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Emily Tyschenko

University of Guelph, etyschen@uoguelph.ca

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Cover Page Footnote

Emily Tyschenko was born and raised in Guelph, Ontario. At the University of Guelph, Emily pursued a degree in Classical Languages, as well as a minor in History. Emily plans on continuing her education at the graduate level, with a degree in LIS and perhaps a subsequent one in Classics or Canadian History.

The Legacy of Fergus' Adam Fergusson: Lasting Contributions to Agricultural Science and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Fergus

Emily Tyschenko

University of Guelph

The desire for a new beginning in the Canadas became a popularized sentiment in the face of the dismal socioeconomic conditions of Scotland during the early nineteenth century. Adam Fergusson's 1831 trip from Scotland to the northern parts of the United States and Upper and Lower Canada had several intentions and ultimately produced his *Notes on Travels* publication in 1832 that was again revised after his second visit in 1834. As a leading agriculturalist, he sought to collect information for his agricultural society in Scotland along with observing colonial conditions for potential Scottish emigrants. Fergusson's publication on Canadian topography and notes for

Scottish emigrants was one of many. Particularly from the beginning of the 1800s, Scots had been gaining information about conditions overseas through travel guides and correspondence of letters by Scottish settlers in the New World. His published observations on Upper and Lower Canada became an important part of the discourse on both agriculture and emigration. Fergusson was reported to have overlooked much of the land around Guelph due to unsatisfactory land quality, preferring the Niagara region instead.¹ However, after a second examination of the area, Fergusson saw great potential in the Township of Nichol where he bought over 7000 acres of land along with James Webster, his co-founder, for the future site of Fergus. During Fergusson's return to Upper Canada in 1833, he founded the settlement of Fergus and eventually built his home, Woodhill, in Waterdown. Like other early settlements in Upper and Lower Canada in the early nineteenth century, the prospect of rural opportunities was an overwhelming draw for emigrants to Fergus from Scotland. The outcome of clearing land, farming, and finding suitable animals or secondary income in the first few years was an important factor in the success rate of Scottish settlers in Fergus. The early development of Fergus displayed the success of pioneers who lived in a thriving community for Scottish emigrants. Fergus, though a small town in Upper Canada, housed leading thinkers and successful settlers, and its founder Adam Fergusson had a resounding impact on the province's agricultural development. Fergusson's influence shaped the greater discipline of agriculture in conjunction with the practice and discourse of emigration.

The entire agricultural system had changed when Scotland became a more urbanized society.² In the Highlands, in particular, specialization had become the normal practice of farming. The

shores of the Highlands were dedicated to kelp farming, while the grazing lands were cleared for sheep farming due to an increased demand from the south. The 'Clearances' had deprived the Highlands of much of their population, with Highlanders settling in pockets throughout North America.³ The state of Scotland's own agricultural system had been in disarray for much of the early to mid-1800s, and in the Highland Society of Scotland leading agriculturalists were able to discuss, promote, and publish their findings and solutions. In conjunction with exploring contemporary conditions of agriculture, the Highland Society of Scotland had become concerned with the number of hopeful emigrants who had blindly taken a transatlantic journey only to become just as destitute in the New World as they had been in Scotland. With a surge of Scottish emigrants making the transatlantic trip to North America, the Highland Society, among other social organizations and charitable philanthropists, had become interested in the well-being of Scottish emigrants.⁴ The self-sustainability of the new Scottish farmer relied jointly on the quality of land and farming opportunities. As a result, emigration from Scotland and agriculture in North America had become interrelated topics for discussion; the success of the emigrant depended on the state of agriculture, yet in another manner, the prospect of new land acted as an impetus for emigration from Scotland. Thus, the quality and state of land in the New World was a relevant topic for discussion in both Scotland and in the Canadas.

The decision of the Highland Society of Agriculture and Scotland to send Adam Fergusson to Canada and the United States had been a result of the meeting 1830 in which discussion had centred on the problem of emigration from Scotland to North America following these changes in rural parts of Scotland.⁵ The selection of

Fergusson as the recorder of such information in the North American “rural economy” was a deliberate one. Being one of the members and directors of the Highland Society, he was a well-respected individual, and since he had considerable experience as a “country gentleman” (or farmer) he was able to provide appropriate information and analysis.⁶ The Society had a particular interest “on the subject of emigration [...] the conditions of the emigrants,” and any sources, which could provide an “interchange of useful information.”⁷ The directors of the Highland Society themselves described Adam Fergusson’s 1831 North American trip as “a favourable opportunity of obtaining such information regarding those countries as may prove beneficial to rural economy and the useful arts at home [...] connected with the state of industry and the useful arts in the rich and magnificent countries which he is to visit, as may tend to promote the improvement of those arts in his own.”⁸ Part of the purpose of Fergusson’s first trip to Upper and Lower Canada was for the betterment and improvement of Scotland’s own farming techniques and learning of the conditions of settlement.

While his commentary on Upper Canada was the most useful for the purpose of this local examination of farming legacy, Fergusson’s analysis of the French methods of Lower Canada farming were valuable in surmising his preferred method. Though he called the settlers in Lower Canada “industrious, frugal, and contented,” he criticized their practice as stagnant because they placed too much value on their traditions rather than on new progressive techniques.⁹ He noted that many settlers did find success in the British and Irish settlements in Quebec, but called them “exceptions.”¹⁰ The soil in this area was suitable, but lacked proper irrigating streams.¹¹ His journey throughout Upper Canada, however, was written with considerably more optimism. He wrote favourably of the Glengarry settlement

and its cultural traditions, but preferred less “the Highlander [who was] more at home in wielding the claymore [...] than in guiding the ploughshare.”¹² As he had regarding the *habitants* in Lower Canada, he presented disdain for those farmers unwilling to use progressive methods. His commentary is telling of his esteemed position in the Highland Society and foreshadows his reputation in his future position as founder and member of the Agricultural Association for Upper Canada—as an innovative agriculturalist. Like many Scots, he was particularly impressed with the Huron Tract of land, which the Nichol township and future location of Fergus was close to.¹³

After his first tour of the Canadas, Fergusson surmised that there was a great deal of economic prospect for those who desired land after experiencing a diminished livelihood in a lagging Scotland. The yearning for land and subsequent pride in owning or leasing land was a prevalent sentiment raised in letters back to Scotland.¹⁴ The Highland Clearances had created a rural exodus, and many tenant farmers and servants acquired opportunity in the Canadas that had never been attainable in the laird and landowning systems of Scotland. Fergusson reported that the Scot “will become proprietor *in fee-simple* of lands” at a rate more favourable than what farmers pay in a yearly rent.¹⁵ The favourable prices for lots would have been a welcome opportunity compared to the overpriced rent fees that landlords had begun to impose in the nineteenth century.¹⁶ On who might benefit from this new system of owning lands, he wrote:

And now comes the important question for individual consideration, “Is emigration expedient or not?” This must be decided by circumstances, and every man must judge for himself. Of this, however, I think there can be no doubt, that either the moderate capitalist, or the frugal, sober, and industrious labourer or artisan, cannot fail of

success. Fortunes will not be rapidly or even readily acquired; but it must be the settler's own fault if he does not enjoy, in large abundance, every solid comfort and enjoyment of life [...]¹⁷

As far as Fergusson was concerned, any Scot, whether “the moderate capitalist, or the frugal, sober, and industrious labourer or artisan,” could be successful in the new world. This message would have been a welcome sentiment in his publication during a period in which the economic and agricultural system had been falling in productivity. Fergusson emphasized equal opportunity for all Scots, yet pointed out that the settler would have to work hard in order to prosper in this new system of landholding and farming—this as a warning to any Scots who thought colonial life would be easy.

Fergusson and his co-founder Webster both had concern for Scottish emigrants who had been taken advantage of by either recruitment officers or land agents.¹⁸ As such, Fergusson dedicated a significant portion of his 1831 and 1834 publications to educate potential emigrants about Upper Canada. He presented the prospects of farming in the New World alongside an instructive handbook for settlement. On the role of agents in Upper and Lower Canada, he wrote:

“It may be said that Government has, at this time, emigrant agents in Canada, and such is truly the case. But these gentlemen are engaged in mercantile pursuits and are in many respects disqualified for establishing that connexion [sic] between the colonists and emigrants, which, it is thought, may be advantageously procured.”¹⁹

Unfortunately, emigration and land agents made empty promises or “over-selling” points as a means to procure the quota

for passengers. Emigration agents were generally empathetic to the emigrant's situation; some agents, however, preyed on the unsuspecting by ignoring passage agreements, selling worthless tickets, and handing out undesirable land for a price, to name a few.²⁰ Because of the known fraud, Fergusson believed that an "establishment of an honourable and active agency in Canada" would benefit the circumstances of new settlers profoundly.²¹ The Select Committee on Emigration addressed this issue during their meeting in 1841 after a rapid increase in emigration due to Scotland's crop failures. In the preceding year, Scottish emigrants had been received in Upper Canada "without any preparation having been made in that province for their reception," but Thomas Rolph, a settler in Upper Canada, relayed that Governor-General Lord Sydenham was creating a more efficient system for the settlement of Scottish emigrants.²² Although many emigrants found little opportunity during such turbulent times of emigration, Fergusson and other leading men in Fergus consistently provided for emigrants regardless of their circumstances.²³

Fergusson's commentary on the rural and economic conditions of Upper Canada is supported by accounts of the settlers themselves. As one of Fergus' earliest settlers, Thomas W. Valentine in his *Notes of a Journey through Part of Canada and the United States in 1834* presented a valuable perspective of a Scottish settler in Fergus as he also included notes on other areas throughout Northern United States and the Canadas. His travels took him from Greencock throughout the Niagara region, to Guelph, and finally to Fergus, though he travelled to Goderich intermittently before again returning to Fergus where he bought land along the Irvine River.²⁴ On his journey from Guelph to Fergus, he saw little desirable in the farms and villages close to Guelph. They were reportedly in "a wretched

state of neglect” with their fields covered in weeds; he saw this as a reflection of the “slovenly farmer” acting without regulation from a national Parliament.²⁵ However, he saw improvement in the condition of the land as he progressed from Guelph and closer to the Nichol township as it had a “uniform flatness so common in Canada, and so foreign to the eye of Scotsmen.”²⁶ He too saw opportunity in the flat land in Nichol Township just as Fergusson had: “The soil of Ferguson’s ‘Block’ is excellent—several inches of rich black vegetable mould on a stratum of clay mixed with sand; this again rests on limestone, generally a very few feet from the surface.”²⁷ His visit to Fergusson was filled with romantic sights of the river, the ever-expanding building project of the village, and also with a visit to Fergusson and Webster who both gave him a proper Scottish welcoming.²⁸

The settler A.D. Fordyce, who arrived in Upper Canada in 1835, provided a similarly well-rounded depiction of the Fergus settlement and Fergusson. In a letter to his father in Scotland, he wrote that Fergusson had helped him decide upon the 11th and 14th concessions for purchase, yet he had been hesitant to buy it because it did not have any streams.²⁹ Despite his doubts he bought the land, but later wrote that Fergusson did not inform him of other available lots with creeks located in the backwoods because they were being held for his own sons.³⁰ However, he conceded his own land was more than adequate and would make excellent grazing land.³¹ A.D. Fordyce continued to take advice from Fergusson on clearing his ten acres of land and even about his financial security while establishing his farm over the course of several years.³² The rest of the settlement continued to display developments, whether in “raising bees” or in the building of barns.³³ In addition to his letters providing details of pioneer life in Fergus, they cast light on the considerable impact that

Fergusson had on the settlers as he advised them and gained their respect. In his letters, he presented Fergusson as a familiar figure not only to himself and other settlers, but also to his father in Scotland, which exemplified the reach that Fergusson had as founder of Fergus.³⁴ He attracted Scots from the upper and educated classes of society to settle in Fergus and was viewed fondly by Scottish settlers in Upper Canada and those remaining in Scotland.

Thomas Valentine and A.D. Fordyce were not the only settlers attracted to Fergus at this time. Fergusson also attracted other “leading men” from Scotland. Rev. Patrick Bell, another member of the Highland Society of Scotland, lived in Fergus for the much of his North American stay in 1835 to 1837. He acted as a tutor to Adam Fergusson’s children and was well liked by the settlers of the community.³⁵ Despite his close relationship with Fergusson and the settlers, he did not enjoy his stay in Fergus nor colonial life in general. His own accomplishments in agriculture predated his stay in Fergus, yet he deserves mention because he represented an exceptional character that Fergusson drew to Fergus.

Rev. Patrick Bell’s commentary on Canadian farming was published as *Journals or Rather Observations made in Upper Canada during the years 1834-37*. These journals provided an often humourous and biting survey of pioneer life. The settlers respected him, and he too wrote kindly about them. Akin to Valentine’s disdainful portrayal of the ‘slovenly farmer’, Bell did not approve of the more rustic nature of pioneers.³⁶ He showed abject feelings over those farmers or settlers who thought “themselves the first in the land,” while only “middle class at home” in Scotland.³⁷ His commentary even criticized American women as being ugly whereas Canadian women were handsome and well dressed.³⁸ This was a reflection of his moral values and

conservatism, which were rooted in the Old World. Notably he was a critic of the methods of the Canada Company, and as such, he had concern for the condition of the Scottish settlements. He called land agents or those settlers who took advantage of others “cruel seducers.”³⁹ He described the unfortunate experience of some ill-lucked Scots: “After taking possession of their lots they found that the promised well made roads were nothing better then ill formed tracks through the woods—the promised mills and bridges were in many cases never finished...The settlers on the large Huron Tract were last winter literally starving.”⁴⁰ Both Bell’s and Fergusson’s aforementioned concerns for the settlement of emigrants reflected a greater social concern that the upper class of Scotland had for emigrants.⁴¹

Although Adam Fergusson was a respected man in Scotland, he had critics. One such man, named James Inches, disagreed with many aspects of Fergusson’s proposed settlement. His work titled *Letters on Emigration to Canada addressed to the Very Rev. Principal Baird* was published in 1836, only two years after Fergusson’s second publication. He had numerous counterclaims to Fergusson’s analysis of land clearing and what he observed of the settlement process. He acknowledged Fergusson’s “great respectability as a country gentleman” and his high rank as one of the directors of the Highland Society.⁴² His first of six complaints was regarding production of “crop of wheat [in] the first year,” since in his opinion Fergusson implied that land would already be cleared when it was a long, drawn-out process throughout the early settlements in the Canadas.⁴³ The Earl of Selkirk, after his journey to North American in 1803 and 1804, commented, “Most of the money [the settlers] had brought with them was expended, and, in this exhausted condition, they were beginning the cultivation of their property.”⁴⁴ When buying land settlers

had two options: one was to pay an initial installment immediately (as was the custom of the Canada Company) and the other was to allow various payment installments, decided by the settler, of which the amount owing would accumulate interest.⁴⁵ The typical Scottish farmer in Fergus would either be living off a small amount of the remaining funds left over from the capital they arrived with or, as in the second alternative, be better able to establish themselves while paying off their account. The process of settlement and land clearing was difficult in itself, yet with the worry of money, particularly in the first payment alternative, the settler's life was further complicated. This was one of James Inches largest complaints with Fergusson—that his projected pricing and productivity for farmers was not sufficient. He commented, “The original settler seeing, when it is too late, that he is never to be the real owner, he naturally gets discouraged [...]”⁴⁶ The morale of the Scottish emigrant was at risk for discouragement if he could not own his own land, a prospect that was addressed in Fergusson's commentary as well. This opposing view of Inches was perhaps less reflective of Fergusson's misconceptions and more an indicator of what even he himself acknowledged as an ever changing rate of land and opportunity. Despite an abounding number of prospects, nothing was certain for the Scottish farmer in the New World.⁴⁷

Though Fergusson encountered criticism, his contribution to the Highland Society's publications was esteemed in the highest regard. His exploration of Upper Canada proved invaluable to the Society and also to the various Scottish farmers desiring a better livelihood than the crippled economic system in rural parts of Scotland. *Chalmers' Edinburgh Journal* published a prideful account in 1836:

“We are glad to learn that Fergusson of Woodhill, who proceeded to Upper Canada, has found an advantageous settle-

ment in that promising country, and has the best prospects of success [...] It is Fergusson's resolution, we are told to sell no land to settlers of doubtful or indifferent character for any temptation or price. To those who are looking to the Western World, we would say, visit Fergus and ponder well the advantages of a healthy district, and a respectable social circle, ere you finally decide upon a home."⁴⁸

This article advertised Fergus as a desirable place of settlement for Scots. There is a clear expression of pride over the success of Fergusson's settlement, which contained a significant number of skilled and intellectual settlers. The notion that Fergusson would not sell land to undesirable settlers appeared in his own commentary, "Assuming such an individual to be a man of sober habits [...] to such a man I am not afraid to say, that Canada holds out an inviting field of enterprise and profitable occupation."⁴⁹ As mentioned earlier, the morality and good disposition of settlers was a matter that both Rev. Patrick Bell and Valentine found problematic in various parts of the United States and Upper Canada, and these moral criticisms also appeared in other documented accounts of pioneer life throughout Upper Canada.⁵⁰ The implication remained that only Scots with the best character would achieve success in the New World.

Not only was Fergusson a benefactor of agriculture for Scotland through his travels and membership to the Highland Society, but he was also a contributor to Ontario's agriculture society. In June 1843, he wrote a letter to a small Toronto newspaper, the *Cultivator*, in which he suggested "the establishment of a Central Society, or a Board of Agriculture for the Province, or rather, perhaps, for Canada East and West respectively" along with some guidelines for its constitution.⁵¹ In 1846, the Agricultural Association was founded, and in

1850, the Province passed an act to create the Board of Agriculture in Upper Canada.⁵² The integral role he played in the founding of the Board of Agriculture in Upper Canada is arguably his greatest accomplishment. He became Senior Vice President at the first Exhibition of the Association in Toronto on October 1846, and he was a member of the Board for the rest of his life.⁵³ Among the Board's accomplishments was the creation of a Chair of Agriculture at the University of Toronto. Fergusson's sentiments about the Canadian farmer were exemplified when he made the first annual address for the Association in what was an anthem for the hardworking farmer:

“One characteristic feature of the farmer is indeed to be met with in every age and in every clime, and we doubt not that our Canadian brethren will sturdily maintain it as their right. Farmers must be allowed to grumble and to bemoan their fates, when ungenial season, low prices, or animal and vegetable diseases assail their equanimity [...] Thank God, we have a great and magnificent arena, upon which every man in Canada may contend, in honourable and patriotic competition, untainted by jealousies or strife.”⁵⁴

Fergusson was adamant in his praise of Upper Canada's farming opportunities as well as in acknowledging the difficult job of the farmer. He firmly believed in the prospects of not only Fergus, but also the rest of the Province.⁵⁵ The welfare of the farmer was important to Fergusson; not only does he acknowledge their hard life, but also the need for efficiency in practice.⁵⁶

Adam Fergusson's Woodhill estate served as “a centre for agricultural development” and acted as a model farm.⁵⁷ One of his notable accomplishments was in being one of the first to introduce pure bred livestock in Upper Canada.⁵⁸ Fennings Taylor wrote in a

tribute to Fergusson, "No phase of practical farming was more repulsive to him than bad stock [...] and he was earnest [to] introduce in their stead the pure grades of the old country."⁵⁹ He imported short-horned cattle from Scotland to Upper Canada and established the 'Fergus Cup' to annually commemorate the best heifer in the settlement.⁶⁰ Not only was he eager to remedy the bad holdings of livestock in Upper Canada, but also he was eager to introduce Scottish breeds.

Fergusson was also an important instrument and innovator in the present and future state of veterinary studies. He was integrally responsible for the emigration of Dr. Andrew Smith and the eventual creation of the Ontario Veterinary College in 1862.⁶¹ In an address by Dr. C.C. James at to the OVC in November 1915, he commented, "Hon. Adam Fergusson, *more than any other man*, as may found by going back over old records, was really the Father of the Ontario Veterinary College."⁶² He sought to improve the methods of colonial farming as both a pioneer of farming techniques and promoter of livestock, and, exemplified by his influence on Dr. Andrew Smith, those he attracted to Upper Canada had their own accomplishments.

Fergusson's legacy, though begun in Scotland, was equally, if not more, valued in Upper Canada. The settlers of Fergus recognized Fergusson's impact on the community. Rev. A.D. Fordyce wrote in Fergus' early history of 1837 to 1840 about numerous dinners held for Adam Fergusson on behalf of the settlers for his considerable efforts in betterment of the settlement.⁶³ The Agricultural Association of Upper Canada passed a resolution on the day of Fergusson's death, September 26, 1862, expressing their deep regret over the loss of "one of the first and most indefatigable friends of the institution [...] and by the farmers of Canada at large."⁶⁴ Fergusson had an

impact on both the lives of Fergus' settlers and the larger agricultural practice in Upper Canada. An interesting acclamation of Fergus' landscape and agriculture appears in Logan Weir's novel, which is set during the early decades of settlement and includes two characters directly based off of the two founders, Fergusson and Webster. In one scene, the schoolmaster speaks about the benefits of living in Canada:

“What, now, shall I say of this wild, crisp, fertile land of adoption? [...] By birthright this beautiful and expansive over-the-sea-realm, too, is ours. [...] But pioneers from the Homeland; penetrating our own wild possessions [...] The magnitude of these British American possessions; their latent riches in soil, timber, and, without a doubt minerals [...] the innumerable inland oceans and rivers, encircling and interweaving the land, all teeming with life—has not yet revealed itself to our limited intelligence.”⁶⁵

His speech projected the sentiments of second generation Scottish-Canadians living in Fergus. Written a generation later, this scene captured Fergusson's posterity in Fergus—the great agriculturalist and his settlers paved the way for others to enjoy the “fertile land” of Fergus. This novel, while no doubt portraying a romanticized account of early settlement life, demonstrated the success that pioneers had by the former leadership and influence of Fergusson. Weir's story included justified praise for Fergus' agriculture and community, and it also attributed the present “British American possessions” to Fergusson and those Scots who were Fergus' first settlers.

Although Fergusson was desirous of progressive farming techniques, he had what seems to have been a genuine concern for the condition of settlers. His knowledge of land and general farm-

ing prospects played a large role in attracting Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada and Fergus in particular. Fergusson's commentary, then, not only documented the agricultural situation in Upper Canada and Lower Canada, but also opened up the possibility for discourse on such conditions. The attention that Fergusson received from the Highland Society and eventually those in the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada exemplified the importance of obtaining knowledge in agricultural matters. Fergus owes much to Adam Fergusson, yet his influence reached farther than the small settlement, throughout the Province and back to Scotland. Apart from his legacy as an agriculturalist, his dedication in promoting knowledge must be acknowledged. Both editions of his *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America* displayed his initiative in producing a guide for not only the topography of Canada, but also a guide for prospective Scottish emigrants. His mindful consideration for his discipline—agriculture—and his countrymen was exemplary, and these two facets were present in his role as a true “Canadian Farmer” during which he founded and influenced agricultural institutions, initiatives, and the lives of rural settlers in Fergus. The experience of Fergusson as an agriculturalist and recorder of his *Practical Notes* provides insight into the intricate relationship between land and farming prospects and emigration—a relationship that was present for a considerable population of Scottish farmers desiring greater opportunity in Canada. As a testament to his observations, Fergusson exemplified one of the success stories of the Scottish farmer, and more broadly, the success of Upper Canada.

Notes

1. Hugh Templin, *Fergus: The Story of a Little Town*, (Fergus: News-Record, 1933), 36.
2. T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History, 1700-2000*, (Penguin: London, 2000), 469-71ff.
3. Ibid.
4. Lord Selkirk took an active interest in the education, board, and future livelihood of young emigrants in particular.
5. Templin, *Fergus: The Story of a Little Town*, 36.
6. Pat Murray, Chairman from Adam Fergusson, Esq. of Woodhill, "On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America," [*Extract from the Minutes of a Meeting of the Directors of the Highland Society of Scotland, held the 3rd February 1831*], 2.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 4.
9. Adam Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, (Leith: Reid & Son, 1832), 3.
10. Ibid., 4.
11. Ibid., 6.
12. Ibid., 7.
13. Ibid., 11.

14. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History, 1700-2000*, 469.
15. Adam Fergusson, *Practical Notes Made During a Tour in Canada, And a Portion of the United States, in 1831 and 1834*. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1834) 160.
16. T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), 24.
17. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada*, 38.
18. Marjory Harper, *Adventures and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, (London: Profile Books, 2003), 132.
19. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, 36.
20. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, 130.
21. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, 36.
22. British Parliament. *Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland: British Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, Vol. 4, 1491.
23. Templin, *Fergus: The Story of a Little Town*, 31.
24. Arthur Walker Wright, "North Nichol in 1838," in *Pioneer Days in Nichol: Including Notes and Letters Referring to the Early Settlement of the Township of Nichol, Fergus, Elora and Salem*, (Mount Forest: Privately Published, 1924), 47.
25. Thomas W. Valentine, "Notes of a Journey through Part of

- Canada and the United States in 1834,” found in A.E. Byerly, *Fergus or the Fergusson-Webster Settlement with an Extensive History of North East Nichol*, (Elora, Ont.: Elora Express, 1932-34), 80.
26. Ibid.
 27. Ibid., 82.
 28. Ibid., 81.
 29. A.D. Fordyce, “Letter No. 1,” *Pioneer Days in Nichol: Including Notes and Letters Referring to the Early Settlement of the Township of Nichol, Fergus, Elora and Salem*, (Mount Forest: Privately Published, 1924), 6.
 30. Ibid., 6.
 31. Ibid., 7.
 32. A.D. Fordyce, “Letter No. 2,” 11.
 33. Ibid., 11.
 34. A.D. Fordyce, “Letter No. 3” 23; “Letter No. 1,” 7.
 35. A. D. Byerly, *Fergus or the Fergusson-Webster Settlement with an Extensive History of North East Nichol*, (Elora, Ont.: Elora Express, 1932-34), 109.
 36. Lucille H. Campey, *“Fast Sailing and Copper-Bottomed” Aberdeen Sailing Ships and the Emigrant Scots They Carried to Canada, 1774-1855*, (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2002), 131.
 37. Patrick Bell, *Journals or Rather Observations made in Upper Canada during the years 1834-37*, in Lucille H. Campey’s *“Fast Sailing and*

Copper-Bottomed" Aberdeen Sailing Ships and the Emigrant Scots They Carried to Canada, 1774-1855, (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2002), 131.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 130.

40. Ibid.

41. They were not the only Scottish settlers concerned with the welfare of emigrants—merely men who were both agricultural innovators and concerned with the matter of emigration. James Webster, the co-founder of Fergus with Adam Fergusson, was also remembered as a man involved in the interests of other settlers. James Valentine remembers him as a man “truly benevolent in heart” and helped settlers regardless of whether they were “Scotch, English, or Irish”.

42. James Inches, *Letters on Emigration to Canada addressed to the Very Rev. Principal Baird*, (Edinburgh: Press, 1836), 74.

43. James Hunter *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands of the United States and Canada*, (Toronto: University Press, 1994), 134.

44. Earl of Selkirk, *On Emigration and the State of the Highlands*, 2nd ed., (Edinburgh: Constable, 1806), 189-190.

45. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, 16.

46. Inches, *Letters on Emigration to Canada*, 131.

47. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, (Leith: Reid & Son, 1832), 17.

48. Robert and William Chambers, “Fergusson’s Canadian Settlement,” *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal*, Vol. 4, (London: Orr and Smith, 1836), 68.
49. Fergusson, *On the Agricultural State of Canada and Part of the United States of America*, 157.
50. Cf. William Bell, “Life of William Bell, written by himself (a series of Extracts from his Diary 1817-1827)” in *William Bell fonds*, (Ontario: Queen’s University Archives), Vol. 4, 60-70ff.
51. Fergusson, *Cultivator*, June 1842, found in A. D. Byerly, *Fergus*, 36-7.
52. Byerly, *Fergus*, 37.
53. Ibid.
54. Adam Fergusson, “Address at the Government House, 1846,” in A. D. Byerly, *Fergus or the Fergusson-Webster Settlement with an Extensive History of North East Nichol*, (Elora, Ont.: Elora Express, 1932-34), 37.
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