

‘This will not be the first time that the softest hand has proved the strongest’:

The Eastern Division of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the
Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Fate of Scottish Identity, 1876-1914

by Kajsa Louise Swaffer

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Approved: Dr. S. Karly Kehoe
Supervisor

Approved: Dr. Michael E. Vance
Examiner

Approved: Dr. John G. Reid
Examiner

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Abstract

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Scotland’s commitment to the British imperial project after 1707 helped configure ‘Scottishness’ as a decidedly masculine construct, while the methodology developed by historians in the study of Scottish migrant identity since then promotes a male-centric source base. This undermines how Scottish migrant women associated with their Scottish cultural, ethnic and national identities. Through detailed analysis of the composition, operations and rhetoric of the Eastern Division of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada during the society’s lifespan, 1876 to 1914, this thesis investigates the underexplored potential of civic institutions in developing a more nuanced understanding of Scottish identity during Britain’s ‘victorious century’. It also demonstrates how decisions to engage with certain local, national and global issues during the post-Confederation period contributed to the gradual disintegration of the society’s distinctively Scottish identity in favour of increasing identification with Canada before the First World War.

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Introduction

Though historical migration figures are notoriously difficult to estimate, scholars have suggested that no fewer than 3 million people have left the shores of Scotland in the period 1820 to 1970.¹ By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Scotland's outflow formed but one strand of the approximately 60 million people who left Europe in an era of unprecedented global mobility.² A distinguishing factor of Scottish migration in a context of late modern European emigration, however, is its inseparability from British imperialism. The Acts of Union of 1707 had enabled Scottish participation in the empire project, thus making it a British endeavour as opposed to an English one, and the empire rapidly became the primary impetus and vehicle for global Scottish migration.³ This is most clearly reflected in the destination of Scottish emigrants, who played a central role in the creation of today's Anglosphere.⁴ Out of the more than 2 million who emigrated from Scotland between 1825 and 1938, 44 per cent went to the United States, 28 per cent to Canada and 25 per cent to Australasia.⁵ As Scots settled in these locales they transplanted

¹ Baines estimates emigration between 1825-1914 at 2 million. Harper estimates 1.25 million left after 1914. Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 59-61; Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003), 3. For emigration figures after 1945 see the author's own calculations in Kajsa L. Swaffer, 'The Politics of Population: Understanding Scottish Emigration in a Post-War, Post-Imperial Context, 1947-1979', *History Scotland* (July/August 2019), 28-37.

² Marjory Harper, *Scotland No More?: The Scots Who Left Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012).

³ Tanja Bueltmann and Graeme Morton, 'Partners in Empire: the Scottish Diaspora since 1707', in Donald MacRaild, Tanja Bueltmann, and J. C. D. Clark (eds.), *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 209-43.

⁴ Eric Richards employed 'Anglosphere' to denote the creation, through British imperialism and migration, of a culturally and linguistically affiliated group of nations which included 'America as well as the British world', in Eric Richards, 'British Emigrants and the Making of the Anglosphere: Some Observations and a Case Study', in Philip Payton and Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 13-43.

⁵ M. Flinn (ed.) *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 441-2; Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, 1-3.

Scottish culture accordingly, creating a Scottish population which, rather than being defined by national borders, was now global. Scottish national, cultural and ethnic identity thus began to be shaped by diverse environments and circumstances, yet was held together by a concept of common origin. This phenomenon is today recognized as the Scottish diaspora.

Receiving an estimated 800,000 Scottish immigrants between 1815 and 1950 and frequently constituting more than 30 per cent of the total Scottish outflow, Scottish diaspora historian Graeme Morton has suggested that ‘The great attraction of Canada as a destination for emigrant Scots suggests the most sustained and homogenous sense of identity will be found there’.⁶ With its geographic proximity to Scotland, the Canadian Maritimes, particularly Nova Scotia, have experienced the most sustained Scottish settlement in Canada and are home to some of the oldest Scottish communities outwith the European continent.⁷

Scholarly work has shown that émigré identity in Nova Scotia, as elsewhere in the diaspora, is a complex product of the fusion of invented myths, real personal experience, and historiographical trends. The pronounced gender bias which currently permeates Scottish diaspora studies is an example of where this conflation of history and historiography has gone awry. In short, Scotland’s commitment to the British imperial project after 1707 helped configure ‘Scottishness’ as a decidedly masculine construct, and

⁶ This represents a combined figure. For 1815-1850 see N. H. Carrier and J. R. Jeffrey, *External Migration: A Study of the Available Statistics, 1815-1850* (London, 1953), table D/F/G, 95-6; For 1850-1950 see Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, 64 (table 3.4); Graeme Morton, ‘Ethnic Identity in the Civic World or Scottish Associational Culture’, in Bueltmann, Hinson, and Morton (eds.), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: University of Guelph, 2009), 41.

⁷ Though Prince Edward Island was a popular destination for Scots, continuous settlement was prevented by the island’s small size. For early narrative on Scottish emigration to the Maritimes, see John Reid and Emerson Baker, *Essays on Northeastern North America, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

the methodology developed by historians in the study of Scottish migrant identity since then promotes a male-centric source base. This undermines how the female proportion of the Scottish diasporic community associated with its Scottish cultural, ethnic and national identity. Responding to gender imbalance within the field of Scottish diaspora studies, this thesis explores the intersection of Presbyterianism, British imperialism and gender in order to question how Scottish emigrant women identified with their Scottishness. More specifically, through detailed analysis of the composition, operations and rhetoric of the Eastern Division of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (WFMS) during the society's lifespan, 1876 to 1914, this thesis questions the authority of ethnic societies in the study of Scottish migrant identity – associations established by groups of elite men specifically to project and promote Scottish identity, interests, and influence – by demonstrating the application of civic institutions – spaces where more socio-economically diverse emigrant Scots came together for purposes other than promoting the distinctiveness of Scottish culture – towards this end.⁸

The operational timespan of the WFMS, 1876 to 1914, informs the second goal of this thesis. Rather than capturing a static view of female Scottishness in the diaspora, this thesis explores the effect that local pressures exercised on migrant identity over time, and the relationship between this and the development of new national identities. Despite the Canada's existence as a confederated nation for fifty years by this time, historians frequently present the First World War as a watershed moment in Canadian identity formation, suggesting that Canada emerged from the war with a new-found sense of

⁸ For discussion on Scottish ethnic associations, see Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011). The interpretation of civic associations is based on Morton, 'Ethnic Identity', 33-50.

Canadian identity.⁹ Though agreeing with historians Philip Buckner and Douglas Francis's overall argument that Canadian identity formation was far more complex than an immediate outcome of the First World War,¹⁰ this thesis argues that Canadian identity negotiation was triggered prior to 1914. Through the example of the WFMS, this thesis demonstrates that personal and collective decisions to engage with certain local, national and global issues during the post-Confederation period contributed to the gradual disintegration of the society's distinctively Scottish identity in favour of increasing identification with Canada and the Canadian Maritimes. Though both identities remained compatible with a broader imperial Britishness, this thesis accordingly proposes that the process of shifting focal points for identity negotiation is indicative of a broader, national phenomenon among the country's British communities, and manifested itself in the development of Anglo-Canadian identity. Emphasizing the complexity and multiplicity of migrant identity, the first chapter of this thesis discusses the extent to which the WFMS can be considered a 'Scottish' society, while the second and third chapters explore how rapid immigration into the Canadian Maritimes and the first wave of global feminism stimulated increased investment in the development of Canadian society.

Although this thesis seeks to integrate Scottish women into the study of Scottish migrant identity and Chapter Three in particular engages with feminist literature, the thesis itself is framed within the study of British imperialism. Though literature on the Scots

⁹ See e.g. 'To Found a Country', in Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 226-56; and Stéphanie Bélanger and Renée Dickason (eds.), *War Memories: Commemoration, Recollections, and Writings on War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

¹⁰ Phillip Buckner and Douglas Francis (eds.), *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011). The editors suggest the negotiation of 'Canadianness' began in the interwar period despite individual essays arguing that it was triggered by the First World War, e.g. Wesley Gustavson, 'Competing Visions: Canada, Britain, and the Writing of the First World War', 152-56.

overseas has been long-standing, it was not until the 1960s that professional historians took serious interest in the topic.¹¹ Gordon Donaldson's *The Scots Overseas* typifies this early phase of historiography which tended to emphasize Scots' disproportionate contribution to empire-building and to the development of modern anglophone states, particularly the former British dominions and the United States.¹² Though scholarly literature confirms this theme has retained its popularity since,¹³ according to Scottish historians John MacKenzie and T. M. Devine it was in the 1990s that historians began to properly conceptualize the relationship between Scotland and its imperial experience, allowing the study of Scots overseas to be 'placed within a truly modern historiography of empire'.¹⁴ In this decade, historians of British imperialism were responding to J.G.A. Pocock's earlier criticism that separate English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh historiographical traditions meant that there was no 'British' history.¹⁵ As historians strove to combat Anglocentricity and Anglophobia in favour of a pluralist and holistic history of the British isles, a 'New British History' ensued; a process Keith Robbins has termed the "'Britishising' of British history".¹⁶ In a recent

¹¹ For discussion on the literature on the Scots overseas, see John MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 9-11.

¹² Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, 1966). For discussion on the theme of exceptionalism in Scottish emigration literature see *ibid*; for its link with the Scottish Enlightenment see Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London: Fourth Estate, 2002).

¹³ See e.g. Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 2001).

¹⁴ MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, 6-7. See also John M. MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire', *International History Review*, 15.4 (November 1993), 661-880.

¹⁵ For Pocock, British history should denote 'the historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations'. J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: a Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of Modern History* 47, 4 (1975), 603-4; See also J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject', *American Historical Review* 87, 2 (1982).

¹⁶ Keith Robbins, 'British History and the Generation of Change', in H. Brocklehurst and R. Phillips (eds.) *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* (London: Pgrave MacMillan, 2003), 3. For 'New British History' see e.g. David Cannadine, 'British History as a 'New Subject': Politics, Perspectives and Prospects', in A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London, 1995), 13; and S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 12-28.

attempt at ‘refashioning a ‘British’ metanarrative’, Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret Scull have described this so-called four nations approach ‘a subject interposed between the discrete histories of England, Ireland, Scotland and (to a far lesser degree) Wales’ and an attempt to ‘explore how polycentric [historical] narratives can be achieved’.¹⁷ Spanning broadly from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, a four nations approach has encouraged the study of Scotland’s distinctive contribution to the British Empire project, and, as one of the clearest manifestations of Scottish engagement with the empire, Scottish migration.

Although closely connected with British-generated historiography, Canadian literature on Scottish (im)migration and settlement has its own distinct features. One of the first comprehensive publications on Scottish imperial migration and settlement in general, W. J. Rattray’s *The Scot in British North America* (1880) not only exemplifies the trend of Scottish exceptionalism or disproportionate contributions to the empire-building within historiography on the Scots overseas, but has also set the tone for subsequent Canadian scholarship.¹⁸ Indeed, Michael Vance argues that ‘contribution’ history ‘is perhaps the oldest, and indeed the most persistent, approach taken’ within scholarship on the Scottish diaspora in Canada.¹⁹ Almost a century after Rattray’s volume, key publications, such as W. S. Reid’s *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, still sought to highlight the contribution of prominent Scottish individuals to the development of Canadian society, while Peter Rider and Heather McNabb’s more recent edited volume *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots*

¹⁷ See ‘Introduction’ in Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret Scull (eds.), *Four Nations Approaches to Modern ‘British’ History: a (Dis)United Kingdom?* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 3-32.

¹⁸ W.J. Rattray, *The Scot in British North America* (Edinburgh, 1880).

¹⁹ Michael E. Vance ‘From Cape Breton to Vancouver Island: Studying the Scots in Canada’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 29:2 (2011), 175-94.

Helped Make Canada includes sections on Scottish influence on Canadian business, commerce, military, education, the sciences, and on indigenous culture through trade, marriage, material culture and art.²⁰

A distinctly Canadian trend in the study of Scottish settlement in Canada, however, is the disproportionate focus on Highland settler enclaves, exemplified both by older works such as Charles Dunn's *Highland Settler*, and more recently Marianne McLean's *The People of Glengarry*.²¹ Not until the 1980s and 90s did geographic and demographic analyses by J. M. Bumsted and Stephen Hornsby dispute the idea that the Scots in Canada were generally of Highland background, rural and often Catholic rather than Lowland, Protestant and urban.²² Further research on the Lowland dimension of Scottish settlement in Canada is necessary, and has partly informed the parameters of this thesis.²³ One area, however, in which scholarship on Highland Scots in Canada can make especially valuable contributions is that of settler colonialism and settler-indigenous relationships. While Rusty Bittermann, John Reid, and Karly Kehoe emphasize the theme of dispossession by the Scots

²⁰ W. Stanford Reid, *The Scottish Tradition in Canada: a History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Peter Rider and Heather McNabb (eds.), *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

²¹ Charles W. Dunn, *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991). See also Margaret Bennet, *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1998).

²² Stephen Hornsby, 'Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870', *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 4 (1992), 387-416; J. M. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982).

²³ Only a handful of studies concern Lowland settlement, e.g. Michael Vance, "'Advancement, Moral Worth and Freedom': The Meaning of Independence for Early Nineteenth-Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada", in Ned Landsman (ed.), *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 151-80; and Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 215-24.

of Mi'kmaw land in Cape Breton,²⁴ intra-settler relationships have been explored by Stephen Hornsby, also in a Cape Breton context, and by J. I. Little in eastern Quebec.²⁵

Lending itself particularly well to a four nations approach to British history, in the last decade scholarship on Scottish migration and settlement overseas has been significantly shaped by a growing political and academic interest in the concept of 'diaspora'. Recent titles such as Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton (eds.) *The Scottish Diaspora*, Leith and Sim (eds.) *The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, and McCarthy, MacKenzie and Devine (eds.) *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600* attest to the academic endorsement of 'diaspora' as the favoured interpretive framework for the identification and study of Scots as an international community,²⁶ while political interest is manifest in the Scottish Government's *Diaspora Engagement Plan*.²⁷ In Canada, Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton's (eds.) *Ties of Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish*

²⁴ Rusty Bittermann, 'The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a Nineteenth Century Cape Breton Community', *Acadiensis* 18, no.1 (1988), 33-55; John G. Reid, 'Scots, Settler Colonization, and Indigenous Displacement: Mi'kma'ki, 1770-1820, in Comparative Context', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 38.1 (May 2018), 178-196; S. Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic Highland Scots and the Colonization of Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island, 1772-1830' in S. Karly Kehoe and Michael E. Vance (eds.), *Reappraisals of British Colonization in Atlantic Canada, 1700-1900* (In Press) (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, due 2020).

²⁵ Stephen Hornsby, *Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); J. I. Little, *Crofters and Habitants: Settler Society, Economy and Culture in a Quebec Township* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991).

²⁶ Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Murray Stewart Leith and Duncan Sim (eds.), *The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Angela McCarthy, John MacKenzie, and T. M. Devine, *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016). See also Duncan Sim, *American Scots: The Scottish Diaspora and the USA* (Edinburgh: 2011); and Wendy Ugolini and David Forsyth (eds.), *A Global Force: War, Identities and Scotland's Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

²⁷ Scottish Government, 'Diaspora Engagement Plan - Reaching out to Scotland's International Family', <<https://www2.gov.scot/Publications/2010/09/14081131/1>> [accessed 3 March 2019]; See discussion in *The Scotsman* (7 Jan 2015); and Leith and Sim (eds.), *The Modern Scottish Diaspora*, 1.

Associational Culture in the Diaspora has contributed significantly to the study of the Scots there.²⁸

Despite the popularity of the concept of ‘diaspora’, its application to the case of Scotland is viewed by some as problematic. Emerging within migration studies in the 1980s, the concept was originally associated with dislocation of different individuals, ethnic and social groups in classical antiquity, often through warfare. The notion of dispersal from a homeland by victimization and force has subsequently assisted the interpretation of harrowing mass migrations such as the Jewish, African or Palestinian diasporas.²⁹ As advanced by prominent diaspora theorists such as Robin Cohen and Rogers Brubaker, these latter diasporas, or international communities bound by shared cultural, ethnic and sometimes national origin, are characterized by a collective memory and strong association with forced migration, an ongoing desire for eventual restoration of the homeland, and the use of clear ethnic and cultural boundaries to delimit community inclusion or indeed exclusion.³⁰ While modern examples should, according to these criteria, include extreme cases such as the Rohingya, Syrian and Venezuelan diasporas, the original meaning of term has in the last decade been diluted, and is now liberally applied to synthesize the historic and contemporary migrations of almost any modern nation.³¹

²⁸ Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton (eds.), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: University of Guelph Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009).

²⁹ M. Reis, ‘Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on ‘Classical’ and ‘Contemporary’ Diaspora’, *International Migration* (2004), 44-51; Erich Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews Amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002). See for example M. Avrum Ehrlich (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture, Volume 1* (ABC-CLIO, 2009); T. Olaniyan and J. Sweet, *The African Diaspora and the Disciplines* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press; 2010); H. Schulz and J. Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland* (London, 2003).

³⁰ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: an Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008); Rogers Brubaker, ‘The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora’, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1) (2005), 1-19; Reis, ‘Theorizing Diaspora’;

³¹ See e.g. Donna Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas: Elites, Exiles and Workers of the World* (London, 2000); and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal’s Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

As communities of Scots formed across the British Empire and beyond, their sense of Scottishness began to be affected by new cultural, social, and political environments as well as geographic and generational distance. Although the long-standing myth of forced exile and emigration as a result of the Highland Clearances may have originally aligned with the diaspora criteria of victimization and dislocation, historians now generally maintain that no group was forced to leave Scotland.³² While some scholars of Scottish migration still question the concept's applicability to the case of Scotland altogether,³³ the continued use of the concept by the majority of scholars of Scottish migration means that it has become the most well-developed framework in which to study the Scots as an international community. In doing so, however, it also demonstrates the significant conceptual drift that has occurred since diaspora was originally theorized in a context of modern migration. Identifying this process as the 'diaspora 'diaspora'', Brubaker has recently revised the criteria for what constitutes a diaspora in order to encourage constructive application of the framework. By removing the original principle of involuntary geographic dispersion, Brubaker now suggests 'three core elements that continue to be understood as constitutive of diaspora': dispersion in space, orientation to a 'homeland', and boundary maintenance.³⁴ With renewed conceptual flexibility, different Scottish diaspora scholars tend to focus on either single or multiple of these criteria. Some, such as Tanja Buelmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, announce their adherence

³² 'Introduction', Buelmann et. al., *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie*, 5. Historians such as Eric Richards have contributed much to challenging this popular perception, Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982).

³³ Cairns Craig, *Intending Scotland: Explorations in Scottish Culture since the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 2009); Michael Vance, 'Powerful Pathos: the Triumph of Scottishness in Nova Scotia', in Celeste Ray (ed.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 168-73.

³⁴ Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora', 1. Brubaker reconfirmed his confidence in the framework in R. Brubaker, 'Revisiting 'The 'diaspora' diaspora'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(9) (2017), 1556-1561.

to Brubaker's model and use it as an integrative theoretical approach to explore how Scottish ethnic, cultural and national identity manifested itself outwith Scotland and was affected by the process of migration,³⁵ while others, such as David Armitage, use diaspora simply as a descriptive for the dispersion of Scots away from Scotland.³⁶

Among the majority of scholars who approve of the concept of diaspora as the primary framework for the study of ethnic, cultural and national identity among Scottish migrants, a clear methodology has developed. So-called associational culture – how migrants utilized personal connections and networks along ethnic lines and engaged with Scottish cultural forms and institutions – brings with it a varied source base for historians to explore how Scottish migrants and their descendants maintained boundaries as a distinct community and associated with Scotland and their Scottishness despite geographic distance. Though some scholars, such as Angela McCarthy, choose to explore migrant Scots' use of associational culture through personal writings and oral history,³⁷ most consider Scottish institutions the 'most visible facet of the broader Scottish diaspora community'.³⁸ According to Bueltmann and Morton, wherever Scots settled

The connection of the mind between natal and host destination expedited the replication of institutions, administrations, sanctions and objectives. Especially given the relative weakness of administrative infrastructure that would only form later with the maturity of [colonial] government and state, there was reliance on autonomous and semiautonomous institutions of civil society. Improvement and fraternity societies; book, music and literary societies; political, trades union and professional societies; religious, cultural and

³⁵ See 'Introduction' in Bueltmann et. al., *Ties of Blood*, 1-18.

³⁶ D. Armitage, 'The Scottish Diaspora', in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 225-49.

³⁷ Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan : Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006); Angela McCarthy, *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration, 1921-65: 'for Spirit and Adventure'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

³⁸ Kim Sullivan, 'Scots by Association: Clubs and Societies in the Scottish Diaspora', in Murray Stewart Leith and Duncan Sim (eds.), *The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 47.

philanthropic societies: each was instituted – and in some cases branched from native societies – to create a world of familiarity.³⁹

The authors therefore suggest that ‘It is through the activities of associational culture in the form of Scottish institutions that we find significant potential to measure a diaspora’.⁴⁰

Despite the array of institutions founded by migrant Scots throughout the empire and beyond, conceptual segregation has prevented the full use of institutions in the study of diasporic Scottishness. The institutions listed in the above quotation from Bueltmann and Morton can generally be split into two categories: ‘ethnic’ and ‘civic’. While ethnic associations were established specifically to promote the distinctiveness of Scottish culture and advance Scottish identity, interests, and influence, civic institutions, though no less Scottish, formed spaces where emigrant Scots came together for purposes other than showcasing the virtues of Scottishness. Bueltmann and Morton describe the latter as ‘shorn of overt ethnic markers, they [civic institutions] were signs of diasporic agency; as such, they were no different from those for which the homeland was the organising ethnic principle’.⁴¹ Aforementioned diaspora models have, however, encouraged somewhat rigid understandings of what constitutes empirical evidence of diaspora: deliberate and obvious expressions of collective ethnic and cultural identity and an active, potentially sentimentalized relationship with the homeland.⁴² Projecting distinctively Scottish symbolism and iconography, nomenclature, material culture, clan-like structures, holidays

³⁹ Bueltmann and Morton, ‘Partners in Empire’, 227-30.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Brubaker’s diaspora criteria are considerably more flexible than those proposed other diaspora scholars. See e.g. W. Safran, ‘Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return’, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* vol.1 no.1 (1991), 2-3; Robin Cohen. ‘Rethinking ‘Babylon’: Iconoclastic Conceptions of the Diasporic Experience’, *New Community* (1995), 15; M. Reis, ‘Theorizing Diaspora’.

and events, and ethnic periodicals, at times with sentimental connotations, ethnic associations such as St. Andrew's, Highland, Burns, Scottish and Caledonian societies have become the easiest target for the study of Scottish diasporic identity.⁴³ The overreliance within Scottish diaspora scholarship on specifically ethnic associations is contrasted with minimal exploration of civic societies, which, as replications of institutions found in Scotland, would have attracted significant numbers of emigrant Scots, especially in urban areas.⁴⁴ One of the few scholars to broach this disconnect, Graeme Morton argues that both institutional categories served as 'symbiotic' carriers of Scottish identity in the diaspora, but draws attention to the urgent need for increased focus on civic associations within Scottish diaspora studies.⁴⁵

A more serious consequence of the over-reliance on ethnic rather than civic Scottish institutions is the gender bias which has developed in the field. After 1707 constitutional union and a now, joint imperial venture meant Scottish identity was nurtured to simultaneously mark distinctiveness from English identity and compatibility with Britishness.⁴⁶ A new national and specifically martial identity was supported by the appropriation of Highland imagery and symbolism by Lowland Scots; this was also encouraged by the post-Jacobite romanticization within literature, poetry and art of the Scottish Highlands and its Gaelic culture, most notably promoted by Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns.⁴⁷ Military historian Edward Spiers explains that

⁴³ For discussion on the variation among ethnic societies see Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*.

⁴⁴ Graeme Morton, 'Ethnic Identity', 37-40.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Buelmann et. al., *Ties of Blood*, 12.

⁴⁷ See Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester, 1999); Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2001).

...in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, Scots remained highly conspicuous and distinctive in imperialist imagery by virtue of the Highland dress and military music, extensively reported battlefield exploits, the pervasiveness of the ‘martial races’ ideology and the so-called ‘Highlandism’ of Lowland regiments.⁴⁸

As method to assert Scottish distinctiveness in the British Empire and beyond, this martial version of Scottish identity was enthusiastically adopted and projected by Scottish ethnic associations.⁴⁹

However, not only did the popularized material markers of Scottish identity, informed by martial prowess and Victorian masculinity, effectively undermine how Scottish women associated with their Scottishness, but Scottish ethnic associations were seriously gendered spaces. Until the twentieth century the vast majority of Scottish societies in the diaspora limited membership to male Scots and their descendants. Though the New York St. Andrew’s Society, established in 1756, may have permitted women to attend St. Andrew’s Day celebrations in 1905, it did not extend membership to women until 2010.⁵⁰ Toronto’s St Andrew’s Society, formed in 1863, similarly did not admit women until 1978.⁵¹ Though a limited number of scholars have made efforts to explore specifically female Scottishness in the diaspora through ethnic associations, such as Elizabeth Buettner’s identification of female St. Andrew’s celebrations in India and Erin Grant’s

⁴⁸ Edward Spiers, ‘Forging Nationhood: Scottish Imperial Identity and the Construction of Nationhood in the Dominions, 1880–1914’, in Wendy Ugolini and David Forsyth, *A Global Force: War, Identities and Scotland’s Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 32-49.

⁴⁹ This is discussed in Bueltmann et. al., *Ties of Blood, 12*; and Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

⁵⁰ Sim, *American Scots*, 51, 63.

⁵¹ Angela McCarthy, ‘Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire since the Nineteenth Century’, in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 48.

study of female pipe bands,⁵² the vast majority of Scottish diaspora studies, with the exception of those utilizing a source base of personal testimony, barely mention women or simply relegate female Scottishness to a domestic setting.⁵³ In the aforementioned *Ties of Bluid, Kin and Countrie*, Bueltmann et. al. summarize the role of women and Scottish associational culture in a mere four sentences. The absence of women in the study is justified by explaining that

With no professional skill to bring to the administration, women were simply female relations of male office bearers, and not sought to join. They could possibly form ladies committee, focussing on philanthropic causes, such as the poor, or form auxiliaries where they conducted affairs through private relationships.⁵⁴

Other scholars have chosen to address this conspicuous gender imbalance by outlining the contribution of women to the maintenance and expression of Scottish national, ethnic and cultural identity away from Scotland as a recommended area of future study.⁵⁵ Considering the continued relevancy of gender relations debate today, Bueltmann et. al.'s reductionist conclusion is no doubt a consequence of gendered historical realities and a well-established methodology which, having grown out of historiographical tradition which has not sought

⁵² Elizabeth Buettner, 'Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India', in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. LXXXI 2 (Oct 2002), 212-39; Erin C. M. Grant, "'Part of my Heritage': Ladies' Pipe Bands, Associational Culture and 'Homeland' Identities in the Scottish Diaspora', in Angela McCarthy and John MacKenzie (eds.), *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2016), 160-75.

⁵³ See e.g. David Armitage, 'The Scottish Diaspora', 227-8. Armitage mentions women twice, in relation to general geographic mobility and lack of historiographical recognition. Though concerning an earlier period, Andrew Mackillop mentions the role of women in negotiating 'domestic Scottishness' in 'Locality, Nation, and Empire: Scots and the Empire in Asia, c.1695-c.1813', in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁴ Bueltmann et. al. (eds.), *Ties of Bluid*, 7.

⁵⁵ See 'Suggestions for Future Research', MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, 22.

to address gender imbalance, hampers the exploration of how women in the diaspora associated with their Scottishness.

Providing the social, political, and geographic context for this study, Nova Scotia exemplifies this problematic conflation of history and historiography. Despite geographic and demographic analyses confirming that Scottish immigrants and their descendants were more numerous in provinces such as Ontario and British Columbia than in Nova Scotia,⁵⁶ historians have argued that ‘there has been a general acceptance that Nova Scotia is the most Scottish of all parts of the country’, and the province is indeed abundant in Scottish place-names, Gaelic music and naming traditions, oatcakes and tartan.⁵⁷ Problematizing the Scottishness of Nova Scotia has consequently formed the objective of two crucial contributions to scholarship on the Scots in Canada: Ian McKay’s ‘Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia’, and Marjory Harper and Michael Vance’s *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990*.⁵⁸ Crucially, both argue that the conception of Nova Scotia as essentially Scottish is largely a product of historical mythologization and commodification of the homeland, closely associated with the romanticization of Highland culture, what Hugh Trevor-Roper identifies as ‘invented’ Scottish traditions.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ In 1961 15.7% and 13.5% of the population of British Columbia and Ontario respectively was of Scottish origin, compared to 16.3% for all of Atlantic Canada. In 1921 the figure for Atlantic Canada was 23.2% and 20% for B.C. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*. These conclusions are supported by Hornsby, ‘Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada’; and Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

⁵⁷ For quote see Vance, ‘From Cape Breton to Vancouver Island’, 177. For a more recent critique on Highland culture in Nova Scotia, see Jonathan Dembling, ‘You Play It as You Would Sing It: Cape Breton, Scottishness, and the Means of Cultural Production’, in Celeste Ray (ed.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 180-97.

⁵⁸ Ian McKay, ‘Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954’, *Acadiensis* XXI, no.2 (Spring 1992), 5-47; Marjory Harper and Michael Vance (eds.), *Myth, Migration and Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999).

⁵⁹ H. Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland tradition of Scotland’, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 15-41; see also C. Withers, ‘The Historical

Though McKay primarily associates this with the political agenda of the province's Scotophile premier Angus MacDonald, who sought to portray the province as a rural Arcadia, symbolized by the Highland settler, in order to promote tourism to the province in the industrial decline of the 1930s, Harper and Vance stress how the configuration of Scottishness during the Victorian period has played a consequential role in creating this image of Nova Scotia.⁶⁰ Crucially, the conspicuous presence of Highlanders in Nova Scotia lent ethos to the conception of Nova Scotia as essentially Scottish, both to contemporaries and subsequent generations.⁶¹ Though the vast majority of scholarship on the Scots in Nova Scotia concerns Highland settlement in Cape Breton,⁶² the stationing of Highland regiments in Halifax from the 1850s confirmed a Scottish heritage in the province's capital.⁶³ Being composed of a significant proportion of Halifax's social and business elite, Canada's oldest Scottish society, Halifax's North British Society founded in 1768, likewise helped promote Scottish visibility and interests in the city.⁶⁴

In order to integrate women into Scottish diaspora studies a more sophisticated reading of Scottish associational culture is evidently needed, and Nova Scotia emerges as

Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), 143-56.

⁶⁰ Part of this agenda was the adoption of a tartan and installation of a kilted piper at the New Brunswick border to mark Nova Scotia's regional heritage. McKay, 'Tartanism Triumphant'.

⁶¹ Harper and Vance argue that Nova Scotia has been anachronistically painted a historic haven for dislocated Highlanders. The notion Scottish settlement in the province being a consequence of the Jacobite Rebellion and Highland Clearances does not correspond with the earliest Scottish settlers in the province arriving prior to the battle of Culloden, and the heaviest Scottish immigration occurring in the nineteenth century independent of the Clearances. See Harper and Vance, *Myth Migration and the Making of Memory*, 14-48.

⁶² This includes landmark literature on the Scots in Canada such as Dunn, *Highland Settler*. Literature on the Scots in Nova Scotia is explored in more detail in Chapter One.

⁶³ Cameron Pulsifer, 'A Highland Regiment in Halifax: The 78th Highland Regiment of Foot and the Scottish National/Cultural Factor in Nova Scotia's Capital, 1869-71', in Harper and Vance (eds.), *Myth, Migration and Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), 141-56.

⁶⁴ Michael Vance, 'A Brief History of Organised Scottishness in Canada', in Ray, Celeste and Hunter, James (eds.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 96-120.

a prime context in which to explore the feasibility of using civic rather than ethnic institutions towards this end. Encompassing a broad range of functions, civic institutions were varied and numerous. The extent to which religion has permeated Scottish society and culture, however, has prompted numerous scholars to suggest an intimate relationship between Scottish Presbyterianism and Scottish national identity.⁶⁵ Some scholars stress that this compatibility stems from the translatable nature of the values centralized by Presbyterianism, such as egalitarianism, into civic culture,⁶⁶ and others, such as Callum Brown, have argued that ‘the Presbyterian kirk sustained Scottish national identity’ especially as a differentiating factor amongst the other British nations.⁶⁷ In a Scottish diasporic context, historians such as Esther Breitenbach have argued that ‘It is clear that Presbyterian churches in the colonies of settlement played an important role in sustaining the cultural values of their societies of origin, and in sustaining a Scottish emigrant identity’, while Buelmann et. al. propose that ‘The one thing the Scots brought most determinedly from their homeland to structure and guide their new society was religion...with Scottish communities orientating much of their social networking around the Kirk’.⁶⁸ Referring to the Canadian Maritimes, William Klempa similarly argues that because ‘Presbyterianism was intimately and inextricably bound up with national life’ in

⁶⁵ See e.g. Alistair Mutch, *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); John M. MacKenzie, ‘Presbyterianism and Scottish Identity in Global Context’, *Britain and the World*, 10:1, 88-112.

⁶⁶ David Brown, ‘Scotland: Religion, Culture and National Identity’, *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 14(2) (2014), 1-12.

⁶⁷ Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 177-207.

⁶⁸ Esther Breitenbach, ‘Scots Churches and Missions’, in John MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 205; Buelmann et. al., *Ties of Blood*, 3.

Scotland, when it was transplanted in the Maritimes it was not simply a transferred faith, but a manifestation of Scottishness.⁶⁹

Apart from a minority of Scots of other denominations, Presbyterianism was thus a crucial aspect of how Scottish migrants continued to identify with their Scottishness away from Scotland.⁷⁰ Despite historians' assertions, however, primary research on the relationship between Presbyterianism and Scottish migrant identity remains curiously limited. Angela McCarthy explains that although

The linking of Scots with Presbyterianism is long-standing and is reinforced in studies of Scottish identity in the homeland...within studies of emigration this equation between Scottishness and Presbyterianism arises most especially in surveys of settlements organized by church members...[meaning that] the sense in which individuals linked faith and ethnicity or the extent to which ministers professed a sense of Scottish identity to their parishioners is a neglected theme.⁷¹

While it is clear that Presbyterian churches in Canada provide one avenue to access the experiences of Scots in a civic institutional space, women's ineligibility for ordination or church government participation until 1966 has ensured their absence from the majority of church records.⁷² In the nineteenth century church organizations, however, were often the only legitimate means by which women could come together to pursue common

⁶⁹ William Klempa, 'Scottish Presbyterianism Transplanted to the Canadian Wilderness', in Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 3.

⁷⁰ A significant proportion of Scotland's population identified as Catholic. The Catholic dimension of Scottish society cannot be underestimated. See e.g. S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); S. Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic Identity in the Diaspora: Nineteenth-Century Ontario', in Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton (eds.), *Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, (Toronto, Stewart Publishing, 2009), 83-100.

⁷¹ McCarthy, 'Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire', 123.

⁷² Elspeth Reid, 'Women's Missionary Society Records in the Presbyterian Archives', *Archivaria* 30 (Summer 1990), 171-2.

interests; making such organizations an indispensable source for the study of groups of women organized along ethnic and cultural lines. In a Scottish context Lesley Orr MacDonald and Esther Breitenbach have made considerable progress incorporating women into the national narrative specifically through the study of women's church organizations.⁷³ MacDonald explains that 'In the hundred years from 1830 to 1930, women's work in Presbyterian churches grew from tentative beginnings to become a significant phenomenon of Scottish religious life'; a transition both scholars are able to identify specifically through the female foreign missionary movement.⁷⁴ Constituting 60 per cent of Church of Scotland's missionaries by 1890, both authors stress the profound effects the movement had upon Scotland and Scottish identity.⁷⁵ According to Breitenbach, 'a particular discourse of national identity was constructed in the course of the missionary enterprise', while MacDonald argues that 'foreign missions functioned also at a deep and symbolic level, helping to shape and confirm national psyche in an age of imperialism'.⁷⁶

There is thus clear a clear logic to exploring foreign mission work coordinated by Presbyterian churches in the Scottish diaspora in order to question how Scottish emigrant women identified with their ethnic, cultural and national identities. Though attracting some involvement from other North-Western European countries, the Protestant women's foreign missionary movement emerged in the British Isles in the late eighteenth century and reverberated throughout those countries and dominions with historic British

⁷³ Lesley Orr MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland, 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000); Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: the Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c.1790 to c.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

⁷⁴ MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 55.

⁷⁵ Breitenbach, 'Scots Churches and Missions', 214.

⁷⁶ Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 4; MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 158-9.

affiliations.⁷⁷ Typically framed within a context of British or American imperialism, recent studies on female foreign missionary work still almost exclusively focus on what missionary life was like for women in the foreign field, with, problematically, limited or no focus on the home operations of these societies.⁷⁸ Though the importance of the women's foreign missionary movement in advancing our understanding of contemporary Western negotiation of femininity, masculinity and racial difference cannot be underestimated,⁷⁹ one consequence of the disproportionate focus on the foreign as opposed to home field include a lack of understanding of the ethnic dimension of these societies and their membership. As will be explored in subsequent chapters, another understudied facet is how these societies facilitated the transmission of imperial intelligence among women and their families in the home society, and thus stimulated imperialist and racist mentality among those without first-hand experience of the non-Western world.

Though aforementioned work by Lesley MacDonald and Esther Breitenbach addresses the latter point in a Scottish context,⁸⁰ in Canada literature on the Protestant women's foreign missionary movement is still in its infancy. One of the few academic publications on Canadian Protestant missions, Ruth Compton Brouwer's *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* is, again, chiefly

⁷⁷ Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: the 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). It was common for sizeable missionary societies to publish a regular periodical. A list of all Protestant missionary periodicals worldwide was included in the 1910 World Missionary Conference report, through which the distribution among different Western nations can be appraised. See 'Missionary Periodicals', *Report of Commission VI: The Home Base of Missions, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 23rd June 1910* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 523-58. For general narrative on Protestant mission see Brian Stanley, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁷⁸ See e.g. Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013); Elizabeth Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁷⁹ Twells, *The Civilising Mission*.

⁸⁰ Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*; MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*.

concerned with the experience of the Western Division of the WFMS's (all lands West of Quebec) missionaries in the foreign field as opposed to the society's home operations.⁸¹ Furthermore, despite acknowledging the 'continuing importance of sentimental religious attachments' to Scotland and the society's 'imperialist vision' connected to 'the nationalist imperialist impulse that animated parts of English-Protestant Canada', the Western Division's geographic proximity to the United States and the limited literature available at the time of writing has encouraged Compton Brouwer to emphasize the American influence on the WFMS rather than exploring the society's Scottish connections.⁸² Nonetheless, the volume provides an important reference point for analysis of the Eastern Division of the society, the subject of this thesis.

The lack of Canadian literature available on the topic, in order to assist the interpretation of the movement in Canada a rate of synthesis of British and American literature has been necessary. A recent edited volume by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo has greatly assisted this endeavour, and with its focus on Protestant imperialism, aligns with the broader methodology of this thesis.⁸³ One of the few publications to examine women's foreign missionary work in both a foreign and home context, including its role in Westward expansion, in the introduction to the volume Mary A. Renda eloquently explains that the women's foreign missionary movement was an activist environment where imperialism and feminism co-existed:

⁸¹ 'This book deals only with women who were truly foreign missionaries', Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). See also Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women Modernizing Men: the Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-69* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 6.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 4, 10.

⁸³ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds.), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

The ‘language of domesticity’ and the ‘racial dimension’ of ‘woman’s work for woman’ form the double helix of race and empire that underpinned nineteenth- and twentieth-century international women’s activism.⁸⁴

Through detailed analysis of the composition, operations and rhetoric of the Eastern Division of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (WFMS) during the society’s lifespan, 1876 to 1914, and relevant contemporary literature, the individual chapters of this thesis are broadly aligned with the themes proposed by Renda.

Deviating from established literature on Protestant foreign mission work, then, by exploring the extent to which the WFMS can be considered a Scottish society, Chapter One of this thesis investigates the potential of civic societies in the exploration of Scottish migrant identity. Though Compton Brouwer contends that the Western Division of the WFMS was under significant American influence,⁸⁵ greater geographic proximity to Britain and highly regionalized membership meant the Eastern Division of the WFMS operated under different conditions from its Western counterpart. This chapter demonstrates that the close historic links between Nova Scotia and Britain not only ensured that the society self-identified as distinctly Scottish in the early post-Confederation period, but potentially conceived of itself as more Scottish than did its western counterpart.

⁸⁴ Mary A. Renda, ‘Religion, Race and Empire in in the U.S. Protestant Women’s Missionary Enterprise, 1812-1960’, in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds.), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 367-90, quote cited from page 12. For Canadian Westward expansion and the mission see C. L. Higham, ‘“A Hewer of Wood and Drover of Water”: Expectations of Protestant Missionary Women on the Western Frontiers of Canada and the United States, 1830–1900’, in *Canadian Review of American Studies* 31.1 (2001), 447-70.

⁸⁵ This is made explicit in the introduction. See Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 3-9. See also Ruth Compton Brouwer, ‘Canadian Protestant Overseas Missions to the Mid-Twentieth Century: American Influences, Interwar Changes, Long-Term Legacies’, in Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of Religion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 288-311.

Engaging in more detail with historiography on the Scots in Nova Scotia, the chapter also suggests that further research on Protestant Scottish immigration would be beneficial.

As a society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Scottishness of the WFMS cannot be considered in isolation. In brand new work Tanja Bueltmann and Graeme Morton have stressed that

The empire facilitated the creation of a form of popular imperialism that shaped Scottish identity within an essentially British frame...[this] underpinned a transnational identity upholding, and sustained by, a loyalty to the British state.⁸⁶

Chapter Two is focussed around two central objectives which both respond to the need raised by scholars to understand the development of hyphenated identities among Scottish migrants.⁸⁷ The first explores the extent to which WFMS's Scottishness was compatible with an overarching British identity. Engaging with the 'racial dimension' of foreign mission work outlined by Renda and its role in the negotiation of British identities, the discussion then moves on to consider how the society's strong sense of Britishness facilitated the beginning of a seamless transition from Scottish to Anglo-Canadian sense of identity. The chapter argues that this process was triggered by non-British immigration to Nova Scotia, threatening the British hegemony which had allowed different British national, cultural and ethnic groups to exist in Canada under similar terms as in Britain. This forced a reassessment of the society's objectives and methods, ignited concern for the development of Canadian society, and created a Canadian consciousness in its imperial dealings.

⁸⁶ Bueltmann and Morton, 'Partners in Empire', 234.

⁸⁷ See e.g. John M. Mackenzie, 'Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 8, 1998, 215-231; Leith and Sim (eds.), *The Modern Scottish Diaspora*, 4-10.

Analysis of the society's rhetoric reveals how a narrative of female empowerment existed in parallel with the society's imperial objectives. For this reason the third and final chapter responds to Renda's argument that the women's foreign missionary movement was firmly situated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century women's movement.⁸⁸ By exploring the validity of identifying the WFMS as a feminist society and the compatibility of the society's Protestant, imperial, and feminist identities, this chapter argues that the society represents a microcosm of the first wave of global feminism, particularly its conservative evangelical or 'maternal' strain. Despite being a global movement, integration of women into civil society inevitably tied the WFMS to Canadian as opposed to British social and political realities. Based on recurring discourse of female empowerment and autonomy, disapproval of the oppression suffered by heathen woman at the hands of men, and critique of the church's male ministry and membership, this chapter ultimately suggests that the women of the WFMS had greater priorities than solely nurturing their ethnic identity; questioning the dominance of ethnicity over factors such as class and gender within Scottish diaspora studies.

Focussing on the transition of the WFMS as a distinctively Scottish society in the early post-Confederation period to a more broadly Anglo-Canadian society by the outbreak of the First World War, this thesis tells one story of migrant integration. Contrasting somewhat with some of definitions of the term 'migrant' today, this thesis invokes 'migrant' as a descriptive for any Scot who temporarily or indefinitely left Scotland, and to describe an emigrant from Scotland as well as an immigrant in new countries of

⁸⁸ Ellington et. al., *Competing Kingdoms*, 12; This is noted, in a Scottish context, by MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 111.

settlement.⁸⁹ By challenging national stereotypes and exploring the complexity of historic migrant identity, this study is inspired by historians' opportunity and responsibility to assist the social and political interpretation of human displacement today.

⁸⁹ For discussion on migration terminology see Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Caroline Nagel, *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes, and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Chapter One

The Eastern Division of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada – a Scottish Society?

The Eastern Division of the WFMS was founded in 1876 by women of Canada's oldest Presbyterian congregation, St. Matthew's Church in Halifax.¹ The only scholarly attention the society has received is Ruth Compton Brouwer's *New Women for God*, published with support from the Western Division of the WFMS, Canada's largest Presbyterian foreign mission society and also established in 1876, and *Certain Women Amazed Us*, published by the Western Division itself.² Though both publications provide a brief account of the operations of the Eastern Division, the works are fundamentally concerned with the Western Division, leaving the Eastern Division deliberately disregarded within historiography. This is highly surprising as Nova Scotia plays an important role in the origin of Canadian foreign missionary activity. The province is not only home to the country's first women's foreign missionary society, formed in Tatamagouche in 1843,³ but to the first

¹ The women of the congregation 'formed a committee to see what could be done' after being approached by Rev. Fraser Campbell of the Foreign Mission Society regarding the Church's need for greater support in foreign mission work. WFMS, *History of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Eastern Division 1876-1976*, 1. NSA, BV2570 / P928 Library. The first records of Mather's Meeting House (St. Matthew's) occurred in 1749. See sketch by Richard Short in 1759 'The Governor's House and St. Mather's Meeting House in Holles [sic] Street looking up George Street shews Part of the Parade and Citadel Hill at Halifax in Nova-Scotia' (London: John Boydell, 1777), NSA, accession no. 1979-147 no. 169, neg. no. N-4215. Also discussed in Elizabeth Townsend, *A Sentinel on the Street: St. Matthew's United Church, Halifax, 1749-1999* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus, 1999).

² Brouwer stresses the modest number of missionaries sponsored by the Eastern Division compared to its Western sister society, suggesting therefore its insignificance to the broader Canadian missionary effort. Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 197-201; Lois Klempa and Rosemary Doran, *Certain Women Amazed Us: The Women's Missionary Society, Their Story, 1864-2002*. (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society, 2002).

³ This is a significant detail, since historiography generally suggests that women's missionary societies were first established in Quebec. The Montreal Women's Missionary Society was, however, not established until 1864. Klempa and Doran, *Certain Women Amazed Us*; For Tatamagouche see WFMS, *History of the Women's Missionary Society*, 1. A brief account of the Female Missionary Association of John Knox Church in New Glasgow is also given in *Presbyterian Witness* (March 4, 1848).

foreign missionaries supported by a British colonial church, John and Charlotte Geddie.⁴ Though these factors testify to the unexplored relevancy of Nova Scotia to the study of Canadian missionary efforts, it is Presbyterianism's inextricable link with the region's history of Scottish immigration, a dynamic explored by neither of the aforementioned publications, which forms the impetus of this chapter. Through analysis of the society's annual reports and census-based research, this chapter provides an overview of the historical and historiographical significance of the Eastern Division of the WFMS as a space in which to understand Scottish migrant identity in a female, civic, and Nova Scotian context. The fundamentally middle-class nature of the WFMS remains a central theme throughout the discussion: an important dynamic to consider as comparisons and distinctions are drawn between Presbyterian Scots and their frequently poorer Catholic countrymen.⁵

Throughout its lifespan the Eastern Division of the WFMS has been known under multiple names. The Halifax Woman's Foreign Missionary Society renamed itself the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section) in 1890, to the Women's Foreign and Home Mission Society in 1910, and to the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (Eastern Division) in 1915. That same year it amalgamated with the Western Division of the WFMS, the Montreal Women's Missionary

⁴ Geddie was born in Banff, Scotland, raised in Nova Scotia, educated at Pictou Academy. Stewart Gill, 'John Geddie: The Canadian-Australian Connection', in Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 175-89. The WFMS states that 'It was from a congregation in this Island that John Geddie – name ever honored – the first foreign missionary ever sent out by any British Colony, went forth over fifty years ago. WFMS, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1898), 10, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #18.

⁵ S. Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780–1830', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46.1 (2018), 1-20.

Society and the Woman's Home Missionary Society to collectively become known as the Women's Missionary Society. The society is still active, now independently known as the Atlantic Mission Society.⁶ At its inception the WFMS membership consisted of around thirty women, surging over the next four decades to include over nine thousand members and 624 auxiliaries (branches) by 1914.⁷ The society was soon regional and structured into Presbyterials, usually under ten, across the Maritimes, with auxiliaries and mission bands (auxiliaries formed by young members of the congregation), reporting directly into their regional Presbyterial.⁸ The 624 branches recorded in 1914, for example, included 364 auxiliaries, 46 young people's societies and 214 mission bands.⁹ The WFMS sponsored twenty-one missionaries in total, who went either as single women or as missionary wives, sending their first missionary to Trinidad in 1878.¹⁰ Missionaries of the WFMS primarily worked as teachers, and their geographic scope included India, Trinidad, the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), British Guiana, Korea, China, and Japan, listed somewhat chronologically in terms of when and where their missionaries were dispatched, with interest in Asia especially increasing in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Although the New Hebrides was the 'jewel' of the WFMS's achievements, their presence was strongest in

⁶ Reid, 'Women's Missionary Society Records'; Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Records of the Women's Missionary Society (Eastern Division), 1880-1988* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, 1988).

⁷ WFMS, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1894), 8, NSA MG20 vol.369 #14. This report discusses the number of members at the society's inception contra its membership of 3924 in 1894.

⁸ A Presbyterial was an organization of women connected to a Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church. For a contemporary description see e.g. William Stuart Red, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Texas* (Austin, TX: Steck Company, 1936), 131.

⁹ WFMS, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: Wm MacNab & Son, 1914), 17, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #34.

¹⁰ Compton Brouwer includes a list of the missionaries supported by the Eastern Division of the WFMS in 'Appendix B', *New Women for God*, 197-201. Miss Blackadder served in Trinidad 1878-1915. WFMS, *History of the Women's Missionary Society*, 1-5.

Trinidad. Society members at home supported their missionaries by providing them with a salary, stationery and literature through fundraising, producing clothing for the children in the mission schools and homes, and, which will be explored in chapters two and three, maintaining a working relationship with the General Assembly, the all-male Foreign Mission Society, and links with other women's Presbyterian foreign missionary societies across the British Empire.¹¹

By the time the WFMS was founded it rested upon a rich foundation of consciously Scottish Presbyterianism in the Maritimes. The Presbyterian Church in Canada was only established one year before the WFMS was formed, in 1875.¹² In the period running up to 1875, however, Presbyterian settlers in Canada embodied the complex set of divisions and subdivisions that defined contemporary Scottish Presbyterianism, and as Scottish intra-denominational allegiances had been exported to Nova Scotia to cater both for the churches' missionary interests and to meet the differing religious demands of Scottish settlers, a complex network of institutional links with Scotland had been established.¹³ The role of this religious network in maintaining a strong Scottish influence in the province cannot be underestimated. In a period before ministers could be trained locally, historian Barbara Murison has stressed Scottish ministers' 'vitaly important' role as 'cultural carriers': essential in providing their parishioners with cultural and religious continuity with Scotland as well as maintaining personal and political links between Nova Scotia and

¹¹ Various annual reports of the WFMS.

¹² Barbara Murison, 'The Kirk versus the Free Church: The Struggle for the Soul of the Maritimes at the Time of the Disruption', in Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 19-35

¹³ For narrative on the divisions and sub-divisions of the Presbyterian church and how this was manifest in Nova Scotia, see Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xiv-xv. Callum Brown argues these denominations or sects were often linked to variations in social class, community types and region in Scotland. See Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland*, 14. For missions see Gill, 'John Geddie', 175-7.

Scotland.¹⁴ Between 1845 and 1875 multiple attempts were made to create a union between the multiple Presbyterian churches in the province which had been established over the preceding century by divergent Presbyterian churches in Scotland, but even as late as 1868 the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in Connection with the Church of Scotland was formed, testifying to the strength of Scottish affiliations of Canadian Presbyterianism even post-Confederation.¹⁵

Other contemporaneous aspects of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia also attest to its essentially Scottish nature, such as the predilection for reporting on Scottish rather than Nova Scotian affairs in Presbyterian publications.¹⁶ It is dynamics such as these which have encouraged historians to suggest that Presbyterian churches and their sub-organizations across the British Empire essentially functioned as Scottish national institutions catering for transplanted Scottish communities.¹⁷

The role of Presbyterianism in maintaining both personal and institutional links between Scotland and the Maritimes is equally evident in a context of Nova Scotian foreign missionary initiatives. John Geddie, a Scotsman raised and educated in Nova Scotia, and his wife Charlotte, of Scottish parentage, were the first foreign missionaries to be

¹⁴ Barbara Murison, 'Children of the Scottish Enlightenment? The Cultural Baggage of Early Nova Scotia Ministers', in Stuart MacDonald and Daniel MacLeod, *Keeping the Kirk: Scottish Religion at Home and in the Diaspora* (Guelph: University of Guelph, 2014), 120. For example of how political links were maintained, see e.g. Rev. George Patterson (ed.) *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor with Notices of the Colonization of the Lower Provinces of British North America and of the Social and Religious Condition of the Early Settlers* (Pictou, N.S.: J.M. Wilson, 1859).

¹⁵ William Gregg, *Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada: From the Earliest to the Present Time* (Toronto: Knox College, 1893), 73-98.

¹⁶ This particular periodical was the *Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia* and was a trend for the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. Allan Dunlop, 'George Patterson: Presbyterian Propagandist', in Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 79-92.

¹⁷ Esther Breitenbach, 'Scots Churches and Missions', in John MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 205.

dispatched through a colonial church.¹⁸ The couple pioneered colonial foreign mission work by designing a mission to the New Hebrides through ‘the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland’, funded in part by the London Missionary Society through Scottish donations.¹⁹ Departing in 1846 and dedicating twenty-six years to the field overall, the Geddies were also joined by the reverends John Inglis, John Paton and Joseph Copeland of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and three Scottish-descended husband and wife duos from Nova Scotia: the Gordons, Johnstons and Mathesons.²⁰ Testifying to the intrinsically Scottish foundations of these Nova Scotian foreign missionary initiatives, historian Stewart Gill has declared the Geddies ‘a great icon of mid-nineteenth-century Scottish-Canadian Presbyterian enterprise overseas’.²¹ Though the WFMS would not be established until three decades after the Geddies’ mission, it sentimentally considered its first missionary Mrs Charlotte Geddie, and would come to work closely with the Geddie family.²²

Thus by the time of the WFMS’s foundation, the Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia had a distinctly Scottish character. The remainder of this chapter blends analysis of the society’s published records and data extracted from the Census of Canada to explore

¹⁸ See footnote 5 of this chapter.

¹⁹ For quote see ‘Extracts from Address of Rev. H. A. Robertson, as Moderator of Synod, 1894’, in WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington* (Truro, 1908), 1-13, Dalhousie University Archives, microfiche series no. 79815. For funding see Rev. George Patterson, *Missionary life among the cannibals: being the life of the Rev. John Geddie, first missionary to the New Hebrides, with a history of the Nova Scotia Presbyterian mission on that group*, (Toronto: James Campbell, 1882).

²⁰ Inglis and his wife arrived in 1852, the Gordons in 1857 and Paton, Copeland and the Mathesons in 1858. By 1862 five of them had died from tropical disease or murder by the indigenous population. See Rev. George Patterson, *Memoirs of the Rev. S. F. Johnston, the Rev. J. W. Matheson, and Mrs. Mary Johnston Matheson. Missionaries on Tanna. With selections from their diaries and correspondence, and notices of the New Hebrides, their inhabitants and missionary work among them* (Philadelphia: W. S. & A. Martien, 1864).

²¹ Gill, ‘John Geddie’, 175-7.

²² The WFMS referred to Charlotte Geddie as ‘our first female missionary’ in WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie*, 12. Charlotte Geddie Harrington served on the Board of Management and as Editor of the WFMS’s mouthpiece *The Message* for many years.

the extent to which the WFMS can be considered Scottish. Due to the limited source material generated by the society, and the limited historiography available on Scottish female and religious associational culture, the well-developed historiography on secular, 'ethnic' Scottish associational culture in the diaspora assists in interpreting the material. For localized analysis of the WFMS in Halifax in particular, membership rolls of Halifax's North British Society, which, established in 1768, is the oldest Scottish organization in Canada, have proved especially beneficial.²³

Before analyzing the content of the society's annual reports it is essential to establish the extent to which the WFMS was a specifically Scottish space: a space where ethnically Scottish women came together to pursue their interests with other like-minded women. The annual reports of the WFMS detail the society's leadership positions, listing the women these positions by the surnames and sometimes initials of their husbands, or occasionally maiden name if unmarried, and their general geographic location. Working with the entire membership of the WFMS would prove both impractical and impossible since the society did not include comprehensive membership rolls in their annual reports. Nevertheless, this provides the basic information necessary to identify the women in the Census of Canada. The first Canadian nominal census was carried out in 1851, and by 1871 the census captured general household information relevant to this study, such as the women and their husbands' birthplace, denominational and professional backgrounds, and whether they had domestic servants or lodgers. By 1891 the birthplace of individuals' parents was included, and from 1901 there was a category for 'racial or tribal origin'.²⁴ As

²³ Vance, 'A Brief History of Organized Scottishness in Canada', 100.

²⁴ See Library and Archives Canada, 'Censuses', <<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx>> [accessed April 2019].

a question asked by the census-taker, respondents' answers provide formal confirmation of whether the women self-identified as Scottish or Canadian. With this information a high-level profile of the WFMS, based on its leadership, can be reconstructed. In order to align with the censuses, explore Scottish migrant patterns in Nova Scotia as a whole, and also account for change over time, the society leadership in the years 1891, 1901 and 1911 has been targeted for cross-reference with the censuses for those years (see Appendix for the data captured in this exercise). This covers a substantial period of the society's independent lifespan of 39 years.

(Table 1:1)

WFMS Leadership	1891	1901	1911
Leadership positions	73	74	52
Number of individuals filling leadership positions ²⁵	53	50	36
Leadership based in Nova Scotia	94.3%	98.0%	75.0%
Nova Scotian Leadership Breakdown	1891	1901	1911
Individuals identifiable in census	64.0%	79.5%	74.0%
Identifying as Presbyterian	93.8%	94.8%	100.0%
Identifying as Scottish ²⁶	62.5%	86.4%	65.0%
Not identifying as Scottish but Scottish-identifying husband	12.5%	10.8%	25.0%
Direct Scottish ethnic links ²⁷	75.0%	97.2%	90.0%

²⁵ Individuals often occupied at least one but sometimes up to four positions. See Appendix.

²⁶ Ethnic background has been determined based on parentage for the 1891 census or 'Racial or Tribal Origin' for 1901 and 1911 censuses. See Appendix.

²⁷ This is a combined figure for the categories 'Identifying as Scottish' and 'Not Identifying as Scottish but Scottish-identifying husbands'. See Appendix.

Although the WFMS was originally a Halifax-based organisation, by the 1890s the society boasted over 4,000 members across the Maritimes.²⁸ Based on the geographic locations of the WFMS leadership supplied in the society's annual reports, the results under heading 'WFMS Leadership' in Table 1:1 show that, although Maritime in scope, the WFMS was a predominately Nova Scotian society, though by 1911 some de-centralization had occurred. Though individuals frequently occupied more than one leadership position, factors lowering the figure for 'individuals identifiable in census' typically involves cases where women with common surnames were listed without their husbands' initials, for example 'Mrs MacDonald of Cape Breton'; cases where the annual reports did not provide the woman's geographic location; individuals with common first and surname combinations; 'Mc' or 'Mac' surname spelling inconsistencies in the census and annual reports; or individuals simply not captured in the census.²⁹ Based, then, on the total number of women occupying leadership positions who were actually identifiable in the 1891, 1901 and 1911 censuses, the categories under heading 'Nova Scotian Leadership Breakdown' reveal that the WFMS certainly was a Scottish religious space.

The fact that the majority of members also identified as ethnically Scottish furthermore confirms that the society was Scottish social and cultural space. A few instances of non-Presbyterian individuals still identifying as ethnically Scottish supports this conclusion further. For the minority of women who were Presbyterian but who did not identify as ethnically Scottish, census results demonstrate that Scottish cultural affiliation

²⁸ Membership in 1893 was 3943, spanning 8 Presbyterials, 175 Auxiliaries and 71 mission bands. WFMS, *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 8.

²⁹ For challenging cases the *Automated Genealogy* platform was cross-referenced. See Automated Genealogy, 'Indices to Canadian Censuses', <<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/index.html>> [accessed April 2019]. This concerns two women identifying as Baptist and one Church of England. See Appendix.

often occurred through the channel of ethnically Scottish husbands. Indeed, historian Ben Griffin explains that the husband or father of a family normally determined the household's official religious affiliation in this period.³⁰ Marital linkage qualifying access to spaces of Scottish associational culture is evident also within Scottish secular associational culture. The *Montreal Gazette*, for example, reported that the Montreal St Andrew's Society carried a society banner for St Andrew's Day parades created by the ladies resident in Montreal 'Scotch by birth, and others descended by and connected with Scotchmen'.³¹ Thinking more broadly in terms of Scottish households, then, combining the figures for 'Identifying as Scottish' and 'Not identifying as Scottish but Scottish-identifying husband', the category 'Direct Scottish ethnic links' reveals a remarkably high equation between the WFMS and Scottish ethnicity. In only one case across all three census checks did neither the woman nor her husband identify as Presbyterian or Scottish, most likely indicating that the census entry identified, usually because no other entries were available, does not pertain to these individuals.³²

Census-derived data thereby proves that the WFMS was a distinctively Scottish space; religiously, culturally, ethnically. But although the exercise invaluablely confirms that individual members of the WFMS predominately identified as ethnically Scottish, to what extent did the WFMS as a collective group of women project a Scottish identity, and thus operate as a Scottish society? The annual reports of the WFMS were published from the society's founding in 1876, until amalgamation in 1915. Coupled with a small number of

³⁰ Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 8.

³¹ *Montreal Gazette* (1 December 1835), cited in Gillian I. Leitch, 'Scottish Identity and British Loyalty in Early-Nineteenth-Century Montreal', in Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (eds.), *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 211-26.

³² This regards Mrs Davidson of Truro in 1901. See Appendix.

other surviving records generated by the society, references to Scotland and Scottishness in these materials give evidence of a collective Scottish heritage which was firmly entrenched in the society's self-conception.

Reinforcing the notion that the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia functioned as a transplanted Scottish institution, a clear theme in the society's writings is that the WFMS and its members considered themselves, as Scots, a completely naturalized ethnic group in a Nova Scotia. In 1908 the WFMS published a collection of letters by the late Charlotte Geddie and her daughter, Charlotte Geddie Harrington, editor of the WFMS's mouthpiece *The Message*, to commemorate the passing of their pioneer female missionary. References within this collection suggest a perceived continuity between Scotland and Nova Scotia. Describing the physical appearance of her father, the renowned John Geddie, Geddie Harrington commented that he was not 'as tall and broad-shouldered and hardy-looking as many Scotchmen and Nova Scotians are', and referred to her family's voyage as 'our travels from Nova Scotia or New Scotland, to the New Hebrides'.³³ In analysis of the autobiographies of Emma Stirling, a Scottish philanthropist in Nova Scotia during the late nineteenth century, Philip Girard similarly suggests that Stirling's titles *Our Children in Old Scotland and Nova Scotia* represent a 'romanticized continuation of the 'Old Scotland' in the new'.³⁴ The WFMS thus testifies to existing conceptions of continuity between Scotland and Nova Scotia among both first-generation Scottish immigrants and Nova Scotians of Scottish descent.

³³ Charlotte Geddie Harrington, 'January Letter' in 'Stories by a Missionary's Daughter', WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington*.

³⁴ Philip Girard, 'Victorian Philanthropy and Child Rescue: The Career of Emma Stirling in Scotland and Nova Scotia, 1860-95', in Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (eds.), *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990* (Halifax: Fernwood & John Donald, 1999), 225.

Geddie Harrington's language also indicates that some of the WFMS's members identified fondly with their Scottish heritage. The President's address to the society in 1898, however, demonstrates that this applied to the society as a whole. Referring to their ancestors but 50 years earlier, many newly arrived from Scotland, the President explained that

The country was new and undeveloped, the people for the most part very poor; only by frugal living and hardest and most unremitting toil early and late, were they at all able to wrest from Mother Earth even tolerably comfortable subsistence; but they were a sturdy, stubborn race, our forefathers; a conscientious race, with honest Scottish blood coursing in their veins, warming honest hearts and impelling to determined action.³⁵

This description attests to the WFMS's use of Scottish characteristics and stereotypes to set themselves apart from other ethnic groups; what Rogers Brubaker, if analyzed according to diaspora criteria, would identify as boundary maintenance.³⁶ The WFMS's statement aligns almost verbatim with Marjory Harper's summary of contemporary Scottish settler stereotypes in Canada: 'The stereotypical image of the Scot in Canada was that of a shrewd, pious, hard-working – if sometimes stubborn and clannish – farmer or businessman, who succeeded in his calling through his own ability and integrity'.³⁷ Apart from the idea of Scots as 'clannish', this contrasts with the Highland symbolism and imagery frequently nourished through secular Scottish associations in the diaspora, aligning more with what James Belich identifies as a 'mild Lowland Scottishness: archetypally egalitarian,

³⁵ WFMS, *Twenty-Second Annual Report* (1898), 10.

³⁶ Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora', 1.

³⁷ Marjory Harper, 'Crossing Borders: Scottish Emigration to Canada', in *History in Focus*, 11 (Autumn 2006), retrieved online < <https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Migration/articles/harper.html> > [accessed June 2019].

competent, undemonstrative and somewhat dour'.³⁸ Scott McLean and Michael Vance have likewise explored how Lowland Scots employed Highland/Lowland stereotypes to mark ethno-cultural boundaries in colonial Upper Canada.³⁹ Suggesting that the Scottishness projected by Presbyterian institutions was far less focussed on Scottish national/imperial identity and more on Lowland cultural identity, it could also indicate gender variation within Scottishness, in the sense that Highland martial identity may have seemed less applicable to Presbyterian women.

'As carriers of national identity in the diaspora', Graeme Morton stresses the adaptability of Scottish cultural symbolism and that it could manifest itself in a variety of spaces, within religious just as well as secular associational culture. It is important to keep in mind, however, that for secular associational culture 'the organising principle was the 'home nation'', as opposed to the *faith* of the home nation, which formed the basis for religious associational culture.⁴⁰ For this reason, Scottish cultural symbolism within religious sources can be expected to be considerably less explicit and frequent than within secular Scottish associational culture. Andrew Hinson's exploration of the role of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto to the city's Scottish community illustrates this perfectly. While Hinson concludes that the Church 'was able to nourish a sense of Scottishness more genuine' than any other institution 'could hope to achieve', he also grapples with the fact

³⁸ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders* (Auckland: Penguin Random House, 2002), 221.

³⁹ Scott A. Mclean and Michael E. Vance (eds.), *William Wye Smith: Recollections of a Nineteenth Century Scottish Canadian* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2008), 21.

⁴⁰ Morton, 'Ethnic Identity', 36. Rules and regulations of various Scottish associations in the diaspora demonstrate a highly patriotic orientation towards Scotland. For example, the fourth rule of the New Zealand Federation of Caledonian and Scots Societies was 'To encourage the study of literature, music, art, song, history, tradition incidental to Scotland; and the practice of games, sports, arts and pastimes associated with Scotland'. *New Zealand Scotsman*, 1, 3 (May 1927), 99, cited in Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, 91.

that ‘there were no overtly Scottish celebrations and seemingly no conscious effort at fostering a sense of Scottish identity’ in the church records; a paradox which forms the basis for his chapter.⁴¹ In contrast with the Presbyterian Church in Toronto, however, the WFMS *did* use Scottish symbolism to project itself as a distinctively Scottish institution.

When Nova Scotian Scots John and Charlotte Geddie began their mission work in the New Hebrides, for example, the vessel they used to move between the islands was named the ‘John Knox’, among contemporary peers likely evoking strong Scottish connotations of the Geddies’ dissemination of Calvinist gospel to the unenlightened.⁴² A few decades later, similar symbolism featured in the WFMS’s activities at home. In 1904 the Elmsdale auxiliary received an address on the life and works of the same John Knox. The women enjoyed how he was presented ‘first as a Patriot, then a Prophet, Preacher and Educationalist’, attesting to the perceived compatibility between Scottish nationhood and religion among society members.⁴³ The activities of mission bands also indicate that associations with Scottish symbolism was a cross-generational phenomenon. A new band established in Pictou in 1897 named itself ‘Caledonia’, and in 1913 a request was made by the Secretary of Young People’s Work for ‘Livingstone’ magic lantern slides for educational entertainment during mission band meetings.⁴⁴ Although a religious

⁴¹ Hinson complements church records with periodicals and the census in order to address this paradox. Andrew Hinson, ‘A Hub of Community: The Presbyterian Church in Toronto and its Role among the City’s Scots’, in Bueltmann et. al. (eds.), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009), 124-5, 133.

⁴² ‘Extracts from Address of Rev. H. A. Robertson, as Moderator of Synod, 1894’, in WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington*, 12. For detail on John Knox as the leader of the Scottish Reformation see e.g. Rosalind Marshall, *John Knox* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000).

⁴³ Elmsdale, Hants Co. Presbyterian Church Women’s Foreign Missionary Society, *Minute Book 1901-1910*, entry for 3 May 1904, NSA, MG20 vol.639 #01.

⁴⁴ The auxiliaries and bands typically convened monthly. For Caledonia Mission Band see WFMS, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1896), NSA, MG20 vol.369 #16. The Livingstone slide request was made by the Secretary for Young People’s Work. See WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh*

figurehead, historian John MacKenzie explains that David Livingstone ‘served to explain and justify the rise of the imperial state, personify national greatness’ and was ‘used as the embodiment of the collective will, stereotypes of a shared culture, and promoters of unity’.⁴⁵ These examples not only testify to the ambiguity or indeed continuity between cultural and religious aspects of Scottish national identity, but in so doing bring invaluable attention to private and faith-based nourishments of Scottishness.

A major theme within Scottish diaspora studies is the role of community and ethnic affiliation. Scholars have argued that urban, middle-class Scots frequently operated within Scottish ethnic networks for social and socio-economic benefits and advancement, to maintain emotional and cultural links with Scotland, and promote group interests.⁴⁶ Angela McCarthy explains that the objectives of Scottish ‘ethnic’ societies were ‘typically characterized by charitable and/or cultural motivations’, adding that ‘In Canada, for instance, St. Andrew’s Societies were predominantly philanthropic’.⁴⁷ One of the core objectives of these elite St. Andrew’s societies was aiding Scots in economic distress.⁴⁸ Although such observations typically emanate from evidence from secular and ‘ethnic’ as opposed to ‘civic’ Scottish associations, in a Toronto context Shannon O’Connor and Andrew Hinson have noted that the Toronto St. Andrew’s Society and the Presbyterian

Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section) (Halifax: Royal Print and Litho, Ltd., 1913), 29, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #33.

⁴⁵ J. M. Mackenzie, ‘David Livingstone: the Construction of the Myth’, in G Walker and T Gallacher (eds.), *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland* (1990), 26.

⁴⁶ In a New Zealand context Tanja Buelmann argues that ethnic networks formed ‘the primary loci of identity and socialisation’ for Scottish migrants. Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, 14, 120-21.

⁴⁷ Angela McCarthy, ‘Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire since the Nineteenth Century’, in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 123-6.

⁴⁸ Scholars have suggested that support for poor Scots in fact formed part of a strategy to guard the image of the Scottish societies, which represented the broader Scottish community, to the public. Leitch, ‘Scottish Identity and British Loyalty’, 218-20.

Church *both* designed philanthropic goals based on a criteria of shared ethnicity.⁴⁹ Though foreign mission work was based on a philosophy of extending moral and material improvement to those deemed in need, the annual reports of the WFMS reveal that the society also engaged in other charitable work through a network of Presbyterian churches to support the Scottish community.⁵⁰ For almost 20 years the WFMS made regular donations to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Halifax, usually \$50 for their Sunday School and \$1.75 for their manse mission box, and donations were likewise received from congregation members at St. Andrew's.⁵¹ This indicates the existence of a religious and social support network along ethnic lines between different Presbyterian churches in Halifax, and importantly demonstrates how women engaged in the practice of ethnically-qualified philanthropy through Presbyterian societies.

Presbyterian churches were not the only Scottish network with which the WFMS associated itself. Closer examination of the geographic and socio-economic profile of the WFMS's Halifax-based leadership aligns with Esther Breitenbach's argument that 'Religious affiliations and church membership both themselves constituted associative networks of Scots and served as an entry point to further associative networks within the secular world'.⁵² Table 1:2 displays the proportion of Halifax-based leadership residing in

⁴⁹ Shannon O'Connor, 'Nowhere in Canada is St. Andrew's Day Celebrated with Greater Loyalty and Enthusiasm': Scottish Associational Culture in Toronto, c.1836-1914', in Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton (eds.), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph, ON: Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Guelph, 2009), 101-18. For cooperation between secular and religious institutions over poor relief see Hinson, 'A Hub of Community', 119-36.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Brian Stanley, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

⁵¹ The first annual report lists a donation from 'A Lady in the St. Andrew's Church'. *First Annual Report of the Halifax Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Halifax: Baillie & Anderson, 1878), 10, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #4. This kind of support continued to be accounted for until 1889, most likely ceasing when St. Andrew's Church joined the WFMS as an auxiliary to the Halifax Presbyterial. *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: McAlpine Publishing Co., 1901), 7, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #21.

⁵² Breitenbach, 'Scots Churches and Missions', 225.

Halifax's Ward 1; the peaceful southern part of the peninsula dominated by impressive late Victorian architecture and housing the city's wealthy, which, as revealed through census-based research, included the vast majority of the WFMS leadership.⁵³ Consulting membership rolls of the North British Society, Halifax's primary Scottish society, assists in indicating whether this was an overall trend for the city's elite Scottish population. According to the rolls, in the year 1905 a staggering 88 per cent of the North British Society membership, accounting for 122 individuals, also resided in Ward 1. Furthermore, some of the addresses supplied in the North British Society membership rolls were business addresses, meaning that the real residential figure for Ward 1 was possibly even higher.⁵⁴

Analysis of contemporary city maps further supports the suggestion that Ward 1 was characterized by a heavy Scottish presence, showing that Presbyterian institutions outnumbered those of other denominations. Excluding burial grounds, these included a Presbyterian college, a parsonage and three Presbyterian churches: St. Matthew's – home of the WFMS – St. Andrew's, and Fort Massey. Institutions of other denominations include one Anglican and two Catholic churches, and a Catholic boarding school for girls on the border of Ward 2.⁵⁵ The WFMS thereby exemplifies the extent to which Nova Scotia's and by extension Canada's urban Presbyterian Scots operated within integrated social,

⁵³ Susan Buggey, 'Building Halifax 1841-1871', *Acadiensis* 10.1 (1980), 90-112; Census returns were complemented with *City Atlas of Halifax, Nova Scotia. From Actual Surveys and Records by and under the Supervision of H.W. Hopkins, Civil Engineer* (Provincial Surveying and Pub. Co. G.B. Vandervoort, 1878), NSA, <<https://novascotia.ca/archives/maps/hopkins.asp>> [accessed April 2019]; and *Map of Halifax* (Halifax: John W. Regan and C.D. McAlpine, 1910) HMA 102-5A-26, <<https://www.halifax.ca/about-halifax/municipal-archives/exhibits/featured-maps-plans>> [accessed April 2019].

⁵⁴ The year 1905 was chosen out of a scarcity of surviving membership rolls for the period. The only other alternatives, 1894 and 1895, do not provide member residence locations. The calculation is based on 122 members, 105 of which based in Halifax. Out of these 105, 85 identifiable locations were provided, 76 of which residential. North British Society, 'List of Members of the North British Society', NSA, MG20 vol.239.

⁵⁵ See plates H to N in *City Atlas of Halifax*. For clearer ward divisions see *Map of Halifax*. Re. Catholic school see Marthe Baudoin, 'The Religious of the Sacred Heart in Canada, 1842-1980', Canadian Catholic Historical Association's *Study Sessions*, 48 (1981), 43-60

religious, ethnic and geographic networks, while underscoring the frequent socio-economic divide between Presbyterian and Catholic Scottish communities.

(Table 1:2)

Geographic Distribution in Halifax	1891	1901	1911
Leadership identifiable in census	17	23	10
Leadership based in Ward 1	70.6%	52.2%	70.0%

(Table 1:3)

**Most Frequent Profession of
Immediate Male Relatives**

Minister/Clergyman	30.9%
General Merchant	10.7%
Senior Management	7.1%
Accountant	5.9%
University Professor	5.9%
Physician	2.4%
Solicitor	2.4%

Ancillary information captured in the censuses furthermore facilitates reconstruction of the WFMS's socio-economic profile, particularly with regards to Halifax. The results unsurprisingly align with historiography stressing the primarily elite socio-economic character of Scottish ethnic societies.⁵⁶ Table 1:3 details the most commonly recorded professions in the census, where provided and legible, of the women's immediate male relative, usually husbands but occasionally fathers or brothers for those unmarried.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See e.g. Bourbeau, 'The St. Andrew's Society of Montreal', 73.

⁵⁷ Data concerns 98 women identifiable in the Census of Canada for 1891, 1901 and 1911, see Library and Archives Canada, 'Censuses'. Individual census entry references and data is listed in the Appendix.

Evidently, the leadership of the WFMS, regardless of location within Nova Scotia, consistently represented elite, professional, and middle-class households. A rate of over 30 per cent for male relatives working in a religious capacity is unsurprising considering the nature of the WFMS, but deserving more attention are the ‘Senior Management’ and ‘University Professor’ categories. These included a number of prominent Halifax Scots such as John Turnbull and Reverend John Forrest, Manager of Nova Scotia Sugar Refinery and President of Dalhousie College respectively.⁵⁸ Examples of other professions not listed in Table 1:3 include printer, estate agent, house builder, banker, editor, printer, brewer and farmer, the last especially in the Truro area. Although census analysis reveals that many of the women of the WFMS leadership had domestic servants, 25.5, 24.5 and 7.4 per cent for 1891, 1901 and 1911 respectively, there were no patterns indicating that Scottish or Presbyterian women were favoured as domestic servants. Instead, Church of England, Presbyterian, Baptist and Roman Catholic women were employed (Roman Catholic women forming a marginal majority), usually originating from Nova Scotia or Newfoundland with Irish, Scottish, English, French, and Russian ethnicities recorded.⁵⁹

Though no ethnic or denominational links existed between the WFMS leadership and their working-class domestic servants, reconstruction of the society’s socio-economic profile shows a clear correlation between the professional elite, Scottish ethnic associationalism, Presbyterianism and philanthropic mission work. Scottish-born Robert

⁵⁸ John Turnbull son of James Turnbull, prominent sugar refiner of Port Glasgow. He is mentioned in a government inquiry into labour relations, see Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada: Evidence in Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1889), xxxvii; Rev. John Forrest was the first George Munro Professor of History and Political Economy. See Dalhousie University, ‘Presidents of Dalhousie’, <<https://www.dal.ca/dept/senior-administration/president/presidents-of-dalhousie.html>> [accessed May 2019].

⁵⁹ See Appendix.

and Jannet Baxter who immigrated to Halifax in 1880 illustrate this perfectly. Jannet occupied the prestigious position of second President of the WFMS, and Robert, manager of the Halifax Gas Light Company, was appointed an Elder of St. Matthew's Church in Halifax, served on the Board of Management of Halifax Presbyterian College, was Eastern Section representative on the board for Home Missions in the Presbyterian Church; all while serving as Honorary Member of the North British Society.⁶⁰ Their daughter Agnes Baxter went on to become a mathematician of some note.⁶¹ Other individuals likewise demonstrate this trend, including the aforementioned President of Dalhousie, John Forrest, who was also an active Minister at the Presbytery of Halifax and served on the Board of Management of Halifax Presbyterian College, and Mrs E. McMillan's husband Rev. John McMillan of Halifax Presbytery, also a member of the North British Society.⁶² The WFMS aside, a number of other Ministers and Elders of Halifax Presbytery were also members of the North British Society.⁶³ This observation crucially brings women into the equation of scholarship emphasizing the multiple memberships of Scottish migrant men in Scottish associational spaces.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See Library and Archives Canada, Item Number 1068093, *Census of Canada 1901*. Retrieved online. See for example 'April 2, 1884', *American Gas Light Journal* (New York: A. M. Callender & Co., 1884), 169; Presbyterian Church in Canada, *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Winnipeg, June 9-17, 1887* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, 1887), 12, 163-65, 223-24, 254. For North British Society see e.g. North British Society, 'List of Members' (1894), NSA MG20 vol.264 #35.

⁶¹ Judy Green and Jeanne LaDuke, *Pioneering Women in American Mathematics: the pre-1940s PhD's* (Providence, RI: American Mathematical Society, 2009), 202.

⁶² See WFMS, *Sixteenth Annual Report*; North British Society, 'List of Members' (1894); North British Society, 'List of Members' (1895), NSA MG20 vol.265 #5; North British Society, 'List of Members' (1905); Presbyterian Church in Canada, *The Acts and Proceedings*, 12.

⁶³ Examples include Donald Archibald, Dr Chisholm, Capt. James Farquhar and Rev. A. Pollock. See North British Society, 'List of Members' (1894); North British Society, 'List of Members' (1895); North British Society, 'List of Members' (1905); Presbyterian Church in Canada, *The Acts and Proceedings*, 12.

⁶⁴ Bueltmann argues that multiple membership is indicative of the function of Scottish associations functioned as pillars in a social and ethnic network which made up broader Scottish communities. One of her examples is John Jack of Wellington, a member of the Wellington Harbour Board, the Choral Society, Masonic Lodge, Caledonian Society and local Presbyterian church. See discussion and diagrams in

As a distinctively Scottish society, the WFMS exemplifies the extent to which urban Presbyterian Scots were integrated into a carefully defined ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and geographic community while, crucially, bringing women into the equation and illuminating the ubiquitous role of religion within this relationship. One further merit of the WFMS worth considering is the extent to which the society might be indicative of Presbyterian settlement patterns across Nova Scotia at the time.

(Table 1:4)

Geographic distribution of society leadership

1891		1901		1911	
Halifax	61.9%	Halifax	57.1%	Halifax	40.7%
Pictou	12.7%	Truro	14.3%	Pictou	14.8%
Truro	8.5%	Pictou	10.2%	Truro	14.8%
Hants Co.	6.4%	Cape Breton	8.2%	Cape Breton	14.8%
Cape Breton	4.2%	Kings	4.1%	Lunenburg	7.4%
Antigonish	2.1%	Hants Co.	2.0%	Cumberland	3.7%
Cumberland	2.1%	Lunenburg	2.0%	Hants Co.	3.7%
Kings	2.1%	Yarmouth	2.0%		

Based on locations supplied in the annual reports of the society and confirmed through the 1891, 1901, and 1911 censuses, Table 1:4 displays the geographic distribution of the society's leadership across Nova Scotia. Overall, the charts demonstrate a process of leadership de-centralization and increasing regional representation in the first decades of

Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, 115-23; Multiple memberships is also noted in a Montreal context by Bourbeau, 'The St. Andrew's Society of Montreal'.

the twentieth century. Despite change over time, it is perhaps unsurprising that Halifax features so prominently as the most populous part of Atlantic Canada. But this observation in itself seriously challenges established historiography of Scottish settlement patterns in Nova Scotia. An older, albeit milestone publication, Douglas Campbell and Raymond MacLean's *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* was intended as a comprehensive treatment of Scottish settlement across and influence on Nova Scotia to date.⁶⁵ The authors focussed their study on four Nova Scotian counties with, according to them, 'the heaviest Scottish immigration': Antigonish, Inverness, Pictou and Cape Breton, adding that 'it should be pointed out that Scots had settled in other areas also, particularly Cumberland and Colchester'. Campbell and MacLean ultimately argued that it was in these counties where 'The Scottish fact was established in Nova Scotia'.⁶⁶ While the geographic distribution of WFMS leadership supports the conclusion that Scottish settlement was heavy in Pictou, Cape Breton and Colchester, it was no higher in Antigonish and Cumberland than in for example Lunenburg and Hants County, and certainly highlights problematic oversight in terms of Scottish settlement in Halifax.

Campbell and MacLean's language suggests that their conclusion was arrived at based on a very specific understanding of what being 'Scottish' means. Scottishness as a Highland, martial, imperial, and masculine construction was discussed at some length in the introduction to this thesis, but its impact on history is exemplified in the case of Nova Scotia. Within the context of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia, indeed Canada in general, Pictou and Cape Breton have arguably received disproportionate attention. Michael Vance

⁶⁵ Douglas Campbell and Raymond MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

makes this point in a historiographical survey of the Scots in Canada, drawing attention to how historiographical treatments of especially Cape Breton have encouraged the conclusion that Nova Scotia was and still is the most Scottish part of Canada.⁶⁷ The role of Catholic, Gaelic-speaking Highland enclaves in encouraging this ought not to be underestimated. Highland communities have drawn significant scholarly attention due to victimized emigration narratives, patterns of group migration, and a perhaps more conspicuous presence as distinctly Scottish compared to their Lowland countrymen.⁶⁸

As suggested earlier in this chapter, exploring female and religious dimensions of Scottish associational culture challenges the perceived centrality of Highland symbolism as reference points for Scottish identity, but in doing so it also questions the historiographical tradition that Catholic and Highland communities determine the overall picture of the province's Scottish settlement patterns. There is, of course, no doubt that Cape Breton has boasted a high density of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia, in many parts of the island forming the ethnically dominant group, but the reality is that very little is understood of the character of Scottish Lowland settlement in Nova Scotia.⁶⁹ Now older census-based, genealogical and geographical analyses have shed welcome light on the pattern of Scottish settlement across Canada, and draw crucial attention to the differing characters of Highland and Lowland settlement.⁷⁰ These works provide a good overview

⁶⁷ Vance, 'From Cape Breton to Vancouver Island', 175-79.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 180; S. Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic Highland Scots and the Colonization of Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island, 1772-1830' in S. Karly Kehoe and Michael E. Vance (eds.), *Reappraisals of British Colonization in Atlantic Canada, 1700-1900* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, due 2020); Stephen Hornsby, 'Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870', *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (1992), 397-416.

⁶⁹ Kehoe, 'Catholic Highland Scots'; J. Hornsby, *Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

⁷⁰ This refers principally to Hornsby, 'Patterns of Scottish Emigration' to Canada, 1750-1870'; and Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*.

of Lowland/Highland settlement patterns across Nova Scotia, but further research would be beneficial.

It is possible that the WFMS's leadership distribution could be indicative of Scottish Presbyterian settlement patterns across the province. This would at least explain the lack of WFMS leadership based in the mainland counties of Antigonish and Guysborough, also dominated by Scottish Highland and Catholic settlers.⁷¹ Numerous scholars have noted the lack of Scottish settlement in the southern and western regions of Nova Scotia, explaining that these areas were dominated instead by Loyalist, ethnically English and francophone groups.⁷² This corresponds with information provided in the WFMS's annual reports, reporting an absence of Presbyterians and local society branches in counties such as Annapolis, Queens, Digby and Shelburne, and isolated cases in Yarmouth, Hants County, Kings County and Lunenburg.⁷³ The fact that 60 per cent of Nova Scotia's population identified as Protestant in 1871, 85 per cent of which Presbyterian, furthermore underscores the relevancy of shifting focus onto Presbyterian Scots to address the imbalanced picture of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia.⁷⁴

The predominance of Halifax-based society leadership is likely a result of Halifax's position as the most populous part of the province, a major immigration port, and the society's early history as a Halifax-based society. According to the 1871 census Scots

⁷¹ Alan MacNeil, 'Scottish Settlement in Colonial Nova Scotia: A Case Study of St. Andrew's Township', *Scottish Tradition* XIX (1994), 60-79.

⁷² Graeme Wynn problematises the study of ethnicity while providing a helpful summary of ethnic settlement patterns in Graeme Wynn, 'Ethnic Migrations and Atlantic Canada: Geographical Perspectives', *Canadian Ethnic Studies = Etudes Ethniques Au Canada*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1986) 1-15. See also H. Millward, *Regional Patterns of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia: a Geographic Study* (Halifax: International Education Centre, 1981).

⁷³ Each WFMS annual report locates all its Presbyterians, branches and Mission Bands across Atlantic Canada.

⁷⁴ Wynn, 'Ethnic Migrations'.

constituted 18 per cent of Halifax's population, which was greater than the Scottish proportion of Britain's population at the time.⁷⁵ Despite Scots obviously constituting a significant proportion of Halifax's population, historiography on the Scots in Nova Scotia tends to avoid exploring the Scottish character of Halifax,⁷⁶ while literature which does concern the Scottish presence in Halifax tends to surround military, urban elites, and Scottish contributions to the development of the city.⁷⁷ Although it is not possible to discern WFMS leadership's regional background in Scotland through the Census of Canada or WFMS annual reports its members, according to the very general equation between Catholicism and Highland Scots and Presbyterianism and Lowland Scots, it seems plausible to suggest that, based on the geographic distribution of the WFMS, a large proportion of Scots in Halifax originated from the Scottish Lowlands in pattern of urban-urban migration.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Census of Canada, 1870-71*, 326, cited in Pulsifer, 'A Highland Regiment', 146. Population statistics for the British Isles were gathered separately in each country. In 1871 the population of Scotland was 3,360,018, England, Scotland and Wales combined was 26.07 million, and the island of Ireland 4.05 million. The Scottish proportion of the British Isles population in 1871 was therefore roughly 11%. See National Records of Scotland, '1871 Census', <<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/census-records/1871-census>> [accessed May 2019]; For combined figures see Timothy Hatton, 'Population, Migration and Labour Supply', in Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries, and Paul Johnson (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); For Irish census see Online Historical Population Reports, *Census of Ireland, 1871*, <[http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/TOC?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20geograhly\)/Ireland/1871&active=yes&mno=428&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles](http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/TOC?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20geograhly)/Ireland/1871&active=yes&mno=428&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles)> [accessed May 2019].

⁷⁶ No mention of Halifax is made in J. M. Bumsted's 'Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme', *Acadiensis* 1981 10(2), 65-85; Despite noting the thousands of immigrants disembarking in the city Lucille Campey does not explore the Scottish presence in Halifax. Lucille Campey, *After the Hector: the Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007).

⁷⁷ See e.g. contributions by Cameron Pulsifer, Fiona Black, Colin Howell in Harper and Vance (eds.), *Myth, Migration and Making of Memory*; T.W. Acheson notes the prevalence of Scots in the Halifax industrial elite in 'The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885', in David S. MacMillan (ed.), *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), 152.

⁷⁸ Though 19thC society in Scotland was characterized by increasing religious pluralism, historic patterns ensured that Presbyterianism dominated in the Lowlands, with Catholicism having a stronger hold in the Highlands (incl. pockets in the South-West). See Callum Brown, 'The Church Structure in Scotland 1707-1997', *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 14-41; Stephen Hornsby argues that Halifax was one of the main settlement locations for Lowland emigrants. See Hornsby,

This chapter demonstrates clearly that consulting continued exploration of ‘civic’ societies to challenge the inadequate historiographical consideration for female and religious dimensions of Scottish associational culture promises a more nuanced understanding of Scottish migrant identity. The WFMS, as a Scottish society, exemplifies the extent to which urban Presbyterian Scots were integrated into a carefully defined ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and geographic community while, crucially, bringing women into the equation and illuminating the ubiquitous role of religion within this relationship. By demonstrating the extent to which the WFMS was a Scottish society and reflected patterns of Presbyterian settlement patterns across the province, this chapter challenges ideas about the Scottish profile of Nova Scotia by highlighting the relevancy of continued focus on Scottish Presbyterian and Catholic communities for their respective differences and similarities in the construction of Scottish identity. Crucial to this thesis, however, is the fact that the majority of the society’s overt and collective expressions to Scottishness occurred before 1900, suggesting that something may have altered or was beginning to alter the society’s self-perception by that point. Chapters Two and Three explore this idea.

‘Patterns of Scottish Emigration’, 404. Bumsted argues that the majority of Scottish immigration in this period was urban-urban. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*.

Chapter Two

‘As our Sea Provinces are coming to their own’: the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society, Imperialism and the Transition from Scottish Diasporic to Anglo-Canadian

Although the WFMS evidently functioned as a space in which almost exclusively Scottish-identifying women came together, albeit along specific denominational and socio-economic lines, in order to pursue common interests, the society’s connections with Scotland cannot be considered in isolation. Though the foundation of WFMS was religious, the interests and values pursued by the women were shaped by the extent to which both their Scottishness and religiosity were deeply integrated into a broader British imperial identity. Missionary work specifically within the British Empire was the foundation of the WFMS and therefore integral to the society and its members’ values and self-identification. Rather than capturing a static view of diasporic Scottishness at the turn of the twentieth century, considering the way the society responded to localized threats to the hegemony of British ethnic groups in Nova Scotia, which functioned as an inherently British imperial space, offers an opportunity to explore how some aspects of Scottishness began to be absorbed into an emerging Anglo-Canadian identity. Capturing one dimension of the broader middle-class Presbyterian experience, this chapter explores how the WFMS represented these two interlinked phenomena by illustrating how the society expressed an imperial identity and how it responded to the perceived challenge of immigration.

It would of course be reductionist to argue that the WFMS was limited to only one national, ethnic or cultural identity. Referring to the term ‘identity’, historian Peter Mandler cautions that historians have ‘somewhat casually borrowed [the term] from the social

sciences' and have applied it liberally to their analyses.¹ The term is in itself elusive, and Mandler's observation finds support in the work of imperial historian Linda Colley, who explains that identities 'are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time'.² Ethnic, national, and cultural identities are all fluid, interconnected and carry meanings that shift depending on context and allegiances such as religion, political affiliation, geography, class, and gender. The complexity of identity has also encouraged a wide range of scholarly interpretations. Frequently employed within nationalism studies, constructivist perspectives of identity emphasise that identity is persistently constructed and reconstructed according to the needs of groups or individuals.³ However, as the following discussion reveals, in the context of the WFMS it is essential to recognize that, although immigration stimulated an increased focus on home conditions and the development of Canadian society, the society's interests and values still aligned with its original objective. More plainly, a repercussion of immigration was not the abrupt renunciation of the society's Scottish and British identities, but the gradual development of a concrete, local notion of 'home' while still pursuing and promoting British imperialism.

Through its rhetoric and actions the WFMS expressed clear ideological, political and economic attachment to a British imperial identity. This was most explicitly demonstrated through passionate loyalty to the British Crown. In 1887 the society's annual meeting was dominated by discussions of whether or not the society ought to forward an address to Queen Victoria to congratulate her on fifty years of reign. The address was

¹ Peter Mandler, 'What is National Identity? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', in *Modern Intellectual History*, 3:2 (2006), 271.

² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1701-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 6.

³ See e.g. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); and Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

forwarded after ‘a standing vote announced the loving loyalty of all present...[to] her who dignifies the throne of the greatest nation the world has ever seen’.⁴ As part of the Jubilee celebrations the WFMS also announced that it would dedicate surplus capital from funding campaigns to the creation of the Queen’s Jubilee Fund, which would assist the Church’s all-male Foreign Mission Board in minimizing its debt through public fundraising.⁵ A decade later, in order to mark ‘this year of grace made notable by the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the reign of her Christian Majesty, Victoria, our beloved Queen’, the President of the society built her keynote around a passage from the global Protestant periodical *Missionary Review of the World*:

The acquisition of territory by Great Britain is a momentous fact which has a direct bearing upon the subject of the progress of Christianity, and is without parallel in history. She bears rule over one-fourth of the surface of the globe and one-fourth of its population.⁶

It is significant that the WFMS viewed the event of the Queen’s Jubilee as an appropriate moment to celebrate the society’s achievements. The selection of this particular passage moreover testifies to the society’s approval of imperialism as a vehicle to assist the global spread of Christianity and Western civilization. This dynamic is, of course, recognised by scholars. Historian of British imperialism Hilary Carey explains that ‘the history of the planting of Christianity forms an essential part of the history of European empires’, and the constant and multiple interaction between religion and nation means that religious and secular imperialism ‘should never be considered isolated phenomena’. Christian ethos

⁴ *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 7, 26.

⁵ *Ibid*, 26-27.

⁶ WFMS, *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1897), 10, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #18.

often justified imperial pursuits, and just like the state, British denominations were ‘keen to take advantage of the empire to extend the geographical and spiritual boundaries of their churches’ and ensure the empire was Christian.⁷ Providing the Protestant churches’ own perspective, content in the *Missionary Review of the World* continuously stresses the equation between imperial and religious expansion. To take just one example, in the complete passage the WFMS found so inspiring, ‘progress’ was measured in terms of lands under ‘Christian control’; especially those ‘under Protestant governments’.⁸

In a context of female foreign missionary activity, historian Lesley MacDonald qualifies this theory by explaining that, although the spaces of female Presbyterian foreign missionary activity ‘might seem genteel and unspectacular – schools and dispensaries and homes’, ‘women were engaged in racialist and cultural imperialism’ simply by working to replicate the Presbyterian way of life, which in itself ‘represented a radical attack on other cultures’.⁹ The WFMS made no efforts to conceal its intention to enter countries uninvited to convert inhabitants according to Western conceptions of progress. In 1882, for example, the women explained that their core aim in India was to ‘break down the old superstitious customs prevailing in that country for centuries’.¹⁰ The society took more serious action in 1887 when the women decided to forward a petition to Queen Victoria, ‘requesting Her Majesty to take the Islands of the New Hebrides especially under protectorate of British

⁷ These denominations include Anglican, Nonconformist, Presbyterian and Catholic. The essential role of clerical personnel to provide for the deep-rooted religiosity of pioneers, emigrants, merchants, military and administrative personnel across the whole spectrum of imperial projects added to this inseparability. Hilary M. Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4-12, 40.

⁸ *Missionary Review of the World, Vol. X New Series, Vol. XX Old Series, January to December 1897* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnallis Company, 1897), 74.

⁹ MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 107-08.

¹⁰ WFMS, *Fifth Annual Report* (1882), 7.

power’, and appointed a special committee to carry this into effect.¹¹ This mentality did not recede over time either. By 1908 the society proudly announced that in the New Hebrides ‘We occupy almost every island’, and in 1911, noted the ‘strategic position’ of mission work in British Guiana, ‘with its possibilities in South America’.¹²

Though the founding principle of the WFMS was, in essence, religious imperialism, this was also a crucial aspect of what made the society Scottish. Although the compatibility between Scottish national identity and British imperialism has been consistently emphasized by scholars such as Richard Finlay, John MacKenzie and R. J. Morris, the latter summarizes that ‘Scottish identity and British interest were both asserted in the same breath’, and that the role of foreign mission work in creating this compatibility ought not be underestimated, while prominent Scottish historian T. C. Smout has described the same process as ‘concentric loyalties’.¹³ Lesley MacDonald and Esther Breitenbach emphasize that foreign missions, more so than other imperial endeavours, helped to shape a Scottish national psyche and discourse which was fundamentally imperial and approving of the ‘civilizing mission’.¹⁴ MacDonald’s example of the power of contemporary literature

¹¹ WFMS, *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 7.

¹² WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington*, 13; WFMS, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911), 19.

¹³ See e.g. Richard Finlay, ‘National Identity, Union, and Empire, c.1850–c.1970’, in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); John M. MacKenzie, ‘Scotland and Empire: Ethnicity, Environment and Identity’, *Northern Scotland*, 1 (2010), 12–29; John M. MacKenzie, ‘Presbyterianism and Scottish Identity in Global Context’, *Britain and the World*, 10:1, 88–112; R. J. Morris, ‘The Enlightenment and the Thistle: The Scottish Contribution to Associational Culture in Canada’, in Bueltmann, Hinson, and Morton (eds), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009), 51; T.C. Smout, ‘Problems of nationalism, identity and improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland’, in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 1–21.

¹⁴ Breitenbach argues that ‘both the foreign mission movement and links to colonial churches were to become crucial in mediating an understanding of empire for Scots at home’. Breitenbach, ‘Scots Churches and Missions’, 225. See also Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class*.

illustrates this effectively, arguing that transmission of information about the empire occurred across all classes in the form of missionary stories and experiences

...in innumerable church and secular journals, and in cheap and popular biographies. They were read, not just in homes, but at countless work parties, sewing meetings, [and] mission soirees.¹⁵

It is important to note that these forces were equally active in a Nova Scotian context for Scottish migrant women, and furthermore supports the important conclusion that an imperial mentality and reality was shared by WFMS members across the whole province rather than an experience relegated to the society leadership or Halifax.¹⁶ The three primary elements that made up the WFMS's work were fundraising to be able to sponsor their missionaries, producing clothing for women and children who were being targeted by their missionaries, and the exchange of missionary, or imperial, intelligence. The Elmsdale branch, for example, structured its monthly meetings based on pre-selected topics, most frequently the history, climate, and 'inhabitants and their customs' of the WFMS's target fields, but, notably, also British imperial fields where the WFMS had no operations, such as Africa and South America.¹⁷ Other topics could include 'British & Foreign Bible Society' and 'Missionary Heroines'.¹⁸ The reading and discussion of novels related to missionary work, such as *Western Women in Eastern Lands* and *The Light of the World*, was an activity which was moreover noted to increase the attendance at monthly

¹⁵ MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 159.

¹⁶ The survival of the Elmsdale Auxiliary's Minute Book has been essential in complementing the WFMS annual reports with the individual branches' activities. See WFMS, *Minute Book 1901-1910*.

¹⁷ This excludes British Guiana, one of the WFMS's foreign fields.

¹⁸ WFMS (Elmsdale), *Minute Book* (1901-1910), n.p.

meetings.¹⁹ Evidently, the women of the WFMS engaged with the British Empire through the same channels as did Scottish women involved in foreign mission work, and wider dissemination of intelligence about the empire to their families, personal relations, and wider communities undoubtedly occurred.

Although the language of the WFMS testifies to the intricately linked nature of religious and cultural imperialism and Scottish and imperial identity, the society's annual reports also indicate that the society identified with North America more broadly. Repeated references to the United States in the society's annual reports indicate that it was considered a valuable peer group in the society's work and loomed large in general. In 1884 the WFMS shared that 'Friends in the United States and Manitoba are taking more interest' in their work, and in 1913 that they had been approached by the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America 'soliciting the aid of our society in promoting a scheme whereby the Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of Canada and the United States might be more closely drawn together'. The WFMS 'sympathetically received' the plan and forwarded it to the Church Board for review and appointed a committee to further the plan 'if possible'.²⁰ This language suggests that the idea was welcome, and might well have been implemented had the First World War not broken out the following year. The

¹⁹ WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: McAlpine Publishing Co., 1912), 60, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #32. Full publication details of these titles: Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline Study of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1910); Robert Elliott Speer, *The Light of the World: A Brief Comparative Study of Christianity and Non-Christian Religions* (West Medford, Mass: Central Committee on the United Study of Missions, 1911).

²⁰ WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 15. Presbyterian churches are organised through a hierarchy of congregation (local church), presbytery (board of elected church elders and ministers representing a district of congregations), synod (regional) general assembly (national). Women's missionary societies were organized through the same church hierarchy. Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status* 2nd ed. (London: Greenwood, 1996).

society also appears to have felt closer with the United States than with Britain in terms of social challenges, occasionally incorporating statistics on alcohol and tobacco expenditure in the United States.²¹ Though the Eastern Division did reference its neighbour to the south at times, comparison with Brouwer's work on the Western Division suggests that the Eastern Division was not nearly as involved with the American Protestant missionary enterprise as its sister society was.²²

Without serious disruption it is likely that allegiances determined by the society's Scottish background, British imperial sphere of operation, and a North American geographic situation would have continued with minimal change until the outbreak of the First World War. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, a serious catalyst was introduced in the form of rapid and diverse immigration. This, 'Our great problem at the present time', came to dominate the WFMS's discourse and permanently change their operational focus, propelling the development away from a Scottish diasporic and towards an Anglo-Canadian imperial identity.²³ The society's annual conference in 1911 summarizes the women's deep concern over

... the fact that our immigration averages about forty for every hour of the day and night the whole year round, and that the census of 1911 names twenty-two more varieties of religion in Canada than that of 1901... Even here in the Maritime Provinces where the tide of immigration flows more slowly than in the newer lands to the west of us, we have averaged over eight thousand immigrants a year, and in one year alone we received almost sixteen thousand foreigners and no less than twenty-four different nationalities with duly assorted creeds.²⁴

²¹ See e.g. WFMS, *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 20. This was no doubt in relation to the North American Temperance Movement. For the relationship between women and Temperance see Sharon A. Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow': The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

²² Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*; Compton Brouwer, 'Canadian Protestant Overseas Missions'.

²³ WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 26.

²⁴ WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 26.

Obsession with immigration was not only found at a society leadership level, with society branches also basing their meetings on topics such as ‘Foreigners in our midst’ or ‘The Jews’.²⁵ Vital to the following discussion is the fact that the WFMS identified this as a nationwide problem, demonstrating that the threat of immigration caused an immediate reorientation from a solely offshore focus to one which now also involved awareness towards regional and national issues.

The WFMS had identified quite specifically the turn of the century as the beginning of this transition, noting that ‘The year of the growth of Canada is 1900. Since that [sic] we have received on an average 250,000 immigrants annually’, and because of such profound figures it was ‘our duty to this great land to share largely in the responsibility of evangelizing and Christianizing these immigrants’.²⁶ It is notable that these forces induced the society to identify a ‘duty’ held to Canada, ‘this great land’. In fact, since 1902 a debate had ensued over whether ‘the Constitution of the WFMS be so amended as to include Home Missions, and that the word ‘Foreign’ be omitted in its designation’. Incorporating home mission work into its scope involved potential repercussions, especially financial, in terms of how this would align with their objectives as a *foreign* missionary society, and what the Lord would have intended. The proposed change was not welcomed by all. At the society’s annual meeting in 1902, to which representatives from auxiliaries were invited to attend, Miss Campbell of Halifax, for example, thought it a ‘very serious thing to think of upsetting work of 26 years’, Mrs. McLean of Green Hill stressed that ‘the Master’s work should

²⁵ ‘The Jews’ was a favoured topic for this branch, chosen thrice as the monthly topic over the decade. Various entries, WFMS (Elmsdale), *Minute Book* (1901-1910), n.p.

²⁶ WFMS, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1910), 14.

never be divided', and Mrs. Dickie of Truro, although strongly interested in home mission work, feared that if home and foreign work be combined 'it would cripple both. We were organized...for the evangelization of women and children in *heathen* lands, and their claims now are greater than ever'.²⁷

Although the debate signals that the women were still deeply committed to foreign mission work, it also testifies to a process of gradual realignment within the society. Despite their concerns it is clear that immigration marked an entirely new era for the women, one which brought with it ethnic diversity. Challenging British hegemony in the Maritimes, this developed a greater sense of responsibility among the women for how Canadian society was taking shape.²⁸ This, in turn, necessitated reassessment of the WFMS's operational focus:

Many who are giving thoughtful attention to the affairs of the W. F. [Women's Foreign] and H. M. [Home Missionary] Society feel that this Society is in a transition stage. The old order has been gradually changing and a new day is opening before the Society for which we need careful, prayerful attention and work. We now have a dual work to accomplish.²⁹

Despite debate and initial reluctance, the fact that the WFMS proceeded to officially include home mission work in its scope, changing the society's name in 1910 to the Women's Foreign and Home Mission Society, marked acceptance of this new era.³⁰

In light of the society's decision to commit to both fields it is important to note not only the compatibility between home and foreign mission work, but also the role of

²⁷ See debate in WFMS, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: McAlpine Publishing Co., 1902), 8-11.

²⁸ Michael Vance explores the relationship between immigration and ethnic diversification and Scots' concern for the development of Canadian society in Vance, 'A Brief History', 105-07.

²⁹ WFMS, 'President's Address', *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 15.

³⁰ Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Records of the Women's Missionary Society*.

immigration in creating this compatibility. In an exploration of female Protestant home missions in the United States, historian Derek Chang explains that

At the heart of this movement lay an ideology of evangelical nationalism – the religious and secular faith in a nation spiritually and materially transformed by evangelical Christianity and fuelled by a desire for territorial and demographic expansion... This multi-layered linking of the domestic and foreign components of evangelicalism mirrored the dialectical relationship between U.S. nationalism and imperial ambition.³¹

The WFMS's replication of foreign mission rhetoric at home demonstrates the society's use of the same logic. For the society, Protestant nation-building and imperial identities were compatible and could coexist:

When we stretch out a hand to those who are in ignorance and sin and who have never heard the Gospel... When we do our God given work at Home we build up our nation, *ourselves*.³²

Crucially, immigration played a central role in encouraging the development of this evangelical nationalism. Chang adds that 'the process by which missionaries identified the objects of their domestic project with foreign populations' allowed a theoretical continuum between foreign and home mission and the identification of 'their national project as part of a broader, worldwide mission'.³³ This logic was inextricably linked to national and cultural boundary- and identity-formation. The same process of defining racial difference in the foreign mission field was encouraged by the immigration of foreign peoples, in

³¹ Derek Chang, 'Women, Empire, and the Home Mission Project in Late Nineteenth-Century America', in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds.), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 296.

³² WFMS, 'President's Address', *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 15.

³³ Chang, 'Women, Empire, and the Home Mission Project', 294-7.

response to which the women would have, according to Chang, ‘evaluated religious and cultural disparities to determine membership in the nation’ and ‘reinforced domestic boundaries by marking internal others’.³⁴ The development of domestic boundaries is obvious in the case of the WFMS, who by 1913 made explicit the relationship between ethnic diversification through immigration and the negotiation of a broader Canadian and specifically Maritime regional identity:

Our Maritime needs are only now growing urgent, as our Sea Provinces are coming to their own. This need around us calls loudly, and we can see our duty and hear much more vividly this call, because it appeals to our patriotic feelings... We feel the battle for righteousness all around us as other nations knock at our doors and come in amongst us.³⁵

This signifies an undeniable shift in a patriotism expressed through foreign mission work alone to one which was also nurtured through focus on the home society.

Evidently, then, the society’s decision to incorporate home work within its scope demonstrates a simultaneous commitment to the British Empire and to Canada. Importantly, the society’s reactions to immigration can also shed light on emerging conceptions within the WFMS of national belonging and criteria for whom was and was not included in the Canadian national polity. Through census-based analysis, Jabbra and Cosper have outlined the significant immigration to Nova Scotia between 1871 and 1931, particularly to the urban areas where the WFMS was successful, of Eastern and Southern European, Jewish and Asian groups. Although there were already recognizable French, Aboriginal, Afro-Canadian and German ethnic communities in the province at this point,

³⁴ Ibid, 294-5.

³⁵ WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 15.

new immigration challenged the demographic dominance of the British.³⁶ In response to the arrival of new cultural and ethnic groups the society employed overtly racist language, replicating discourse usually directed towards the foreign field. To take one example, in the 1880s one of the WFMS's missionaries referred to the 'busy brown fingers' and industriousness of the children in the school in which she was teaching. The children in the foreign mission field were often noted to be unclean and poorly dressed, and the WFMS's constant work to produce clothing for the mission field demonstrates the women's collective work to 'cure' the children's physical as well as spiritual barbarism.³⁷ Using identical language, in 1912 the women reported that:

In Cape Breton there are now over twelve thousand foreigners, and only two missionaries among them. Two men to teach these twelve thousand who are ignorant of our language the three great C's of Christianity, cleanliness and citizenship, for they know appallingly little about the right brand of any of these...³⁸

The women wished to target especially 'the 10,000 Hungarians, Belgians, Poles, Italians, Slavs and Germans employed in Pictou and Cape Breton'.³⁹ Many of these immigrants would have been Christian already, thus indicating inherent religious and cultural intolerance on the part of the WFMS for immigrants who did not relatively seamlessly slot

³⁶ See Nancy Jabbara and Ronald L. Cosper, 'Ethnicity in Atlantic Canada: A Survey', *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Etudes Ethniques Au Canada*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1988, 2-27.

³⁷ In 1887 one auxiliary reported on its preparation of so-called mission 'boxes', usually containing clothing and stationery for the women and children targeted by the society's missionaries: 'Over sixty yards of woollen cloth have been spun, woven and made up into garments, and many pairs of socks and stockings have been knitted, besides this a quantity of yarn and knitting needles is being sent'. WFMS, *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 12.

³⁸ WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 31.

³⁹ The WFMS considered that 'evangelizing and Christianizing these immigrants' was 'our duty'. WFMS, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1910), 14. For specific immigrant groups see WFMS, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911), 11.

into a status quo where British ethnic, cultural and religious groups formed the majority.⁴⁰ Indeed, as articulated by Paula Hastings, ‘By the 1880s, many Protestant Canadians of British descent firmly believed that the survival of Canada would require a singularity of race, religion, and language among its peoples’, inevitably drawing Canada’s British populations together as they negotiated national conclusion through racial and religious difference.⁴¹

The society’s practical response to immigration became part of its design of a home mission, and as the society’s activities extended into the wider community, demonstrates a growing focus on Canadian society. Halifax Presbyterial, for example, prepared 13 mission boxes in 1913, and although most were sent overseas, one was directed to the Mission in Sydney and one to the North End City Mission in Halifax.⁴² The society as a whole also re-allocated funds to sponsor the training of two deaconesses and to assist the Maritime Synod’s funding of ten ordained missionaries, 60 student missionaries and three missionaries to convert immigrants at Sydney, Inverness, Stellarton and Joggins, as well as four teachers, three hospital chaplains and two immigration chaplains.⁴³ Promoting the achievements of their deaconesses, the WFMS reported that Miss McKenzie in Amherst ‘visited the poor, the sick and the shut-in’, and in St. John Miss Sinclair met immigrants

⁴⁰ Even as late as 1931 the English, Scottish and Irish numbered 50,229 out of the Halifax’s overall population of 58,372, or eighty-six per cent. Census of Canada, 1921, cited by D. O. Carrigan, ‘The Immigrant Experience in Halifax, 1881-1931’, *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Etudes Ethniques Au Canada*, 20(3) (January 1981), 28.

⁴¹ Paula Hastings, ‘“Our Glorious Anglo-Saxon Race Shall Ever Fill Earth’s Highest Place”: The Anglo-Saxon and the Construction of Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Canada’, in Phillip Buckner and Douglas Francis (eds.), *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 92. For the negotiation of national conclusion through racial and religious difference see e.g. Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

⁴² The majority of boxes were for Trinidad. WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 38-9.

⁴³ WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 31.

arriving on steamers and trains, visited public institutions and on top of this made forty calls a month to 'lonely young girls, lapsed church members, poor widows with young children'.⁴⁴

Another way of identifying immigration as a major transition in the society's work while recognizing some of the forces shaping the society's identity is considering its historical support for indigenous communities. Although the society had, since 1890, sent occasional funds and mission boxes to indigenous communities in the Northwest and Labrador, the level of this support remained consistent throughout the society's lifespan.⁴⁵ Though technically mission work 'at home', this stands in stark contrast with the immediate and official commitment to the home mission triggered by immigration at the turn of the century. This commitment was a manifestation of what Derek Chang identifies as the 'escalation of anxiety about racial threat and disorder', while equally testifying to indigenous communities as having posed neither concern nor a perceived threat in Atlantic Canada.⁴⁶

Indeed, comparison of the WFMS with its sister society, the Western Division of the WFMS, suggests that the geographic position of the Maritimes was creating particular conditions that were shaping the Eastern Division's work and identity in unique ways. Although the Western Division was highly active overseas, numerically more so than the WFMS considering it could draw membership from all lands west of Quebec, it was also significantly more involved in mission work to indigenous communities. Apart from city

⁴⁴ 'Report of the Home Mission Secretary', WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 24-25.

⁴⁵ The first annual report to mention home mission work with indigenous communities noted that 'A parcel of clothing was sent to the Indians at Cote's Reserve' and sending '\$5 worth to Dr Robertson of the North West Missions'. WFMS, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1890), 43-5.

⁴⁶ Chang, 295.

missions to urban indigenous communities, especially in Winnipeg, the Western Division also administered two Indian Residential Schools.⁴⁷ Central Canada, where the Western Division was based, was also under significantly more cultural and economic influence from the United States than were the Maritimes, evident in the Western Division's close links with American Protestant missions.⁴⁸ In reference to the Western Division, Ruth Compton Brouwer explains that

A few had entered into correspondence with women in Scottish missionary societies and had undertaken to support their activities. When the time came for the creation of their own large missionary organizations, however, and for actual overseas involvement, the patterns established by their counterparts in the United States were generally the ones they adopted.⁴⁹

In contrast, a combination of considerably smaller domestic geographic scope, relatively low level of assistance provided to indigenous communities, and an explosive reaction to immigration suggests that the Canadian Maritimes' historically integrated relationship in the Atlantic and imperial economies was still shaping its experience and identity in ways that were very different from central and western Canada.⁵⁰ While Compton Brouwer concludes that for the Western Division 'it would be a mistake to associate the missionaries too narrowly with *British* imperialism',⁵¹ this is contrasted by the Eastern Division's long

⁴⁷ The Residential Schools were in Kenora, ON, and Birtle, MB. Reid, 'Women's Missionary Society Records'.

⁴⁸ Karel Bicha has explored the perceptions of some of Canada's most influential anglophone historians writing since the 1940s on American economic and cultural influence on central and western Canada. See Karel D. Bicha, 'Five Canadian Historians and the USA Frank Underhill, Arthur Lower, Donald Creighton, WL Morton and Kenneth McNaught', *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1999) 195-210. For missions see Compton Brouwer, 'Canadian Protestant Overseas Missions'.

⁴⁹ Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 10.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (eds.), *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015); D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard and William O'Reilly, *The Atlantic World* (London: Routledge, 2015); Jerry Bannister, 'Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic World? Northeastern North America in the Long 18th Century', *Acadiensis* XLIII, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2014), 3-30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

history of emotional and institutional links with Scotland and clear alignment with British imperial projects.

Indeed, the society's rhetoric and actions in response to the immigration of continental Europeans was greatly contrasted by special treatment towards British immigrants, supporting the conclusion that the society reflected a general process of negotiating an Anglo-Canadian identity which was defined specifically by its difference from foreign populations and its similarities to the other British dominions.⁵² Unsurprisingly, considering their background, the WFMS went to extra lengths to accommodate immigrants from Scotland. From 1912 the WFMS worked in collaboration with an overseas agent based in Glasgow, Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, whose responsibility it was to intercept emigrants en route to Nova Scotia. Boyd would board ships bound for Halifax, record the details of those passengers identifying as Presbyterian and then forward these passenger lists by a faster-sailing mail steamer to the Church's immigration chaplains in Halifax. This effective system was implemented 'so that when these people land in this strange new country, the first hand held out to them is that of the Church, and the Church calls them by name and claims them'.⁵³ Hunter Boyd was the only overseas agent the society collaborated with, indicating that the WFMS operated as an essentially Scottish society in its explicit prioritization of Scots as recipients of their philanthropic efforts, while equally testifying to their encouragement of British immigration.⁵⁴

⁵² This refers to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and South Africa. Andrew Stewart, *Empire Lost: Britain, the Dominions and the Second World War* (London: Continuum, 2008).

⁵³ The WFMS stressed that the service of Rev. T. Hunter Boyd and Mrs. Boyd 'cannot be too highly commended' in the society's work. WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report*, 31-32.

⁵⁴ 'Worthiness' of charity was often determined by Scottish background. Catherine Borbeau, 'The St. Andrew's Society of Montreal: Philanthropy and Power', in Bueltmann, Hinson, and Morton (eds), *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009), 69-82.

Other evidence suggests that links with Scotland were in some regards strengthened in response to immigration. Based on census data from 1891, 1901, and 1911, Table 2:1 summarizes the ethnic and denominational affiliations of the society leadership. The return for 'Direct Scottish ethnic links' reflects the combined figures for women in leadership positions identifying as ethnically Scottish plus those women not identifying as ethnically Scottish but whose husbands identified as Scottish, figures thus representing Scottish households. The percentage results for 1901 and 1911 include a noteworthy increase in 'Direct Scottish ethnic links'. One possible reason why the figure for 1891 is lower than for 1901 and 1911 is that the census only recorded individuals' parents' birthplaces until 1901, when 'Ethnic and Tribal Origin' was included. Until 1901, therefore, only two generations of Scottish ethnicity could be accounted for.⁵⁵ Though important to consider, this should not cause an average fifteen to twenty per cent increase overall.

In light of immigration patterns to Nova Scotia in the same period, it is likely that this increase provides evidence of reactive, anti-immigration behaviour on the part of the WFMS. Theoretically, considering the dominance of immigration from the British Isles, the earlier the census year the more likely the ethnic exclusiveness of the WFMS, and the later the census year the more diverse the society ought to be.⁵⁶ Likely related to this reaction, by 1911 100 per cent of the society's leadership identified as Presbyterian.

⁵⁵ See census methodology at Library and Archives Canada, 'Census of Canada, 1891', < <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1891/Pages/about-census.aspx#tab1> > [accessed April 2019].

⁵⁶ For general immigration patterns see Jabbara and Cosper, 'Ethnicity in Atlantic Canada: A Survey', 2-27. A patchy idea of Scottish immigration patterns to Nova Scotia can be constructed through Campbell and MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*; Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*; Bumsted, 'Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815'; and Campey, *After the Hector*.

(Table 2:1)

Nova Scotian WFMS Leadership Breakdown	1891	1901	1911
Identifying as Presbyterian	93.8%	94.8%	100.0%
Identifying as Scottish ⁵⁷	62.5%	86.4%	65.0%
Not Scottish but Scottish-identifying husband ⁵⁸	12.5%	10.8%	25.0%
Direct Scottish ethnic links	75.0%	97.2%	90.0%

(Table 2:2)

Generational Difference of WFMS Leadership	1891	1901	1911
Nova Scotian leadership born in Scotland	15.6%	10.2%	5.0%

Another factor worth considering in relation to the society's increased ethnic exclusivity or boundary-making in the first two decades of the twentieth century is generational difference. Also based on census data, Table 2:2 reveals not only that the society was dominated by descendants of Scottish immigrants rather than first-generation immigrants, but that the proportion of Scottish-born women decreased by a steady five per cent per decade over the period of the study. Evidently, it was Scottish immigrant descendants rather than first-generation migrants who were attracted to the society. This trend has been noted in a context of ethnic associationalism by scholars such as Herbert Gans, Celeste Ray and Tom Brooking. Their observations of increasing generational distance among individuals partaking in associational culture demonstrate that Scottish associations functioned as important sites of ethnic expression for descendants without

⁵⁷ Scottish ethnic background has been determined based on Scottish parentage for the 1891 census or Scottish 'Racial or Tribal Origin' for 1901 and 1911 censuses. See appendix.

⁵⁸ Those women not identifying as Scottish were primarily English, and some Irish. See Appendix.

personal memories of Scotland.⁵⁹ Through a comprehensive exercise of categorization and periodization of Scottish ethnic associations in New Zealand, Tanja Bueltmann similarly identifies correlation between the proliferation of increasingly exclusive Scottish societies, generational distance and growing immigration rates, a conclusion supported by the work of Michael Vance, who comments on the power of racial difference in the negotiation of Scottishness and socio-economic power and privilege in Canada during the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁰ Historians favouring the use of personal testimony in the study of British migrant identities have likewise noted this theme.⁶¹ Within the context of these scholars' work the WFMS demonstrates that a correlation between generational distance and ethnic 'enthusiasm' may have been prevalent within civic as well as ethnic associational spaces.

Though the theory that Scottish ethnic and Presbyterian affiliation within the WFMS increased in response to immigration finds historiographical support, it is juxtaposed by the society's simultaneous expression of distance from Scottish identity. In 1912 the President of the WFMS stressed that 'we must not forget the significant fact that these foreigners multiply much more rapidly than the British or Canadian stock'.⁶² This

⁵⁹ Gans argues that the resurgence of ethnic identity enthusiasm in the US is related to lingering sympathies for ancestral homelands among third- and fourth-generation immigrants. H. Gans, *Making Sense of America: Sociological Analyses and Essays* (Lanham: Rowman Littlefield, 1999). Celeste Ray, 'Scottish Immigration and Ethnic Organisation in the United States', in Celeste Ray (ed.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 48-95; Tom Brooking argues that 'Caledonian Societies, Burns' Clubs and St. Andrew's associations clearly became more important in maintaining identity as time went by and links with Scotland weakened', Brooking, 'Weaving the Tartan into the Flax: Networks, Identities, and Scottish Migration to Nineteenth-century Otago, New Zealand', 196-97.

⁶⁰ Vance, 'A Brief History of Organised Scottishness in Canada', 96-7, 105-07.

⁶¹ David Gerber, *Authors of their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 202-218; A. J. Hammerton, 'We're not Poms': The Shifting Identities of Post-War Scottish Migrants to Australia', in A. McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2006), 228.

⁶² 'President's Address', WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 31.

language demonstrates clearly that, by this period, the women identified more closely with Canadian and British identities rather than Scottish and British, testifying to this period as transitional. Indeed, careful evaluation of the society's language around the turn of the twentieth century demonstrates the extent to which the WFMS represented the gradual process of transition from colony to country. Canada had of course received dominion status in 1867, but Confederation was not designed to sever ties with Britain. Rather the opposite. Phillip Buckner clarifies that

Confederation was an exercise in nation-building, but it was not designed to lead to the creation of an independent and autonomous state, only to the creation of a larger and more important British colony. Most of those who advocated Confederation – certainly most of the English-speaking Fathers of Confederation – viewed it as a measure that would strengthen and perpetuate the ties between Canada and Great Britain.⁶³

In the first decades after Confederation it would therefore be unexpected to see a major shift in Canadians' focal points for national identity formation. Almost fifty years later, however, evidence generated by the WFMS demonstrates that this shift had begun to take place organically. The statement about Canadian and British stock equally demonstrates that it was the challenge to British hegemony through ethnic diversification which had fundamentally altered the society's identity by easing the difficult process of negotiating a collective Canadian identity in the post-Confederation period. The notion that Canada was beginning to consider itself one distinct entity within a network of equal British nations bound together by a shared ethnic, cultural and royal foundation is summarized in the society's own words in 1909 in relation to an international framework of women's foreign

⁶³ Phillip Buckner (ed.) *Canada and the End of Empire* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 4.

mission work with which the WFMS had been involved since 1895: ‘while our methods may differ and fields of operation be far apart, all are working for the same grand cause under the same royal commission’.⁶⁴

Further substantiating this theory is evidence of increasing dissociation from the collective Scottish identity the society had nourished up until this point. Returning once more to the special assistance afforded to Scottish immigrants bound for Halifax, it is difficult *not* to conclude that the society’s sole immigration agent being based in Scotland demonstrates anything other than a special attachment to Scotland. But it is also worth considering the purely practical fact that immigrants from Scotland were those most likely to be Presbyterian out of any other group, and thus the easiest targets for church membership as they arrived on the other side of the Atlantic. The society’s curious language in reference to the scheme is also noteworthy, slightly unsentimentally referring to Scottish immigrants as ‘these people’ and to Canada as ‘this strange new country’.⁶⁵ Implying that Scotland and Canada were not the same, this indicates that some of the previously perceived continuity between Scotland and Nova Scotia explored in Chapter One was changing. Similarly, referring once more to Table 2:1 and the relationship between the figures ‘Direct Scottish ethnic links’ and ‘Identifying as Scottish’, although revealing that overall ethnic affiliation increased within the society after the turn of the twentieth century it also demonstrates an increasing membership occupied by mixed households composed of a non-Scottish wife, usually English, and a Scottish husband.⁶⁶ Suggesting that the husband’s

⁶⁴ WFMS, *Thirty-Third Annual Report* (1909), 37, MG20 vol.369 #29; WFMS, ‘Home and Corresponding Secretary’s Report, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1895), 15.

⁶⁵ The full quote reads ‘so that when these people land in this strange new country, the first hand held out to them is that of the Church, and the Church calls them by name and claims them’. WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report*, 31-32.

⁶⁶ See appendix for further detail.

ethnicity played a significant role in determining the social, religious and cultural activities of his wife and family, it also draws attention to the gradual dilution of Scottishness over time, replaced by a more general Britishness.

Importantly, increasingly dissociated Scottishness does not necessarily dispute aforementioned observations of growing cultural and denominational exclusivity within the society in response to immigration. Rather, it represents the development, with generational distance, of a much more complex Scottishness which was easily absorbed into a multifaceted Anglo-Canadian cultural identity. In the words of Paula Hastings,

Articulations of British identity in the late-nineteenth-century British World varied widely and were often ambiguous, fluid, and contradictory. The Canadian context was no exception. English Canadians continuously negotiated their position within the British Empire and their constructions of British identity were often inspired by domestic circumstances.⁶⁷

As noted earlier, the compatibility between Scottish and British imperial identities no doubt also blurred some of the lines between Scottish and Anglo-Canadian identities. But the gradual separation of institutional affiliations with Scotland also testifies to the seamlessness with which multiple British national, cultural and ethnic identities were absorbed into Anglo-Canadianness. Esther Breitenbach explains that

Over time, the relationships between the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian churches which Scottish missionaries helped to establish [in the British Empire] were transformed in character, gradually becoming one of partners in an international framework.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Hastings, ‘Our Glorious Anglo-Saxon Race’, 92.

⁶⁸ Breitenbach, ‘Scots Churches and Missions’, 214.

What had previously operated as a Scottish church in Nova Scotia – or multiple Scottish churches considering complex divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism – was gradually becoming established as a consciously Canadian Presbyterian church.⁶⁹ Considering the strict authority hierarchies within the church and this broader institutional transformation, it is unlikely that the WFMS would have projected a disparate national identity to that of the Church, and can therefore be considered representative of it.⁷⁰ Another relevant factor in this transition, as articulated by R. J. Morris, was the deeply integrated civic consciousness – formulated by the universal values centralized by Presbyterianism – in Scottish national identity. Also a form of associational culture, Morris argues that civic institutions, associations and support networks were a ‘concealed and often silent Scottish contribution’ to the British empire. By nature, however, focus on civil society ‘came to embody both Scottish and local identity’, meaning that as Scottish as this practice was, the rhetoric, attitudes and institutions associated with it were seamlessly absorbed into rapidly developing colonial societies.⁷¹

Covering the same period as the WFMS’s operations before amalgamation in 1914, Mark McGowan’s analysis of waning Irish affiliations amongst the Irish in Toronto substantiates this theory further. As also demonstrated in the case of the WFMS leadership, through census-based research McGowan explains that by 1911 the majority of ‘English-speaking Catholics in Toronto were the children, grandchildren and perhaps great-grandchildren of pre-Confederation Irish and Scottish immigrants’, making the turn of the

⁶⁹ A merger of four Protestant denominations in 1925 (Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian and Local Union) led to the establishment of the United Church of Canada. Scobie and Rawlyk (eds.), *The Contribution of Presbyterianism*, xiii.

⁷⁰ Authority and hierarchy within the Church will be explored in Chapter Three.

⁷¹ Morris, ‘The Enlightenment and the Thistle’, 57, 63. This also discussed in Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*.

century the most formative period for Irish integration into Canadian society.⁷² After a century-and-a-half of continuous Irish immigration, McGowan argues that the English-speaking Catholic Irish community in Canada had developed and adapted ‘its sense of Catholicity’, and all other dimensions of the community’s life to local circumstances, transforming it

...from an Irish-centric community into a decidedly Canadian Catholic community with linguistic, economic, political, social and pedagogical ties to the non-Catholic population of the city. This identification with Canadian life and values came as a consequence of the rise of new Canadian-born generations of Catholics.⁷³

As ‘a community that was in the process of transferring its primary focus of loyalty from the old country, Ireland, to the new, Canada’, evidence of the Irish in Toronto integrating themselves into the Anglo-Canadian milieu included

...‘the rise in interfaith marriages, the more even distribution of Catholics in the socio-economic structures of the city; increased political participation by Catholics; the adoption of Canadian nation-building ideals and imperial sentiment; and sustained fraternization among all denominations in non-sectarian clubs and events’.⁷⁴

Through a complex mixture of submerging ‘their overt ties to Ireland’ while still retaining ‘their distinctive creed’, the Irish adopted and began to propound ‘the national vision and nation-building agenda of protestant Canada’.⁷⁵ This pattern among Toronto’s Irish community normalizes the WFMS’s seemingly contradictory increase in Scottish and

⁷² Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 8.

⁷³ Ibid, 5.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 7-15, citation from page 9.

⁷⁵ Ibid, citations from pages 7 and 9.

Presbyterian exclusivity and simultaneous dissociation from Scotland in response to immigration.

Indeed, McGowan contends that this shift in loyalties is underscored through ‘the similarities between anglophone Protestant and Catholic missionary rhetoric and activity’ among Canada’s growing immigrant community.⁷⁶ The sense of ethnic difference accentuated by increased immigration caused the Irish Catholic church to develop a home mission policy driven by the perceived need to ‘Canadianize’ immigrants, and though principally directing their efforts at Eastern and Southern European co-religionists, the church also targeted, just like the WFMS, recent arrivals from the homeland, marking their sense of difference from the Ireland-born Irish. Importantly, a home mission policy of ‘anglicization and acculturation to the values popular in English Canada’ was simultaneously a strategy to assert dissimilarity from the nationalism of French-Canadian Catholics; demonstrating ‘how closely English-speaking Catholics had come to identify with...the dream of an English-speaking nation’ characterized by religious pluralism.⁷⁷ In this way the WFMS represents the Canadian Scottish community’s similarities with the Canadian Irish community as it was transformed from an ‘ethnic subculture in the late nineteenth century into an integrated segment of Anglo-Canadian society by the early twentieth century’.⁷⁸

The WFMS’s changing language in a foreign mission context after the turn of the century demonstrates that home conditions had repercussions in all elements of the society’s work. Referring to its work in British Guiana, in 1898 the society noted that ‘The

⁷⁶ Ibid, 14.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, i.

greatest disappointment this past year has been the depression in sugar so that less money was received from sugar planters than is usual', and added in 1911 that although 'Numbers of English and Scotch born people live and thrive in this country...we have had vacancies occurring again and again in our work'.⁷⁹ These statements are noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, they demonstrate the society's recognition that its work was determined by economic activity coordinated through metropolitan interests. Secondly, by 1911 the English and Scotch are identified as distinct nationalities, denoting their familiarity to the WFMS yet simultaneously suggesting distance, because the WFMS was Canadian. This is strongly contrasted by a statement a decade earlier where the women identify Canada as a British colony: 'Trinidad, however, is a British colony; here the workers have, at least, the protection of the home flag; and life and property are as safe as in Canada'.⁸⁰ Although demonstrating once again that society's loyalties changed over time to increasingly identify as Canadian, it also highlights how the society capitalized on the flexibility and inclusivity of 'British' as an identity, which allowed the women to act simultaneously as British subjects and as imperial agents.

Overall, the above discussion presents one account of how the Scottish community in Canada experienced and contributed to the negotiation of post-Confederation Canadian national identity and the transition from colony to country – before the outbreak of the First World War. Rather than capturing a static view of Scottish diasporic identity, considering the WFMS's Scottishness within its broader imperial context, in relation to localized threats to British hegemony within a British imperial space, and the added dynamic of generational distance reveals how profoundly Scottish diasporic identity could change in a short period

⁷⁹ WFMS, *Twenty-Second Annual Report* (1898), 19; WFMS, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911), 29.

⁸⁰ WFMS, *Twenty-Second Annual Report* (1898), 12.

of time. It thereby demonstrates a clear shift in the society's focal points for identity formation, transitioning from primarily Scottish to Canadian national and even regional reference points. The regional identity of the WFMS is crucial, suggesting a more deeply integrated relationship with the British Empire than central Canada. Indeed, the ethnic and cultural continuity between Britain and the British dominions demonstrates how Scottish religious, ethnic and cultural identities, just like Irish, English and Welsh, could seamlessly be absorbed into an ascendant Anglo-Canadian nationality which identified as fundamentally British. Powerful symbolism invoked by Charlotte Geddie Harrington, daughter of Nova Scotia's first Presbyterian foreign missionaries John and Charlotte Geddie and editor of the WFMS's mouthpiece, exemplifies how these multiple loyalties and identities interacted by the first decade of the twentieth century. Referring to Nova Scotia, she explained that

We have a Canadian flag with maple leaves, and a beaver, and king-fisher, as distinguishing signs; and also roses and shamrocks, and thistles and the Union Jack, to show that we belong to Great Britain. And when we have entertainments here the Canadian flag, the British ensign, and the Stars and Stripes you love so dearly, are all draped harmoniously together.⁸¹

Although Geddie Harrington had in the same volume made certain references to a Scottish heritage, especially in reference to her father, Scotland's absence as a distinct, fondly held nation in this imagery is unmissable.⁸² Although this exploration has demonstrated the complexity of the WFMS's ethnic, national and cultural affiliations, it has not yet

⁸¹ Charlotte Geddie Harrington, 'Stories by a Missionary's Daughter: January Letter' (1908), in WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington*, 57.

⁸² See Chapter One for discussion on Geddie Harrington's references to Scotland.

considered the women's gender in influencing these dynamics. This forms the topic for the next and final chapter.

Chapter Three

‘Savage and Embruted man’: the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society, Feminism and Focus on Canadian Society

Analysis of the WFMS’s published material reveals how a narrative of female autonomy existed in parallel with the society’s imperial objectives. While themes such as female empowerment, disapproval of the oppression suffered by heathen woman at the hands of men, and critique of the male ministry and membership of the church permeate the society’s rhetoric, in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century its operations were increasingly shaped by feminist activism. Beginning with an exploration of the relationship between the women’s foreign missionary and women’s rights movements more broadly, this third and final chapter investigates the compatibility of the WFMS’s Protestant, imperialist, and feminist identities. The second section uses the society’s published material to argue that the WFMS indeed represents a microcosm of the first wave of global feminism, particularly its conservative evangelical or ‘maternal’ strain. Crucially, increasing feminist ideology within the WFMS was connected simultaneously with advocacy for female liberation in the foreign field and with the encouragement and provision of opportunities at a local level which tied in with a discourse of female advancement. As it will be shown, increasing feminist identification within the society also fostered an increased focus on the development of Canadian society and a consciousness as a national community of women. By drawing attention to identity variables such as class and gender, this chapter ultimately questions the authority of ethnicity within Scottish diaspora studies while challenging the male-centric interpretations which have always prevailed within its scholarship.

In 1897 *The Missionary Review of the World*, which was an interdenominational periodical reporting on Protestant foreign missions, dedicated its ‘Women’s Work’ section to discussing ‘the status of her sex in this land’ and referenced the National Women’s Temperance Union’s 1897 annual address that had reported on the implementation of women’s voting rights at educational, municipal, and state-level. While highlighting solidarity between women’s temperance and women’s foreign missionary work in the cause of women’s rights, the same section also proudly emphasized women’s dominance in the field of foreign missionary work, ‘calling attention to the fact that woman is *numerically the strongest factor* in the mission field to-day’.¹ Literature circulated within women’s missionary organizations likewise demonstrates a clear link between women’s and the women’s missionary movements by defining the latter in clearly feminist terms; highlighting the extent to which it disseminated feminist ideology. Helen Barrett Montgomery, whom the historian Rosemary Seton describes as ‘a leading figure in the American women’s missionary movement’, sold more than 100,000 copies of her *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, published in 1910 to mark the 50th anniversary of the first American Women’s Board of Missions.² In the monograph, Barrett announced that

...everywhere under the sun there are evidences that age-long habits of subserviency are loosening, that women are shaking off the lion’s paw of cruel custom and are daring to stand on their feet, ‘an exceeding great army’.

¹ Regarding the USA, ‘twenty-five states have given the educational ballot to women; 1 (Kansas) has conferred upon them the municipal ballot, and 3 (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah) have made them full citizens’. Rev. Arthur T. Pierson, D. D. (ed.), *The Missionary Review of the World: January-December, 1897* vol.X New Series, vol.XX Old Series (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1897), 74.

² Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia* (Santa Barbara, CA: Prager: ABC CLIO, 2013), 106.

Adding that ‘the reaching out of women for fuller freedom and juster opportunities is confined to no race or country’, Barrett referred to foreign missionary activity as part of ‘this worldwide women’s movement’.³

Western Women in Eastern Lands was one of the most widely read tracts within the mission literary genre, circulated within women’s foreign mission societies – including the WFMS – and used to inform discussion points during monthly meetings.⁴ Essentially identical to Barrett’s rhetoric, at the WFMS’s 31st annual meeting in 1907, the society President, Miss C. Carmichael, expressed the pride she took in her position ‘at the head of an army of 8,000 women marching to conquer their share of the world for Christ’.⁵ Occurring three years before the publication of *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, Carmichael’s statement reveals that feminist rhetoric in a foreign missions context had, by this period, already gained wide currency at a regional level, and while Carmichael’s notably military diction testifies to the imperialistic nature of foreign missionary activity, it also alludes to the women’s resolve to implement change in gender relations.

Despite primary material related to the women’s foreign missionary movement exuding such clearly feminist discourse, both past and current historiography tends to present temperance and suffrage as the most impactful examples of organized women’s gender relations activism.⁶ Indeed, with roots in the late eighteenth century, the role of the

³ Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, 245-6.

⁴ The circulation of the book within missionary societies also means that the author enjoyed a vastly greater readership than the number of copies sold indicate. Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands*, 106; WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 58. The importance of missionary literature within the local auxiliaries of women’s foreign mission societies is also discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

⁵ WFMS, *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: McAlpine Publishing Co., 1907), 15, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #27.

⁶ The following publications either do not or barely mention the women’s foreign missionary cause in a context of the women’s rights movement: Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Frances Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

women's foreign missionary enterprise in the women's right movement in general, but also in facilitating multifaceted feminist activism, particularly the temperance movement, by providing a church-based organizational model for female activism in civil society, has long remained underappreciated.⁷ But if the *The Missionary Review of the World* quoted statistics from the American Women's Christian Temperance Union, WFMS missionaries and members balanced foreign mission and temperance work,⁸ and if journalist Marjory MacMurchy in 1916 estimated the membership in Canadian women's missionary societies to number 'not under 200,000', while membership in the Canadian Women's Christian Temperance movement stood at 10,000 a year earlier, how has this disconnect between the women's and the women's foreign missionary movements come about, and how valid is identifying the WFMS as a feminist society?⁹

Though the words 'feminist' and 'feminism' did not come into common parlance until the early twentieth century, definition of the 'first wave' of feminism along the lines of pursuit of equal marriage and custody rights, greater access to education and employment, temperance, and suffrage is closely related to the influence that 'second-

1996); Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (eds.), *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). In a more recent and Canadian context, see e.g. Joan Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle: the History of Women and the Vote in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2018).

⁷ This is raised in Patricia Ward D'Itri, *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999), 37. For a discussion of the relationship between women's activism and the expansion of civil society in this era, see Karen Offen, 'Civil Society, Gender Justice, and the History of European Feminisms' in Gunilla Budde, Karen Hagemann and Sonya Michel (eds.), *Civil Society, Public Space, and Gender Justice* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2008).

⁸ Mrs. Morton wrote to the society in 1896 explaining 'Since February 1st the [mission] Home has been opened but that is not the half of my work. School work, woman's work, temperance work, music, etc., all receive a share of my attention'. WFMS, *Twentieth Annual Report* (1896), 19.

⁹ Marjory MacMurchy Willison, *The Woman – Bless Her: Not as Amiable a Book as It Sounds* (Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1916), 10-11; for temperance figures see Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 71.

wave' feminist scholars have exercised on the writing of the history of the women's rights movement.¹⁰ Evident in the lack of scholarship on the Protestant women's foreign missionary movement until more recent decades, historian of Canadian missions Ruth Compton Brouwer explains that

The woman's missionary movement with its close ties to conservative denominational structures and its imperialist and racist assumptions appeared to have little to offer historians with an interest in finding congenial role models and a usable past.¹¹

One way to situate the Protestant women's foreign missionary movement within the broader women's rights movement is by exploring the centrality of religion to the development of women's rights activism. Though John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1861) is frequently considered the theoretical foundation of women's rights ideology, before Mill's philosophical essay it was scripture and the church which formed the mainstream in female reform work and what would later become a global, multifaceted, movement aimed at improving women's rights in a number of ways.¹² As feminist historian Mary Renda explains:

Protestant women seized the gendered structure of obligation – the injunction to live out of a tightly prescribed model of womanhood, one in which religious

¹⁰ Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*, 8. For discussion on historiography see Mary Spongberg, *Writing Women's History Since the Renaissance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11, 172-84. Spongberg also explores how 'second-wave' feminism and 'women's history' became 'mutually dependent' in this period.

¹¹ Brouwer discusses the historiography on women's foreign missions historiography in Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 7.

¹² John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1861), cited in Barbara Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement, Ideology and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 11. Ryan also discusses the importance of Mary Wollstonecraft, *The Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1792) but argues that Mill's work was more influential in the development of 19thC feminist theory. Ben Griffin discusses Mill's influence and the many forms of 19thC feminism in Griffin, *The Politics of Gender*, 23.

piety, maternal care, and domestic industry defined the main components of acceptable female behaviour – to authorize and enlarge their scope of action...¹³

Conformity to these notions of femininity and domesticity became a central aspect of middle-class respectability, what the American Board of Missions called in 1813 ‘the limits, which a sense of propriety has imposed on female exertion’, and the need to ensure its adherence, especially among the poor, created a culture of middle-class moral reform.¹⁴ As arguments were found in scripture for expanding women’s ‘role’ in society while remaining true to Christian gender ideals, the church, bridging the gap between domestic and public spheres, facilitated the development of the women’s rights movement by allowing women to organize into church societies for the pursuit of faith-driven reform work.¹⁵ As the nineteenth century progressed, the role of faith-driven reform was fortified within women’s activism. According to feminist historian Barbara Ryan, evangelical revivalism ‘presented a doctrine of perfectionism in which there was an acceptance of an obligation to perfect oneself and one’s community’ through the pursuit of moral reform.¹⁶ While providing doctrinal justification for further expansion of women’s reform work, it

¹³ Mary A. Renda, ‘Conclusion’, in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds.), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 371.

¹⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with Other Documents of the Board* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834), 78; In a Scottish context, Breitenbach and Gordon claim that ‘notions of femininity contributed to the development of social institutions [prisons, missions, schools] which controlled and restricted the lives of working-class women, and middle-class women played an active part in this process’. See Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (eds.), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 3.

¹⁵ Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement*, 10-14; For early North American activism see Sally McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement*, 10-26.

also assisted in developing among women a consciousness of themselves as a gender category.¹⁷

Referring to the irony of scripture as a source of both oppression of and liberation for women, social historian Jane Hunter argues that ‘Domesticity, like manliness and civilization, constituted an elastic conceptual category which could be stretched to fit an array of apparently contradictory projects’.¹⁸ The elasticity of femininity and domesticity also meant that different forms of feminism could develop. According to Canadian feminism historian Jennifer Henderson, ‘maternal feminism’

...names the sense in which the first wave launched women into public space through arguments for the social utility of a traditional gender role; in this sense, the term redeploys the discourse of the period to name a historical tendency’.¹⁹

At the time, therefore, ‘maternal feminism’ synthesized liberal feminism and conservative evangelicalism to argue that women and men were ‘equal but different’.²⁰

With its proselytizing purpose and promotion of Christian gender ideals, the women’s foreign missionary movement exemplifies this particular strain of feminism, summarized

¹⁷ Ibid, 11. Gerda Lerner put this in more radical terms when she described this ‘moment in woman’s self-perception, when she begins to see an as ‘other’...when her feminist self-consciousness begins’. Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Publishing, 1977), xxiii.

¹⁸ Jane H. Hunter, ‘Women’s Mission in Historical Perspective: American Identity and Christian Internationalism’, in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds.), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 29; For irony see also Cathy Ross, ‘Separate Spheres or Shared Dominions?’, *Transformation* 23/4 (2006), 230.

¹⁹ Jennifer Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003), 161.

²⁰ Youngkin explains that ‘conservative feminism, which was informed by the evangelical movement and in which woman’s biological difference was celebrated and constituted a justification for the separate spheres doctrine’, in Molly Youngkin, *Feminist Realism at the Fin de Siècle: the Influence of the Late-Victorian Woman’s Press on the Development of the Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 9; See also Wayne Gruden, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2004).

in its ideology of ‘women’s work for women’. From a relatively early stage there was an awareness within the church that the involvement of women would be necessary should the church wish to extend the gospel to unchristian women secluded from non-familial male contact.²¹ A departing sermon preached to two missionary wives in 1812 thus advised:

It will be your business, my dear children, to teach these women, to whom your husbands can have but little, or no access. Go then, and do all in your power, to enlighten their minds, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth. Go, and if possible, raise their character to the dignity of rational beings, and to the rank of Christians in a Christian land.²²

The need to ‘access’ non-Christian women was what originally sparked the requirement for missionary wives to accompany their husbands in the field, marking women’s involvement in the foreign mission cause as one of the first manifestations of organized women’s work for the advancement of women. As the nineteenth century progressed middle-class women embraced this reality and demarcated missionary support for women and children as their special responsibility; justifying the need for fully trained, sponsored female missionaries in the field, and in order to pay the cost of training and salaries of female missionaries, women’s foreign missionary societies’ home operations expanded significantly.²³ Crucially, however, although this policy of ‘women’s work for women’ confirmed the women’s awareness of themselves as a gender category, it simultaneously fortified their belief in an ‘equal but different’ ideology.²⁴

²¹ Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 5, 16.

²² John Allen, *A Sermon delivered at Haverhill, February 5, 1812, on the occasion of the Young Ladies being about to embark as the wives of the Rev. Messieurs Judson and Newell, going Missionaries to India* (Bradford, MA: W.B. & H.G. Allen, 1812), 19.

²³ Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class*.

²⁴ Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 5, 16.

As radical social feminism gained popularity in the early twentieth century, maternal or conservative evangelical feminism received criticism for accepting a paternalistic worldview; undoubtedly contributing to the foreign missionary movement being less commonly identified as ‘feminist’ to feminist historians in the 1960s and 70s.²⁵ This tendency was largely a result of essentialist tendencies in the critique of masculinist history which characterized second-wave feminist writing, creating a perceived need to write the ‘history of feminism’.²⁶ Recognition of these trends has marked a new phase in gender history in the last two decades, with scholarly work on the women’s movement focussing instead on the nuanced ways that women

...were involved in constructing, reinforcing, utilising, negotiating, subverting or more rarely challenging the distinction between the private-domestic sphere and the public-political sphere which was so central to middle-class prescriptions concerning men’s and women’s proper roles in society. Indeed it becomes clear that women were not negotiating their role...in relation to an established and fixed ‘public sphere’; rather, extra-Parliamentary political activities...were a key means by which both women and men developed the arena of civil society...²⁷

It is, however, a combination of revised gender history and reignited interest in imperialism studies which has served a crucial role in ‘unlocking’ the feminist narrative of the foreign missionary movement. Historians Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart argue that the study of imperialism and the Atlantic world in the last two decades has ‘fundamentally transformed’ our understanding of ‘women’s public empowerment’.²⁸

²⁵ This is discussed in Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 81.

²⁶ Spongberg, 11, 229-39.

²⁷ Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1995), 6. For critique on ‘separate spheres’ explanations, see Griffin, *The Politics of Gender*, 22-3.

²⁸ Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart (eds.), ‘Introduction’, in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), xiii. The authors acknowledge that abolitionism has been placed in a context of women’s rights activism much

Focussing specifically on slavery abolitionism, the authors stress that ‘in mainland Europe as well as in Britain and the United States women came to view their own emancipation in terms that drew on their understanding of slavery as a gendered institution’.²⁹ Though it is clear that anti-slavery activism was a significant manifestation of early feminism,³⁰ historian of British imperialism Clare Midgley refers to this process as

...part of a wider strategy adopted by women who became involved in a range of early nineteenth-century campaigns aimed at improving the position of women in different parts of the Empire. Such imperial female philanthropy and reform expanded evangelical ‘women’s mission to women’ from the domestic arena onto the imperial stage... stress on their own privileges as women in contrast with their enslaved sisters very closely...echoes the language of women concerned with promoting the Christian education of ‘heathen’ women as their distinctive contribution to the foreign missionary enterprise that took off from the 1790s onward.³¹

Indeed, though feminism by the late nineteenth century was manifest in the pursuit of equal marriage and custody rights, greater access to education and employment, temperance, and suffrage in the home society, there was also a drive to improve the status of women in the foreign field. The latter enterprise formed part of the female civilizing mission, thus establishing a firm link between Western feminism and imperialism.³² While also alluding

earlier but not in a transnational context. See e.g. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), and Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967).

²⁹ Sklar and Stewart (eds.), *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery*, xiii.

³⁰ This field receives much attention from American scholars. See e.g. Jean Fagan Yellin, John C. Van Horne (eds.), *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Women's Rights Emerges Within the Anti-Slavery Movement, 1830-1870: A Brief History with Documents* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

³¹ Clare Midgley, ‘British Abolition and Feminism in Transatlantic Perspective’, in Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart (eds.), ‘Introduction’, in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 128.

³² Twells, *The Civilising Mission*; Ian Fletcher, Laura Nym Mayhall, and Philippa Levine (eds.), *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race* (London: Routledge, 2002); Carey, *God's Empire*.

to its complexity, Mary Renda effectively summarizes the almost rediscovery of the relationship between the women's and women's foreign missionary movements which has occurred as a result of reignited interest in imperialism studies:

The 'language of domesticity' and the 'racial dimension' of 'woman's work for woman' form the double helix of race and empire that underpinned nineteenth- and twentieth-century international women's activism.³³

The WFMS and Feminism

Historian of Canadian feminism Joan Sangster proposes that, despite the term's association with feminist radicalism when it was originally coined in the 1910s, past projection of today's definition of feminism, 'individual autonomy and self-determination, human equality, and social justice for the oppressed', is a productive exercise in the analysis of the women's movement as a collection of 'women's clubs, organizations, and religious, reform, and suffrage groups, all of which mobilized women on the basis of gender' from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries.³⁴ The following section explores this definition of feminism as it relates to the WFMS; demonstrating how the society represents a microcosm of the 'benevolent maternalism' strain of a multifaceted, global women's rights movement and how gender, over Scottish ethnicity, became a determining factor in how these women self-identified.

A second objective of this section is to demonstrate how increasing identification with the women's rights cause also fostered, within the WFMS, an increased focus on the development of Nova Scotian society and a consciousness as a national community of

³³ See Reeves-Ellington et. al., 12.

³⁴ According to Sangster, the term was coined by 'an elite group of and American avant-garde, nonconformist, radical and individualist women'. Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*, 9.

women. Women's temperance and suffrage movements, deeply entrenched within feminist literature, have long been associated with broader nation-building efforts of the modern Protestant state.³⁵ Yet due to its exclusion from most literature on the history of feminism, the extent to which the feminist component of the women's foreign missionary movement stimulated a concern for the local, regional and national among its members remains underexplored. Capturing this shift provides one avenue through which the transition of national affiliations among women of British origin in the British dominions can be explored. This, in turn, can assist in capturing the early stages of the negotiation of dominion identities as affiliated with yet separate from Britain; allowing us to trace back more precisely the origin of ideas of a self-governing Canada.

By the 1880s female empowerment and autonomy had become recurrent themes in the discourse of the WFMS. An address entitled 'the epiphany of woman' delivered in 1893 indicates how the WFMS was transitioning from a religious society defined by the propagation of Christianity in the foreign field, the 'civilizing mission', to an organization articulating and pursuing women's rights in the home and foreign fields alike:

The closing quarter of the century has been characterised by a marked advance of woman's work in all departments of life – social, political, intellectual, religious... The great advance she has made in unravelling to some extent the intricate problem of how to help the lapsed and the lost, the sinning and the suffering masses; the exalted pedestal she has attained in these latter days, these signs of the times are most striking and significant. There may be a diversity of opinion as to the desirability of certain fields of woman's occupancy, but all are agreed that in the grand

³⁵ For exploration in a Canadian context, especially suffrage, see Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*, 6; for temperance in Canada see e.g. Sharon Cook, 'Women Creating Canada: the Long Reach of Temperance into the Twenty-First Century', in *Canadian Issues* (Fall 2016), 28-32; for examples outside the Anglosphere see e.g. Ellen Marakowitz, 'Gender and national identity in Finland: An exploration into women's political agency', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Volume 19, Issues 1-2, (1996), 55-63.

cause of missions there is a wide, practically an unbounded sphere for her usefulness.³⁶

According to the WFMS, the field of foreign missions was linked decisively with the advancement of women across social, political, intellectual and religious fields, and involvement in the society would assist the collective advancement of women in the foreign field as well as at home.

Discussed in detail by imperial historians such as Clare Midgley, central to the WFMS's understanding of gender inequality was the intelligence they received through their missionaries regarding the status of women in the foreign field.³⁷ Within a few years of its inception the society began using increasingly evocative language to illustrate the oppression that unchristian women suffered at the hands of men. According to the WFMS, 'heathen' woman was 'Oppressed and down trodden, the helpless victim of the cruelty and caprice, the lust and lawlessness of savage and embruted man'.³⁸ In 1884, the President's annual address used the same argument to convey the urgency and importance of the society's work:

Remember sisters that 300 million of your sex are living in the only Buddhist hope beyond this world, of perhaps being born again a man, instead of a toad or a snake. That nearly 90 million of your sex are in the most abject slavery, body and soul to their Hindu lords, and that still 80 million more are in Moslem harems. Remember this, Christian sisters.³⁹

³⁶ 'President's Address', WFMS, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1895), 9-10.

³⁷ Clare Midgley, 'Female Emancipation in an Imperial Frame: English Women and the Campaign Against Sati (Widow-Burning) in India, 1813-30', *Women's History Review*, vol. 9 (2000), 95-122.

³⁸ WFMS, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1895), 9-10.

³⁹ WFMS, *Seventh Annual Report of the Halifax Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Halifax: Baillie & Anderson, 1884), 35, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #7.

Developing an understanding of gender inequality based on intelligence received from the foreign field, it was a combination of the sexism of other cultures and gender-biased evangelizing efforts on the part of the church's General Assembly which impelled the WFMS to take up 'particularly the work among women and children in heathen lands'.⁴⁰ Missionary teacher Miss Blackadder in Trinidad, for instance, lamented the fact that the majority of her students were boys and explained that 'people have such a strong prejudice against sending girls to school'.⁴¹

Clare Midgley refers to this process as 'imperial feminism': 'the ways they [white, middle-class women] saw and understood the imperial world in which they lived, and the discursive spaces they created for female agency and power'.⁴² Fortifying commitment to a maternal or conservative evangelical feminism, Protestantism was, according to the WFMS, considered the remedy to such gender inequality:

Ours is distinctively woman's work for woman. What has not the gospel done for us as women? It has raised us from the wretchedness and degradation of beasts of burden, and placed us by the side of our fellow-man.⁴³

Albeit referring to the United States and with some dated terminology, R. Pierce Beaver puts his finger on the nineteenth-century women's foreign missionary movement as the intersection of feminism and religious conservatism:

The Women's Liberation Movement in the United States can in part be traced back to the struggle by church women to participate personally in the overseas mission and to gain an equal place with men in the support and direction of it at the home base... The women's foreign missions movement was thoroughly

⁴⁰ For quote see WFMS, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1910), 8.

⁴¹ WFMS, 'Fifth Annual Report of Miss Blackadder's Work', *Fifth Annual Report* (1882).

⁴² Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1-11.

⁴³ WFMS, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1893), 11.

evangelistic and concerned with saving souls. But its power was generated through dedication to the liberation of women and girls in Oriental and primitive societies.⁴⁴

Writing in a context of foreign missions history rather than that of the women's rights movement, Beaver reinforces the previous section's argument that the two were for a long time considered intrinsically separate movements.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, in presenting this argument Beaver was ahead of his time. Though constantly conforming to Christian, middle-class gender ideals, by promoting their proselytizing work as 'women's work for women' the ideology of female emancipation was centralized in the WFMS's self-definition.

Another aspect confirming the decisively feminist nature of the WFMS, then, was how the society made sense of its relationship with men. Historian of British politics and gender Ben Griffin argues that

...the intellectual history of 'feminism' has been constrained in important ways by treating 'feminism' as though it were a body of thought concerned solely with ideas about femininity and the proper place of women. 'Feminism' was fundamentally concerned with both of those things, but it was also concerned with describing, explaining and changing the behaviour of men.⁴⁶

Women's religious organizations provided important forums in which the negotiation of identity and autonomy could take place, as they ironically acted as a force holding back women, thus encouraging critique, yet simultaneously provided an ideological and practical space for female empowerment. Ros Hague is a political scientist who argues that

⁴⁴ R. Pierce Beaver, foreword to Louise A. Cattam (ed.) *Lamps are for Lighting: The Story of Helen Barrett Montgomery and Lucy Waterbury Peabody* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 7.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Beaver, R. Pierce, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1968).

⁴⁶ Griffin, *The Politics of Gender*, 8.

gendering processes of self-identification within historical analysis is worthwhile. In her monograph *Autonomy and Identity*, Hague argues that women have been constrained in their choices because of oppressive environments and patriarchy-imposed norms of ‘self-control and the threat of social control’. Therefore, because autonomy is negotiated in a social context, there is an important element of ‘reclaiming autonomy from masculinity’ within the process of negotiating individuality. Ethnicity and autonomy are interlinked, forming two different but essential processes of self-identification which overlap, highlighting the overall need to increasingly consider autonomy in the study of Scottish women in the diaspora.⁴⁷

Published annual reports reveal that WFMS annual meetings were a forum in which autonomy was a hot topic. In response to increasing calls for support for the Northwest and Labrador missions, in 1902 a heated debate ensued over amending the society’s constitution and scope to include home missions. This amendment was discussed in relation to immigration in the previous chapter, but the debate, while giving a voice to individual women in the society, also frames the society’s relationship with its male church leadership. While much of the discussion explored practicalities of amending the scope of WFMS and what the Lord would have intended, although Mrs. Ross of Maitland recognised the importance of the question, she felt ‘that the women of the Church should not take all the responsibility from the men’, and although Miss Carmichael was in favour of including home work in the society’s remit, she had ‘great confidence in the opinion of those men in the Synod who did not approve of combining Home with Foreign’.⁴⁸ The society ultimately decided to postpone the decision until the following year or until they were approached by

⁴⁷ Ros Hague, *Autonomy and Identity: The Politics of Who We Are* (London: Routledge, 2011), 9-13.

⁴⁸ WFMS, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report* (1902), 8-11.

the all-male Home Committee. It is clear, however, that one of the main motivations for postponement was the fear that changing the society's scope would have an adverse effect on its success.⁴⁹ In the debate, 'Mrs. Dickie, of Truro, then rose and said that, to her, it seemed as though we, as a body of women, were assuming that we knew more than the Synod and Assembly, who always divide their Home and Foreign work, and run them on separate lines', and that 'She was strongly interested in Home Mission work, but thought it could be much more effectually dealt with not in conjunction with Foreign. Should they unite, in her opinion, it would cripple both'. Evidently, though at first glance appearing to indicate reluctance to divide their work without the approval of the General Assembly, the women were in actual fact exercising caution, arguing that adjusting the society's remit might have consequences on their progress.⁵⁰

While the women spoke carefully about their position on the patriarchal hierarchy of the church, other aspects of their work indicate that they were constantly and systematically seeking to maximize their autonomy. In 1912 the WFMS announced its membership of the 'golden chain of woman's missionary service': the Women's International Union, comprising 28 Protestant women's foreign mission societies and the periodical *The Girdle Around the Earth*.⁵¹ The choice of the word 'girdle' to name this periodical representing an international union of women is curious, referring perhaps to the distinctly feminine contribution to the upholding of civilization, but the restrictive connotations of the word

⁴⁹ In 1893 the society proudly stressed that 'Unquestionably the work of our Society is becoming better known, and consequently more widely appreciated throughout the length and breadth of our Church in these Maritime Provinces', in 'President's Address', WFMS, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1893), 8.

⁵⁰ WFMS, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report* (1902), 8-11.

⁵¹ WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 40. This organization is not accounted for in much historical scholarship, but is briefly mentioned in a context of 'women's movements' by Patricia Sheerattan-Bisnaut, 'Reclaiming the Church as Community: The Ordination of Women – A Perspective from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches', in Meehyun Chung & Elisabeth Meischer (eds.), *Weaving Dreams – Träume Weben, Theological and Religious Knowledge Series* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009), 278-79.

and how it might relate to the constraint placed on women, socially and physically, are unmissable.⁵² The WFMS aimed to establish regular correspondence with all societies in the union to ‘give us clearer visions regarding the aims and methods of these organizations, and thus constitute a valuable contribution to that knowledge of each other’. Though the WFMS had a clear interest in its sister societies’ geographic and financial operations,⁵³ it carefully analysed other societies’ organizational structures and relations with the Church’s male leadership. Sharing its research results in 1912, the WFMS drew attention to a comment in the New Zealand society’s newsletter *Harvest Field* that ‘full development of our organization cannot take place until we have resting upon us the entire responsibility for some of our agents in the mission field’. Correspondences, reports, and writings also confirmed that the English Women’s Association ‘seems to be reaching out for a measure of self-government’. In fact, they even had a proposition under consideration with their Synod to consider substituting the all-male Foreign Mission Synodical Committee to ‘one composed of both men and women proportionate to the interests they represent’. The WFMS then reported that the Scottish United Free Church’s women’s missionary work was based on a 10-member Women’s Missionary Committee, consisting of five members elected by the Women’s Committee and five by the all-male Foreign Mission Committee, and operated on the basis that the male Foreign Mission Committee ‘shall be an integral

⁵² See e.g. Londa Schiebinger (ed.), *Feminism and the Body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵³ The WFMS noted that ‘The societies in the British Isles raise large sums of money, but confine their operations chiefly to India, British Central Africa, China and Japan’; ‘New Zealand confines its operations to the New Hebrides, Zenana work in Madras, and work among its foreign population which it calls Home Missions’ and ‘Our Irish sisters look upon the Empire of India as the greatest thrust given by God to any nation’. The society also referenced the United States, noting that ‘Not only are India, China, Japan, Korea, Africa and Syria embraced in their zealous efforts...but the more contiguous countries of Brazil, Central America, Cuba and the Phillipine Islands as well’. WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 40.

part of the Women's Missionary Committee', and the Women's Missionary Committee associated with the Foreign Mission Committee 'as an integral part thereof!'.⁵⁴

The open discussion and subsequent publication of the WFMS's systematic investigations into other women's foreign missionary societies' relationships with their general assemblies indicates the society's position that the effectiveness of its operations was closely determined by the extent to which its work was controlled by the male church leadership; a critique vocalizing the WFMS's belief that women ought to have a greater role in church organization. The WFMS was not unique in its opinion. In fact, by the time of the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh it is clear that the drive for autonomy within female foreign mission societies had become a cause for concern on a global level. Categorizing the women's missionary movement under 'Problems of Administration', the published conference report took issue with 'The tendency among some independent [women's] Societies to put increasing emphasis upon the separate and independent phase of their constitution', and called for an end to the 'artificial division' of men and women's foreign missionary work.⁵⁵ Though efficiency was cited as the primary motivation for amalgamation, it appears that the women's missionary movement was in fact found somewhat threatening to the men: 'A large number of pastors and recognised leaders speak of the confusion this method [of separation] causes, and ask for some kind of adjustment of mission appeals, so that there shall not seem to be a rivalry between the women's foreign missionary organisations and the regular Missionary Societies'.⁵⁶ Part of

⁵⁴ In contrast, the Church of Scotland and Irish societies gave 'no hint of the methods of their work' apart from 'carefully announcing the approval of their General Assemblies'. See discussion in WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 42-43.

⁵⁵ 'Problems of Administration: Relation of Women's Boards to General Church Societies', in *Report of Commission VI*, 222-34.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 228.

the rebuttal from female representatives was also featured, and while statements by women representatives appear to have been carefully selected by editorial teams, it is clear that most considered amalgamation a move which would undo much of the progress made by women's societies. One female representative referred to the proposed change as 'a most disastrous mistake', while another clarified that

The success of the Women's Boards has been dependent –
 1st. Upon their full and distinctive organisation.
 2nd. Upon their methods of approach to the women, girls, and children of the Church.
 3rd. Upon their persistent, unremitting efforts in these particular lines.
 It is difficult to see how these essential features could be grafted upon one general organisation which would include the work of both men and women.⁵⁷

Despite its strict relationship with male leadership, the WFMS took indirect action to influence the men of its congregation as it designed the society's home mission. Although full WFMS membership was offered exclusively to women, from an early stage the society designed mission bands to encourage the participation of younger congregation members. Reported to form part of the membership in as many as twenty-nine mission bands in 1893, some of these youth auxiliaries extended membership to boys and young men.⁵⁸ The encouragement of male membership was closely associated with the women's concern regarding the low number and quality of young men available for the ministry and missionary work. This was made explicit in a paper entitled 'The Problem of the Boy' delivered at the annual meeting in 1910. Discussing the declining behaviour and attitudes of boys and young men, the women concluded that the 'direct aim' of their work had to be

⁵⁷ Ibid, 231.

⁵⁸ The Secretary of Young People's Work noted that 'there is a strong desire to interest the boys'. WFMS, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1893), 17.

‘to train the boy’s mind so that in the days to come they may be ready and willing to respond to the call for active service’.⁵⁹ In keeping with maternal feminism, part of the activism taken by the women of the WFMS was thus raising men in a strategic way in order to instil certain attitudes and values in future generations which would bring about such change the women themselves were unable to achieve for their own generation. ‘And it goes without saying’, the society told its members on this topic, that ‘one good, loving, consecrated woman is better than twenty men, be they ministers a dozen times over’.⁶⁰

While the society’s relationship with the men of their congregation was undoubtedly complex, it insufficiently demonstrates how home conditions as much as foreign conditions developed feminist ideology among the society’s members. As mentioned earlier, historians have recently argued that female mission work contributed greatly to the widespread rejection of the principle of separate spheres; their involvement not only in the mission field but expanded responsibilities, education and skills in leadership and advocacy at home challenging the conception that women’s work needed to be separate.⁶¹ As MacDonald argues, the opportunities provided to women as part of the foreign missions movement ‘inspired deeper awareness of, and challenge to, church and societal structures which restricted opportunities and justice for women’.⁶²

It was not long until the WFMS began to have some influence in the Maritimes, and as the society expanded not only were more female missionaries supported into remunerated employment, but other positions within the society’s home operations were

⁵⁹ WFMS, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1910), 13.

⁶⁰ WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 33-34.

⁶¹ See e.g. MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 133; Breitenbach, ‘Scots Churches and Missions’, 213.

⁶² MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 144.

likewise opened up.⁶³ With a membership of over 9,000 the WFMS board members had full-time management and administrative requirements, but society members were also encouraged to pursue careers as deaconesses, whose training was funded by the WFMS and provided at the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconesses Training Home in Toronto.⁶⁴ Deaconess Miss McKenzie worked to empower other girls and women in society, visiting ‘the poor, the sick and the shut-in, and has worked most untiringly among the young business girls in the town’.⁶⁵ This aspect of the WFMS’s home operations was so successful that the society made a plea to their members in 1911 to more seriously consider careers as deaconesses.⁶⁶ With the expansion the society’s mouthpiece the *Message* likewise became a source of full-time positions. Multiple young women made up the editorial team, while a standing vote in 1902 confirmed Mrs. Harrington, chief editor of the *Message*, receive a monthly salary of \$10.⁶⁷

After returning from Trinidad, missionary Miss Archibald explained how she spent the winter of 1904 at Ewart College and the ‘Bible Institute’ in New York. In both places

⁶³ The society stressed that ‘Unquestionably the work of our Society is becoming better known, and consequently more widely appreciated throughout the length and breadth of our Church in these Maritime Provinces’, in ‘President’s Address’, WFMS, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1893), 8; In 1911, for example, Miss Rogers’ salary was listed at \$600 and Miss Archibald at \$480. WFMS, ‘Estimates for the Year’, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911).

⁶⁴ The WFMS confirmed any deaconess training be ‘encouraged and assisted’ by the society. WFMS, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911), 33. For a thorough and contemporary definition of Protestant deaconess work see ‘Appendix F’, in Lucy Rider Meyer, *Deaconesses: Biblical, Early Church, European, American, with an account of the origin of the deaconess movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church of America* (Oak Park, IL: The Deaconess Advocate, 1897).

⁶⁵ ‘Report of the Home Mission Secretary’, WFMS, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (1913), 24-25.

⁶⁶ ‘We beg leave to move the following recommendations... That the young women of our church be invited to consider the question whether there is not work for them in the Home and Foreign field as deaconesses, and also that every be encouraged and assisted if necessary to avail themselves of training in Presbyterian Deaconesses and Training Home, Toronto’, in WFMS, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1911), 33.

⁶⁷ This Mrs. Harrington was the daughter of Charlotte and John Geddie. WFMS, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report* (1902), 6.

she ‘enjoyed the course of study very much’.⁶⁸ Feminist historian Barbara Ryan has argued that ‘For activist women, education was seen as a chance for women to improve their own lives, as well as the vehicle for changing traditional views of women held by the rest of society’.⁶⁹ Indeed, the WFMS drew a clear parallel between study and female self-empowerment: ‘Information on missionary topics is something we must have if we are to be intelligent, successful workers’.⁷⁰ Study, crucially, was not confined to those in remunerated positions. At auxiliary or mission band level, the preparation pre-selected topics for discussion was a central component of monthly meetings. While some of these topics centered on female empowerment, such as ‘Missionary Heroines’, members were also encouraged to read missionary novels, which were in fact reported to increase attendance at meetings.⁷¹ Historian of women’s foreign missionary movement in Scotland, Lesley MacDonald, has emphasized the importance of mission-related writings, especially by female Presbyterian missionaries such as Mary Slessor, in generating ‘powerful and positive publicity’ on female involvement in mission work and female hero-making.⁷²

As Carl Berger convincingly argued in the 1970s, imperialism forms the foundation of Canadian nationalism, and WFMS certainly appears to have found the imperial field a

⁶⁸ The Ewart Missionary Training Home was founded in 1897, later to be renamed the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training School. WFMS, *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Section)* (Halifax: McAlpine Publishing Co., 1905), 26, NSA, MG20 vol.369 #25. The college was amalgamated with Knox College in Toronto in 1991. See Brian J. Fraser, *Church, College and Clergy: A History of Theological Education at Knox College, Toronto, 1844-1994* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 112. It is unclear which Bible Institute Miss Archibald attended. For a list of possible theological schools, see Edwin Wooton, *A Guide to Degrees in Arts, Science, Literature, Law, Music and Divinity in the United Kingdom, the Colonies, the Continent and the United States* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1883), 574-5.

⁶⁹ Ryan, *Feminism and the Women’s Movement*, 14.

⁷⁰ WFMS, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1890), 22.

⁷¹ These pre-selected topics are discussed in further detail in Chapter Two. For topics, see various entries, WFMS (Elmsdale), *Minute Book* (1901-1910), n.p.; ‘Many of the auxiliaries report increased interest in the work, which in some cases is attributed to the reading and study of ‘Western Women in Eastern Lands,’ and ‘The Light of the World’’, WFMS, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1912), 58.

⁷² MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 159.

source of feminist inspiration also. This reinforces the core argument of the previous chapter that increased dedication to Canadian society still resulted in the development of an Anglo-Canadian identity which was highly imperial.⁷³ The fact that the monthly discussion topics of the Elmsdale WFMS branch included imperial locations where the WFMS had no operations, such as Africa and South America, indicates that British imperialism inspired Maritime women to expand their geographical and cultural horizons.⁷⁴ Indeed, the society reported in 1887 that an elderly member had recently ‘grasped the hand of the President’, sharing that ‘This woman’s Missionary work is the inspiration to my life. I am no longer simply a part of this village; I am made conscious of my relations to the world’.⁷⁵

In the same vein it is also worth considering the role model Queen Victoria provided within conservative, evangelical feminism.⁷⁶ In the Jubilee year of the Queen, 1887, the WFMS celebrated Victoria’s ‘simple and unostentatious piety and true womanly instincts’; ‘ever ready to sympathise with neglected and suffering humanity, and to give the weight of her exalted position and influence to every effort of her great Empire’. Crucially, the WFMS proceeded to argue that the Queen had ‘immeasurably strengthened’ the sentiment that ‘we live in an age where the duty and privilege of women to assist in forwarding every religious and philanthropic endeavour are universally recognised’.⁷⁷ Though referring to

⁷³ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁷⁴ The WFMS had operations in British Guiana, but study topics concerned other South American countries. Various entries, WFMS (Elmsdale), *Minute Book* (1901-1910), n.p.

⁷⁵ This was reported to have happened at an annual meeting of the Western Division and was brought up at the annual meeting of the Eastern Division as an example of the positive effects of involvement in foreign missionary movement. WFMS, *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 28.

⁷⁶ Youngkin argues that Queen Victoria ‘represented’ conservative, evangelical feminism. Youngkin, *Feminist Realism at the Fin de Siècle*, 9.

⁷⁷ WFMS, *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report* (1887), 26.

women's participation in social reform and their integration into civil society in general, this statement makes it clear Queen Victoria's appeal, as one of the few women in a prominent leadership position and arguably occupying the most prominent leadership position in the world, as a role model to the women of the WFMS.⁷⁸

Although the WFMS never abandoned its commitment to the foreign field, it is evident that the broader social context of the women's rights movement created an increasing awareness within the society that its operations were linked to increased female autonomy for its mission subjects as well as its members at home. Historian of Canadian feminism, Joan Sangster, has in a recent monograph on the history of women's rights in Canada explored both transnationalist and nationalist tendencies within the movement in Canada.⁷⁹ Sangster explains that, although the women's rights movement in general, though particularly women's suffrage, was 'inspired especially by British, European, Antipodean, and American feminists' and 'crossed national borders through the circulation of international suffrage newspapers, pamphlets, visiting speakers, conferences, and personal letter writing', because women's rights movements 'inevitably take on the concerns and peculiarities of each nation's history, social relations and gender and racial ideologies', nineteenth-century feminism in Canada, as a fundamentally 'national movement' was characterized by collaboration 'most directly with women closer to home'.⁸⁰ Another characteristic of the movement, demonstrated by the WFMS in its special

⁷⁸ For women's social reform see Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*. For comprehensive exploration of Queen Victoria as a feminist inspiration see Arianne Chernock, *The Right to Rule and the Rights of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁷⁹ Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*. Vertovec defines transnationalism as 'sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formational spanning nation-states' in Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 2.

⁸⁰ Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle*, 6-10.

focus on the development of Canadian Maritime society, was its ‘highly decentralized’ character; both a result of and contributor to Canada’s strong regionalism.⁸¹

The WFMS’s increasing identification with feminist ideology therefore stimulated a focus on the national among the women of the WFMS. This, in turn, made the women’s affiliations with Scotland less relevant; evident in the lack of references to a collective Scottish heritage after 1898.⁸² Providing a rare published example of a female Scottish voice in a Nova Scotian context, the autobiography of Emma Stirling exemplifies that even first-generation Scottish immigrant women involved in the women’s rights movement found cause to advocate focus on local and national women’s rights. Although as far as we know not involved in the foreign missionary movement, Stirling was certainly involved in the women’s temperance movement.⁸³ With a successful career in child rescue philanthropy in Edinburgh, in 1886 Stirling initiated a child emigration scheme which would come to transport over 200 children from urban Scotland to Hillfoot Farm in the Annapolis Valley. Unfortunately, within a decade Stirling’s career in Nova Scotia came to an abrupt ending when her farm was set ablaze after she had pressed criminal charges against an Annapolis man who had allegedly impregnated one of the girls formerly under Stirling’s care.⁸⁴ Stirling identified subsequent vilification by the press and the inadequate legal support she received a clear result of gender inequality. She thus urged her female readers to pursue female suffrage:

⁸¹ Ibid, 8.

⁸² As Chapter One reveals, though references to Scottish heritage can be found in WFMS, *Letters of Charlotte Geddie* (Truro, 1908), this theme had by this time ceased from the rhetoric of the society as a whole.

⁸³ See Emma M. Stirling, *Our Children in Old Scotland and Nova Scotia with Sequel Being a History of Her Work* (Coatesville, PA.: C.N. Speakman, 1898). On page 89 Stirling writes ‘I ought to add that the Sunday evening service is very often turned into a Temperance meeting’.

⁸⁴ For a summary of the case see Girard, ‘Victorian Philanthropy and Child Rescue’, 218-32.

It much concerns the women of Canada to exert themselves to prevent the possible recurrence of such [unequal] proceedings by doing all they can to have a voice in the election of those who make as well as of those who administer the laws of the country.⁸⁵

If change was to come about, social and political activism had to occur at a local, regional and national level. As a woman in Canada, Stirling found her Scottish background irrelevant in the pursuit of change that she herself and her peers would benefit from: ‘I now feel it right to speak for my own sake, for the sake of the women of Canada; yes, for the sake of WOMEN EVERYWHERE’.⁸⁶ Though the women of the WFMS were committed to the emancipation of non-Christian women through evangelization, they were likewise hyperaware that if women everywhere worked to implement gender equality at a national level, the whole world would be free.

Overall, by promoting the society’s work as ‘Women’s Work for Women’, the WFMS exemplifies the process by which some women’s religious societies in the late nineteenth began to transition into platforms to express and actualize female empowerment and female involvement in civil society.

We welcome you first, on the broad ground of a common Christianity, as sisters in Christ and in the sympathy of those views of Divine Truth, which we as Presbyterians hold so precious. But more especially do we welcome you as fellow labourers in ‘Women’s Work for Women’.⁸⁷

The above extract from the President’s annual address in 1884 highlights that the women’s allegiance in this period was determined by gender just as much, if not more, as by

⁸⁵ Stirling, *Our Children in Old Scotland and Nova Scotia*, 175-6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 175-7.

⁸⁷ WFMS, *Seventh Annual Report* (1884), 35.

denomination, and certainly more than ethnicity. In the case of the WFMS, this meant an overall de-prioritization of its associations with Scottish ethnicity and the Scottish nation. While the functionality of church organizations as spaces where women could come together to engage with civic society ought not be underestimated, the role of Scottish ethnic societies barring female membership in pushing Scottish women in Canada towards inclusion in civil society along gender and class lines is potentially quite significant.

The above discussion highlights the way in which the women of the WFMS used both the foreign and home mission environments to develop feminist ideology at an individual and collective level. The more the WFMS expanded in its overseas and home operations, the more its members absorbed and disseminated feminist ideology, firmly situating the WFMS within the global women's movement spanning the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Crucially, exploring the feminist component of the women's foreign missionary movement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada emphasizes the underacknowledged significance of civic institutions in the study of ethnic identity. As the women's rights movement gained momentum this stimulated personal change or growth as its agents engaged with the feminist cause intellectually and practically. This, in turn, encouraged increased focus on the home society, Canada, over the hereditary society, Scotland, as the women prioritized gender over ethnicity in how they self-identified and designed their objectives as a collective group.

Conclusion

In opening of the 38th and final annual report of the WFMS, 1914, the society stated that

We in Canada are straining every nerve and sinew of our nation to uphold the Mother Country in her awful struggle to defend those whom her word of honour was pledged, and to defend herself and us. We glory in it and are proud of India, Australia and all the Dominions who have heard the call and answered it.¹

Albeit intensified under wartime circumstances, while an eruption of loyalty to Britain was consistent with the society's rhetoric and sentiments throughout its lifespan, in the context of the last decade of annual reports of the WFMS, other elements of the 1914 report indicate the immediately disruptive nature of the war on Canadian identity-formation. In closing of the report, the women stated their consciousness of

...the fact that there may be important changes in the Foreign work of our Church. Changes are not always welcome, yet sometimes necessary, and it may be our Scotch souls find them difficult to accept. However this may be, we can certainly count on women to do what should be done in the matter.²

While this statement importantly highlights the WFMS's confidence to take action in response to the war as an organized group of women, the society's last explicit reference to a collective Scottish heritage had been made in 1898.³ Indeed, though certain cultural references to Scotland had been made since that point, specifically mentions of John Knox

¹ WFMS, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report* (1914), 18.

² *Ibid*, 26.

³ WFMS, *Twenty-Second Annual Report* (1898), 10. This reference is unpacked in Chapter One of this thesis. Focussing on statements by the society as a whole, this assessment excludes *Letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington*.

and David Livingstone, it is impossible to know whether these references indicated Scottish, or in fact denominational and British loyalty among the WFMS's members.⁴

What is clear, however, is that migrant Scottishness was complex. The overarching goal of this thesis has been to engage with the gender bias that permeates the field of Scottish diaspora studies, and by focussing on incorporating women into the study of Scottish migrant identity, to investigate the underexplored potential of civic institutions in developing a more nuanced understanding of Scottish identity during Britain's 'victorious century'.⁵ Without consulting personal writings, women's motivations for joining the WFMS will remain unclear.

However, as this thesis demonstrates, the WFMS, as a Scottish society, exemplifies the extent to which urban Presbyterian Scots were integrated into a carefully defined ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and geographic community, all while bringing women into the equation and illuminating the ubiquitous role of religion within this relationship.

The bulk of this thesis, however, presents one account of how the middle-class, Presbyterian Scottish community in Canada shifted focal points for identity formation and was seamlessly absorbed into an ascendant, post-Confederation Anglo-Canadian identity which was configured along clearly ethnic lines. Careful analysis of the WFMS's rhetoric and operations reveal two parallel phenomena that tied the WFMS to Canadian as opposed to British social and political realities and had a profound effect on encouraging increased loyalty on the home society, Canada, over the hereditary society, Scotland.

⁴ This refers to Knox's image as the father of Scottish Presbyterianism, and Livingstone's status as a missionary hero with strong British imperial connotations. Rosalind *John Knox*; Paul Ward, *Britishness since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), 150.

⁵ David Cannadine, *Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800-1906* (London: Penguin Random House, 2018)

Missionary work within the British Empire was, after all, the foundation of the WFMS and therefore integral to the society and its members' values and self-identification. By contextualizing the WFMS's Scottishness within its broader British imperial frame, this thesis reveals how multiple national loyalties could co-exist within an overarching British identity. The role of the WFMS in disseminating imperialist sentiment furthermore demonstrates one of the ways that an imperial mindset and British identity could be maintained in parts remote from metropole. While analysis of the society's response to localized threats to British hegemony within a British imperial space, in this case ethnic diversification through immigration, highlights increasing concern for the development of Canadian society, the negotiation, along clearly ethnic lines, of inclusion in the national polity was inextricably linked with intelligence gathered in the foreign missions field. Capturing this process brings attention to the underexplored influence of the home operations of women's foreign missionary societies in shaping nationalist discourse, while simultaneously emphasizing the role of not only geographic, but generational distance in creating ambiguity and thus malleability within Scottish diasporic identity.

More gradual though no less impactful in terms of generating a commitment to Canada was the society's alignment with a 'maternal' feminist ideology, which, crucially, was highly compatible and indeed interconnected with the society's Protestant and imperial identities. Firmly situating the women's foreign missionary movement within the global women's movement that spanned from the late eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries, this thesis demonstrates how the WFMS combined advocacy for female liberation in the foreign field with the encouragement and provision of opportunities for female advancement at a local level. Indeed, focussing on the underexplored feminist

component of the women's foreign missionary movement reveals one of the ways that Scottish migrant communities developed consciousness of being part of national community which was not Scotland, and gradually became integrated in the civil society of their new host countries.

While analysis of the WFMS has brought important attention to the post-Confederation, pre-First World War period in shaping emergent conceptions of Anglo-Canadianness and indeed the gradual transition from colony to country, it is essential to recognize that the WFMS constantly remained committed to its original objectives as a foreign missionary society. More plainly, ethnic diversification and the women's movement did not lead to the abrupt renunciation of the society's Scottish and British identities, but the gradual development of a concrete, local notion of 'home' while still pursuing and promoting British imperialism.

Future comparative study between different British ethnic groups would assist in confirming whether this was a widespread trend throughout the British dominions, while application of this methodology to male-dominated institutional spaces would shed light on gender variation within British migrant identity negotiation. The methodology likewise provides an opportunity to explore how groups marginalized from source material for socio-economic and religious reasons constructed their identities and contributed to the construction of national identities in this period. Overall, though, it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated the value of continued, localized exploration of British migrant identities in developing our understanding of present geopolitical identities, allegiances and divisions in an ever-globalizing world.

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Appendix

The below tables pertain to the census-based analysis of the WFMS leadership. Because the data is so comprehensive it has been split into two sections. 1:1 captures the majority of data synthesized through the WFMS annual reports and the *Census of Canada*, 1:2 captures those columns which did not fit in 1:1.

Abbreviations

AG	Automated Genealogy
Imm.	Immigration/immigrated
Eth.	Ethnicity
Nfld.	Newfoundland
Scot.	Scottish
Engl.	English
NS	Nova Scotia
Episc.	Episcopalian
Pres.	Presbyterian
Ch of E Church	of England
RC	Roman Catholic

Automated Genealogy References

The Automated Genealogy platform hosts several projects to index Canadian censuses. In cases where it has not been possible to identify the exact individual listed in the WFMS annual reports through the *Census of Canada* the Automated Genealogy index has been consulted to cross-reference census entries or used instead of the census.

Mrs Ellen Copeland

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/census/ViewFrame.jsp?id=25237&highlight=49> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Isabella Fraser

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/census/ViewFrame.jsp?id=25212&highlight=9> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Annie E. Gordon

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=150828507> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Barbara D. McDougall (McDougall)

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/census/ViewFrame.jsp?id=25932&highlight=37> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Susan McPherson

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/census/ViewFrame.jsp?id=17324&highlight=15> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Jennet Baxter

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=700515190> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Margret Yorston

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/census11/View.jsp?id=70951&highlight=25&desc=1911+Census+of+Canada+page+containing+Margret+Yorston> [accessed May 2019].

Miss Jean Falconer

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=150830258> [accessed May 2019].

Miss Brims

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=700529557> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Janet Blackwood

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=700511994> [accessed May 2019].

Mrs Mary MacNab

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=150211504> [accessed May 2019].

Miss Sarah Scott

<http://www.automatedgenealogy.com/uidlinks/Links.jsp?uid=700514485> [accessed May 2019].

Appendix 1:1

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Husband's / Father's name	Region	Local	NS?	Census	Census Item	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace	Date of Imm.	Ethnicity	Religion	Husband's / Father's Profession
1891	Mrs	Elizabeth	Burns	Robert F.	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1891	733883	Ontario	Ontario	USA	1880	Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1891	Mrs	Jennet M	Baxter	Robert	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1891	734820	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Manager Halifax Gas Co.
1891	Miss	Margaret	Cornichael	Rev. Jno.	Pictou	Prince St	Y	1891	653927	Ontario	Ontario	Ontario			Presbyterian	Minister
1891	Mrs	Eliza S.	Laird	D.	PEI	Charlottetown	N									
1891	Mrs	Cassie	Sutherland	Daniel M.	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1891	733645	PEI	NS	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1891	Miss	Edith H.	Fairbanks		Halifax	Richmond	Y									
1891	Miss	Isabella	Burns		Halifax	Dartmouth	Y									
1891	Miss	Isabella	McCulloch		Halifax	Kent St	Y									
1891	Miss	Isabella P.	Forsyth		Halifax		Y	1891	648324	NS	NS	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1891	Mrs	Ellen	Waddell (de)	Sherburne	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1891	733050	NS	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Merchant
1891	Mrs	Ellen	Copeland	Alex Y	Pictou	Prince St	Y	1901	AG	NS	NS	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Farmer
1891	Mrs	Olivia	Primrose	Howard	Pictou	Prince St	Y	1891	925211	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Banker
1891	Mrs	Mary	Drummond	Robert	Pictou		Y	1901	1163235	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland	1869	Scottish	Presbyterian	Editor
1891	Miss	Sabrina	McKie		PEI	Charlottetown	N									
1891	Miss	Sabrina	Frame	A.	Hants	Shubenacadie	Y	1891	818491	NS	NS	NS			Ch. Of Eng.	Merchant
1891	Mrs	Isabella	Nelson		Hants	Windsor	Y									
1891	Mrs	Mary	Fraser	Rev. J. W.	Pictou	Scotburn	Y	1901	AG	NS	NS	England		Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1891	Mrs	Mary	Galvin	Benjamin Frank	Kings Co	Kentville	Y	1891	856342	England	England	England		Scottish	Presbyterian	illegible (non physician)
1891	Mrs	Jessie	Bayne	E.	Halifax	Musquodoboit	Y									
1891	Mrs	Jessie	Gunn	Daniel	Halifax		Y	1891	636769	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Farmer
1891	Mrs	deceased	Davidson	R. H.	Truro		Y	1901	1143355	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Retired
1891	Mrs	Annie E.	Gordon	George L.	Pictou	River John	Y	1901	AG	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1891	Miss	?	Murray	Dr. Robert	Cape Breton	North Sydney	Y	1891	624291							Doctor
1891	Miss	Margaret	McDougall		Hants	Maitland	Y									
1891	Mrs	Mary E.	McMillan	John	Antigonish		Y	1891	583722	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	General Merchant
1891	Mrs	Mary E.	McCurdy	William J.	Victoria	Baddeck	Y	1891	977561	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Manager Plaster Works
1891	Mrs	Mary E.	McKay	Hector B.	Cumberland	Wallace	Y	1891	691433	NS	NS	NS			Presbyterian	Minister
1891	Mrs	Agnes	Creighton	I.	Halifax	Richmond	Y	1901	1133306	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	General Merchant
1891	Mrs	Agnes	James	John	Halifax	Dartmouth	Y									
1891	Mrs	Agnes	Watson	John	Halifax	Dartmouth	Y	1891	779904	NS	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Farmer
1891	Mrs	Layton	F.		Halifax	Elmsdale	Y									
1891	Mrs	Smith	E.		Halifax		Y									
1891	Mrs	Catherine	MacPherson (Mc)	David	Halifax	Ward 5	Y	1891	764251	NS	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Carpenter

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Husband's / Father's name	Region	Local	NS?	Census	Census Item	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace	Date of Imm.	Ethnicity	Religion	Husband's / Father's Profession
1901	Miss	Mary	MacDonald	Charles	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	1310395	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Inspector
1901	Miss	Mary	Campbell		Halifax		Y									
1901	Miss	Sarah	Scott		Halifax	Ward 2	Y	1901	1437509	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	(brother) Accountant
1901	Miss	Helen	MacGregor		Halifax	Ward 2	Y	1891	741337	NS	NS	NS				(brother) Accountant
1901	Mrs	Barbara D.	-Dougall (McDougal)	Donald	Victoria	Baddeck	Y	1901	AG	NS	Scotland			English	Presbyterian	WOMAN Bookkeeper
1901	Mrs	Isabella	Bayne	Rev. Ernest S.	Inverness	Mahou	Y	1891	829253	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1901	Mrs	Elizabeth H.	Layton	Norman J.	Truro		Y	1901	1266785	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Baptist	Solicitor
1901	Mrs	Jean	McKenzie	Geo. I.	Pictou		Y	1901	1328177	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Minister
1901	Mrs	Clara	Dickie	J. B.	Truro		Y	1901	1151789	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Farmer
1901	Miss	Caroline	Carmichael	John W.	Pictou	New Glasgow	Y	1901	1107132	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Illegible
1901	Mrs	Isabella	Mackay		Halifax	Dartmouth	Y	1901	1283679	Scotland			1848	Scottish	Presbyterian	Widowed
1901	Mrs	Mary	Moore	Louis A.	Cape Breton	North Sydney	Y	1901	1363567	NS	NS	NS		Irish	Presbyterian	Steamboat P?
1901	Mrs		Morrison		Halifax		Y									
1901	Mrs	Susan	McPherson	David	Halifax	Ward 6	Y	1901	AG	NS	NS			English	Presbyterian	Illegible, \$4000 salary
1901	Mrs		Stewart		Halifax	Dartmouth	Y									
1901	Miss		Frame		Halifax	Shubenacadie	Y									
1901	Mrs	Annie	Creighton	Isaac	Hants	Ward 6	Y	1901	1133306	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	General Merchant
1901	Mrs	Margaret	McKenzie	Kenneth	Halifax	Ward 2	Y	1901	1328927	Scotland			1881	Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1901	Mrs	Annie	Forrest	John	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	1183141	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	University Professor
1901	Miss	Janice P.	Fowler		Halifax	Ward 2	Y	1901	1184883	Scotland			1891	Scottish	Presbyterian	(brother) Minister
1901	Mrs	Nancy	Corston	James F.	Halifax	Ward 4	Y	1901	1130278	NS				Irish	Presbyterian	Carpenter
1901	Mrs	Sarah	Falconer	R. A.	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	1173634	Ontario				English	Presbyterian	not noted
1901	Mrs	Helen	Glendinning		Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	1201587	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Widowed
1901	Mrs	E.	MacMillan	John Peter	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	1343068	NS	Scotland	Scotland		Scottish	Presbyterian	Minister
1901	Mrs	Jannet P.	Blackwood	D.	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1901	734655	NB				Scottish	Presbyterian	Head (?) Customs
1901	Mrs	Agnes	Dennis	William	Halifax	Ward 2	Y	1901	1147939	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Journalist
1901	Mrs	Eliza	Falconer	Alexander	Pictou		Y	1901	1173561	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Minister
1901	Mrs	Margaret F.	McLeod	J. D.	Pictou		Y	1901	1340235	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Barrister
1901	Mrs	Georgina	Davidson	Benjamin Frank	Truro	Salmon River	Y	1901	1143022	NS	NS	NS		Scottish	Presbyterian	Farmer
1901	Mrs	Eliza M.	Straithie	Ralph G.	Truro		Y	1901	1460911	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	Clergyman
1901	Mrs		White		Kings Co	Grand Pre	Y									
1901	Mrs		Muirhead		PEI		N									
1911	Mrs		Burns	Robert F.	London		Y	1891	733883	Ontario	Ontario	USA			Presbyterian	Clergyman
1911	Miss	Caroline	Carmichael		Pictou	New Glasgow	Y	1911	2063379	NS				Scottish	Presbyterian	
1911	Mrs	Jennet	Baxter	Robert	Halifax	Ward 1	Y	1911	AG	Scotland				Scottish	Presbyterian	

Appendix 1:2

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Notable Details	Additional Household Members?	Position	Position #2	Position #3	Position #4
1891	Mrs	Elizabeth	Burns	Husband Scottish	2 x servants Nfld, Ch of E, and NS. Baptist	President			
1891	Mrs	Jennet M	Baxter	Husband Scottish	1 x domestic, NS, Ch of E.	Vice-President			
1891	Miss		Carmichael			Vice-President			
1891	Mrs	Margaret	Robbins	Husband English	1 x domestic, NS, Pres.	Vice-President			
1891	Mrs		Laird			Vice-President			
1891	Mrs	Eliza S.	Gordon	Husband's father Scottish		Vice-President			
1891	Mrs		Sutherland			Recording Secretary			
1891	Miss	Cassie	Fairbanks			Foreign Secretary	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Miss	Edith H.	Burns			Home Secretary			
1891	Miss	Isabella	McCulloch	All four grandparents Scottish		Secretary of Young People's Work			
1891	Miss		Forrest			Secretary of Supplies	Board of Management		
1891	Mrs	Isabella P.	Waddell (de)	Husband's father Scottish		Treasurer	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Mrs	Ellen	Copeland			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Olivia	Prinrose	Husband's father Scottish	2 x domestics, RC (Scot. ch) + Pres.	Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Mary	Drummond	Husband Scottish, imm. 1863		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		McKie			Board of Management			
1891	Miss	Sabrina	Fram	Husband Presbyterian		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Nelson			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Isabella	Fraser			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Mary	Calkin			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Boyne			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Jessie	Gunn	Husband's parents Scottish		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	deceased	Davidson	Husband Scottish + Presbyterian		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Annie E.	Gordon	Husband Scottish, imm. 1872		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	?	Murray	Husband's mother Scottish		Board of Management			
1891	Miss		McDougall			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Margaret	McMillan		1 x domestic, RC	Board of Management			
1891	Miss	Mary E.	McCurdy			Board of Management	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Mrs	Mary E.	McKay	Husband Scottish		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Creighton			Board of Management	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Mrs		James			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Agnes	Watson			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Layton			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Smith			Board of Management			

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Notable Details	Additional Household Members?	Position	Position #2	Position #3	Position #4
1891	Mrs		McCulloch			Board of Management	Executive Committee		
1891	Mrs	Rak.?	Laing	Husband's parents Scottish	1 x domestic Cape Breton, RC	Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	E.	McMillan		1 x domestic Cape Breton	Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Ellenor	MacPherson	Husband Irish		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Euphemia	Turnbull	Husband Scottish	1 x domestic NS Roman RC	Board of Management			
1891	Mrs		Currie			Board of Management	Executive Committee		
1891	Mrs	Christie	Forrest			Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Annie	Forrest	Husband's parents Scottish	2 x domestics NS, Pres.	Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Charlotte	Harrington		1 x domestic Nfld, Ch of E	Board of Management			
1891	Miss		Thomson			Board of Management			
1891	Miss	Enma	Lindsay	Husband's father Scottish		Board of Management			
1891	Mrs	Janet P.	Blackwood	Husband's parents Scottish	1 x domestic, RC	Board of Management	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Mrs	Margaret	Hutton	Husband Scottish		Board of Management	Committee on Supplies		
1891	Mrs		McLean			Executive Committee			
1891	Miss		Kerr			Committee on Supplies			
1891	Miss	A. O.	Burns	Father Scottish		Committee on Supplies			
1891	Miss		Meyneil			Committee on Supplies			
1901	Miss		Fairbanks			Honorary President			
1901	Mrs	Jannel (?)	Baxter			President	Board of Management		
1901	Mrs	Mary	Currie	Husband's father Scottish		Vice-President	Board of Management	Executive Committee	
1901	Mrs		Dodge			Vice-President	Board of Management	Nominating	
1901	Mrs	Maud A.	Davidson			Vice-President			
1901	Mrs	Anna	Nash	Husband Methodist		Vice-President			
1901	Mrs	Margaret	Miller			Vice-President			
1901	Mrs	Barbara	Carmichael			Vice-President			
1901	Mrs	Jane	Murray		1 x domestic, (Eng, eth.)	Vice-President			
1901	Mrs	Mary C.	Black	Husband Scottish, imm. 1878	1 x domestic, Nfld. (Eng, eth.)	Home and Corresponding Secretary	Board of Management		
1901	Miss	Bessie	MacGregor			Recording Secretary	Board of Management		
1901	Mrs	Agnes O.	Troop	Husband English	2 x domestics Nfld (French eth.) & Episc. (RC)	Foreign Secretary	Board of Management		
1901	Miss	Isabella W.	McCulloch	All four grandparents Scottish		Secretary of Young People's Work	Publication Committee	Board of Management	Nominating Committee
1901	Miss		Forrest			Secretary of Supplies	Board of Management		
1901	Mrs	Isabelle	Waddell (le)			Auditor	Board of Management	Executive Committee	
1901	Mrs	Charlotte	Harrington	Husband English, Ch. of E		Publication Committee (Editor)	Board of Management		
1901	Miss	Emily	Harrington	Father English, mother Scottish		Publication Committee (Assistant)			
1901	Miss	Kate	Davidson			Publication Committee (Assistant)	Board of Management		

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Notable Details	Additional Household Members?	Position	Position #2	Position #3	Position #4
1901	Mrs	Mary	MacDonald		1 x domestic (Russian eth.)	Publication Committee (Secretary-Treasurer)			
1901	Miss	Mary	Campbell			Publication Committee (Distributing Committee)	Board of Management		
1901	Miss	Sarah	Scott			Publication Committee (Distributing Committee)			
1901	Miss	Helen	MacGregor		1 x domestic NS. Roman RC	Publication Committee (Auditor)			
1901	Mrs	Barbara D.	Dougall	McDougal, Husband Scottish		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Isabella	Boyne	Husband's parents Scottish		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Elizabeth H.	Layton	Husband Engl. Ethnicity		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Jean	McKenzie	Husband born Scotland		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Clara	Dickie			Board of Management			
1901	Miss	Caroline	Carmichael	Scottish domestic imm. 1900		Board of Management	Nominating Committee		
1901	Mrs	Isabella	Mackay	Husband Scottish ethnicity		Board of Management	Executive Committee		
1901	Mrs	Mary	Moore			Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Susan	Morrison		1 x domestic, (Engl. eth.)	Board of Management	Executive Committee		
1901	Mrs	Susan	McPherson			Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Stewart	Stewart			Board of Management			
1901	Miss	Frame	Frame			Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Annie	Creighton			Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Margaret	McKenzie			Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Annie	Forrest		1 x domestic (Scottish eth.)	Board of Management	Executive Committee		
1901	Miss	Janice P.	Fowler	Immigrated with brother	Church of England servant	Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Nancy	Corston	Husband born Scotland		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Sarah	Falconer	Husband Scotch eth, born PEI		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Helen	Glendinning		1 x domestic (Scottish eth.)	Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	E.	MacMillan		1 x domestic (Scottish eth.)	Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Jannet P.	Blackwood		1 x domestic, (French eth.)	Treasurer	Secretary Life Membership	Board of Management	
1901	Mrs	Agnes	Dennis	Husband Engl. + Presbyterian		Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Eliza	Falconer			Board of Management	Nominating Committee		
1901	Mrs	Margaret F.	McLeod		1 x domestic, RC	Board of Management			
1901	Mrs	Georgina	Davidson			Nominating Committee			
1901	Mrs	Eliza M.	Strathie	Husband Scottish		Nominating Committee			
1901	Mrs	White	White			Nominating Committee			
1901	Mrs	Muirhead	Muirhead			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs	Burns	Burns	Husband Scottish	2 x domestics Nfld (Ch of E) + NS (Baptist)	Honorary President			
1911	Miss	Caroline	Carmichael			President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Jennet	Baxter			Vice-President	Board of Management		

Annual Report Year	Title	Name	Surname	Notable Details	Additional Household Members?	Position	Position #2	Position #3	Position #4
1911	Mrs		Thomson			Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Agnes	Dennis			Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	?	Powers			Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Margret	Torston	Son's father Scottish (died)		Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Isabel	Boyne	Husband's parents Scottish		Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs		Rogers			Vice-President	Board of Management		
1911	Miss	Jean	Falconer			Corresponding Secretary	Board of Management		
1911	Miss	Bessie (Elizabeth)	Wallis (Wallace)			Recording Secretary	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Mary C.	Dawson	Husband Scottish		Foreign Secretary	Board of Management	Nominating Committee	
1911	Mrs		Jamieson			Home Mission Secretary			
1911	Mrs		Cruikshank			Secretary of Young People's Work	Board of Management		
1911	Miss	Multiple	Brins	Father Scottish, imm. 1840		Secretary of Supplies	Board of Management		
1911	Miss	Annie	Murray			Secretary of International Conference	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Janet	Blackwood			Secretary of Life Membership Certificates	Board of Management		
1911	Mr		Stech			Auditor			
1911	Mrs	Mary	MacNab	Husband Scottish		Publication Committee (Editor)	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs		Forbes			Publication Committee (Assistant)			
1911	Miss	Isabella	McCulloch	All four grandparents Scottish		Publication Committee (Assistant)			
1911	Miss	Susie	Ross			Publication Committee (Assistant)			
1911	Miss	Sarah	Scott	Head is uncle		Publication Committee (Secretary-Treasurer)	Board of Management		
1911	Mrs	Annie	Forrest	Head is brother		Publication Committee (Distributing Committee)			
1911	Mrs	Isabella	Bayne	Husband's parents Scottish	I x domestic (Scottish eth.)	Publication Committee (Auditor)			
1911	Mrs		Jamieson	Husband's parents Scottish		Board of Management			
1911	Mrs	Agnes	Thompson	Couple's children born Trinidad		Board of Management			
1911	Mrs	Maud	Curry	1901 Scottish, 1911 English?		Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		Logan			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		Strathie			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		McLean			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		King			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		Stewart			Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs	Alice	McKay	Husband Scottish		Nominating Committee			
1911	Mrs		McDonald			Nominating Committee			