James	1:	0:	0	
Carmichael, Miss	0:	10:	0	
Chambers, William - of W. & R. Chambers, publishers	10:	0:	0	
Cruickshank, Edward - occupation unlisted	1:	1:	0	
Cullen, Rev. G.D. - lately minister at Constitution Street Congregational church, Leith	5:	0:	0	
Douglas, Francis Brown - advocate	20:	0:	0	
Duncan, William - Solicitor to the Supreme Court; of Duncan & Archibald, solicitors	5:	0:	0	
Falshaw, Bailie - occupation unlisted	5:	0:	0	
Friend, a	1:	0:	0	
Guthrie, Rev. Dr. Thomas - minister at St. John's Free Church, Edinburgh	5:	0:	0	
Horsburgh, John - historical engraver	1:	0:	0	
Hughes, Walter W. - occupation unlisted	20:	0:	0	
King, Miss C.	0:	10:	0	
Mackie, Miss	1:	0:	0	
McLaren, Duncan - Member of Parliament	60:	0:	0	c
Millar, John - "potters to Her Majesty", china and glass warehousemen	10:	0:	0	

	£	s.	d.	
Miller, E.C. - almost certainly Ellen C., daughter of William Miller, q.v.	0:	10:	0	
Miller, John - of Leithem	10:	0:	0	
Miller, William - engraver	1:	0:	0	+
Morrison, Miss - collection by	0:	7:	8	
Nelson, Thomas - of Thomas Nelson & Sons, publishers	25:	0:	0	
Nelson, William - ditto	25:	0:	0	
Nichol, Mrs. J.P. - i.e. Elizabeth Pease Nichol	10:	10:	0	+
Nivory, Mrs. J.R. - teacher, Lancastrian School	1:	0:	0	
Paterson, Maurice - rector, Free Normal School	1:	0:	0	
Raleigh, Samuel - manager, Scottish Widows' Society	20:	0:	0	
Rendall, M.C. - commission and shipping agent	0:	10:	0	
Rose, Hugh - of Craig & Rose, oil merchants and drysalters	20:	0:	0	
Ross, W. - occupation unlisted	1:	0:	0	
Trevelyan, Arthur - J.P.' of Tyneholm, East Lothian	20:	0:	0	c
Walker, Mrs.	1:	0:	0	
Williamson, D.D., jun. - manager, North British Rubber Co., Ltd.	100:	0:	0	

Sums under five shillings	1:	6:	6	

Second Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 23 December, 1865)

	£	s.	d.	
Black, Adam - Member of Parliament	5:	5:	0	
Blaikie, Rev. Walter G. - minister at Pilrig Free Church, Edinburgh	1:	0:	0	
Cowan, Charles - of Alexander Cowan, papermakers, Valleyfield paper mills, Midlothian	10:	0:	0	
Dalkeith Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	12:	0:	0	
Fyfe, Andrew - Solicitor to the Supreme Court, and agent for the National Mercantile Life Assurance and Sun Fire Offices	3:	0:	0	+

	£	s.	d.
J.F. and Friends	1:	0:	0
Johnston, A. Keith - "geographer to the queen"	1:	0:	0
Johnston, Sir W.	1:	0:	0
L.C.	1:	0:	0
Russell, Thomas - wholesale ironmonger	1:	0:	0
Thornybank Mission Sabbath School	1:	0:	0
Trevelyan, Arthur - of Tyneholm (see first subscription list)	10:	0:	0

Third Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 30 December, 1865)

	£	s.	d.
Auld, William - boot and shoe manufacturer	1:	0:	0
Carment, J. - Solicitor to the Supreme Court; of Patrick, McEwen, & Carment, Writers to the Signet	5:	0:	0
C.C. - per Thomas Nelson & Sons	0:	11:	0
Cooper, Thomas - button factors, wholesale warehousemen and manufacturers	1:	0:	0
Cowan, George - of Alexander Cowan, q.v.	1:	0:	0
Cowan, John - of Beeslack, Midlothian (brother of Charles Cowan)	5:	0:	0
Cox, Robert - Writer to the Signet	5:	0:	0
Craigie, Henry - Writer to the Signet	3:	0:	0
Dickson, John - of Knox, Samuel & Dickson, "fringe and gimp manufacturers", hosiers, glovers, smallware merchants	0:	10:	0
Dun, Robert - occupation unlisted	1:	1:	0
Falconar, Miss - of Falconhall, Morningside	3:	0:	0
Friend, a	1:	0:	0
Johnston, Rev. Dr. George - minister at Nicolson Street U.P. church, Edinburgh	1:	0:	0
Knox, Thomas - of Knox, Samuel & Dickson, q.v.	1:	0:	0
Livingston, Josiah - of Livingston & Weir, mercantile agents	2:	2:	0
Livingston, James - ditto	0:	10:	0

	£	s.	d.
Martin, Thomas - chartered accountant	3:	3:	0
Milne, Miss	0:	5:	0
Oliphant, Mrs.	5:	0:	0
Peat, Rear-Admiral	5:	0:	0
Reid, Rev. W. - minister at Lothian Road U.P. church, Edinburgh	1:	0:	0
Steen, John C. - headmaster of the Edinburgh Ladies' Institution	1:	1:	0
Stott, J.H. - leather, gutta percha and rubber merchant, and agent for the County Fire and Provident Life Office	0:	10:	0
Swan, Rev. W. - lately tutor at Glasgow Theological Academy (Congregational)	2:	0:	0
Syme, Mrs. - collection by	2:	6:	0
Tennent, Patrick - Writer to the Signet	5:	0:	0
Wallace, Rev. J. - lately tutor at New College (Free Church) Edinburgh	0:	10:	0
Weir, John - of Livingston & Weir, q.v.	1:	0:	0
White, Misses	1:	0:	0
Young, Archibald - queen's cutler and surgeon's instrument maker to the Royal Infirmary	1:	1:	0

Fourth Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 13 January, 1866)

	£	s.	d.
Alexander, William - occupation unlisted	0:	10:	0
Balfour, Thomas A.G. - medical doctor	0:	10:	0
Brown, Rev. Dr. C.J. - minister at New North Free Church, Edinburgh	1:	0:	0
Brown, Rev. James - collection from his U.P. church - St. James' United Secession, Paisley	18:	8:	7
Campbell, Lady Emma - sister of the Duke of Argyll	1:	1:	0
Davidson, Lieutenant-Colonel	1:	0:	0
Gardner, James - occupation unlisted	1:	0:	0

	£	s.	d.
Hutton, Rev. George C. - collection from his U.P. church - Canal Street Relief, Paisley	13:	4:	6
- collection from his Bible Class	2:	9:	1
McArthur, Rev. Mr. - collection from his Free Church, Irvine	12:	0:	0
Millar, William White - Solicitor to the Supreme Court, and Commissioner for taking affidavits for Supreme Courts in England	0:	10:	0
Muir, Mrs. and Miss	5:	0:	0
Paton, David - of Alloa	120:	0:	0
Paton, J. - ditto	10:	0:	0
Paton, Mrs. J.N. - wife of Joseph Noel Paton, artist (R.S.A.)	0:	10:	0
R., Miss	0:	10:	0
Robertson, Rev. William B. - collection from his U.P. church - Trinity (Burgher), Irvine	5:	16:	6
Stewart, J.E. - medical doctor	1:	1:	0
Thin, J. - bookseller	1:	1:	0
Wright, Miss	1:	0:	0
Wyld, Mrs.	0:	10:	0
Ziegler, William - medical doctor	0:	10:	0

Eleven sums under five shillings	1:	13:	6

Fifth Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 27 January, 1866)

	£	s.	d.
Burn, George & Son - provision merchants	5:	0:	0
Cleghorn, Thomas - advocate, Sheriff of Argyll	5:	0:	0
Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society (Edinburgh)	13:	0:	0
McCrie, William - of William McCrie & Co., paperstainers to the queen	1:	0:	0
Sword, W.B. - wine merchant	1:	0:	0

Three small sums	0:	4:	6

Sixth Subscription List (published in the Scotsman, 17 February, 1866)

	£	s.	d.
Braidwood & Fowler - wholesale and retail tea and coffee dealers and grocers	2:	0:	0
Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society	40:	0:	0
Gillon, Mrs. - wife of William Gillon of Smail, Gillon & Co., wholesale and retail china and glass warehousemen	0:	10:	0
Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society (Edinburgh) - (see fifth subscription list)	0:	5:	1
Young Ladies of Park Place Institute	4:	0:	0

NOTE Figures followed by the letter "c" represent in each instance the combined amount of two separate donations by the contributor.

In each instance, a cross indicates that the contributor had previously given a donation, the amount of which is unknown.

APPENDIX II (d)

The social and occupational background of the contributors to the Glasgow appeal for the freedmen's aid fund*

* Appeal specifically for help with the "education of American freedmen" launched at a public meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on 27 January, 1868.

Subscription List (published in the Glasgow Herald, 28 January, 1868)

	£	s.	d.
Blackie & Sons - publishers	5:	0:	0
Blyth, Edmond - unidentifiable (could be a misprint for Edward Blyth, civil engineer, Edinburgh)	25:	0:	0
Bryce, J.D. - of Playfair, Bryce & Co., merchants	5:	0:	0
Burns, James - probably of James & George Burns, merchants	5:	0:	0
Campbell, J. & W. & Co. - warehousemen	10:	0:	0
Clark & Co. - cotton thread manufacturers, Paisley	21:	0:	0
Coats, J. & P. - cotton thread manufacturers, Paisley	200:	0:	0
Crichton, William - commission agent	5:	0:	0
Crum, Alexander - of Walter Crum & Co., calico printers	10:	0:	0
Gourlie, William & Sons - calico printers	10:	0:	0
Graham, William & Co. - merchants	6:	0:	0
J.H.	5:	0:	0
Lord Provost of Edinburgh - i.e. William Chambers of W. & R. Chambers, publishers	10:	0:	0
McDowall, Mrs.	20:	0:	0
McGavin, John - either of Harvie & McGavin, grain millers, or ticket writer and lithographer	25:	0:	0
Nelson, Thomas - of Thomas Nelson & Sons, publishers, Edinburgh	20:	0:	0
Norris, H.L. - probably Henry Norris, fruiterer	50:	0:	0
Smith, George & Sons - merchants	10:	0:	0
Smith, Misses - of Irvine	200:	0:	0
Stoddard, A.F. - of A.F. Stoddard & Co., carpet manufacturers	20:	0:	0

	£	s.	d.
Watson, James - unidentifiable	5:	0:	0
Young, J.H. - either surgeon-dentist, or of J.H. Young & Co., muslin manufacturers	5:	0:	0

A note on additional contributions

The above subscription list was published daily in the Glasgow Herald from 10 February to 6 March, 1868. On 7 February, 1868, however, there appeared in that paper a list of subscriptions under the heading "The American Missionary Association for the Freedmen". It contained the contributions noted above from Blyth, Coats, Crum, McDowall, Nelson, Morris, Stoddard and Young, but also the following donations not recorded in the list as subsequently published:

	£	s.	d.
Campbell, J.A. - occupation unlisted (a member of the committee appointed to raise contributions from the Glasgow area)	10:	0:	0
Per Blyth, Mrs. B. - wife of the (by then) late Benjamin Blyth, civil engineer, Edinburgh (see first subscription list for Edinburgh appeal)	10:	0:	0
" Nixon, Rev. Dr. William - minister at St. John's Free Church, Montrose	15:	0:	0
" Peddie, Mr. - i.e. the Rev. Dr. James Peddie, minister at Bristo Street U.P. church, Edinburgh, and the man authorized by the Synod to deal with donations to the fund for the freedmen set on foot by the U.P. Church in 1866	124:	0:	0
" Wigham, Miss - i.e. Eliza Wigham, Edinburgh	20:	0:	0

APPENDIX III (a)

The United Presbyterian Church

Congregational contributions in aid of the freedmen of the United States: 1 January to 31 December, 1866

	£	s.	d.
Aberchirder	0	13	0
Airdrie, Wellwynd	4	0	0
Alexandria	2	14	8
Arbroath, Erskine Church	8	18	10
Auchterarder, North	0	5	0
Auchtergaven	2	16	0
Auchtermuchty, West, member of	3	0	0
Ayton, West	4	1	0
Balbeggie	3	18	0
Bannockburn	3	0	0
Bathgate	3	6	6
Bellshill	3	0	0
Bradford	9	0	0
Brechin, High Street	2	16	0
" Maisondieu Lane	5	0	0
Broughty Ferry	6	7	6
Buckhaven	2	13	0
Bucklyvie	2	12	0
Busby	9	0	0
Carlisle, Three Friends	0	6	0
Carnoustie, and Sunday School	1	12	11
Carstairs, Mr., Student Junior Hall	1	1	0
Ceres, West	1	10	0
Chapelknowe	1	15	0
Chirnside	2	6	3
Colinsburgh	1	7	6
Coupar-Angus	4	0	0
Craigdam	4	10	0
Crieff, North	3	10	11
Cupar, Burnside	6	5	0
Dalkeith, East, M.S.D., and congregation	1	0	0
" West	5	0	0
Dalry (Ayrshire)	5	7	3
Dalry (Galloway)	2	5	0
Dumfries, Buccleuch Street	8	0	0
" Queensberry Street	1	12	0
Dunbar, Second	1	13	0
Dunfermline, Queen Anne Street	4	0	4
Duns, East	3	3	7
Dunscore	1	0	0
Edinburgh, Boyd, Mrs. James, per Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson	2	2	0
" Bread Street, Union Church	12	5	0
" Bristo Street	15	0	0
" Broughton Place	23	1	3
" Henderson Church	0	15	0
" Lauriston Place	7	6	10
" Morningside	7	10	0
" Portsburgh	1	2	4

	£	s.	d.
Ellon	1	9	2
Falkirk, Erskine Church	4	4	0
Fenwick (Northumberland)	4	15	0
Ferryport-on-Craig	1	7	5
Ford (Northumberland)	1	19	6
Friend, a	0	10	0
Galston	4	7	2
Gatehouse	1	0	0
Girvan, Sunday School	0	11	2
Glasgow, Blackfriars	1	0	0
" Caledonian Road	5	0	0
" Duke Street	9	16	5
" Erskine Church	21	18	4
" Gorbals, and Minister's Bible Class	2	12	0
" Greyfriars	25	0	0
" Regent Place	14	4	0
" Sydney Place	6	7	0
" Wellington Place	37	1	6
Gorebridge	2	8	0
Grange	2	16	6
Greenlaw	2	8	5
Greenock, George Square	21	0	0
" Nicholson Street	4	0	0
" Union Street	6	15	1
Haddington, East, Sunday School	1	0	0
" Friend's Thankoffering	2	0	0
" West	3	10	0
Hexham (Northumberland)	4	0	0
Holm, Kilmarnock	0	2	6
Holm of Balfron	2	0	0
Horndean (Hants.)	3	16	3
Irvine, Relief	2	10	0
Jedburgh, Blackfriars	7	12	6
Kelso, First	9	15	0
Kilmacolm	1	19	3
Kilmarnock, King Street	9	0	0
Kincaldy, Bethelfield	3	0	0
Kirkcowan	1	3	10
Kirkwall (Orkney)	28	3	8
Kirriemuir, West	2	10	0
Langholm, North	11	17	0
" South	4	2	6
Lasswade	6	5	0
Lauder	4	19	0
Leith, St. Andrew's Place	8	1	6
Lethendy	1	11	0
Leven	1	16	9
Lochmaben	1	5	0
Lynturk	1	15	0
Mauchline	5	3	4
Milngavie	3	2	0
Montrose, Mill Street	2	0	0
Muckhart	1	12	6
Newcastle, Blackett Street	8	3	1
New Deer, and member of	2	13	0

	£	s.	d.
Newlands	1:	5:	0
Newmilns	4:	4:	8
Newton	3:	0:	0
Newton-Stewart	2:	0:	0
Nigg	2:	0:	0
North Shields	5:	15:	9
Paisley, Brown, Mr. John A.	5:	0:	0
" Canal Street	17:	2:	6
" James' Street	18:	8:	7
" Member of Minister's Female Class	1:	5:	0
" Oakshaw Street	6:	6:	4
Penicuik	2:	10:	0
Pitcairn	2:	2:	0
Queensferry	5:	13:	0
Rattray	5:	3:	6
Roberton	3:	13:	6
Rosehearty	2:	16:	10
Saltcoats, East	2:	17:	0
Sanday (Orkney), a Friend of Missions	1:	0:	0
Sandwick (Orkney)	1:	15:	0
Sanquhar, North	3:	0:	0
Scone	3:	0:	0
Shapinsay (Orkney)	1:	11:	7
St. Andrews, Hope Park Church	5:	0:	0
Stewartfield	4:	0:	0
Stewarton	4:	0:	0
Stirling, Viewfield	3:	5:	0
Stow	5:	0:	0
Stranraer, Bellevilla	5:	0:	0
" Ivy Place	3:	1:	4
Stromness (Orkney)	5:	9:	5
Sunderland, Smyrna, Rev. Mr. Parker's Classes	0:	12:	0
Tranent	3:	0:	0
Urr	4:	17:	10
Walker	1:	5:	9
Wamphray	0:	16:	4
Wick	4:	4:	0
Wolverhampton	1:	17:	0
Wooler (Northumberland), First, and Cheviot Street, joint ...	2:	15:	0
Total	692:	3:	11

APPENDIX III (b)

The United Presbyterian Church

Congregational contributions in aid of the freedmen of the United States: 1 January to 31 December, 1867

	£	s.	d.
Archiestown, Rev. W. Sharpe	0:	5:	0
Balfron	3:	13:	8
Bothwell	2:	11:	5
Campsie	6:	5:	3
Eday (Orkney)	1:	6:	0
Edinburgh, Bread Street	5:	0:	0
" Newington	3:	0:	0
" Queen Street	8:	0:	0
" Simpson, Miss	0:	10:	0
Fraserburgh, Sunday School	0:	13:	3
Girvan, Missionary's Sunday School	0:	3:	11
Glasgow, Eglinton Street	8:	0:	0
Gourock	2:	10:	0
Greenloaning	2:	1:	9
Hamilton, Chapel Street	1:	13:	0
Helensburgh	10:	0:	0
Keith	0:	17:	10
Kilmarnock	2:	0:	0
Kinross, West	2:	7:	6
Kirkintilloch, J.M.	1:	0:	0
Lanark, Broomgate	3:	6:	8
Leitholm	1:	2:	2
Milnathort	0:	10:	0
Orkney, St. Margaret's Hope, a young man	0:	10:	0
Paisley, Abbey Close	9:	14:	0
" Canal Street	24:	6:	0
Pollokshaws	4:	15:	6
Sanday (Orkney)	2:	0:	0
Stewartfield, member of	1:	0:	0
Total	109:	2:	11

APPENDIX III (c)

The United Presbyterian Church

Congregational contributions in aid of the freedmen of the United States: 1 January to 31 December, 1868

	£	s.	d.
Baird, James, Glengarnock Iron Works	1:	0:	0
Edinburgh, Infirmary Street	6:	16:	10
" Nicolson Street ,,, ...	8:	18:	11
Gardenstown	0:	10:	0
Howgate	3:	6:	2
Milnathort, Sunday School	0:	10:	0
Sanday	1:	10:	0
Total	22:	11:	11

APPENDIX III (d)

The United Presbyterian Church

Congregational contributions to the Theological Hall Missionary Society's scheme in aid of the freedmen of the United States:

September, 1868 to September, 1869

Presbyteries in the Eastern District

	£	s.	d.
Aberdeen and Buchan	25:	14:	7
Arbroath and Dundee	29:	5:	1
Berwick	35:	11:	8
Cupar	9:	3:	2½
Dunfermline and Kinross	35:	6:	1¼
Edinburgh	140:	7:	0
Elgin and Inverness	15:	16:	2
Kirkcaldy	20:	12:	3½
London	23:	0:	2½
Melrose and Kelso	74:	2:	11½
Orkney	31:	9:	4
Perth	59:	13:	4
Total	500:	1:	11¼

Presbyteries in the Western District

	£	s.	d.
Annandale and Dumfries	37:	16:	11½
Carlisle and Galloway	15:	9:	0
Falkirk	16:	2:	2
Glasgow	378:	16:	0¾
Hamilton	31:	0:	9½
Kilmarnock	103:	1:	0¾
Lanark	32:	7:	5½
Lancashire	69:	17:	5
Paisley and Greenock	159:	16:	1
Stirling	9:	2:	1
Total	853:	9:	1

Total collected from Presbyteries in the Eastern and Western Districts £1,353: 11: 0¼

APPENDIX IV

Examples of Scottish poetry on relevant themes

TO FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Once tortured, slighted, and insulted slave,
Soul-scoured, thought-fettered, and like felon chained,
We bid thee Welcome o'er the Atlantic wave,
Where freeborn man can wander unrestrained,
Where mental worth is honoured, not disdained.
Now, happily, thou bear'st a freeman's name,
The rights of freedom gloriously can claim.
No longer by the scourge of slavery pained,
Thy genius, like a lark new fledged and free,
Cans't mount at will the sky of liberty!
Self-taught, self-cultured, and by self - refined,
Thy mental powers display a polished mind!
Thou to the world giv'st proof what slave may be
If brother man would set his brother free.

by William Millar.

Published in the Caledonian Mercury on 19 August, 1865:
see textual reference in Chapter V, p. 578.

NEGRO FIDELTIY

He stood with his charge, on the fast sinking wreck,
The down trodden Afric, a negro, a slave;
The last stalwart soul on that doomed vessel's deck,
A victim to duty all willing and brave.
Of love an example that seeks not its own -
A meet record in blood, more enduring than stone.

From his warm throbbing boson, his charge he committed -
The children, his Master's fidelity true
Had given him in charge - now that charge he remitted
To the hands of the seamen, then bade them adieu.
Of that love an example that seeks not its own -
As he stood on that deck, fled all hope and alone.

"And carry my master my loving farewell,
With his children I loved even more than my life,
To him of his negro's fidelity tell,
Who has loved unto death, 'mid the wild billow strife.
And may He have you safe in his high holy care,
Who gave all for me - is my earnest heart prayer".

To the gunwale full laden was pushed off the boat,
And the prayer of the negro, recorded above,
Was heard, and the long-boat kept safely afloat,
By Him, who the billow stills, ruling in love -
And the children restored to their father's safe care,
From those seamen, his slave had consigned them in prayer.

And he stood all alone, the dark man, on the deck,
The Afric enslaved, the faithful, the brave -
Till the waters engulfed him along with the wreck,
And he sunk to an honoured - a wide watery grave.
Of that love an example that seeks not its own -
Meet record in blood more enduring than stone.

by "Beta", Findhorn.

Published in the Elgin and Morayshire Courier on 5 April, 1867: see textual reference in Chapter V, p. 607, fn. 2.

THE SONG OF THE FREED WOMAN

The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
With blood and not with gold;
The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
We shall no more be sold.
In the sight of all the nations
We are owned by God this day;
He hath burst their bonds asunder,
He hath cast their cords away.

A slave! - A slave, and yet a favoured child,
I learnt to love my father, ere I knew
He owned me, as he owned his horse, his dog.
I loved you too, my people, ere I knew
When from the cane-brake or the cotton-field
I heard a cry of fainting or ofpain
Among you - what it was that stirred my heart
To passionate pity, made me fly for help
To him for you. I knew not 'twas his blood
That, meeting the dark current of your own,
Raged in my heart, when 'neath the lifted lash
I stood between you and the evil men.
Oppression, by its need of evil means,
Makes and drives on to madness.

When I saw
Your bondage in its bitterness, I thought,
"Ye are too patient". If a son was sold
Who wrought beside you, fathers! in the field,
Took of your toil and added to his own,
Tasting of freedom in the added task
Of slavery - for his loss ye would lament,

And hold a wailing in your huts at night,
Or in the day-time shed your fruitless tears
Into the dust. You, mothers! when a child
Was taken, trembled in your limbs with pain,
But suffered dumbly and were driven away
Like patient cattle parted from their young.
Ye, men and women! lifted not your hands
When they asunder smote whom God had joined.
Then would a fire consume me. Now I know
God gave you patience thus to wait for Him,
And this His great redemption.

The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
With blood and not with gold;
The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
We shall no more be sold.
Let this be your day of wedding,
Women howe'er long wives;
Ye take this day free husbands,
Ye give this day free lives!

And still the fire
Burned in me, stirred by rumours of the war.
Listening, I heard my father and his friends
Heap hated names on him who rose to rule
Simply to serve his God, and as God willed
His nation; but who prayed that God might will
To break all bonds. I listening, daily heard,
With cheeks whose hot blood wavered like the war
Of battles lost and won, and won and lost,
By North and South. But silently I heard -
The two life-currents meeting in my heart
And striving choked me.

Then there came a day
(Your master and my father rode away
To join the surging army of the South)
In which I owned my people and my cause,
And pled with him who own'd me and my love.
And lo! he spurned me, - cursed me and my race
And mutter'd of his favours; and I rose
And said, "My father, I am yet a slave -"
"And shall be, while I live", he said, and went.

And never came again. He fought and fell
In the long battle of the Wilderness,
Where for ten days amid the wooded plain
There raged a storm of mingled blood and fire.
In the woods lay the wounded, and the woods
Refused to shelter, stretching boughs of flame
Above them till the earth in ashes lay,
Mourning her dead and desecrated Spring.

I shared your lot, my people. Up for sale
I stood, half-naked, in the market-place,
Before you, - men and wives and little ones.
Holding the long dark leashes of my hair,
One offered me to whomsoe'er would buy,
I covered then my face, but not for shame -
God's judgements burn up shame - and in that place
I called on Him to hasten to our help.
And no man bought us.

The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
With blood and not with gold;
The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
We shall no more be sold.
Lift up the little children,
Let this their birthday be;
They are yours, the little children,
This day, for they are free.

The end was near:
The crowning victory, and the city's fall,
And freedom, - all the gifts of God in one -
Life, love, free labour, and its happy fruits;
Knowledge, and peace, and plenty, all in one,
All purchased with the awful price of blood -
The blood of him who saved and set us free
Flowing at last. He, like unto his Lord,
And on the day on which his Lord was slain,
Was found with peace and pardon on his lips:
And him God crowned with death, and gave to wear
The purple of His kings.

From the gathering of our ransom
Let us pray the sword may cease,
And every debt be cancelled
In this year of our release.
The Lord hath bought us, O my people!
With blood, and not with gold;
The Lord hath bough us, O my people!
We shall no more be sold.

by Isa Craig.

Published in the Sunday Magazine, June, 1865: see textual reference in Chapter VIII, p. 378.

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