

At no point in her discussion does MacNeil suggest that the *Rules* cannot accommodate the results of an arrangement that may assign a given system of records to more than one fonds. If it is true that the *Rules* are so accommodating, then it would appear that they could continue to serve as an archival catechism regardless of the outcome of the theological debate and discussion that the other authors of the volume have engaged in and hope will continue. *Archivaria* continues to ensure that theirs is not a vain hope.

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The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820. MARIANNE MCLEAN. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991. xxiii, 285 p. ISBN 0-7735-0814-7 \$34.95.

In this meticulous, well-crafted, exhaustively-researched, and eloquently-argued volume, Marianne McLean has produced a work that joins the ranks of locally-based studies effectively turning the existing historiography of Canada on its head. Using a wide array of published and unpublished sources, McLean examines in detail nine group emigrations that left western Inverness, Scotland between 1773 and 1815 for Glengarry County in Upper Canada. McLean uses the case study of the Glengarry emigrations to explore the relationship between economic changes in the Highlands and immigration to Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As the title of the book suggests, this study is not focused on the élites leading the emigrations, but rather on the communities that emigrated, in order to determine what impelled the people to take so seemingly drastic a step.

On the basis of scrutinizing the communities within their specific western Inverness contexts before emigrating, and then assessing their pattern of settlement in Glengarry, McLean offers a refreshing perspective of highland immigration. She does not accept the view put forth by Michael Flinn, Eric Richards, and J.M. Bumsted that emigration was the ideal and inevitable solution to problems caused by major population growth for clansmen who could not adapt to changing times, and that immigration eventually was enthusiastically promoted by landlords to help ease the pressure of growing numbers on limited resources. Nor does she subscribe to the opposing argument advanced by historians such as James Hunter that the emigrations were a tragedy, as people were forced to leave first their country by landlords who wished to replace them with sheep. Instead, McLean argues that the immigrants were not fleeing from radical social change but rather from the poor deal which that change offered them. Instead of being a defeated society manipulated by landlords and circumstances, McLean contends that tenants reaped some benefits from the early stages of agrarian transformation, but as they saw their social and economic position at first weakened by rising rents and then undercut by the introduction of sheep farming after 1780, they chose emigration in the face of the serious threat sheep farming posed to their traditional access to the land.

The success of the emigrations hinged on the role of traditional leaders in the highland community in organizing the emigrations, on raising necessary funding, on the support they received from colonial officials in Canada, and on the voluntary and communal nature of the emigrations. McLean argues that whole families, large groups of neighbours, and entire communities including women and children migrated from western Inverness to Glengarry so as to not only fit Bernard Bailyn's "provincial" emigrant stream model, but, as McLean asserts, to be "more like the model than the model itself," covering as it does a more extended period of time than does the case study from which Bailyn based his model.

McLean presents a convincing argument. After a general introduction and a brief overview detailing the larger traditional organization of highland society in mid-eighteenth century western

Inverness, she devotes a chapter apiece to describing the two communities of Barisdale and Lochiel before the 1780s, and then discusses the changes crowding in on them and the Glengarry estate between 1780 and 1800. Then, in sequence, she details the 1773 migration to northern New York which the American War of Independence transformed into the Loyalist arrivals in Glengarry in 1784; then the 1785, 1786, 1790, 1792, and 1793 emigrations; the Peace of Amiens emigration in 1802; and finally the 1815 government-assisted emigration intended for the military settlements guarding the future route of the Rideau Canal.

McLean argues that highlanders used the war with France to bargain for better terms along traditional lines with their landlords in exchange for military service, but upon realizing that the landlords were interested only in their own economic gain, emigration resumed anew during the temporary peace of 1802. It was only effectively checked by the *Passenger Act* of 1803 which more than doubled the price of a transatlantic passage, as landlords moved to step the wholesale departure of a cheap labour force from their estates. Only when government offered to subsidize emigrants in 1815 to provide a loyal population in eastern Upper Canada, could remaining clansmen in western Inverness afford the passage to Glengarry County. McLean details the pattern and settlement experience of the highlanders arriving in Glengarry between 1784 and 1797 who received free grants, as opposed to the later arrivals who faced various obstacles to acquiring land. Here she effectively makes the point that when Crown grants for the later arrivals became available only at some distance from Glengarry, they chose the seemingly more costly route of renting and purchasing land in the vicinity of friends and kin already settled in Glengarry. In short, McLean deals a body blow to the contention of Michael Katz some years ago that the various ethnic groups coming together in mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada were interested in nothing but participating in the North American scramble for economic success.

This is, without question, the finest immigration study that has been published in Canada to date. The scope of McLean's achievement becomes all the more apparent in light of the research challenge posed by Glengarry County. There was no hope of replicating Bruce Elliott's genealogical work in a county where one sixth of the population shared the surnames of McDonald and Macdonell, and in which almost half the population shared only 15 surnames, with only a limited number of Christian names in use. Furthermore, unlike most counties in Ontario, no newspapers were published in Glengarry County during the century after settlement began, and only one of the gentlemen concerned with the emigrants, Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan, left a substantial collection of papers describing the emigration and settlement in any detail. Accordingly, McLean has selected the Forfeited Estates papers preserved in the Exchequer records and the Fraser-Mackintosh collection at the Scottish Record Office to document economic and social change on the western Inverness estates, and to glean from letters by Roman Catholic missionaries in western Inverness at the Scottish Catholic Archives a viewpoint more sympathetic to the clansmen than those of landlords and government officials. For the Upper Canadian end of her study, McLean has drawn on genealogical sources, the papers of the Catholic bishops of Quebec and Kingston, parish registers, and oral interviews, but she has done extensive spading through MG 9, MG 11, MG 14, MG 21, RG 1, RG 4, RG 5, RG 7, RG 8, RG 9, RG 19, and RG 31 at the National Archives, and RG 1 at the Archives of Ontario to catch every possible reference to Glengarry in British government and colonial records. Where evidence in the written record is less than complete, McLean, no less dauntless than the communities she is chronicling, skilfully interweaves the evidence to be found in epic poems and oral traditions into her account.

Like any good historical study, this one raises as many questions as it answers. Was there no religious dynamic or division within the migrations and the pattern of settlement? Why, if the ties of kin and community were so strong between western Inverness and Glengarry County over an extended period, were the 1802 emigrants who had difficulty raising £6 or £8 for their passage not assisted by their reputedly prospering kin already in Upper Canada? If the ties of

kin and community were so compelling, how did this ultimately affect migration out of Glengarry County during the remainder of the nineteenth century? It is still an open question as to whether all, or most, or only a small proportion of the immigrants pouring into British North America used kin-based networks in their decision to cross the Atlantic. We do not need to await further studies to appreciate, thanks to McLean's fine study, that Glengarry was unique among the counties of Ontario for such a large concentration of immigrants from a very compact European locality.

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