

# The Scottish Diaspora



Tanja Buelmann, Andrew Hinson  
and Graeme Morton

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Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton

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For  
Stewart the Goldfish (1992–)  
Wish You Were Here

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# Introduction

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‘Scotsmen’, observed *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, ‘are proverbially inclined to roam abroad in quest of fortune. This is true not less of the humble than of the higher ranks’.<sup>1</sup> The Scots’ wanderlust has been a notable characteristic indeed, with an estimated 2.33 million Scots making their way across the Atlantic or to the Antipodes between 1825 and 1938 alone. In view of these numbers, the upsurge in scholarly interest in Scottish migration history does not surprise, and has seen demographers, sociologists and historians explore the causes and consequences of migration from Scotland to a multitude of destinations near and far. There is as yet, however, no comprehensive examination of Scottish diaspora history in which ‘diaspora’ moves beyond its traditional use as a category describing the movement of people through outward migration, commonly identifying victimhood and exile as its key characteristics. The idea of such an ‘enforced diaspora’<sup>2</sup> of Scots is largely misleading. What we offer here is an alternative definition of diaspora: as a concept that captures diasporic actions and consciousness by tracing not only the tradition of Scottish emigration from the failure of the late-seventeenth-century Darien venture through to 1945, but also the Scots’ as agents in diaspora, their diaspora experiences and interactions with different host societies, and the impact of the diaspora upon Scotland.

Split into sections that address key theories, themes and geographies, the book captures the diverse settlement experiences of the Scots overseas. Bringing themes and geographies together in this way, and underpinning them with central theoretical concepts and primary material, will provide readers with a unique opportunity to assess the movement of Scots abroad, as well as their impact in the new worlds in which they settled, including places often overlooked such as South-east Asia. The book’s comparative focus and its broad time-frame give recognition to the distinctive developments in a diverse range of Scottish diaspora locations, spanning the ‘near diaspora’ of England and Ireland to as far afield as New Zealand.

## A WHAT MAKES A SCOT?

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In late October 2012, shortly after the Scottish and UK governments had signed the Edinburgh Agreement which sets out how both governments will ‘work together to ensure that a referendum on Scottish independence can take place’,<sup>3</sup> Jon Kelly raised the question whether there is a ‘formula for Scottishness’ in the *BBC News Magazine*. ‘It’s not about being able to tolerate the sound of bagpipes, or preferring Irn Bru to Coca-Cola’, noted Kelly, ‘[i]nstead, it all comes down to where you bide – that is, live.’<sup>4</sup> Whatever one’s stance on the matter of Scottish independence, the referendum has brought to the fore the question of what makes a Scot – and what criteria can be used to establish it. First, and for the purpose of the referendum, ‘Scottishness’ is determined by **residency** in Scotland. This means that while people born in England now living in Scotland will be able to cast a vote in the independence referendum, Scots living in England – or elsewhere in the UK and abroad – will not. The choice to focus on residency has come at the expense of a second criterion: that of **citizenship**. This complicates matters for two reasons. First, there is no Scottish citizenship at present but there is British citizenship and nationality – hence a citizenship of the very constitutional arrangement that is being challenged by the referendum. Secondly, at the time of writing, those Scots who have relocated abroad do not lose their UK citizenship after applying successfully, for example, for Canadian or Australian citizenship. With that in mind: is their interest in the future of Scotland any less valid than that of English or Welsh-born residents of Scotland? For the purpose of the referendum, where residency in Scotland trumps citizenship, it would be. In an independent Scotland, however, the story might be a very different one if the Scottish National Party (SNP) remained in office as it seeks to entitle émigré Scots to citizenship in very much the same way as Ireland does. By bringing into the mix the criterion of **descent** beyond the first generation – the Irish model potentially entitles even the great-grandchildren of Irish citizens to acquire Irish citizenship – a large number of next-generation Scots from throughout the diaspora could become citizens in an independent Scotland. As the leader of the SNP Alex Salmond has noted, ‘the maximum entitlement to citizenship’ is their goal, using Scotland’s ‘global reach in the most effective way’.<sup>5</sup> Such ideas for the future of an independent Scotland are underpinned by homecoming policies designed to encourage next-generation Scots to return, there being the assumption that, as ethnic descendants of the homeland, these returnees are culturally similar to the Scottish population. At this juncture of UK identity politics and constitutional debate, the question of the role played by descent is, of course, strongly politicised. It is not, however, a novel one, nor one confined to taking place in Scotland. In late 1928 and early 1929, for example, a contribution about what made a ‘bona-fide Scot’ that first

appeared on the pages of Edinburgh's *Weekly Scotsman* was picked up by both Australian and New Zealand newspapers. 'Must one be born in Scotland of Scots parentage?' asked the writer, concluding:

I understand that in Canada there are hosts of children of Canadian birth who speak only Gaelic, the language of their parents or even grandparents. Are not these young Gaels as much Scots as if they had been born at Auchtermuchty, Auld Reekie, or Glasgow?<sup>6</sup>

Beyond residency and citizenship as potential criteria for defining what makes a Scot lie a plethora of other measures of Scottishness that can suitably be grouped under the heading of **ethno-cultural identity**. While many outward symbols of that identity, including those adopted from the Highlands such as bagpipes and the kilt, are often dismissed as either cultural remnants of a past long gone or modern fabrications,<sup>7</sup> for many a Scot and next-generation descendant, they nonetheless hold strong meaning. This is the case too because they are so easily identifiable. As Scottish writer and comedian Janey Godley notes, '[t]he main thing I love about Scottish identity is that it travels . . . It's not hard to figure out. The scenery, Billy Connolly, haggis . . . everyone recognises it straight away.'<sup>8</sup> Scots have utilised many such symbols for the purpose of connecting with other Scots abroad ever since they first departed from Scotland – a factor that has contributed to their perceived 'clannishness'. This, *The Scotsman* reported in 1860, certainly set the Scots apart from the English, stating that

the old story of the two Oxford men, belonging to the same College, who meet at the crater of Vesuvius and didn't speak because they had not been introduced, is scarcely a caricature of the frosty reserve with which our southern neighbours treat one another in 'foreign parts'.<sup>9</sup>

For the purpose of this study the inclusion of ethno-cultural identity in the definition of what makes a Scot is certainly crucial: be it through their own actions or through the ascriptions of others, Scots maintained ethnic boundaries in diverse ways and it is, in part, through these boundaries that we can identify them as a distinct diaspora group today. Moreover, for many, ethnicity, and an active expression of it, was by no means an obstacle to life in new worlds.<sup>10</sup> Physically removed from the homeland yet with many migrants and next-generation Scots still strongly connected and oriented towards it, expressions of a Scottish identity overseas facilitated the maintenance of that connection, promoting a global Scottish World. Looking at it in this way, we can only speak of 'the Scots' when we categorise the *Scottish* diaspora since it would make no sense to divide Protestant from Catholic, lowland from

highland, or second generations of English and Irish migrants into Scotland who then emigrated abroad.

## B APPROACHING THE SCOTTISH DIASPORA

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Having established what criteria might make a Scot, the test for a definition of diaspora is how well the concept supports scholarly investigation of the people who left the homeland in which they were raised to live their life in another country. The first issue we draw attention to is the length of time one lives outside the homeland. Does being part of Scotland's diaspora require permanent settlement? There are two distinct cases where permanency is not an intention: the seasonal migrant and the sojourner. A seasonal migrant is someone who leaves his or her homeland in search of work. They might never secure employment or that work might be academic instruction, but the principle is that people leave their homes on a seasonal basis to secure work in another part of the country, or outside their homeland, to then return at the end of the season. This pattern would be repeated each year. A sojourner is also someone who intends to return to the homeland. Again the search for employment is key, but rather than seasonal employment the sojourner intends to spend a specific period away from the homeland. The distinction is not always clear, and some Scottish sojourners worked seasonally in Canada before returning home each year, but the guiding principle is the temporary stay. Relocating for a set time outside of Scotland, the intention of the sojourner is always to return, ideally after raising sufficient funds to enable economic advance in Scotland.

Muddying the waters further is the indentured migrant. In this case the migrant is travelling overseas with insufficient funds for the cost of the journey or the wherewithal for establishing a life upon arrival, and opts to sign an indenture. Such an agreement may take many forms, but is generally along the lines of performing an agreed period of service in exchange for the cost of passage to a new country and some level of accommodation and sustenance. In some instances a return ticket was also part of the bargain, but the majority of Scottish indentured servants were looking for a permanent move.

A subcategory of all three is the Scottish migrant overseas who moves to another overseas territory of Empire or country where the Scottish diaspora is to be found. These movements could be seasonal, temporary or funded by indenture, and while identified mostly with British subjects not born within the British Isles, they did include the movement of Scots as economic opportunities arose. What the example of this migration highlights is the global scope of the movement of Scots; that movement was not always one-directional, and it certainly was not always finite.

Acknowledging the danger of simplification there is validity in employing

the most straightforward definition of the people of the diaspora: establishing a permanent or semi-permanent change of national residence.<sup>11</sup> But the length of time, the intention to stay, and the financial commitment to that migration pinpoint a range of subcategories. Return migrants include those who always intended to return, but also those who were forced to return because of illness, financial straits, homesickness, or deportation for criminal activity.

An important element in the classical definition of a diaspora is that the movement of people from the homeland or territory was the result of directly enforced eviction or from some other economic or physical threat that compelled people to leave. Baumann notes that the creation of a diaspora resulting from 'emotion-laden connotations of uprootedness, precariousness and homesickness' of dislocation provides explanation for ethnic associational culture that clings to the Old World.<sup>12</sup> One can present evidence that no group was victimised out of Scotland. The last civil war on British soil was the battle of Culloden in 1746, and involved land and cultural confiscations, and some but no mass exiles; not banned from worship in the modern period, in 1829 Roman Catholics were freed of the restrictions on holding office and government position in Britain; in 1832 the electoral franchise was opened to those men who owned property to the value of £10 although not until 1929 were women and men granted equal access to the ballot box. Those Irish fleeing famine were not denied entry to Scotland or England, although a claim for relief was met with an invitation to return across the Irish Sea to the parish of birth. Indeed, London and later Glasgow can attribute the openness of British society for the growth of each city's Jewish community, a number of whom arrived fleeing Russian persecution in the 1870s.

Short-distance migration was carried out when work was needed. Workers would circle the countryside and the towns around their home as opportunities dictated, and in some sense this migration was multi-directional as the cyclical economy worked its way over time. Like temporary migration, this may not have involved a break in society, so that the migrant was still operating within the rhythms and mores of the familiar. Nor was it unusual for employment to be gained upon the good word of a relative. Before trades unions and employment exchanges, some industries only employed people on the basis of family reputation or other connection. The shipyards and the skilled trades offer examples of this kind of hiring process.

Migrating overseas in an attempt to secure better employment was a personal decision about self-improvement. But this, and the choice of destination, was also cognisant of family, friends and other known information. Chain migration is the term used for migrants who trod a pathway to a settlement trailed by those known to them: the wife following the husband, the grandmother joining her grandchildren, the brother joining his sister, the villager joining villager and the clan member joining those of the clan. Chain

migration is important to gain understanding of why there is clustering both in the departure and the settlement of migrants. As we will see in the numerical analysis of Chapter 3, there was no random distribution of leavers and settlers with identifiable clusters at the end of each 'chain'. The destination offered advice and knowledge to the migrant, information that was otherwise difficult to acquire, especially in earlier periods. The chain tends to refer to longer migrations where the destination was less knowable and the cost of return, and therefore the imperative to make the migration work and to be successful over a longer period of time, was greatest. Longer distances were travelled more often as the technology of transportation made the journey easier and more frequent, and the opportunity cost of the passage less.<sup>13</sup>

As part of the chain, the town may have drawn in migrants from its hinterland and this fits with the concept of step migration. Migrants tend to have experience of short-term and temporary moves before making longer-distance migrations. We find distances of a few miles in the pre-industrial period, and longer distances in the industrial period, although not elongated by the arrival of the railway as it might be assumed. The decision to move to elsewhere in Britain, or overseas, was often presaged by a local move. We find steps in the migrant's history – short- and medium-distance movements before a longer journey with the intention of permanent settlement was undertaken.

Within this wider context of the diverse types of migration and movement overseas, we suggest that analysis of Scotland as a nation vis-à-vis the English nation is no longer tenable in light of the wealth of Scotland's history now found within diasporian scholarship and the number of Scots about whom this history is written. This idea follows in the footsteps of J. G. A. Pocock's call for a four-nation approach to British history,<sup>14</sup> giving recognition to the distinct experiences of Britain's constituent parts both at home and abroad. Within this wider framework, the concept of diaspora allows us to escape the tyranny of the nation-state.<sup>15</sup> This follows because diasporic actions are, by definition, transnational, crossing borders through migration. Moreover, diasporic actions are also often facilitated by communication networks that span not only the distance between old and new worlds, but reach across the globe.<sup>16</sup> For these networks to develop, however, Scots first needed to make their way to destinations beyond Scotland's borders.

Significant levels of Scottish emigration can be traced back as far as the late fourteenth century. Early destinations included France, the Low Countries, Scandinavia and England, where Scots pursued economic, educational and military opportunities.<sup>17</sup> An estimated 10,000 Scottish soldiers served in France during the fifteenth century, while the Scottish presence of pedlars was such in Denmark that the King acted in 1496 to restrict their activities.<sup>18</sup> Recent studies on Scottish-Polish relations also highlight the growing trade between the two nations with tax records for the period 1469–71 showing

a considerable number of names of Scottish merchants.<sup>19</sup> Both soldiers and peddlars emigrated in increasing numbers to Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth century, there being small but distinctive communities of Scots scattered throughout these territories.<sup>20</sup>

Some change occurred in the pattern of migration following the Scottish Reformation, most notably among the allegiances of Scottish soldiers as a result of the subsequent changes in political alliances. Thousands of Scots, for example, joined their fellow Calvinists during the Dutch Revolt against Spain in 1568, beginning an association with the Dutch military which would last until 1780, the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>21</sup> Scots also served in increasing numbers in the Protestant armies of Denmark-Norway and Sweden including 1,600 Scots who were levied for Sweden in the 1570s, and it was during the Thirty Years War (1618–48) that the Scottish military presence in Europe peaked.

While mercenary motivation cannot be dismissed as the primary reason why so many Scots became involved, recent research has given more credence to theological and dynastic loyalty as factors.<sup>22</sup> Certainly the marriage of James VI's daughter Elizabeth Stuart to Frederick V, the Elector of Palatinate in 1613, formed a strong connection between the Scots and Protestant Germany which had serious implications when events in Europe began to unfold. This occurred in 1619 when Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria was deposed by Bohemian Protestant nobility who crowned Frederick, making Elizabeth the new Queen of Bohemia. When Habsburg forces attacked Bohemia, many of the Scottish nobility and gentry came to the defence of Queen Elizabeth and her family. The war in Bohemia drew in many Scots and led to a significant Scottish presence in several European armies thereafter, including 1,500 Scots who were recruited to the Bohemian army and who fought alongside 1,000 men 'borrowed' from the Scottish forces in the Dutch Republic.<sup>23</sup>

Scots were also involved in Danish and Swedish campaigns, some 13,700 entering the Danish army between 1626 and 1629 alone, and 25,000 serving in the Swedish campaigns over the whole conflict.<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere, 11,000 joined the French army while many continued to enlist in the army of the Dutch Republic. This does not include the many Scots who were already living abroad, including 900 members of the Scottish diaspora who were recruited by the Poles.<sup>25</sup> In all, 48,080 official warrants were issued by the Scottish Privy Council for the anti-Habsburg armies throughout the course of the war. While questions exist over the validity of this figure, recent scholarship does estimate the Scottish military presence at around 50,000, not including the several thousand who served in the armies of the Habsburgs and their allies. If correct, 20 per cent of the adult Scottish male population was engaged in the war.<sup>26</sup>

Many of the Scots who fought in the Thirty Years War remained abroad after it was brought to an end in 1648. This was in part due to the Cromwellian

conquest of Scotland in 1650 which spurred another exodus of soldiers among uprising Scots who were offered foreign service over imprisonment as an enticement to halt their activities. In 1689 a further exodus occurred, this time among Jacobite supporters following the accession of William of Orange to the Scottish throne, who dispersed themselves in armies as far apart as Russia, Sweden, France and Spain.<sup>27</sup> Although these were the last mass enlistments of Scots to non-British armies, as will be seen in this volume, it was by no means an end to Scotland's military presence abroad.

While not as numerically high, commercial migrations following the Reformation were also significant in this early period. Previously established Scottish communities continued to grow, with some estimates placing the number of Scots across Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century as high as 50,000.<sup>28</sup> Scottish pedlars were of sufficient magnitude to create tension with their host communities, being the subject of revoke in Norway and Poland-Lithuania. In 1624 Scots in Danzig complained to James VI about measures ordering 'the removal of all strangers' from the town, which they blamed on the arrival of poorer Scottish migrants fleeing meagre harvests at home. In response the King issued a proclamation prohibiting young people boarding ships without letters of invitation from relatives in Poland or proof of their ability to sustain themselves.<sup>29</sup> Gauging the number of Scots is fraught with problems but in Poland-Lithuania some 5,969 settled Scottish merchants have been identified, 500 of whom were in Danzig.<sup>30</sup>

Scottish communities abounded in Norway where they engaged in the timber trade, still known in Norway as the *Skottehandelen* ('the Scottish trade'), and in Sweden where Scots exerted significant influence over the Swedish iron industry. Scottish merchants enjoyed considerable political influence in Stockholm, and in Gothenburg where two seats on the council were reserved for members of the Scottish nation.<sup>31</sup> In the Netherlands, the city of Veere was another Scottish enclave, having been designated as the Scottish staple port of the Dutch Republic, through which all Scottish trade theoretically passed. A Scottish conservator remained in residence until 1799 during which time the city retained a small Scottish community.<sup>32</sup> The Scottish presence was larger in Rotterdam, the strength of which is evident from the establishment of a Scottish Kirk in 1642.

The earliest ventures 'abroad' also brought the Scots to the 'near diaspora' of England and Ireland. Be it London, Liverpool or Belfast, many early modern Scots were found working in trading houses or in private business. Scots have also been travelling to North America since the sixteenth century, but these very early movements were small in scale. Larger numbers of Scottish migrants only arrived in the United States from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By 1729 the coastal areas around North Carolina were populated by Jacobites who were forced to emigrate after the

failure of the 1715 uprising.<sup>33</sup> The largest migration, however, only occurred from the mid-nineteenth century, when significant portions not only of Scots but also migrants of many other European ethnic groups became part of what was the age of mass migration.

Whether we look at the earlier or later migratory streams, many are characterised by a combination of ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors. While clearances and exile from the Highlands did not play as significant a role in Scottish migration as popular beliefs have it, they were a push factor for some. Crucial pull factors included the provision of free passages to particular destinations, but also economic factors, such as the discovery of gold. As a result, the gold rush in California in 1848–9 and the 1862 Homestead Act did much to attract impoverished Scots.<sup>34</sup> Other migrants from Scotland made it abroad in quest of an adventure. The example of the Orcadian doctor John Rae (1813–93) is an interesting one in this respect. He worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company, a fur trading company in Canada, but was also an active surveyor and student of flora and fauna. He was interested in indigenous society – to the extent that there exists a portrait of him in full Cree dress.<sup>35</sup> So in this book we ask: did Scots leave because they expected to attain a higher standard of living than at home? We look at this from two directions, basing discussion on the information the Scots had and the impressions they gained from family, friends, agents and others they knew. Secondly, we look at the macro indicators that historians have used to evaluate the evidence. So while scholarship has moved to give greater attention to the colonies, ‘to recover the decentralized narrative’, equally we ‘must be careful not to forget the centre and get lost in post modern antiquarianism.’<sup>36</sup>

## C BUILDING A DIASPORA

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We build our book from its foundations – the diaspora concept (Chapter 2). If a literary survey were conducted upon the state of historical scholarship on the Scots who lived in other nations of the world – say, as was current three or four decades ago – then the ‘Scots abroad’ or the ‘Scots overseas’ would be found, with no mention of the diaspora concept. A discrepancy from the language of today would also be found if the records of the Scottish Office in that period were compared to the current policy initiatives of the Scottish Government. And not just in Scotland, but internationally, too, there has been a flowering in the use of the term ‘diaspora’ in recent decades to describe and analyse nationals who live their lives in countries outside their natal or ancestral home. The interest comes in the potential of the diaspora concept to help scholarship and policy analysts make sense of various aspects of human agency that are attached to the action of migration. The creation and promotion of ethnic

identity, of ethnic boundaries, of group and associational behaviour, enacted in relationship to a homeland – be it a longing to return or a sense of rejection or alienation – diasporic living is an inescapable social phenomenon. A phenomenon, indeed, that is profoundly widespread. Between 1815 and 1914, some 55 to 60 million migrants left Europe for the New World – a number almost equivalent to the whole population of the UK today. The history of that movement has shaped the sending and hosting nations, recalibrating geopolitical, economic and political power on a massive scale. It is not simply the movement that is of interest to scholars, while greatly significant in itself, it is the new societies, the new economies, the new politics and new worlds created in the ‘New World’, and the relationship of the ‘New’ with the ‘Old’.

Scots, we know, were prodigious migrants, and have been throughout their history. In Chapter 3 we present the Scotland they left behind. From the conclusion of the 1745 Jacobite uprising until the end of the Second World War, Scotland’s society and structure underwent fundamental change. For one, the nation’s population increased fourfold. Most of that growth happened before 1901 and the rise in Scotland’s population was always less than in England and Wales. A major reason was that per capita rates of out-migration were always greater north of the border. Scotland, we show here and in Chapter 4, was one of Europe’s greatest exporters of people. But it was not simply a consequence of taking to heart the predictions of the Revd Thomas Malthus that persuaded Scots to migrate. Population pressure upon insufficiently productive land was a fundamental challenge to Scots’ generational stability. This was not necessarily new, for the Scots were already habitual movers – to Europe, to England and to Ireland, and back again – following work seasonally to the towns and regions alike. Life was marked by fragility, of income and food, but also distinguished by transformation, in rates of urbanisation and the shift from an agricultural to an industrial workforce. The Scots’ standard of living was slowly on the rise, and the people were hurrying to the towns and into industrial jobs, but so were those migrating abroad, and relocating to England and Ireland. And despite decadal fluctuation, they did so in ever increasing flows. Just how great were those flows, and where the Scots ended up, is the subject of Chapter 4. By examining this socio-economic transformation we explore whether Scots who migrated to the towns went directly from the countryside, or took a number of ‘steps’ in order to try their hand in a nearby settlement before making the decision to head for the jute mills of Dundee or the thread-making factories of Paisley. Alternatively, did these men, women, kin and clan decide to head straight for Greenock and a transatlantic voyage to North America? The Victorian statistician Ernest Georg Ravenstein’s produced eleven ‘laws of Migration’ to explain this movement, and we put his laws and the evidence to the test (pp. 58–63).

The decision to migrate is just that: a decision. However much agency

this involves is a matter for the case at hand. The transported criminal would certainly have less say in the decision than the gold-pro prospector encouraged by a new find in California leading him to down tools and get on the first boat out. The emigrant experience examined in Chapter 5 weighs up the information Scots were exposed to when considering the option of departure. Did the boat have proper passenger decks, was the captain honest, was the boat new, was it under sail or steam? The on-board experience, the welcome that awaited them, and the land and job opportunities they found, are part of the experience of diasporic Scots, and the formative knowledge of potential migrants that circulated at home.

The uncertainty Scots exhibited on their first encounters with indigenous peoples of the New World is exposed in Chapter 6. Orcadians picked up at Stromness for work with the Hudson's Bay Company were some of the first Scots to encounter Native people with any regularity, and some of the first to marry and raise mixed-race families despite initial opposition from their employer. A strong narrative of affinity between highland Scots and indigenous peoples has been suggested because of the commonality of their experiences in the face of the processes of 'civilisation' and imperial expansion. Certainly there is evidence of Scots' material culture permeating Native society, as well as trade in the opposite direction. Scots learnt of indigenous culture from guidebooks, art works, and from high-profile visits, including the Ojibbeway tribe who toured Scotland in the 1840s, or from American icon William Cody's 'Buffalo Bill Wild West Show', which he brought to Glasgow in 1891 and 1904, on the second occasion also touring the troupe around the north-east in three special trains. Yet the majority of Scots migrants accepted the forced removal of indigenous people from the land, and were keen to procure the best properties for themselves.

The Scots were well aware of the hardship of life in the New World and admired Native peoples for their abilities and knowledge of successful settlement. Helping fellow Scots to find their feet upon disembarking the boat has been a feature of Scots' settlement from the off. The oldest charitable society in America, the Scots Charitable Society of Boston (founded in 1657), was just such a provision. Philanthropic help from St Andrew's societies in North America, and cultural, political and social help through Caledonian and sporting societies in the Antipodes – examined in Chapter 7 – have helped Scots to mark their ethnic boundaries: these societies, and the annual commemoration of Robert Burns or St Andrew, can also be found in Argentina, China, India, Japan and more places besides. Associationalism also involved the Scots transplanting their culture to new settlements. Not just adapting the institutions they found upon arrival, giving them a tartan tinge, as it were, but bringing over their own institutions, unadulterated, and helping to build new societies from that basis.

Scots philanthropic and cultural societies were formed to help migrants to integrate, find jobs and social networks, and meet a need to be amongst one's own kind. Not all Scots did remain, or ever wanted to stay, and the emigrant experience includes those who returned to Scotland – the theme of Chapter 8. And while associational culture signals the Scots' presence in the diaspora, return migration indicates the fluidity of this experience. One third or more migrants were thought to have returned to Scotland throughout the 1870–1914 period. Some travelled back and forward seasonally, or yearly, while others only ever intended to emigrate for a short period of time, sojourning in the hope of making enough money to advance their lives upon return. The mercenary soldier or the Indian trader – the 'nabobs' – or the slave drivers were examples. With the return of Scots people, so came the arrival of new ideas and ideologies. Visiting Scots searching out their ancestors are another category again. The so-called roots tourists were a feature of mature migration, of descendants rather than first-generation migrants returning to their natal home.

With such numbers re-establishing their lives in Scotland, despite the momentousness of the decision to leave in the first place, Chapter 9 explores why more Scots did not choose to migrate within the British and Irish Isles. It was closer, it was (mostly) under the same state, and the climate, social conditions and people were familiar. London was the preferred location for those that did migrate south, and the towns and counties closest to the Scottish border were preferred over more distant non-Metropolitan destinations. Only in the inter-war decades of the twentieth century did more Scots emigrate to England and Wales than overseas and, by 1951, over 600,000 Scots-born people were enumerated there – enough to comprise Scotland's second largest city after Glasgow. In this case, Scots were moving to an economy and society even more mature than their own, and in England and Ireland they came upon two great rivals amongst Europe's leading migratory peoples. Still, the Scots who went were part of the diaspora, retaining an orientation to home and a sense of difference, creating associational and religious institutions to help with both.

On the whole, migrating Scots preferred to look outside the British and Irish Isles for their new life, and after a slow start before the 1760s, their main preference was 'Amerikay' (Chapter 10). 'A dance called America' summed up this passion, as the dancers twirled round and round, bringing everyone in to join them 'till the whole neighbourhood was afloat'. From soldier settlement in Georgia to family settlement in New York, North Carolina and Chicago, the Scots flocked across the Atlantic to America. Scots were instrumental in the ideas behind the Declaration of Independence, with Scots-trained John Witherspoon a signatory as well as the first president of the college we know as Princeton University. This was an intellectual exchange that has sustained scholarly connections as well as affinities in popular culture, from

philosophical and medical training, to the cowboy and the cultural pull of the western amongst Scotland's cinema-going public of the 1930s.

Before America took the crown as the destination of choice, Canada – for its 'Britishness' – had a particular hold over Scots (Chapter 11). The Scots were involved in the fur and timber trade and in explorations across this great land mass. Canada provides some of the best examples of chain migration. The Earl of Selkirk's purchase of land in Prince Edward Island where he planned to settle 800 highlanders is an instructive example of planting a settlement, linking it with home, and of attempts to intervene against increasingly high odds. From settling first in the Maritimes, the Scots increasingly settled further west, encouraged by the agents employed by Minister for Immigration Clifford Sifton and the Canadian Pacific Railway to take them into the interior.

Africa, by contrast, experienced few Scottish settlers until the twentieth century, but had been a destination for many a missionary, soldier and sojourner prior to that – Mungo Park, David Livingstone and Mary Slessor were Victorian heroes for their missionary work in Africa (Chapter 12). Scots, inevitably with their trading influence, were involved in the slave trade through their work in London and on the plantations in the Caribbean, but there was much popular and intellectual opposition to the practice, and the Scottish ports did not figure as London and Liverpool did in the transportation of slaves. Indeed it was as soldiers and miners that Scots left a second lasting impression on Africa, with the result that numbers settling increased most in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Enterprise, and being enterprising, characterised the Scottish diaspora in Asia (Chapter 13). Working within the formal and informal trading opportunities of the British Empire, the nations of the Far East became 'business outposts' for Scottish sojourners. Before trade westward to North America picked up, Scots looked to Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, often reached first by a Scottish presence in the East Indian Company and the trading houses of London. Military patronage led to commercial patronage, and the Scots benefitted from post-Union access to those networks. Of all the Scots trading companies, Jardine, Matheson & Co. were the most successful. Formed in 1832, and benefiting from trading in tea and opium, the partnership rose to become the largest British trading company before 1914. And there were other successes, too: twelve of the first seventeen trading houses in Singapore were Scottish.

Between 1861 and 1945 the Scots made up around 15 per cent of all UK-born migrants to Australia, which was a bigger proportion of Scots than in the UK (Chapter 14). From sending a much lower number of convicts to Australia than came from the English courts, Scots then arrived to work the land as they did in New Zealand. Scots migrants began increasingly to choose the two Antipodean destinations from the 1830s and 1840s, with organised