HIGHLAND EMIGRATION TO NOVA SCOTIA*

D. M. SINCLAIR

IN any consideration of the reasons why so many people left their homes in the Highlands after the '45 to brave the unknown dangers of the Atlantic and the forests of America, primary attention must be paid to the social and economic conditions in Scotland at that time. It was an age of startling changes, when an agricultural revolution was transforming the face of the land, and the social life of the people was being subjected to foreign influences. It was a time of speculation and unrest, of adjustment on the part of landlords and people to a new order of things, an order which for the most part was suddenly imposed upon them from without, rather than gradually evolving from within their own society. The fifty years following Culloden, which saw the shattering of the Stuart hopes, is one of the most interesting eras of Highland history, comprising as it does the transition from the social and political systems of the Middle Ages to those of more modern times.

Before the '45:

In the days when the chieftains ruled the land, the straths and glens of the Highlands were thickly populated. It was computed that the Duke of Argyll could raise 3000 men and still leave enough at home to cultivate the land. Each clan lived within a certain specified area, to which it was restricted because of neighbouring clans. The increasing population was provided for by subdivision and sub-letting of the land by the occupiers. An inevitable result was misery and poverty. Thus limited within narrow bounds, each clan increased in numbers far beyond what the district could honestly support. Writing before the '45, Capt. Burt states that the cattle raiding of the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glencoe was their main source of livelihood. Of the Robertsons of Struan, who lived around Loch Rannoch, Cosmo Innes writes: "I am afraid that the population of the Struan glens far exceeded what the country could support with its own produce, or honestly." When organized cattle-lifting was put down after the '45, the population of the Highlands were deprived of a lucrative source of supply, and were forced to support themselves entirely on their own scanty resources. That was one reason why some emigrated.

---

* Paper presented to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, March 5, 1943.

Before the '45, then, the value of an estate was calculated not in money but in men. The answer of Macdonald of Keppoch, who when asked the amount of his income replied that he could call out and command 500 men, was indicative of the state of affairs in the country. Consequently the chief was more concerned about the number of soldiers he could muster than with any desire to organize tillage as a permanent source of revenue. The tenants were subsistence farmers merely, living upon the produce of their farms. Under the clan system, the kind of crops, the method of cultivation, and the manner of life became matters of tradition. Any idea of improving upon the wisdom of the fathers was foreign to the spirit of the time. It was an age of agricultural stagnation.

It was also an age of military unrest. The majority of the chiefs, encouraged by their friends in France, still indulged in the fond hope that the House of Stuart would again be elevated to the throne of their ancestors. So long as this military interest predominated, the agriculture of the country could not be developed. In the circumstances, Marshall writes: "A good soldier or a foolhardy desperado was of more value than a good husbandman."

After the '45:

The years immediately following the '45 were marked by sudden and revolutionary changes. The turbulent days when land had a military and social significance, apart from its economic value, had come to an end. In the new political conditions the chief's military power was gone, and his place taken by a landed proprietor. As a sort of recompense for the loss of his dignity and power, the chief in many instances sought to retrieve himself in a measure by turning his attention to getting the maximum economic return from the soil. He began to discover that the command of money could be even more valuable to him than a large body of retainers. He became a landlord. Sir Walter Scott aptly summarized this change in the remarks of an old Argyllshire chieftain: "I have lived to woeful days; when I was young, the only question asked concerning a man's rank was how many men lived on his estate; then it came to be how many black cattle it could keep; but now they only ask how many sheep the lands will carry."

Equally great was the change in the relations between the tacksmen, who were lease-holding tenants, and the crofters and cottars who lived on their farms. The old tacksmen looked on their dependents as members of their own families. They had recognized that they owed a duty to them even if they found it difficult to provide work for them. A patriarchal system of life had prevailed. But the new tacksmen could not be expected to share these feelings. They were united to the people by no ties of blood or long-standing affection. To them the people were nothing more than servants who might be employed if remunerative work could be found for them, or dismissed if there was nothing for them to do. Yet the older tub-tenants and crofters clung desperately to the old ways, and regarded the new men and ways with distrust and gloomy forebodings. Others, bewildered and discouraged, left their beloved straths and glens to face life in a new world. Thus in many directions the departure of the old class of tacksmen and the coming of the new had wide and far-reaching results.

These changes in the relationship between chief and clansmen, and between tacksmen and crofters, are very significant, and fundamental to an understanding of conditions in the Highlands after the '45. They mark the transition from the medieval conception of land as the basis of personal power and influence to the modern view of it as an income-yielding investment.

The tenants in general did not welcome this new order of things. Their chiefs in some cases became absentee landlords, spending the rents received off their lands in London. In a remarkably short space of time the patriarchal system was replaced by the commercial. The tendency became more and more pronounced of consolidating the ownership of land into the hands of fewer and fewer men. The lands administered by the Forfeited Estates Commission were not sold in small lots to the tenants, nor were the properties of the impecunious land owners made available to small holders. Thus the Highlands remained predominantly a country of large proprietors.

These changes led to a growing dissatisfaction and discontent on the part of tacksmen and tenants, who felt that they were being unfairly treated by those who had been their protectors. As a result, many of them emigrated. But with all these changes the people of the Highlands retained not a little of their traditional characteristics, and carried them with them across the seas. Although the clan system was broken at

Culloden, yet it continued to exercise a great influence upon the social, political and economic life of Scotland, and that influence has not come to an end with the changes of civilization.

Emigration:

The half century following the '45 was marked by a great exodus from the Highlands. Emigration occurred in two distinct periods. The first was between the years 1746 and 1774, when emigration was checked by the beginning of the American Revolutionary War. The second wave of emigration followed the treaty of peace between the United States and Britain in 1783, and continued until the renewal of war between Britain and France in 1803.

The causes of this first great emigration may be grouped in two categories, negative and positive. In the negative causes are included the discomforts and compulsions of the emigrant's home and environment. The positive causes were the advantages and attractions of the land to which the emigrant went.

In view of the Highlander's love for his native glen, and his devotion to his homeland, it would appear that the negative causes which led him to cross the seas were the more compelling. In the main the causes arising from dissatisfaction and discontent with conditions at home fall into four principal groups, economic, social, political, and religious.

The chief economic reason for the first great wave of emigration was the startling rise in rents which became noticeable about the year 1770. This increase was due to improvements in cultivation, to profits from black cattle and sheep, and to the change from payment in kind to payment in money. By the year 1770 it was estimated that many Highland estates were furnishing five or six times the amount of rent paid in 1700. This advance was advantageous to the proprietors, but to many of the tacksmen and superior tenants it was a hardship. Being unable to pay the rents, they emigrated. Commenting on the emigration of this richer class of men, the Edinburgh *Evening Courant* of Sept. 1, 1773, states: "They were the finest set of fellows in the Highlands. The extravagant rents started by the landlords is the sole cause for this spirit of emigration, which seems to be only in its infancy."

Another economic reason for this first wave of emigration was the tremendous increase in population, and consequent unemployment. The Highland population was over-running its resources. Despite the agricultural prosperity of this period, and the accompanying development of local industries, the country was not able to provide employment for all its inhabitants, and many of them had to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Every year great numbers went to the south country for service. The young boys went to tend the cattle and sheep. Besides these the cottars and crofters, who were the tradesmen, left for the great cities to get work. But a large proportion of the population continued to live on the verge of destitution. Of the various solutions offered for this problem, emigration showed the only prospect of success.

Not only was the economic status of the people affected by the high rents and unemployment, but at the same time their social position, and especially that of the tacksmen, was being lowered. With the break-up of the clan system the assured place of the tacksman became more and more precarious. He had survived his usefulness as an integral part of the military organization of the clan. As the landlord turned his attention to increasing the amount of his rent roll, he discovered that the tacksman was all too often a superfluous middleman who farmed badly and paid inadequate rent. The tacksmen doubtless thought otherwise, but they were forced to bow to economic necessity and to seek a living beyond the seas.

A third cause which led many Highlanders to emigrate was the change that came to their political fortunes after the '45. The property of those who were "out" was annexed to the Crown, and administered by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners until the year 1784, when the lands were restored. By that time, however, many of the original owners had emigrated to America in an attempt to retrieve their fortunes. Added to the loss of their property was the humiliation which the proscription of their language, dress and customs imposed upon the people. Rather than submit to this indignity they left their beloved land.

A fourth reason for emigration, much less general than any of the other three, was religious persecution. Many of the most powerful clans, notably the Frasers and the Macdonalds, were mainly Roman Catholic down to the last Jacobite rebellion. After the failure of the earlier rising in 1715, some of the chiefs became at least nominal Protestants, but the clansmen who followed them to battle were not so ready to follow them to kirk. Macdonald of Boisdale, South Uist, undertook in the year 1770 to drive his vassals to church with his cane, but that form of zeal did not greatly recommend the new worship to his neighbours. Until this day Presbyterianism is spoken of in that island as "Creideamh am maide buidh," "The religion of the yellow stick." Not succeeding in his effort, Macdonald summoned all his tenants to a meeting where he placed before them a Gaelic document containing a renunciation of their faith, and a promise to have no further dealings with their priests, which they were asked to sign with the alternative of being driven from their homes. With one voice the people refused to sign. At this juncture a deliverer arose in the person of John MacDonald, Laird of Glenaladale, who took them to Prince Edward Island. In the month of May, 1772, the ship *Alexander* sailed from Loch Boisdale with 210 emigrants, 100 from Uist and 110 from the mainland.

Among the positive causes that led to emigration, first place must be given to the lure of America with its free land and its freedom from landlords. Agents travelled up and down the land setting forth the advantages of America. They made flattering offers and many promises to induce the people to leave their Egypt of bondage for a land flowing with milk and honey, a country where the landlord was not a burden and where the desire for land could be fulfilled. They needed but little encouragement to make the great venture, yet as they sailed westward it was with many a backward look. Then too the vivid accounts told by returned soldiers from Louisburg and Quebec helped to enlarge the stream of voluntary emigrants pouring with their families into the new world. The following letter written by a settler on St. John's Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was forwarded to Scotland by Capt. Dugald Stewart of Campbelltown in May, 1771, and is probably typical of many such written at that time. After describing the island as having fertile soil, good for pasture as well as for culture, and the sea abounding with fish of all sorts, and plenty of game of every variety in the forests, he continues with an account of the condition of the people: "The settlers sent over by an honourable gentleman are doing very well, they indeed brought a good farmer with them, also a good minister. When these people write their friends, I daresay we will have more sent over, as we are told they are oppressed by their lairds, and here they will be lairds themselves. We are a distinct Government, tax ourselves and make our own laws." Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* attributes the great and rapid progress of the English colonies in North America to plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way.

The Social Status of the Early Emigrants:

These early emigrants were, as a rule, men of position and property, each the natural protector of scores of subtenants. The going of the tacksmen left thousands of these poorer people helpless and dependent in their native land. This condition of affairs persisted until sheep farming was introduced on a large scale, when the small tenants were driven by compulsion into an exile which their old protectors had already chosen freely for themselves.

The emigrants of this early period are generally described as "people in good circumstances", "people of property". Boswell in his *Tour to the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson* estimates that in the twenty years from 1772 to 1792 some sixteen vessels sailed from the coasts of Ross and Inverness shires, carrying 6400 persons and £38,400. According to the Edinburgh *Evening Courant* a ship sailed for America in 1773 with 425 passengers, all from Knoydart, Lochaber, and Fort William, and carried with them at least £6000 in ready cash, "so that by this emigration the country is deprived not only of its men, but likewise of its wealth." One of the few allusions to the poverty of Highland emigrants before 1773, to be found in contemporary writings, is in the *Scots Magazine* of 1772 which refers to forty-eight families from Sutherlandshire that embarked at Greenock for North America, and the reason for their poverty they assign to the "want of the means of livelihood at home through the opulent graziers ingrossing the farms and turning them into pasture." "Several contributions were made for these poor people in towns through which they passed." But as a general rule the earlier emigrants were men of considerable means.

Destinations:

The favourite destination of the earlier Highland emigrants was North Carolina, to which, from 1760 to 1775, many hundreds went from Argyll, Ross and Sutherland shires, as also from the Western Isles. The *Scots Mogazine* for 1769 records that 54 vessels sailed for North Carolina, conveying 1200 emigrants. Similar references are found in subsequent issues of the *Scots Magazine*, as well as in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Old Statistical Account*. During the War of Independence many of these colonists formed themselves into the Royal Emigrant Regiment and fought on the side of Britain throughout the war.

The earliest vessel leaving the West Highlands with emigrants for the Lower Provinces seems to have been the *Annabella* which landed a party of seventy families of Kintyre settlers at Malpeque, Prince Edward Island, in the year 1770. In the summer of the same year Montgomery and Stewart brought 120 families to Cove Head and Three Rivers, and in 1771 a still further settlement from Argyllshire took place on the west side of Richmond Bay, Prince Edward Island. In the following year the *Alexander* sailed from Loch Boisdale with 210 emigrants and dropped anchor in Charlottetown harbour in the latter part of June. In the year 1773 the ship *Hector* sailed from Lochbroom with 33 families from Inverness and Sutherland shires, and landed in Pictou in September. This marked the beginning of a great emigration into the Lower Provinces. Between the years 1773 and 1775 it is estimated that 30,000 people from various parts of the Highlands crossed the Atlantic. When Dr. Johnson visited the Hebrides in 1773, he remarked on "the epidemic desire for wandering which spreads its contagion from valley to valley", and advocated that some method to stop it be adopted.

This first great wave of Highland emigration was checked in 1775 with the outbreak of the American War of Independence. With the Peace of Paris in 1783 a second wave of emigration, greater even than the first, was set in motion. Among the causes which led to this second wave of emigration the economic were by far the most important. The difficulties of making a living off small patches of land were accentuated in the year 1782 when there was a complete failure of the harvest. The herring fishing also failed. No wholesome food could be secured for the people, and disease as well as famine began to spread, not only over the whole of the north of Scotland, but even in some districts in the south. Many tenants abandoned their holdings the following year and emigrated.

Sheep Walks and Clearances:

By the year 1784 a great increase in sheep farming was reported in the Western Highlands. This date coincides with the beginning of the clearing of the glens on a large scale. Many of the landlords were becoming convinced that the continued existence of an over-crowded community of small tenants and crofters living on the verge of starvation was not merely unprofitable in itself but an obstacle to the improvement of their estates. When, owing to changed economic conditions, pasture farming became so much more profitable than tillage, the landlord was forced to make a choice between men and sheep. The lure of high rents led many to clear their lands of small tenantry. As the number of large farms continued to increase, it became more and more difficult for the crofters to live, for not only were the hill pastures appropriated, but the arable lands as well were taken by the capitalist sheep farmer for the wintering of his flock. The beginning of capitalist sheep farming marks also the beginning of competition rents in the Highlands. The rents offered by the large farmers were so high that the poorly equipped crofter could not hope to compete against them. He was thus compelled to go.

Contemporary writers have left vivid accounts of the harsh methods adopted by the landlords to oust their tenants. The subject is treated from the crofters' standpoint in such books as Alexander MacKenzie's *Highland Clearances*, Donald MacLeod's *Gloomy Memories*, Donald Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica*, Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Manners and Character of the Highlanders*, Donald Ross's *The Glengarry Evictions*, R. Alister's *Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry*, Thomas MacLaughlin's *The Depopulation System in the Highlands*, and in stirring Gaelic poems by contemporary writers such as Duncan Ban MacIntyre, John MacOdrum, John Maclean, and Ewan MacLachlan. Of the poetry of this time Dr. W. J. Watson writes: "The poetry that was inspired by the infamies of Culloden and the clearances could not be other than gloomy."

A defence of the clearances from the landlord's point of view was written by James Loch in his *An Account of the Sutherland Improvements*, by Thomas Sellar in his *The Sutherland Evictions of 1814*, and by Sir George MacKenzie in his *Clearances from the Landowners' Point of View.*

The actual process of eviction was left to the factors, many of whom were strangers from the south country. Where the tenants showed any resistance, their crops were laid waste, their cattle driven off, and their cottages burned to the ground. Other means than actual force were frequently used to dispossess the tenantry. Restrictive clauses stipulating that the tenants "may retain and accommodate in spots least fit for sheep farming", were included in the leases. Grazings were curtailed, rents raised, and actions for trespass became so frequent that ultimate removal through embarrassment and insolvency became certain. It may be noted in passing that similar methods were used in England in the 18th century to secure lands from the small holders.

The clearing of the glens first began in those districts nearest the Lowlands where sheep farming was first introduced in Perthshire and Argyllshire, and then continued its devastating course through Ross, Inverness and Caithness shires, till it culminated in the notorious Sutherland clearances in the early years of the 19th century.

The first clearance on a large scale was in 1784 when the Duke of Atholl cleared Glen Tilt, the reason given being the refusal of the people to enlist in the Duke's regiment. However, it was soon after made into a deer forest. Of all the Highland counties, Sutherland is probably the best known in connection with the clearances. The removal of small tenants to the coast and the conversion of the interior into large sheep farms commenced about 1807 when 90 families were evicted from the parish of Farr. Two years later hundreds of families were removed from Dornoch, Rogart, Loth, Clyne and Golspie. The principal agents employed in carrying out this work were William Young, Patrick Sellar, James Loch, Francis Suther, John Horseburgh, Capt. Kenneth Mackay and Angus Leslie. If we can credit tradition, Sellar was the most active and most detested of them all. Assynt was cleared in 1812, and the inhabitants compelled to seek a home among the Indians and bears of the Red River settlement. In 1814 Strath Naver was cleared of 150 families to form three sheep farms. Then followed Farr and Kildonan. After Waterloo the soldiers returned to glens desolate of men. Various estimates are given for the total number removed from the Sutherland estates. Hugh Miller sets the number at 15,000, which Thomas Sellar describes as "a very great exaggeration". It is probable that at least three-fourths of the population on the Marquis of Stafford's estates were affected by the clearances of 1810 to 1820. Support is given to Miller's estimate by Helen I. Cowan in her *British Emigration to British North America 1783-1837*, where she states that in the first six years after Waterloo at least 19,000 passengers sailed from Scotland to America. The greatest number of these in 1816 and 1817 sailed from Thurso in Caithness, from which port a year or two later the evicted tenants of the Marquis of Stafford's estates sailed for Nova Scotia. It is possible that some copies of the Bible which the Duke presented to his dispossessed tenants may still be found in Pictou County, unopened and untouched.

There were three choices open to the dispossessed tenants. They could take new locations by the sea shore, they could seek new employment, or they might choose to emigrate. Some turned to the herring fishing; many sought work in Dundee, Perth, Edinburgh and Glasgow; but by far the larger number determined to begin life anew in America. W. F. Skene estimates that of those who were dispossessed because of sheep farming, two-thirds emigrated in the beginning of the 19th century.

The social status of those who left the Highlands during the time of the clearances differed from that of the earlier emigrants. It was now the crofters and small tenants who came to America, while before 1783 it was the tacksmen and the wealthier tenants. In this second wave of emigration the Highlands lost its handcraftsmen, for the cottagers and crofters were the local craftsmen. Before the Industrial Revolution with its inventions which almost made an end of the handicraft industries, each Highland community was practically independent. The products of the hand loom and the spinning wheel were sufficient for the community. Some idea of the number of local craftsmen in a Highland community is given by the following figures for the district of Taymouth in which there were 85 tenants, 43 crofters and 22 villagers. In 1791 there were in that community 30 weavers, 25 tailors, 15 shoemakers, 22 wheelwrights, 13 meal millers, 14 masons, 5 smiths, 5 hecklers, 2 woolcombers, 2 dyers and 5 merchants. These figures are taken from the Breadalbane Estate Papers, Register House, Edinburgh. This was the class that came to America in the early 19th century, much to the loss of Scotland. The young, the virile and the strong emigrated, leaving a large percentage of old people among the population at home.

In contrast with those who had emigrated before the dawn of the century, the great majority of the emigrants who left because of the clearances were in need of financial assistance. This fact is borne out by a study of the lists of emigrants from Great Britain for the ports of Pictou, Sydney and Halifax. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia record that the Scots who arrived in Pictou in 1815 were so destitute that the legislature voted £500 for their relief during the following winter, and still in May, 1816, the magistrates of Pictou wrote that every family, if not in "absolute want", was suffering from the "extraordinary scarcity of provision". Of this group of 166 men and women, not including some 200 children, only four are farmers, 43 were labourers, 30 were tradesmen such as tailors, shoemakers, masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, millwrights, saw-millers, chairmakers, and a school master. Eight were described as servants. Twenty-three families were put down as "poor" or "very poor", needing assistance. It was people such as these, however, who by their character and industry made good homes for their families in Pictou County.

Measures Adopted to Prevent Emigration:

So alarming did this exodus from the Highlands become that measures were employed to put a stop to it. It was in the interests of the landlords when kelp manufacture was in a prosperous state to have as many people as they could get to reside on their estates, seeing that kelp was probably four times as valuable as the rest of their property. In fact Seaforth and Fortrose and other landlords petitioned the Government for troops to prevent the dwellers on the seashore from being enticed away by owners of emigrant ships. The Lord Chief Justice Clerk suggested that if a few hundred emigrants were returned, it would do more to open the eyes of the people to cure them of their passion for America than all that could be said or written about the subject. The most successful expedient, however, was the construction of public works, especially the Caledonian Canal, begun in 1803 and opened in 1822. Some 6,000 Highlanders thus found employment.

It was feared, too, that continuous emigration would militate against recruiting, as the Highlands supplied a recruiting ground for the British armies; and further that young men going to America might fight against Britain in the Revolution. Steps were actually taken to prevent emigrants of military age from landing at New York, where the admiral in charge issued directions that any ships arriving in that port with Scottish emigrants on board should be sent to Boston where the British troops were concentrated under General Gage. In accordance with these instructions the ship *Asia* which arrived in New York in December, 1775, with 255 emigrants was sent to Boston, and the women and children sent from that port to Nova Scotia.

Although this second wave of emigration greatly reduced the number of craftsmen, it would appear that the natural increase was more than sufficient to keep the population stationary. The Highlands were not economically self-supporting. Recurring famines and destitution rendered the condition of many of the inhabitants intolerable. The only hope of permanent and effectual relief was obtained by emigration.

Little material encouragement was offered these early settlers to come to Nova Scotia. Each passenger was obliged to pay his own passage, approximately £4, and to run the risk of death by disease or drowning, in a poor unseaworthy vessel which took some five or six weeks to make the passage from the west coast of Scotland to Pictou or Sydney or Halifax. Some idea of what they were sometimes called upon to endure may be inferred from the following extracts. This from Holmes's *Annals of America*: "In December, 1773, a brig from Dornoch arrived in New York with about 200 passengers, and lost about 100 on the passage." And this from the *Inverness Journal* of Dec. 25, 1807: "We have just received the melancholy accounts of the loss of the brig *Rambler* of Leith, James Morris, master, cleared out of Thurso in September, 1807, for Pictou with emigrants. They left Stromness the 1st of October, and on the 29th of the same month were totally wrecked near the Bay of Bulls, Newfoundland. When the ship left this port, she had on board 130 passengers; the crew consisted of 14 seamen besides the captain and surgeon. Of these the only survivors are three passengers, the second mate and four seamen. So that, sad to relate, 138 persons have perished on this unfortunate voyage."

Fortunately the great majority of voyages did not end so disastrously. It is gratifying to find an occasional reference to a good passage and kind treatment, such as that in the *Acadian Recorder* of October 16, 1819. "The passengers of the ship *Economy* of Aberdeen, from Tobermorry to Pictou, desire in this public manner to express their gratitude to Captain James Fraser, the master, for the kind treatment they received from him during the passage which consisted of five weeks. Two hundred and eighty-five souls embarked at Tobermorry and were landed in good health and spirits, together with four children born upon the passage. Pictou, October 4, 1819." John Maclean, the Tiree bard, was with his family among the passengers on this trip. In his famous poem *Oran do Dh'America*, composed while he was living on bare potatoes in Barney's River, the poet gives a vivid and truthful description of pioneer life in Nova Scotia. This poem was sent by him to friends in Tiree, and was no doubt the means of keeping many persons from emigrating.

Added to the hardships of a tedious and dangerous ocean voyage there were the difficulties of making a new home in the forest. The land had to be cleared of trees. Few of the early Scottish settlers were expert with the axe. The extreme heat of summer and the severity of winter taxed their endurance. But being inured to hardships in their native land, they persisted and by dint of hard work they planted their crops and built homes, schools and churches for themselves. Their religious life and industrious character reflected honour on the land of their birth.

A MOTHER'S PRAYER

ARTHUR S. BOURINOT

I hear the planes in outward flight
Their engines fading roar,
My boy flies far into the night,
O God be with him in the fight
And bring him back once more.

My boy flies far into the night
On valiant wings to soar,
Clouds keep the secret of his flight,
O God protect him in the height
And bring him back once more.

I hear the planes in homing flight
Their engines deepening roar,
O God who watches in the night
Guard him and keep him in thy sight
And bring him back once more.