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Geographical Mobility, Occupational Changes  
and Family Relationships in  
Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland  
(with particular reference to the precognitions  
of the Lord Advocate's Department, 1812-21)

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1993



## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores important aspects of early nineteenth-century Scottish life, namely geographical mobility, occupational changes and family relationships. A major theme concerns people's transitions through life and how these were moulded by individuals' and families' strategies, and by historical circumstances. The work is based on the evaluation and exploration of a series of hitherto under-utilised criminal records, the precognitions of the Lord Advocate's Department, which is studied for its contribution to these themes. Because this is the first study to use the precognitions systematically for these purposes, particular attention is given to the specifics of their production and validity, as well as to recent literature on the themes under consideration. The research focuses primarily on people who moved geographically, and studies them in terms of their occupational and social groups. Analyses are made of movements between rural and urban places, and to and from towns and cities, particularly Glasgow. Consideration is also given to how far concepts of regional production and regional identity aid our understanding of mobility and personal strategies. An exploration is then made of the ways people used occupational changes and family relationships, often in conjunction with their mobility, while coping with their changing social and economic circumstances. The thesis concludes that geographical mobility, occupational changes and family relationships were integral aspects of people's strategies, and that further work on sources of this nature should yield additional insights regarding nineteenth-century Scotland.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and is the product of my own work.

(Signed)

(Date) 29 September 1993

*to Delia, with love*

The impudence of man: he pretends to be alone.

- Canetti

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## CHAPTER 1

### *Introduction*

This thesis examines three important and inter-related aspects of people's lives in early nineteenth-century Scotland: their geographical mobility, their occupational changes, and their family relationships. In doing so it also sets out to explore the potential and limitations of a set of Scottish criminal records which so far has been under-utilised by historical geographers and historians. What follows aims to show what this source can reveal about individuals' lives, and how it can also further our understanding of the social and geographical patterns of different groups in early nineteenth-century Scotland.

The source is the precognitions, or pre-trial statements, of the Lord Advocate's department, the chief law office of the Crown since 1478. The series is referenced as AD14 in the Scottish Record Office (SRO) and is available for the whole of the nineteenth

century.<sup>1</sup> Although they have attracted some attention, these precognitions have never been used extensively for academic research.<sup>2</sup> In part this is because of their relatively recent acquisition and indexing by the Scottish Record Office. In terms of the source's potential and ultimate value for research, its extensive nature is clearly advantageous. However, at this exploratory stage, the long run of material presents problems in framing a project which will be productive and interesting, yet realistic within the constraints of time and resources. It was considered that attempting to assess the whole of the source for its full run of years would be over-ambitious, in view of the sheer mass of the material, on the one hand, and, on the other, the sheer extent and complexity of the changes occurring within Scotland's society and economy throughout the last century. As will become apparent below, the value (and attractiveness) of AD14 relative to better known major sources of nineteenth-century Scotland is

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<sup>1</sup> Precognitions from the period 1799-1900 are referenced as AD14, those from this century as AD15.

<sup>2</sup> Some recent studies which have used AD14 include J. Brims, 'The Ross-shire witchcraft case of 1822', *Rev. of Scott. Culture*, 5:87-91 (1989); T.M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1988); I. Donnachie, '"Utterly irreclaimable": Scottish convict women and Australia, 1787-1852', *J. Regl. and Local Studies* 8 (1988), pp. 1-16; W.H. Fraser, *Conflict and Class: Scottish Workers, 1700-1838* (Edinburgh, 1988); and K.J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780-1815* (Edinburgh, 1979).

the intimate detail it sometimes offers about individuals, particularly that which provides insights regarding personal motivation. The series certainly has great potential for complementing the more anonymous types of information found in sources which are susceptible to larger-scale statistical treatment. It was therefore decided that, rather than attempt an inevitably shallow overview of the full range of AD14 for the entire century, it would be more appropriate to the detailed nature of the source to frame a sample study. Such a study would focus on a period of notable interest and evaluate the potential of the source for exploring particular themes within the selected period.

The period 1812-21 was chosen for three reasons. First, the historical and geographical study of the first half of the nineteenth century has been hampered by a lack of sources which provide information about people's lives. Sources concerning the latter half of the century, particularly the census and civil registration, tend to provide more quantitative insights into the structures of Scottish society, yet there is no comparable source for the first half. It was thus considered prudent and necessary to provide a study of, and thereby a contribution to knowledge about, a period from the first fifty years of the century. Secondly, the historical context of early nineteenth-century Scotland, in both economic and social terms, was dominated by the Napoleonic Wars. Wartime brought its



hardships, but also stimulated demand for grain, beef and manufactured goods. Conversely, the coming of peace after decades on a war-footing was not an unmixed blessing. Many aspects of the issues involved have been discussed in the literature.<sup>3</sup> Some of the central questions in this thesis relate to the particular effects of the wars on the the lives of individuals, such as soldiers and sailors. In addition, the general effects of war sometimes simply exacerbated people's hardships. The labouring classes in particular were most subject to the vagaries of the economy, and harsh conditions drew out their social and financial resources to extremes. A study of the war, and post-war, years was decided on because of the likelihood that, during that time of crisis, the people in AD14 would reveal more about their lives, and the resources they possessed, than during more peaceful times. The third reason for the study's time period is that AD14 holds few records before 1812 and thus that year is necessarily the starting date for the study. The end of the period marks not only important political and social changes, as well as changes in the retention of the precognitions.

The central and controlling theme chosen for this study is mobility. One of the greatest effects of the

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, C. Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815*, (London, 1979), and P. Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1992).

wars on individuals' lives was the required movement of thousands of men, as well as their families, throughout the British Isles for military service. In addition, studies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suggest that many people were moving further afield than in previous years, to manufacturing centres, to new villages, and to agricultural work. As explored below, mobility has been suggested as one of the most important 'safety valves' in Scottish society during this period.<sup>4</sup> As AD14 contains a large and varied amount of information concerning this mobility, it was thought that this theme's centrality to the thesis would provide it with a useful focus. This study thus aims to build on current and previous work by social and economic historians, and by historical geographers, concerning mobility. There is the possibility that a non-thematic and random sample from a longer period would have yielded apparently similar information, but it was thought that this would reduce the opportunities to compare and contrast individuals' lives for a particular period. It should be noted that, although one reason for choosing this theme was the intrinsic academic interest of population mobility during this period, another was the aforementioned managerial task

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<sup>4</sup> T.M. Devine, 'Social responses to agrarian "improvement": the Highland and Lowland clearances in Scotland', in R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 148-68.

of providing a sample of reasonable size. However, the research has also been aimed at giving some initial indication of the potential of AD14. This study argues that it is a source with a wide range of themes which are of interest to historians and geographers who may use it in the future.

One of these other themes includes the legal aspects of AD14's production. The value of AD14 as a historical source depends on the people behind, and the circumstances of, its production. While the officials who documented the lives of suspects and witnesses are not the main focus of this study, it is essential to understand the nature of their responsibilities, and their methods of documentation and interrogation, in order to assess properly the integrity of this source. These issues are raised in Chapter Two where it is also argued that AD14 is certainly a valuable source but must be used with caution, particularly in regard to the honesty of some of the suspects. It is apparent that the original purpose of the precognitions was to record aspects of crime. The series is certainly valuable for studying crime, and information about it surfaces throughout this study, particularly when it sheds light on people's mobility. Yet while AD14 possesses great potential for examining the immediate context of crime, this theme is not pursued in full in this study. To do so would have changed the objective of the research, from an exploratory survey of people's lives to a

limited inspection of one aspect thereof.

The main methodological problems of using the precognitions are discussed in Chapter Two. More practical issues are raised in Chapter Three which briefly explains how the sampling strategy was carried out and how the details of people's lives were found and pieced together.

In order to gain a sense of the social, occupational and geographical aspects of AD14, Chapter Four contains an overview of the information gathered in the sample. It discusses the suspects and witnesses, together referred to as 'declarants', in terms of their age, sex, nationality, occupation and legal status. Each group is compared for its relative contribution to the sample taken from AD14 and for its presence in the other groups. This chapter particularly aims to assess the reasons for each group's strong or weak presence in the sample, seeking answers in terms of their mobility or of their legal status as suspects or witnesses.

Three general aspects of the declarants' mobility are examined in Chapter Five. These include the number of moves they made, the length of time they stayed in any one place, and the distances they travelled. The declarants are analysed again by their social, occupational and legal groups, and it is shown that there were clear differences in these aspects of mobility. This chapter, like the one before it, provides a context for later chapters which explore more

particular aspects of the declarants' mobility, work and family relationships.

As a prelude to chapters concerning the regional, rural and urban aspects of the declarants' mobility, Chapter Six briefly explores recent work on regional geography and mobility. It examines this literature for the contribution it can make to understanding the declarants' mobility. Thus it concentrates on changing interpretations of regions in historical and social geography, and on recent ideas about Scottish regions and the circulation of people between rural and urban places.

As the source was produced throughout Scotland it was thought that a region-based study of mobility could shed light not only on patterns of mobility but also on the links, established by the people in AD14, between rural and urban places, and between regional areas. Consequently, Chapter Seven examines the rural-urban aspects of the declarants' mobility. It particularly addresses the questions of how much AD14 can assist our understanding of the differences between rural- and urban-focused mobility; how much particular groups stayed within one sector or another (e.g., the rural sector); and how much they moved between sectors. Chapter eight takes this theme of rural-urban interaction further by examining the regional aspects of movement to and from towns and rural places near towns. It focuses especially on movement involving Edinburgh

and Glasgow. The questions which form the basis for this chapter are, first and primarily, how far AD14 can show whether people moved regionally or not; secondly, which groups saw the most integrated regional movement; and thirdly how much this information about the presence or lack of regional movement affects our understanding of mobility in Scotland.

Chapters Nine and Ten discuss the declarants' information in two further but different contexts, their work experiences and their family relationships. Their geographical mobility is also examined in these chapters but only as it relates to these themes. Within these two contexts the theme of 'life-course transitions' is made prominent, with occupational changes found in Chapter Nine and changing family relationships in Chapter Ten. Life-course transitions are made throughout the lives of individuals and groups (particularly families), and include, for example, leaving home, finding work, entering marriage, and aging.<sup>5</sup> Because a person's transitions often involve other people, as well as changes in society, these chapters focus on the interactions between individuals, their families and their historical circumstances in order to draw out the determining factors of their decisions. The importance of these transitions, which

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<sup>5</sup> See Chapter Ten and G.H. Elder, 'Family history and the life course', in T.K. Hareven, *Transitions: the Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1978), pp. 17-64.

often include geographical mobility, comes from the fact that the need for work and the obligations of family members affected the daily, annual and lifelong decisions and courses of many people's lives.

The needs and obligations of many in the labouring classes, who make up the great majority of the declarants in AD14, were put to the test during the post-war depression. It is on these themes that AD14 provides valuable insights into the actions of ordinary people who acted in the midst of wider changes. It must be noted here that these details about work and other transitions come only from a minority of the people in AD14. Nevertheless, it was judged that there were sufficient numbers of people to discuss in some depth both their differences and similarities concerning these themes.

Both Chapters Nine and Ten begin with a discussion of literature pertinent to their themes. In Chapter Nine, the discussion highlights different approaches to the study of work found in this period, emphasising the importance of flexible strategies for many people needing work. This flexibility is apparent in the lives of many of the suspects and witnesses, particularly in the strategies they employed when changing their work. This chapter thus explores, first, all of the known occupational changes in the sample and the problems which arise in understanding these; and second, the circumstances in which people left and entered their

work. This latter uses the qualitative information from the statements to a much greater degree than previously.

In the chapter on family relationships, the preliminary discussion explores some of the basic issues involved in analysing the life courses of individuals and groups. However, because of the nature of the information in AD14 and the low numbers of people involved, qualitative issues alone are addressed throughout this chapter. These include the interdependence of family members, and the ways people coped with hard times. The former concerns the changing relationships of husbands and wives, of parents and children, and of relatives. The second concerns the responses of individuals and families to troubling events, such as crime, and to crises, such as the combination of a job loss and the death of a family member. The analysis here is limited by the low numbers of people who gave this type of information, yet it is enriched by the valuable insights which they gave into how they structured their lives and responded to unexpected events.

This thesis thus considers AD14 from a variety of perspectives primarily to understand better the choices people made about the course of their lives, and secondarily to assess the value of AD14. The study examines the series' history and integrity as a source of information; it discusses the historical context in which the source was produced and in which the people



therein acted out their lives; and it analyses the information from AD14 about their actions and the inter-relationships between their mobility, work and life course transitions. The necessary limitations which have been imposed on this study, concerning its period, and central and subsidiary themes, provide opportunities both to evaluate AD14's potential for future studies with different aims, and to raise questions about the strength of current ideas concerning this period and these themes. In so doing, this work aims to show the complexity, not only of AD14, but also of the lives of the people found within it, arguing that mobility, work and family relationships were so inter-related that whenever possible each must be studied with an eye toward the others.

## CHAPTER 2

### *Using the precognitions as a historical source*

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how the precognitions were produced and what value they have for historical work. It discusses, first, the documents and types of evidence held in the series, and secondly, the background of the source's creation, emphasising the administrative context in which it was produced under the authority of the Lord Advocate. This second part focuses on the officials producing the records, as well as the ideas of contemporary jurists regarding criminal procedure and interrogation. Thirdly, the reliability of the evidence and the extent to which it can be verified is evaluated.

#### 2.2 The documents in AD14 and their contents

When a crime or an accident with suspicious circumstances occurred, suspects were to be interviewed by sheriffs or their officers, and witnesses by

procurators-fiscal; both sets of officials received fees for this work. The evidence from witnesses was to help determine if a trial was needed. (The statements of witnesses alone are also known as 'precognitions', but here they will be referred to as 'precognitions of witnesses' when only they are being discussed.)

The series begins in 1799, though few precognitions survive before 1812 when their number increases to over 100 per annum. When the Crown Office was reorganised in 1822 it began to retain all precognitions and to save those still extant.<sup>1</sup> The documents are indexed in the SRO by year and case number; the index contains suspects' names, occupations and crimes, and occasionally other details such as age. While past storage conditions severely damaged some documents, most are in good condition, are fairly legible and are easily handled. The number of those retained for the period 1812-1821 is c.1,870 in addition to miscellaneous documents, but it is not known how many were discarded or on what grounds.

Each precognition usually contains four main documents: a letter from the fiscal to the Crown Agent about the case; the fiscal's petition and warrant against the accused; the statement(s) of the accused;

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<sup>1</sup>Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 220.

and the same of any witness(es).<sup>2</sup> Examples of some of these documents from one case are in Appendix A. Other documents related to a case, such as correspondence between officials, are bound with the statements. Such correspondence can include the details of the case and information on the whereabouts of escaped suspects. In addition, there are printed indictments for cases which went to trial; these almost always list the assize, or jury, and the witnesses with their place(s) of residence. On the front of many precognitions, and also in the correspondence, are found comments on the prospect of the case, including instructions to punish the suspect, to continue his or her imprisonment pending trial, or to drop the proceedings altogether. These comments and the letters frequently contain frank appraisals of the Crown's potential success or failure in prosecution and reveal the willingness of both suspects and officials to compromise on punishment.<sup>3</sup>

The statements recorded in AD14 are not a verbatim record of the interview. The responses of declarants were written in the third person as were most questions

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<sup>2</sup> Hugh Warrender was the Crown Agent from 1800 to 1820 (See *Register of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 332). See also his letters and other work in the manuscript collections of the National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library. He had been an apprentice to John Davidson, a previous Crown Agent.

<sup>3</sup> An example of this is found in George Renwick's case (AD14/15/119) in Appendix A. His identifying number [254], like those of others discussed below, is found in Appendix B.

which preceded their answers. In the main, the precognitions are in a complete state and most of the cases they refer to were heard in one of the Justiciary courts.<sup>4</sup> Not all suspects listed in the index to the series were indicted; some cases not heard before the High Court were remitted to sheriff courts. Other suspects may have had no proceedings taken against them, or had their charges removed later. Fiscals also made precognitions for incidents in which no one was charged, such as accidental deaths or suicides.<sup>5</sup>

It is well to keep in mind that the Justiciary courts and the Crown Office have long acted as the two main institutions concerned with the administration of justice in Scotland. Each has produced and maintained its own records to this day. The Lord Advocate's Department, as part of the Crown Office, is administratively separate from the courts, both in Edinburgh and on circuit. The courts thus keep their own records of criminal events, and these records include bound, manuscript minute books (Books of Adjournal for Edinburgh and Circuit minute books elsewhere) and as well as Justiciary Papers. Thus there are documents regarding the same events in both

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<sup>4</sup> Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Sheriff courts had responsibility for fatal accident inquiries only after 1895 by statute, but some courts recorded these before that date; for example, see SRO AD19/6 and AD12. I am grateful to Peter Vassey for this information.

institutions' records.

### 2.3 Wider links with other work

The last ten years have seen an increase in the number of studies using sources similar to Scottish precognitions. This is important but in many ways unsurprising. Such sources fill a need in the history of crime and society since they reveal the words, or a close approximation thereof, of people who would normally remain unheard. People who were involved in most sorts of pursued crime (e.g., theft, assault, drunkenness, rioting and protest) had few outlets for their ideas and perceptions. There is certainly a danger in using such records as a main searchlight on the working classes since they may reinforce the misconception that crime was predominantly committed by this group. Such ideas have been criticised particularly by radical criminologists.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, given the few records of ordinary people's words and lives, the results of interviews are becoming a key

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<sup>6</sup> J.A. Inciardi (ed.) *Radical Criminology: the coming crises* (Beverly Hills, CA, 1980) and R.S. Sindall, 'The criminal statistics of nineteenth-century cities: a new approach', *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), pp. 28-36.

source in the production of history from below.<sup>7</sup>

The use of legal sources for historical studies in general has grown dramatically in the last twenty years. The history of law and legal administration was carried out by relatively few people before the 1970s, mostly by legal, rather than social, historians.<sup>8</sup> Social histories of crime were also few but of high value as the momentum grew for popular history. Almost invariably, social historians have used legal sources to examine the links between crime and social change. The reasons behind this focus and the increased production of work on these themes have been discussed in several studies.<sup>9</sup> Much of the impetus for work on crime came from Thompson, Hay and others working in Warwick in the 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Further studies of crime were primarily concerned with its changing rates and patterns over time. These were also related to changes in the economy

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<sup>7</sup> See T. Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in eighteenth-century Paris* (Princeton, 1988) for a discussion of popular sources, and J.A. Sharpe, 'Last dying speeches': religion, ideology and public execution in seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present* 17 (1985), pp. 144-67, for one use of popular literature.

<sup>8</sup> For example, L. Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750* (London, 1948-86) 5 vols.

<sup>9</sup> Bailey, *Essay*; Innes and Styles, *Crime Wave*; and C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (London, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present* 50 (1971), pp. 76-136; D. Hay et.al., *Albion's Fatal Tree* (London, 1975).

and society.<sup>11</sup> Some excellent studies followed which explored trends in crime, novel methods of extrapolation and analysis, and critiques of sources.<sup>12</sup>

The study of legal sources soon led to a shift in focus from crime to criminal administration. This occurred particularly because of the 'sophisticated awareness of the limitations as well as the possibilities' of the sources, and because of the interactions between social historians, sociologists and criminologists.<sup>13</sup> This shift has raised important questions regarding the sources which were produced by legal administrations. In particular, how accurate do their records reflect changes in the incidence of crime as opposed to changes in the definition, policing and focus on crime or particular crimes?<sup>14</sup>

The empirical studies above rely primarily on sources which show the incidence of crime; such records include indictments and police record books, as well as

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<sup>11</sup> D. Hay, 'War, dearth and theft in the eighteenth century: the record of the English courts', *Past and Present* 95 (1982), pp 117-60.

<sup>12</sup> V.A.C. Gattrell, 'The decline of theft and violence in Victorian and Edwardian England, in Gattrell et.al. (eds.), *Crime and the Law: the social history of crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London, 1980); J.A. Sharpe *Crime in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1983); J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800*, (Oxford, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Innes and Styles , pp. 385-6.

<sup>14</sup> Sindall, 'The criminal statistics', and J.H. Langbein, 'Albion's fatal flaws', *Past and Present* 98 (1983), pp. 96-120.



recognizances and depositions which furnish much more information about suspects and criminals. These have been used and criticised primarily in studies of crime and court activities in England.<sup>15</sup> In the last ten years, several studies have used a wide variety of sources to examine crime, criminal administration and social relations.<sup>16</sup> Others have focused on sources, such as depositions, which parallel Scottish precognitions but are not identical in form or content. Clark's valuable study of male violence uses depositions in assize records. She describes the production of a deposition in helpful and graphic terms:

When a woman who had been raped wished to charge her assailant, she would go before a magistrate who would take down her account as a sworn deposition. Depositions were also taken from the accused man or men and witnesses....These depositions are an extremely rich source: they contain not only factual information about occupations of assailants and victims and the circumstances of attacks, but also the emotional reactions of victims and witnesses. Many of these depositions never resulted in a trial; this fact reveals the disparity between the seriousness with which victims regarded rape, and the common refusal of magistrates and grand juries to prosecute their

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<sup>15</sup> For example, Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, and J.S. Cockburn, 'The use of assize records as historical evidence', *J of the Society of Archivists* 5 (1975), pp. 215-31.

<sup>16</sup> For example, J. Bohstedt, 'Gender, household and community politics: women in English riots 1790-1810', *Past and Present* 120 (1988), pp. 88-122, and J.E. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare: arson, animal maiming, and poaching in East Anglia 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1990).

assailants.<sup>17</sup>

Beik's study of protest in France uses 'the proces-verbal which were drawn up by one or more authorities having jurisdiction.'<sup>18</sup> These were not an impartial source but were 'designed to justify the conduct of the reporting party.' Rioters' words were not reported 'except in the rare cases of judicial interrogation'.

Other legal records concerning civil litigation, have much to reveal about social relations. Hammerton, using records of divorce, suggests that these may

distort experience, as each party not only detailed its grievances but, often with the connivance of legal counsel, sought to exaggerate them to win a case. The weakness is one shared with all legal records from courts based on an adversarial system, and acutely apparent in the records of the Divorce Court.

Thus, says Hammerton, Stone, in his *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (1990), regards

marital litigation as no more than a 'theatrical display', designed to produce dissolution rather than to reveal the truth about marital breakdown. But the force of this is mitigated by the fact that in most cases a defendant was intent on presenting an alternative version of essentially similar facts, which led to closer, often more revealing, investigation.<sup>19</sup>

Other studies also address the thorny problem of the reliability of legal and criminal records in

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<sup>17</sup> A. Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: sexual assault in England 1770-1845* (London, 1987), p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> W. Beik, 'The culture of protest in seventeenth-century French towns', *Soc. Hist.* 15 (1990), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> A.J. Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: conflict in nineteenth-century married life* (London, 1992), pp. 171-2.

revealing facts. Parella uses the dossiers of French criminal investigations. She suggests that some officials were more conscientious than others: 'For many reasons, there was probably much less official manipulation of the evidence in murder cases than in other types of criminal prosecutions.'<sup>20</sup> Brennan, in his study of public drinking in France, uses judicial records and asserts that 'There is little question, of course, that transcriptions systematically condensed, and perhaps at times even distorted, testimony.'<sup>21</sup> Most of his study was of testimony from '"ordinary people" complaining about petty disputes' and not regarding crimes such as theft. 'The testimony in these kinds of cases probably suffers less from distortion than testimony in the intimidating circumstances of an arrest.'

Rawlings echoes such concerns when discussing how some have attempted to verify criminal biographies by checking them against manuscript records: 'The verification process is open to obvious criticisms, placing, as it does, such faith in the sources which are used as verifiers.' He goes on to criticise the idea that distinguishing between fact and fiction 'is not merely possible, but is fundamental to

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<sup>20</sup> A. Parrella, 'Industrialization and murder: Northern France, 1815-1904', *J Interd. Hist.* 22 (1992), p. 629.

<sup>21</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking*, pp. 15-16.

historiography.'<sup>22</sup> The same warnings apply equally well to the precognitions.

These sources, found in many countries and under many types of legal systems, usually include interviews or examinations by magistrates of suspects and witnesses, and concern criminal acts, civil acts and suspicious circumstances (eg, accidental deaths). Several English studies use depositions in conjunction with recognizances.<sup>23</sup> King in particular has argued that

Although depositions are less consistent they provide a much deeper insight into the status of both victim and accused while confirming the pattern of prosecutors' occupations found in recognizances.<sup>24</sup>

There are clear links between depositions and the precognitions but these are mitigated by the different prosecutorial system in Scotland and England. There are also ties between the precognitions and autobiographies, but these are limited since suspects and witnesses had much less control over the structure and content of

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<sup>22</sup> P. Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: criminal biographies of the eighteenth century* (London, 1992), pp. 11 and 13.

<sup>23</sup> P. King, 'Decision-makers and decision-making in the English criminal law, 1750-1800', *Histl. J.* 27 (1984), pp. 25-58; Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*; and Clark, *Women's Silence*. See J. Raine (ed), *Depositions from the Castle of York, Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the seventeenth century* (Edinburgh, 1861) for examples of depositions.

<sup>24</sup> King, 'Decision-makers', p. 28.

their examinations, being interrogated rather than freely delivering information.<sup>25</sup> This reduced control will certainly give historians more information concerning people's lives which would have remained private and hidden from a biography or autobiography. Yet there is the continual problem of lies and half-truths in the precognitions and similar sources which were used to put officials off a trail.

The precognitions, like the other sources mentioned above, can be used to explore many topics concerning social and political history and historical geography. The three themes examined below of mobility, work and family relationships could be expanded in further studies to focus on other relationships and on the criminal acts themselves. Some possibilities include

- the treatment of women, children, Gaels and other minorities by men, particularly officials;
- the social and economic context of crime, especially regarding the events leading up to, and the relationships behind, e.g., thefts, murders and arsons;
- profiles of suspects and those convicted for particular crimes;
- reasons people gave for their actions, including how people lied;
- how crime was part of community life, e.g., the relationships of criminals and victims, and of criminals (many reset cases reveal families 'working' together);
- how officials discovered crime or were notified

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<sup>25</sup> D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: a study of nineteenth-century working class autobiography* (London, 1981), and Rawlings, *Drunks*.

of it;

- how people became notorious, whether caught or not, and how communities reacted to them;
- how interrogation techniques and the administration of law changed over the century, e.g., what questions were asked;
- how people perceived legal authorities in particular places;
- how witnesses' and suspects' testimonies changed over the century, i.e., what they said or failed to say;
- the items people stole or forged and the importance attached to these;
- the geography of crime and punishment, from the residences of suspects, victims and officials, to the perceptions of dangerous places, and to the use of safe houses and responses to banishment;
- how small-scale conflicts, e.g., between spouses, neighbours, workers and employers, were dealt with;
- how victims knew, perceived and described suspects;
- how people resisted or cooperated with the state at the local level (e.g., Excise).

#### 2.4 The creation of the precognitions

The context in which the precognitions were produced affected their quality and quantity. This section focuses first on the officials who interrogated declarants and explores some of their inter-relationships. It then examines criminal procedure regarding the taking of precognitions, with a particular emphasis on instructions for investigating crimes, interviewing declarants and imprisoning suspects.

#### 2.4.1 Officials involved

The two officials primarily involved with producing the precognitions included the sheriff (and his officers) and the procurator-fiscal. The former was responsible for inquiries and precognitions into all crimes in his jurisdiction.<sup>26</sup> In addition, justices of the peace also had a remit to take precognitions, but after the reforms of 1748, and especially by the early 1800s, the justices were ineffectual, overshadowed by the sheriff courts. They could only judge minor crimes and the extent of their powers included inflicting 'corporal punishment, imprisonment up to two years and banishment'.<sup>27</sup> While they did carry out interrogations only a few of the precognitions in AD14 originated from the justices.

The judicial reforms of 1748 focused on the 'abolition of heritable jurisdictions' which strengthened the sheriff courts and gave greater power to the sheriff-depute, a trained advocate with at least three years of experience. In most counties, this post held the greatest power while sheriffs themselves practised law, usually in Edinburgh. A depute was required to reside in his county for four months of the

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<sup>26</sup> 'A Procurator-Fiscal: what he was, what he is, and what he will be', *Journal of Jurisprudence*, 22 (1877), p. 248.

<sup>27</sup> A.E. Whetstone, *Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 47.

year, yet by 1814 less than half of the deutes accomplished this, following their superiors' examples and the wishes of the government for them to remain practitioners of the law.<sup>28</sup>

The next in line to carry out the sheriff's responsibilities was the sheriff-substitute. In the eighteenth century this man was usually poorly paid and inadequately trained in the law to accomplish these tasks. Sheriffs and their deutes found it difficult to attract qualified men for what were usually part-time posts; this was particularly so for posts outside Lowland towns, and even more so for those in the Highlands. The substitute was not salaried until 1787 (their money before came from the sheriffs'-depute salary and from fees) but in 1811 salaries for substitutes were increased greatly to attract more qualified men, and almost all substitutes were then required to have 'special legal training'. A decree of that year also aimed to ensure that they carried out their responsibilities, including interrogating suspects.<sup>29</sup> The new salaries averaged £180 per substitute<sup>30</sup> while their fees, including those from precognitions, amounted to only £17 per year. Despite

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 4 and 9.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>30</sup> PP, *Fifth Report of the Commissioners Appointed for inquiring into...the Courts in Scotland*, (London, 1819), p. 319. Hereafter cited as *Fifth Report, 1819*.



this second and much smaller amount of money it has been suggested that 'In these circumstances the Sheriffs-Substitute and Sheriff-Clerk kept precognition-work and its fees as much as possible to themselves.'<sup>31</sup>

The role of the fiscal in taking precognitions is somewhat more problematic. As mentioned above, he interviewed witnesses, yet apparently this occurred only after 1709, and only as an assistant to the sheriff rather than in any official role.<sup>32</sup> He was usually a practising advocate appointed, after 1701, by a sheriff to act as public prosecutor in cases before the sheriff court. He acted in this court as the Lord Advocate's representative with a remit 'to give his concurrence to private prosecutions and to initiate government prosecutions.'<sup>33</sup> Yet he was not an official of the Crown, that is, part of the Lord Advocate's department.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the fiscal had charge, along with the sheriff, to collect certain fines and other revenues for the county and Crown. (The collection of fees was an original responsibility of fiscals in other courts before the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup>) Both the

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<sup>31</sup> 'A Procurator-Fiscal', p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> J.I. Smith, 'Criminal procedure', in G.C.H. Paton (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 428.

<sup>33</sup> Whetstone, *Scottish County Government*, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> 'A Procurator-Fiscal', p. 372.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, 'Criminal procedure', p. 436.

sheriff and the fiscal took a certain percentage of such monies. The fees for precognitions were paid either by the counties or by Exchequer; these had not been affected by the 1748 reforms and, as mentioned above, were also needed by the sheriffs-substitute to supplement their income. There may have been some competition over these fees, particularly when cases arose in which sheriffs, after 1766, would have fiscals report cases to the Crown Agent 'on occasions when the Sheriff wished to relieve the county of trials and get them borne by Exchequer.'<sup>36</sup>

The sources of fiscals' income in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were becoming increasingly complicated as fiscals came under government authority. Their income continued to rise steadily and was usually well beyond that of sheriffs-substitute. The sources included local fines, and county and government fees. The fiscal's role became more important as more crimes were brought to the sheriff courts and as the government became more involved in judicial procedure. Regulations in 1776 allowed sheriffs to claim money from the government for fiscals taking precognitions.<sup>37</sup> By 1829, the government paid six fiscals over £500 per year and ten others

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<sup>36</sup> 'A Procurator-Fiscal', pp. 26, 372.

<sup>37</sup> Whetstone, *Scottish County Government*, p. 127, n. 147.; she leaves open the possibility that fiscals were interviewing suspects as well as witnesses.

received at least that amount from both the government and their counties.<sup>38</sup> By 1833 the Lord Advocate was carrying out investigations of fiscals, implying greater authority over their office, yet only in 1907 was he able to appoint them. By the 1810s, the fiscal, as prosecutor and court assistant, worked with both the sheriff and the Lord Advocate's department, taking over 'most of the Sheriff's criminal duties' as well as assuming 'the entire responsibility for preparing the cases for the advocate's depute who prosecuted on the circuits.'<sup>39</sup>

#### 2.4.2 Criminal procedure

While responsibility for the precognitions remained with the sheriffs, there were others who were qualified, or at least allowed, to assist in their production. In 1765, the Crown Agent set out rules for taking precognitions; these were meant for the use of inexperienced sheriffs-substitute and fiscals, but in keeping with the idea that the latter were not officially responsible for their production, fiscals

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<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 127, n. 150. On average, the government paid the fiscals four times as much as the counties by this date.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 20.

were not mentioned at all.<sup>40</sup> From these rules and Hume's *Commentaries*, later minor jurists such as Burnett, Hutcheson and Tait took their lead in suggesting proper criminal procedure.<sup>41</sup> They emphasised the principles of the Claim of Right which sought to ensure the rights of the accused. The claim, declared by the Convention of Estates in 1689, essentially deposed James VII.<sup>42</sup> In addition, William of Orange declared in 1701 that it also signified "that the imprisonment of persons without expressing the reasons thereof and delaying to put them to tryal is contrare to Law".<sup>43</sup> The claim also made the use of torture for gaining confessions unacceptable.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>These can be found in Baron David Hume's *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland, Respecting Crimes*, with a Supplement by B.R. Bell, 4th edn. (1844; rpt. Edinburgh, 1986), II, 535-37.

<sup>41</sup>J. Burnett, *A Treatise on the Various Branches of the Criminal Law of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1811); G. Hutcheson, *Treatise on the Offices of Justice of Peace; Constable; Commissioner of Supply and Commissioner under comprehending acts, in Scotland; with occasional observations upon other municipal jurisdictions*, 3d edn. (1815), vol. I.; and G. Tait, *A Summary of the Powers and Duties of a Justice of the Peace in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1815). Fraser, in *Conflict and Class*, pp. 84 and 96, makes the important point that these later jurists often attempted to formulate the law rather than reflect it. Their influence had important, and sometimes disastrous, repercussions, for example, for the regulation of wages.

<sup>42</sup>G. Donaldson and R.S. Morpeth, *A Dictionary of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 40

<sup>43</sup>Quoted in 'A Procurator-Fiscal', p. 205.

<sup>44</sup>Smith, 'Criminal procedure', pp. 428-29.

The jurists' concern was properly placed given the treatment of prisoners in their day. As Logue notes, 'there was a legal procedure followed at least in theory but which may in practice have been short-circuited from time to time'.<sup>45</sup> Though they are not possible to answer here, there are questions of how much the jurists were describing the actual state of criminal procedure and how much their suggestions were followed. It is likely that they felt a need to insist on high standards because of current bad practice; yet Henry and Robert Dundas, and other Lord Advocates from the 1770s through the 1790s, had insisted on greater accountability for sheriffs.<sup>46</sup> Thus the jurists were probably building on earlier precedents for reform which had also been influenced by Enlightenment principles. What follows is primarily the theory of criminal procedure concerning the taking of precognitions, as defined by jurists and others.

Hutcheson argued that, on the occasion of a known crime, suspects could be arrested immediately, and not only by an officer of the peace but by any private

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<sup>45</sup> Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 218.

<sup>46</sup> I am grateful to David Brown for suggesting this point. General background on these and other Lord Advocates, and their times, can be found in Omond, *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, vol. 2; in Whetstone, *Scottish County Government*, p. 8, and in T.M. Devine, 'The failure of radical reform in Scotland in the late eighteenth century: the social and economic context', in idem (ed.), *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700-1850*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 51-64.

person 'whose aid they may require' or who may have witnessed the event: 'An arrest thus may take place either with or without a warrant'. However, private individuals could not arrest a suspect retrospectively after an incident, or without a warrant, whether verbal or written. The magistrate was to date and sign a warrant, stating the suspect's name and the county and place in which it was made. It had no effect outwith the judge's county unless a judge in the other county endorsed it. The prisoner was usually brought before the granter of warrant unless enough suspicion existed to imprison him or her immediately.<sup>47</sup> Warrants for detaining and examining the prisoner, and taking precognition, needed the signature of a magistrate.

Following the rules of 1765, the documents in AD14 are usually clear about who was a suspect; in cases involving many people, such as mobbing and rioting, there was sometimes confusion over this issue. After a riot, when many were precognosced, not all were charged with a crime but neither were they considered free of suspicion. Some could be charged later, the precognition providing the basis of prosecution against them.

The examination of prisoners began with questions establishing their identity and then moved on to the incident. In theory, prisoners were to be put on their

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<sup>47</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, pp. 457-61.

guard about self-incrimination and were not to be punished for silence, though it could be used against them in the trial. Hume suggested that a person was not to be examined if drunk, 'disordered in intellect nor under the influence of threats, or of promises or persuasion employed to induce him to confess'. The examination finished when the prisoner, magistrate and two witnesses, such as the clerk writing the precognition, signed the document. They must have heard and seen the whole interrogation and been able to swear to it when it was read out in any subsequent trial.<sup>48</sup>

In 1811, Burnett advocated further protection for prisoners suggesting that their declarations should not be admissible as evidence in court if they could sign it but refused to do so, even if witnesses testified as to what prisoners said. However, the declaration was to remain a significant document even when left unsigned. To Burnett, it was admissible only if a prisoner swore to it, 'that it was his free and deliberate declaration'. Burnett regarded the dual role of the magistrate, as both interrogator and judge, as an advantage to the prisoner and to the quality of evidence:

the examination of a party, accused of a capital crime, is a judicial act, and his declaration derives its authority in part as a circumstance of evidence, from its being taken by a magistrate. Besides that, in such circumstances, he is more on

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<sup>48</sup> Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 80-1.

his guard, and apprised of his danger.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, Hume saw the need for an objective judge and jury who had no 'previous knowledge or impression of the case.' He did acknowledge, though, that taking declarations before inferior judges was a vast improvement on the seventeenth-century practice of deponing only before High Court Justices.<sup>50</sup>

The only chance suspects had of telling their story was through their declarations; they were not accepted as 'competent' witnesses in court until the 1898 Criminal Evidence Act.<sup>51</sup> Burnett suggested that when a suspect gave several declarations each should be produced in court, 'that any benefit which the prisoner may derive from their effect on the minds of the Jury may be open to him'.<sup>52</sup>

If the magistrate thought the prisoner was innocent he or she was freed. If not, he or she was returned to prison until a precognition was taken.<sup>53</sup> A precognition of witnesses was to follow immediately; this entailed taking the declarations of people with knowledge about the charge. This was to have two results: 'speedy justice to the prisoner' if there were no grounds for

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<sup>49</sup> Burnett, *Treatise*, p. 491.

<sup>50</sup> Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 88.

<sup>51</sup> W.M. Gloag and R.C. Henderson, *Introduction to the Law of Scotland*, 7th edn. (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 760.

<sup>52</sup> Burnett, *Treatise*, p. 494.

<sup>53</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, p. 462.



trial, and 'accurately informing the prosecution in the opposite event' to make a better case against the prisoner. If a precognition was taken the suspect remained in prison, unable to obstruct the process and available for presentation to witnesses. A prisoner was also, in Hume's words, to be moved 'to serious reflection, and discovery of his misdeeds'.<sup>54</sup>

If the prisoner escaped, the 1765 rules for precognitions made fiscals responsible for sending descriptions of escapees to the Crown Agent who was to give the information to newspapers. The fiscal was also to notify the agent when witnesses changed their place of residence.<sup>55</sup>

There were also several guidelines, which Hutcheson developed, for interviewing witnesses. Witnesses were required to appear when a warrant was signed by a judge; if they did not come, or were uncooperative and then refused to be put on oath, they could be imprisoned. It was illegal to compel a witness to testify in another county though it was said that this had been done. Witnesses were to be paid a travel allowance varying with the distance ridden or walked. While the rates for travel were fixed in 1760 the courts increased them as the pound's value declined. If a witness did not arrive the magistrates could appoint another day for taking

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<sup>54</sup> Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 81.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, II, 535-37.

statements, but Hutcheson admonished them to avoid delays and thus the prisoner's 'oppression'. Witnesses could also be put under oath if there was popular approval of the suspect or their offence. They were to give statements separately, removing the possibility of any collusion. If an accomplice gave evidence against other suspects he or she could be freed for that particular offence but, as Hutcheson argued, not from prosecution for other crimes as was possible in England. Neither suspects nor their advocates could see a witness's declaration but they could ask for particular witnesses to be questioned. Hume added that a witness could also cancel his or her own statement before the trial.<sup>56</sup>

For the fiscal, the statements of both witnesses and suspects were meant only to help determine the need for trial and did not serve in themselves to secure a conviction.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Burnett suggested, witnesses were to give their evidence afresh before the jury and not simply to verify their declarations. A written statement was admissible only if the witness was dead or dying, as in a homicide case, and if it was sworn and

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<sup>56</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, pp. 253, 257, 463-4, 467; Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 82.

<sup>57</sup> A.V. Sheehan, *Criminal Procedure in Scotland and France. (A comparative study, with particular emphasis on the role of the public prosecutor.)*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 151.

signed.<sup>58</sup>

In the jurists' accounts, the procedure for completing a case was apparently straightforward. If the magistrate determined there was no ground for the charge the suspect was freed; if not, the magistrate granted warrant for committing him or her to trial. The suspect was then returned to prison, or went out on bail if the crime was 'not inferring capital punishment....' Conversely no capital crime wasailable except homicide.<sup>59</sup> If the charge was minor (i.e., a non-capital crime with a maximum £50 fine and two years imprisonment) the case would go before the sheriff court. If the crime was more serious (e.g., assault or murder) copies of the declarations of witnesses and suspects, and other pertinent material, were sent to the Crown Agent.<sup>60</sup> The Crown Office then decided if the suspect would be tried before the Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh or on circuit; or, if neither, whether the suspect should still be punished, tried in the sheriff court or released.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Burnett, *Treatise*, pp. 495, 497.

<sup>59</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, pp. 475, 478. It is likely that he is referring here only to culpable homicide though he fails to make this clear.

<sup>60</sup> Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 537.

<sup>61</sup> Justiciary trials took place on the Southern Circuit, at Jedburgh, Dumfries and Ayr; the Western Circuit, at Glasgow, Stirling and Inveraray; and the Northern Circuit, at Inverness, Aberdeen and Perth. See PP, *Fifth Report*, Appendix 1.

There were other details pertinent to AD14's production which the jurists omitted. The decision to send a case to the Crown Agent was entirely in the province of a sheriff, at least until 1828. When a fiscal had completed his investigation, he sent it to the sheriff-substitute who noted whether he could dispose of it himself or whether it needed the attention of the sheriff or sheriff-depute. All cases were then transmitted to the sheriff in Edinburgh who

then set himself to give instructions in uncompleted cases, and...sent the cases which he approved of being tried to the the Lord Advocate in a letter to that official, returning the others either with or without instructions to his county.<sup>62</sup>

Cases which were sent to the Crown Office were considered by the Lord Advocate's deutes, or advocates-depute. They retained cases which they thought should go to trial on a circuit and returned the others to the sheriffs, 'with a note of what trials they sanctioned at Imperial expense.'<sup>63</sup>

The decisions made about these cases seem to have been influenced as much by monetary considerations as by legal ones.<sup>64</sup> As mentioned above, a sheriff would have directed his fiscal to report cases to the Crown Agent in order to relieve his county of the financial burden

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<sup>62</sup> 'A Procurator-Fiscal', p. 372.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> The following two paragraphs are based on *ibid.*, pp. 373-75.

involved in trying a case. Alternatively, the Crown Agent or the advocates-depute would remit cases to a sheriff, some because they involved criminal charges which could be considered in lower courts, but others because the Crown officials refused to charge Exchequer. Even if the case was sent back, the lower court officials could still suggest that it be indicted for the High Court or a circuit court. The salaries of the sheriff and his officers would not be affected by these manoeuvres and the fiscal would receive fees both to revise the indictment and to attend the trial at circuit. Sheriffs and their deutes were also not averse to this as it allowed them to pay more attention to their private practices.

Financial considerations featured at all levels of the system, particularly because some officials were being paid for each piece of work they produced, including precognitions. The Crown Office itself, which sought 'to justify its own existence and the expenditure to which it was subjecting counties and Exchequer', rarely encouraged private prosecutions which would at least have relieved the government. Before 1808, the Lord Advocate's deutes and their clerks were both paid in fees; these rose with increases in the number of indictments:

It thus, among other things, depends as much on the Advocate-Depute, or perhaps his clerk, as on the crime of the district, whether the jury have heavy

or light work on a Circuit.<sup>65</sup>

After 1808 the Lord Advocate (the newly appointed Archibald Colquhoun) stopped his deputies from receiving fees and increased their salaries to £100 for each circuit, to be paid after the circuit.<sup>66</sup> (In addition, the Crown Agent received fees by the piece, yet apparently these were just enough to defray expenses.) Questions of corruption in the Crown Office or among the sheriffs cannot be dealt with here, beyond the need to mention that a monetary value was attached to each piece of work. There are indications that officials in the justiciary courts were on occasion foregoing their fees when the accused were too poor to pay their fines.<sup>67</sup> It is doubtful that the Crown officials, or sheriffs and their officials, did the same as their money either came from the counties or Exchequer. Yet no evidence has been found of organised corruption and it is likely that any which occurred was on a small scale, given the checks on each office's authority and the turnover in sheriffs and Lord Advocates.

## 2.5 The precognitions as a historical source

While it is essential to know the context and

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<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 373.

<sup>66</sup> *PP, Fifth Report, 1819*, p. 16. They usually attended four circuits per year, acting as public prosecutors for the Lord Advocate.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 44, 67.

circumstances in which the series was produced, there remain questions about its strength as a source for historical study. This section raises problems inherent in the precognitions, both with the statements and in verifying their contents. It then argues that, despite such problems and with some qualifications, the series is well worth using.

#### 2.5.1 Problems with the statements

Several problems arise in attempting to use the precognitions as a historical source. Many officials with different techniques, abilities and information helped to create AD14. Crimes which might have been pursued in one area may have been disregarded in another. Furthermore, the people involved and the context of interrogation imply that the statements were sometimes taken in conditions with a degree of stress. It must be assumed that witnesses as well as suspects may have lied about all types of events to protect themselves. Two questions need to be raised here. How accurate are the precognitions as a record of what declarants actually said and did? How can they be used in light of the problems mentioned above?

Historians and geographers, in working with statements in criminal records from other places and periods, have addressed some of these problems. Logue's work on Scottish popular disturbances involves

the use of statements and indictments from Justiciary Papers before 1815. These include some of the same statements of suspects found in AD14. Logue argues that a statement from a riot or protest

tended to be a justification for that person's behaviour during a disturbance or for his presence in a mob rather than an outright denial of involvement....Taking all the declarations in a case along with the indictment, it is possible to build up, at best, an accurate picture of what actually happened...or, at worst, to establish areas of common ground. Inevitably there are areas of doubt, but equally there are important facts which are relatively independently corroborated.<sup>68</sup>

He goes on to suggest that the surviving precognitions present an even better picture of events as they contain 'considerably more information available from more viewpoints' than do the Justiciary Papers.

There remains the question of how accurate and meticulous clerks were when taking down the evidence of declarants. One study of the criminal examinations of seventeenth-century English vagrants suggests that, outwith questions of guilt and innocence, such 'evidence can be assumed with some confidence to be accurate, for magistrates were rigorous in taking depositions.'<sup>69</sup> Others have criticised the information found in other criminal records, such as English indictments, focusing on the supposed laxity of clerks who, it is suggested, spuriously ascribed occupational and residential facts

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<sup>68</sup> Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 219.

<sup>69</sup> A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640*, (London, 1985), p. xxi.



to suspects.<sup>70</sup> However, this has been weakened by work comparing indictments with parish registers where the two sources can be found for the same area, admittedly a rare occurrence. Despite this, the information in English indictments was found to be useful as the presumed bias of 'clerks seeing the labouring classes as an undifferentiated mass is conspicuously absent.'<sup>71</sup> There is no apparent reason to suggest that court officials were any less diligent in early nineteenth century Scotland.

The truthfulness of the declarants is another matter which would have been influenced by a number of factors. A wide range of people are found in the precognitions, many being strangers to the legal system. Children were interrogated by adult officials, Gaelic speakers required translators, the rural-born were in urban settings; migrating declarants in particular may have been in unfamiliar places, adding to their immediate stress of encountering the law. Alternatively, others faced interrogations with prior experience of officials and prisons, yet little evidence exists which might reveal the reactions of these more hardened suspects to questioning. Rarely does the

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<sup>70</sup> J.S. Cockburn, 'The use of assize records as historical evidence', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5 (1975), p. 225.

<sup>71</sup> P. Glennie, '"Distinguishing Men's Trades": Occupational Sources and Debates for Pre-Census England', No. 25, *Historical Geography Research Series* (1990), p. 42.

record reveal what declarants thought about their immediate situation outwith their interrogation.<sup>7 2</sup>

Nevertheless, it is certainly safe to say that some declarants in AD14 lied about a number of things, such as their place of birth or parents' residence, so that news of their imprisonment would not reach their family or friends. Others might have lied about their most recent movements to throw off suspicion of guilt. Some are also known to have been intoxicated. An accomplice may have lied on behalf of a fellow suspect, or to diminish his or her own role in order to gain leniency. Witnesses may also have exaggerated or understated evidence about the case and themselves for their own sake or that of a suspect. The clerks who wrote down the answers rarely commented in the text or its margins on the apparent veracity of the testimony, and the wording of questions shows that magistrates rarely challenged suspects' answers.

#### 2.5.2 Problems with verification

It is impossible to verify which declarants told the truth unless individuals' stories can be confirmed from

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<sup>7 2</sup> However, James McDougal [286] from Greenock petitioned for his release after being suspected of theft in Stonehaven. He carried a document which showed that he was a disabled seaman and 'that he is rated therein as a Landsman.' He went on to say that he was not being treated well after serving his country.

independent information. One approach experimented with compared Justiciary Court records with the precognitions to find declarants and their evidence before the court. These records include the minute books of the court and the Justiciary Papers.<sup>73</sup> The papers include a copy of the suspect's declaration, pieces of evidence (such as counterfeit notes), the indictment and an 'Execution of Diligence'.<sup>74</sup> The minute books contain indictments, lists of assize and witnesses, and proceedings and judgements. For the period 1812-1821 there are gaps in the ties between the court books and AD14 because not all precognitions were saved. There are also many in AD14 who do not appear in the court records because some cases were sent to lower courts and Crown officials themselves disposed of others. The precognitions can also be compared to other records of the court, especially the Books of Adjournal as well as the Circuit Minute Books which state the sentences handed down and details of the court's agenda. The names of the accused and imprisoned can also sometimes be found in the Cash

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<sup>73</sup> An example of the former is SRO JC8, and of the latter is SRO JC26.

<sup>74</sup> The term 'diligence' usually refers to legal procedures involving creditors and debtors, but here it most likely refers to the implementation of a judgement pronounced on a prisoner, as suggested by Gloag and Henderson, *Introduction*, p. 836, and W. Bell, *A Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland...*, (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 395.

Book of the Crown Agent.<sup>75</sup>

At the most basic level these court records serve to confirm, independently of the Lord Advocate's records, that the suspects and witnesses existed. They also show that there were cases for which precognitions would have been taken but did not survive. In general, declarants' statements were essentially the same at their trials as in their precognitions. The declarations of suspects, which were made under precognition, were used as evidence before the court, though as noted above, they were to be read aloud.

The declarants' statements cannot be verified in full because of the lack of any records comparable in the extent of information. The court records, which reveal these people, were created out of the same events as those behind the precognitions and tend not to give more information. Records which can verify the statements, outwith those from the judicial administration, are rare for this period. The subject's name and occupation or age are the first prerequisites for establishing links with other sources. Yet even when these are available, they often only hint that the declarant is the same person as in the other record without establishing a solid identification. This is the case with, for example, trade and post office directories.

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<sup>75</sup> The Cash Book [SRO AD12/26] covers the period 1795-1818.

Parish registers provide an opportunity to verify aspects of statements by some declarants. Those already published were examined for the period covered in the precognitions; these included records for Annan, Dumfries-shire; Durness, Sutherland; Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire; Melrose, Roxburghshire; St. Andrews, Fife; and Unst, Shetland. Information from all individuals in and near these parishes was selected which included names, age, reasons for being there and particular location names. Very few individuals in AD14 were born within or near these parishes. Each record in the registers was examined for all pertinent individuals. In many instances individuals with identical names appeared in AD14 and the parish records, yet no more positive confirmation was possible; for example, while the occurrence of particular names, in both AD14 and the parish records (e.g., Margaret Kerr [832] at Annan) lends some credibility to their identification, this is by no means confirmation. In practice, only two out of 37 declarants provided enough information in AD14 to be positively identified in the parish records, and these stated both their age and place of birth. Both were found in parish registers: Walter Broomfield [1374] suspected of reset, said he was born in Melrose parish 15 years before 1822. The register entry for 24 July 1806 confirms a Walter Broomfield was born there in 1805. The second declarant, William Shanks [227] in 1815 stated his age as 50 and his place of birth as

Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire. This too is confirmed in the parish register which shows a son William was born to Agnes Wilson and Hugh Shanks on 28 November 1767. Confirmation of other declarants remains difficult because of the few registers available for the period and the lack of evidence common to both their statements and the registers.

One possible and immediate step toward verification is a comparison of a declarant's statements from first to last, noting any contradictions between them. It was not uncommon for declarants to correct themselves in a second or third statement and to change details after becoming sober, being confronted with more information, or simply through wanting to tell the truth. Nevertheless, there also remains the possibility that they would tell more lies in a second statement or contradict their truth with lies. This is a more difficult assumption because interrogators, in their correspondence with the Crown Office, commented on each case but rarely mentioned their dissatisfaction with a set of statements. They were also in contact with witnesses who could support or undermine a suspect's information.

The extent of any contemporary verification would depend on the connections which each declarant had to any particular case. For example, a witness may have become a suspect later but once made a suspect he or she could be re-examined after being put on 'guard, as to

the different and more serious situation, in which he is now placed.'<sup>76</sup> It is certainly possible that some witnesses had interests in misleading procurators-fiscal for the benefit or detriment of a suspect, while suspects usually put themselves in the best light possible. This may have involved withholding information regarding their origins and past residences, or damaging the reputation of other suspects.

As shown above, no declarants were questioned together or heard other statements before giving their own. There is also the possibility that companions or accomplices would hold threats, real or implied, over one another to keep particular information from coming out in testimony. This is a distinct possibility as many of the cases included two or more suspects. On the other hand a fiscal could use companions against one another by offering a more lenient sentence if one gave evidence against another. (Hutcheson raised the debate between leniency and a complete pardon for collaborators. He suggested that they should receive mercy as long as they told all they knew about their own involvement and the case, but went on to advocate that 'There is no immunity for more than the particular offence in question'.<sup>77</sup>) Both of these influences involving companions may have distorted statements about

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<sup>76</sup> Hume, *Commentaries*, II, 82-3.

<sup>77</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, p. 467.

mobility, work and family relations since a misstatement about a place of residence or job could help prove or disprove an accomplice's or adversary's alibi. Contradictions occasionally show between two individuals' statements but rarely do they continue through a series of interrogations.<sup>7 8</sup>

Extended incarcerations and repeated interrogations of suspects were not uncommon and sometimes lasted for a period of months. During this time sheriffs and their officials had opportunities to verify previous statements by questioning other declarants and sending letters of enquiry, e.g., to a suspect's place of origin, to their family or to individuals regarded as references. Suspects, meanwhile, had the opportunity to correct mistakes in their statements and, in some cases, to let the effects of drink wear off.

## 2.6 Conclusions

While the work of jurists previously mentioned was widely available by the 1810s there has been no work on the diligence of officials in following their guidelines. On the one hand, the documents occasionally show some of the boundaries for official behaviour, for example, in the few criticisms the Crown Agent made of a

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<sup>7 8</sup> Two farm workers near Falkirk provide such an example in AD14/14/6.





fiscal's submission.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, only once in all of the precognitions for this period did a magistrate interrupt a suspect to accuse him of lying.<sup>80</sup> The few pieces of information regarding how sheriffs and fiscals conducted their business raises questions for future studies. Were magistrates duped by suspects? Did they believe the truth would come out in a trial, through the questioning of witnesses, or through the further questioning of the suspect(s)? Were they lax in following procedures? And were they concerned with the truth or more intent on a conviction? This last was a tendency which jurists condemned but we do not know if it was prevalent. Studies of their own writings and of the justice system may answer these questions more fully than can be done here. Officials seemed rarely to hesitate to pressure suspects with threats of long imprisonments, to write to families and ministers, and to carry out repeated interrogations. Throughout the precognitions, however, there is a consistency in questioning, recording and corresponding which may reveal a common standard of professionalism or, at the very least, of formatting documents. It has been suggested above that the official accountability and professionalism required of sheriff court officials and of fiscals had increased greatly during the eighteenth

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<sup>79</sup> The case, AD14/19/270, is raised again in Chapter Ten.

<sup>80</sup> AD14/21/34.

century and up to 1811. Yet further work is needed to determine if standards of procedure had truly improved.

Which parts of the statements and which declarants are most believable? The range of possibilities includes, first, that the statements of suspects cannot be trusted at all, while witnesses' are probably, but not always, truthful; second, suspects can be trusted only for generalities, such as types of places and occupations. For example, they may have been on a farm but it was just as likely to have been on one side of the country as the other; third, suspects can be trusted in general for personal details, e.g., occupations and places, but not for details of the crime and their role or lack of one in the incident; or fourthly, suspects and witnesses can be trusted in all details as the power of the judicial administration and their information network would bring out the truth sooner or later.

The second and third choices seem the most likely; the statements which relate to past events not involving crime, and statements which correct previous ones, are most believable. The fourth choice relies on, and may overestimate, the powers wielded by sheriffs and fiscals while the second may underestimate them. The main problem lies in making generalisations about this nationwide source on the basis of the intelligence networks of local officials, particularly as little is known about the personalities, and actions taken, at the local level. Of the four choices the third seems the

most probable because of the correspondence between officials and the increasing network of information they had at their disposal. In addition, the suspects' statements, and particularly those aspects not relating to crime, have a coherence which suggests reliability in most instances.

## CHAPTER 3

### *Practicalities and problems in using the precognitions*

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the practical methods involved in carrying out research on the precognitions. It also explores some of the ways in which the methods employed here have affected the results and analysis. It is hoped that this will be of use particularly to future researchers of both AD14 and other series of precognitions.

#### 3.2 Information concerning mobility

As stated earlier, this thesis focuses only on precognitions in which a suspect or witness was known to have moved. A move was defined in the broadest terms possible, from children who left their parents but remained nearby, to sailors who travelled abroad. The information most declarants gave about their mobility was limited to their naming one or two past residences.

However, other declarants went further to include place of birth; a series of previous residences; duration of a residence; reasons for moving or activities at a place of stay; and the locations, occupations and histories of parents.

One of the most important aspects of the statements concerns the timing of the declarants' movements. These were determined through the specific dates of movement, or the amount of time since a declarant had moved, or the age of a declarant at the time of his or her move. The number of agricultural workers in AD14 means that many declarants are known to have moved seasonally, such as farm servants hired at Whitsunday and Martinmas. Often only the duration of time is stated and dates must be figured from that of the interrogation. For example, Henry Anderson [38], 15 years old and suspected of theft and reset, was the son of John, a deceased Excise officer in Falkirk. Henry went to Edinburgh with his mother at the age of four, 'soon after' his father died. This was 'nine years' before his statement in 1812. Other dates include specific and general ones, as well as seasons. Thomas Campbell [57], suspected of assault and questioned at Portpatrick, was a servant to Hugh Reid in Kinlauclan, Wigtownshire. He was born near Lisbourn, Co. Antrim, and left there in early June 1811. On arriving in Scotland he was 'employed for a short time as a labourer with Mr Gebbie at Pultanton Bridge near Stranraer', and then by Reid with whom he worked

the harvest.

The places of movement mentioned by the declarants also figure highly in this study but present certain problems.<sup>1</sup> Whenever possible each place of origin and destination was noted and later given a particular location, for mapping purposes, rather than being grouped according to its county or parish. Grid references applicable to Ordnance Survey maps were assigned to as many specific places as possible. An extensive search for their locations was carried out using a variety of sources.<sup>2</sup> Declarants probably often used specific locations as indicating respectability or as a reference for their character since inquiries could be made about them in home towns, etc. Details from the past, such as the time spent at a residence could provide a balance for difficult present circumstances. For example, Mary Mackay [108] was suspected of theft in Sutherland and stated her residence as Golspie. She had worked as a dairy maid five and a half years earlier (i.e., before March 1813) for three years and nine months, first at Morness and then at Craigtown. She left that service three years before the harvest of 1812. She had had a child in the last year with a

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<sup>1</sup> See the discussions of places in Chapters Four and Five.

<sup>2</sup> See the several place-name guides in section three of the bibliography, as well as the gazetteers and indexes. See also the discussion in Appendix C regarding the computerised production of the data.

Chelsea pensioner and was out of work for twelve months nursing it. She then worked as a servant to a Dr Ross at Golspie for 6-12 months but was now 'going about the Country as a Vagabond.'

This begins to indicate some of the problems of overlapping activities. There were also several occasions, however, when a declarant did not specify a particular place but referred instead to a parish or county, or even an undefined area, such as 'the West Country' in Scotland. These 'areas' are discussed below in chapter four. They are still used for studying mobility but are usually separated in discussions below, and specified as areas on the maps.

Other information in the precognitions is extremely valuable for motives and backgrounds of suspects, though not central to this study. Often this is unrelated to migration or to migrants but provides fascinating insights into social history. One extreme case provides a good example. John Fraser, 20 years old and the son of William, a tenant at Badrean, Culbochie parish in Ross-shire, was suspected of murdering his father and of being insane. His sister said the murder occurred because their 'father was out of the way' and John hit him several times with a spade. John had been insane for seven years after a dream 'in which he was addressed "Saul, Saul why persecutest thou me - it is hard for thee to thick [sic] against the pricks"'. This was followed by 'a cheerful or agreeable light which however

soon gave way to a dreadful or tormenting fire.'<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3 Finding the information

The information concerning mobility and the lives of migrants was found in many different documents in AD14. In order to explore the range of information found in AD14, all of the documents from the period 1812-20, as well as many from 1821, have been examined. When a declarant was found to have moved, all of the documents relating to that person's case were consulted to build up a picture of his or her life.

Knowledge about the declarants' moves was built up in several ways. Statements about a crime or incident were often prefaced with personal information, usually including the declarant's name, occupation and present residence, and sometimes their age and marital status. Thus most of the information about declarants' personal characteristics can be found early in the documents. Further details were more difficult to uncover. For example, many suspects mentioned their movements and past residences in the middle of their statements and not only in the preface. However, witnesses almost always discussed their past history in their prefaces alone. This was found while reading, in their entirety, the statements of witnesses for the years 1812 and 1813. The declarations of later suspects and witnesses were

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<sup>3</sup> AD14/14/49.



examined differently because of location of this pertinent information. For cases from 1814 onwards only the preface and end of each witness's statement was read, because of both the lack of pertinent information and the amount of time needed to examine those of, on average, ten witnesses per case. Suspects, however, gave relevant personal information throughout their statements and the entire contents of all suspects' statement(s), and of the official correspondence concerning their cases, were read and pieced together.

Occasionally there were contradictions between suspects and witnesses in their discussions of similar events. Evidence from witnesses was given precedence over that of suspects if there was a significant contradiction, e.g., concerning a suspect's places of residence. When any declarant made two or more statements each was considered but, if there was a contradiction between statements, later ones took precedence. Many suspects who gave two or more statements often admitted to having lied in an earlier one, making it more likely that the truth was coming out. Those suspects who made later statements usually did not restate information about their past unless they had lied in an earlier statement. The reasons they gave for changing a story ranged from becoming sober to being confronted with more information.

In some cases there were contradictions between witnesses, some of whom obviously knew more than would

be expected. In the case of Charles McBride [194], a suspect of theft by housebreaking and a tailor in Paisley, his wife and acquaintances gave testimony about him. He had absconded to Londonderry where the fiscal lost trace of him. In March 1815, his wife, Elizabeth Grant, said that he went to the east of Glasgow one week earlier to find work as a tailor since the work in Paisley had 'been very sparse' in the last two months: 'She expects him home on Saturday next.' They also often went to Glasgow together to sell things. Another witness, Christian Pollock, had known McBride and Grant for ten years. Pollock said that Grant's sister, Margaret, had made another friend, Elizabeth Muir, take a 'sinful' oath to not tell that McBride had stolen items from a warehouse, had secured a large amount of money, 'and was about to go to America with it.' Margaret had told Muir 'that it was a great pity Charles Macbrides [wife] should be connected with such a bad set of Irish and Smugglers.'

The problems with such statements are plentiful, particularly how we interpret the phrases of people long dead who may have meant a number of things by, for example, 'should be connected with'. In addition, there are problems of hearsay and close association which make for additional problems of knowledge of 'the facts'.

In some cases there were contradictions in two statements by the same person. One man [294] provided two statements at Perth, the first in October 1816, the

second in December. In the first he said his name was Hugh Innes, a native of Laggan, parish 'Fairnloch', Ross-shire where his father resided. He had spent the previous two years in Cork, Ireland, as a clerk in a distillery. He was on his way to Edinburgh to find employment when he arrived in Perth. In his next appearance he said his real name was Hugh Noble, a native of Moniack, Inverness-shire, where he stayed until late 1806. He then went to Inverness and worked as a clerk for two writers before leaving in June 1812. He went to Greenock and joined the 92nd Regiment. He deserted from it in February 1816, going to Aberdeen, London (where he was apprehended), escaping in Yorkshire, returning to London and then going to Ireland. He left there in September and headed for Perth.

Details concerning declarants' lives and mobility were also found in other documents. These included letters between officials concerning the circumstances and prospects of a case, as well as 'lists of witnesses' printed at the end of indictments which were in many precognitions. These lists usually cited each witness's name, occupation and place(s) of residence. These lists at times also included handwritten corrections concerning witnesses' residences if they had moved after their declaration.

### 3.4 Implications

This brief discussion of the practicalities of researching the precognitions has shown that the documents in the series present certain problems which can usually be surmounted. Finding the information in AD14 about what people did is not in itself extremely difficult, although piecing it together in a consistent fashion poses several challenges. A number of ways of achieving this have been presented, the most important of which is the establishment of a hierarchy of reliability in cases of contradiction: information from witnesses' statements is better than that from suspects', while that from officials' correspondence is more reliable than that from all declarants. In addition, for contradictions between any individuals' series of statements, later ones take precedence over earlier ones. While such a hierarchy can never be correct in every instance, it provides a helpful rule of thumb when consulting such a set of documents which were produced under many different circumstances.

It should also be noted how the methodology of this study will affect the results below. Since only migrants are studied here there is no comparison made between the suspected crimes or life histories of movers and stayers. This will be carried out as far as possible in future work but it must be remembered that few people are actually known to have stayed in their place of birth or upbringing. This means that it is not

possible to assess the propensity of migrants to commit (or to be suspected of committing) crime beyond that of stayers. Judicial records would be a better source for such a study, given that many of the suspects in AD14 were not convicted, while some were simply identified as trouble-makers. The precognitions include such a range of people who were suspected of crime that, to address issues of criminality and the criminal migrant, they must be used in conjunction with other records. In addition, the representativeness of the migrant declarants within the wider AD14 population has not been assessed because stayers were not sought for study here. Future work will examine the precognitions (and other records) over the nineteenth century to study such issues, with a comparison of movers, particular occupational groups and all declarants as a whole. For this study it must be stressed that the migrant suspects cannot be taken as representing all suspects. However, if internal migration was as widespread as has been argued by historians and geographers (see Chapters Five and Six) then there will be definite links between the migrant suspects here and the rest of the suspects (and witnesses) in AD14, as well as the wider population of Scotland. It must be remembered that most of the movement discussed below was well before any suspected criminal activities. It is also argued here that to establish fully such representativeness would require a much larger work which analyses other criminal records

over the century, with a much fuller discussion of criminal administration and procedure. For the moment, this study holds to its aim of showing the precognitions' worth by exploring aspects of people's histories and geographies.

## CHAPTER 4

### *Social, occupational and legal groups*

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the information gathered from the precognitions and sets out to show, in broad terms, the people who are in the sample gathered. It first examines the sex, age, nationality, native places and occupations of the declarants; these aspects are also compared with their status before the law, in terms of being either a witness or a suspect. This sample taken from AD14 includes only those declarants who stated information regarding their mobility; the selection of such people necessarily affects the groups which appear here since movement was not carried out similarly by all social groups. Another, and probably equally important, factor in deciding the declarants in this study, is the selection process involving the criminal events and judicial opinions which placed particular people in AD14. Crime and the suspicion of crime were also not equally distributed across all

social groups. The discussion which follows thus places the declarants in the context of their social and economic groups, and of their criminal or legal status.

#### 4.2 Sex, age, nationality and nativity

Each declarant's sex was decided from his or her name.<sup>1</sup> The declarants' ages were either taken from their own words or calculated from stated dates of birth. The stated ages often appear to have been estimated and rounded off as numbers such as 25, 30, 40 and 50 appear more times than would be expected. This probably reflects how, before civil registration began in 1855, many people did not know their age accurately.

Forty-five percent of all declarants gave their age; these are shown in Table 4.1. Just over one third of the women stated their age and over half of these were 25 or younger. The 16-20 age group is largest for both men and women. The 16-25 group make up just over half of the declarants whose ages are known, while those below 36 comprise 81 per cent. The ratio of males to females from the migrant sample is 2.9 while that of those giving their age is 3.9, indicating that men were more likely to give their age. This is probably because a greater percentage of men than women were suspected of a crime while a majority of women in the sample are

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<sup>1</sup>The exception to this rule was a woman named Douglas Forrester [325].



witnesses who tended to state less personal information.

TABLE 4.1 *Ages of males and females*

Age group	males	females	% males	% females	tot	m:f ratio
9-15	51	11	5	3	62	4.6
16-20	128	38	14	12	166	3.4
21-25	106	18	11	6	124	5.9
26-35	84	26	9	8	110	3.2
36+	81	23	9	7	104	3.5
unkn	483	205	52	64	688	2.4
	933	321	100	100	1254	2.9

The importance of these figures is limited by the low number of declarants who stated their age. Yet it remains likely that these figures reflect the sample fairly well by showing the young ages of many of the declarants. However, it will be shown below that a higher than usual percentage of those with unknown ages were witnesses, as were those in the 36+ category. This lends some support to suggesting that many whose age is unknown were in an older age group. This points toward a more even age profile of all declarants in the sample, but a young profile of suspects.

The ratio here of men to women (three to one) does not begin to approximate the 1821 census figure for Scotland of 90:100. However, the figures for women are higher in the precognitions than in almost all other

sources concerning Scottish mobility.<sup>2</sup> The 1821 census provides figures for age and sex (table 4.2); these indicate that almost half the population was under 20 and that about half was also between 10 and 40. The sex ratio is low in almost all age groups but the striking imbalance for the 20-30 group indicates great changes in mortality or migration or both. This age-sex cohort was probably affected the most both by war deaths and by economic conditions which may have led to significant male out-migration.

(TABLE 4.2 Ages of males and females in Scotland, 1821 (in 000s))

Age group	males	females	% tot. (males)	% tot. (females)	m:f ratio
9-15	378	365	19.3	18.7	1.04
15-20	95	108	4.9	5.5	0.88
20-30	138	183	7.0	9.3	0.75
30-40	101	124	5.2	6.4	0.81
40+	211	254	10.8	13.0	0.83
	923	1034	47.3	52.9	0.89

Source: *P[arliamentary] P[apers] 1822.XV.*

Declarants often stated their nationality in terms of where they were born or raised. Of the 441 who stated such details, there were 215 Scots, 195 Irish and 31 English. For the purposes of this study it was assumed that the rest of the declarants were Scots unless some information cast doubt on this. The nationality of

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<sup>2</sup> But see the sources of information in the work of I.D. Whyte and K.A. Whyte, 'The geographical mobility of women in early modern Scotland', in L. Leneman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 83-106.

males and females (table 4.3) shows that Irish men are in the sample in greater proportion than Irish women, and that almost all of the women in the sample were Scots. The large number of Irish men allows them to be studied in direct comparison with Scottish men when topics such as occupation are discussed below.

TABLE 4.3 Nationalities of males and females

Nationality	males	females	%		tot	m:f ratio
			males	females		
English	26	5	3	2	31	5.2
French	1				1	
German	1				1	
Gibralter	1				1	
Irish	165	30	18	9	195	5.5
Maltese	1				1	
Portugese	1				1	
Scottish	737	286	79	89	1023	2.6
	933	321	100	100	1254	2.9

The Irish declarants were more likely to state their ages than were the Scots, with most between 16 and 25 (table 4.4). It is difficult to compare these figures to any certain ones for Scotland in this period. The figures are low but suggest the Irish were comparatively well represented in each age group, except for those under 15 years of age but especially for those 35 and older. The earliest figures for the Irish in Scotland, from Cleland's 1819-20 census of Glasgow, estimate that they made up 10.3 per cent of Glasgow's population in 1819. By the 1830s there is evidence that there were 'sizeable Irish communities, particularly in

Galloway'.<sup>3</sup> The 1841 census puts their national size at 4.8 per cent of the population with 80 per cent of them in the South and West counties, from Dunbartonshire to Wigtownshire, while other concentrations were in Stirlingshire, Midlothian (for mining) and Angus (for textiles). The Irish population seems to have increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries yet there is no evidence about their fluctuations until the 1840s when the potato famine struck.

TABLE 4.4 *Ages of Scots and Irish*

Age group	Scots	Irish	%		tot	S:I ratio
			Scots	Irish		
9-15	58	2	6	1	62	29.0
16-20	132	33	13	17	166	4.0
21-25	90	29	9	15	124	3.1
26-35	81	19	8	10	110	4.3
36+	73	29	7	15	104	2.5
unkn	589	83	58	43	688	7.1
	1023	195	101	101	1254	5.2

Within the precognitions as a whole it is probable that Irish declarants were more likely to give details of their mobility than were Scots. This is assuming official pressure on them to give as full a story as possible when it probably was apparent from their accents that they were not from Scotland. The estimated total number of declarants in the series for the period of this study (1812-21), from which one in four suspects and one in 20 witnesses gave mobility details, is

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<sup>3</sup> M.W. Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 455.

11,200. If all the Irish declarants in the precognitions have been found then they would constitute 1.7 per cent of all declarants. This figure of almost two per cent throughout all of the precognitions is probably closer to the actual figure for Scotland, especially the Lowlands, in the 1810s, than is the 17 per cent within the sample. This also probably reflects the urban nature of AD14 which had a high proportion of cases produced in Glasgow and Edinburgh [see the map at the end of this chapter].

A fourth aspect of many declarants' histories which can be compared is the size of their places of birth. This information comparing the rural- and urban-born is used to discover if there were 1) differences between sex, age and nationality groups on the basis of their native places and 2) differences between the mobility of the rural- and urban-born. Movement between small settlements, villages, towns and cities is thought to be influenced by the size of each of these types of place. Behind this lies the belief that distance and place-size were both important factors in people's decisions to move, primarily because of the different work and social opportunities present at origins and destinations.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the types of communities from which the declarants originated were likely to condition their skills and expectations of work, and thus influence the

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<sup>4</sup>E.S. Lee, 'A theory of migration', *Demography* 3 (1966), pp. 47-57.

types of destinations they sought. This present study aims to use place size not to produce a gravity model of the declarants' mobility but rather to describe their movement between types of places. The places are separated into four general groups:

- (1) +50,000: cities with over 50,000 persons in 1821; these include Glasgow and Edinburgh alone for Scotland while several English cities are also present;<sup>5</sup>
- (2) +5,000: towns with 5,000-50,000 in their population, seen as forming a distinctly urban category;<sup>6</sup>
- (3) +1,000: small towns and large villages with 1,000-5,000 persons;
- (4) -1,000: places with fewer than 1,000 persons, such as farms and small villages;
- (5) 'areas': these include parishes and counties and are considered rural here as it is assumed that someone from an urban place in an area would name that place.

The third and fourth categories are differentiated to study places which are often overlooked; the break at 1,000 persons was chosen primarily because of difficulties in calculating populations under that figure. Populations were taken from the 1821 census

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<sup>5</sup> S. Nenadic, in 'The rise of the urban middle classes', in T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1:1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 109-26, discusses a different classification of urban places but argues that Edinburgh and Glasgow should be considered in a distinct category.

<sup>6</sup> This definition of urban during the period is supported by Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, p. 313, and by T.M. Devine, 'Urbanisation', in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society*, p. 31.

whenever possible. In some cases, the population was calculated by using the place:parish proportion in the year nearest to 1821, usually 1841 or 1851, when a separate figure was given for the place; this proportion was then applied to the parish population of 1821 to achieve a figure for the place for that year. This was done when a place (usually a town) had no population listed separately from its parish. For example, Haddington's parish population in 1821 was 5,255. In 1841, the burgh had 2,786 people and the entire parish had 5,452 so that the burgh:parish ratio was 0.51. When this is applied to the 1821 parish population a figure of 2,685 is found and is here suggested as an approximate figure for the burgh's population in that year. This method is likely to inflate the figures of towns where the ratio increased between 1821 and 1851; thus the figures arrived at are only rough guides to the actual population on the census date in 1821. In addition, these figures differ from Turnock's which were based on entire burghal parishes, including the 'landward' parts of parishes.<sup>7</sup> That method would not suffice here where the analysis is based on particular places whenever possible. It should be noted that there were few places whose populations, thus calculated, were close to the categories' boundaries, suggesting that the

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<sup>7</sup> D. Turnock, *The Historical Geography of Scotland since 1707: geographical aspects of modernisation* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 64.

groupings are fair approximations for the actual populations.<sup>8</sup>

Relatively few declarants specified where they were born; they amount to 21 per cent if specific places alone are included and 'areas' are not. Also, like the information for age, the value of this information lies in comparisons between the categories. Table 4.5 shows that for all place groups the proportion of women is unusually low, so that most information regarding nativity came from men. There is also not a great difference between the four main groups. The native places of age groups (table 4.6) shows an even less satisfactory number of known instances; only 299, or 24 per cent, of all the declarants gave both types of information. They possibly indicate that the older declarants in the sample tended to come from rural areas, but there is no certainty in the numbers here.

TABLE 4.5 Native places of males and females

Native of			%		tot	m:f ratio
	males	females	males	females		
+50,000	49	4	5	1	53	12.3
+5,000	59	12	6	4	71	4.9
+1,000	48	7	5	2	55	6.9
-1,000	72	11	8	3	3	6.5
areas	192	28	21	9	220	6.9
unknown	513	259	55	81	772	2.0
	933	321	100	100	1254	2.9

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<sup>8</sup> Sources used for finding or calculating population size include PP 1822.XV, PP 1824.XII, PP 1833.XXXIX and PP 1852-53.LXXXVI.



TABLE 4.6 *Native places of age groups (%)*

Native of	9-15	16-20	21-25	26-35	36+	unkn
+50,000	10	9	7	4	4	2
+5,000	11	7	7	7	5	5
+1,000	6	8	6	6	3	3
-1,000	5	7	8	8	13	5
areas	8	23	29	25	32	12
unknown	60	46	43	50	44	73
	100	100	100	100	101	100
no.	62	166	124	110	104	688

The nativity of Scots and Irish shows even more fully the difficulty of using this piece of information for all declarants (table 4.7). The Irish particularly mentioned their place of birth as 'Ireland' which in the classification is an area. While they are in their usual proportion in two categories (+5,000 and -1,000) their numbers are exceptionally low in the other two (+50,000 and +1,000). Yet most of the native places of the Irish were in the north which had no cities of over 50,000 (Belfast having had an estimated 37,000 people in 1821). The Irish are thus included below in this type of analysis but only on the assumption that 'areas' were rural places for both Irish and Scottish declarants.

TABLE 4.7 *Native places of Scots and Irish*

Native of	Scots	Irish	% Scots	% Irish	tot	S:I ratio
+50,000	41	2	4	1	43	20.5
+5,000	52	11	5	6	63	4.7
+1,000	50	5	5	3	55	10.0
-1,000	68	12	7	6	80	5.7
areas	66	145	6	74	211	.5
unknown	746	20	73	10	766	37.3
	1023	195	100	100	1218	5.2

### 4.3 Occupations

The occupations of the declarants are grouped according to the industrial sector classification from the 1881 census.<sup>9</sup> The groups are analysed only if their number was greater than 25; if not, they are placed in the group 'others'. A number of sub-groups within these larger groups are separated for analysis as well; for example, weavers have been separated from the more general group of Textiles.<sup>10</sup> These latter groups have been formed through large numbers of declarants who had common occupational titles or closely related activities. These sub-groups include labourers, weavers, hawkers, farm servants, servants, sailors and soldiers. For those declarants who stated two or more occupations, the first occupation mentioned dictated the group they were put into for analysis unless other information suggested that their main work was otherwise. For those with previous occupations, their current one placed them in a particular group, even when their geographical movements took place under earlier titles.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to Michael Anderson for providing a copy of this classification. A list of the broad groups in it is found in Appendix F.

<sup>10</sup> Groups based on occupational titles are referred to with lower case spelling; the other groups are capitalised.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter Nine and the introduction to Appendix D for other remarks regarding decisions about dual and previous occupations.

The seven groups based on titles present some complications. The 102 labourers, for example, include 59 who applied that title alone to themselves, while four others called themselves 'day labourers'. Of the remaining 40, 21 gave former occupational titles and 17 gave one or more current occupations in addition to labouring. These last two groups were not exclusive: one man who said he was a labourer working at harvests and on roads, was also an 'occasional dealer in beasts'; in addition he had earlier been a farm servant [1295]. In other groups based on titles, declarants provided even less information; among the weavers, 73 said only that they were a weaver while one added that he was a journeyman. In addition, 13 others gave another occupational title along with 'weaver', the most common being 'weaver and labourer', and five told of a former occupation.

The different groups of servants also show some of the problems inherent in grouping by title. Domestic servants are grouped separately from servants in general. Ten of these domestic servants referred to themselves as such, while many others were servants 'to' a master who was usually referred to by his or her occupational title, such as a surgeon, a tenant or a merchant. The type of work which servants did is often unclear; they may have been assisting their masters in the latter's occupations, or in their homes, or in both. While this distinction probably was not important for

some, it would have been for others, especially servants to professionals. For this reason all servants 'to' someone are returned in their master's occupational group unless the latter is a professional, in which case they are grouped with domestic servants. Other groups of servants include farm servants, and servants to agricultural masters such as a tenant or a ploughman. These servants are all grouped together as farm servants. 'Hinds', who were hired on an annual or semi-annual basis in much of Lowland Scotland, are also included here, but 'herds', who were hired more casually, are placed in the group Agriculture-fields. Finally, and separate from those above, were declarants who referred to themselves only as 'servants', and one who was a 'working out servant'; these are all placed into the group of servants.

The classification here has taken the occupational titles given by declarants as worthwhile groupings. However, as in other studies of occupational groups, several problems arise in using these classifications. First, the declarants gave little information regarding their differences of status, either within or between occupational groups. Whether someone was a journeyman or an apprentice is occasionally known but usually, and especially for the large groups, any details of status come from their statements and not their titles in the index to AD14. Associated with this is the fact that those grouped under a title, such as labourers, may have

had important differences in the type of work they did, where they did it and how much they were paid. A title suggests a common activity regardless of other known or unknown aspects of their lives. Classification by social status is possible and is examined in chapter nine where occupational change is discussed.<sup>12</sup> Yet analysis on the bases of the titles and the industrial and agricultural sectors has a firmer grounding in the declarants' experiences. This ties in with other studies which have argued that social status is best studied in conjunction with occupational mobility.<sup>13</sup>

A second problem is that this, and almost any, classification implies one single occupation per person and allows a declarant to be seen in only one group. This obscures previous occupations which some people had over the course of their lives, as well as other occupations which they were active in at their time of questioning. Among the sample of declarants five main groups have been found:

- (1) those stating no occupation;
- (2) those stating previous occupations only;
- (3) those stating one current occupation only;

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<sup>12</sup> That chapter makes use of W.A. Armstrong's, 'The use of information about occupations', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp.191-310.

<sup>13</sup> See G. Payne, *Mobility and Change in Modern Society* (London, 1987).

(4) those stating two or more current occupations;  
and

(5) those stating both present and past occupations.

The classifications also overlook people (usually women or the young) who mentioned either their father's or husband's occupation but said nothing about their own work or education. For the present chapter, analysis of occupational groups is restricted to the classifications established. Previous occupations are considered in chapter 9 and tables of previous occupations are found in appendices D and E.

A final problem is that it is not possible to address fully questions about the representativeness of this sample group for the whole of Scotland. In only the broadest terms is it possible to compare the occupational groups here with those found in the census of 1821.<sup>14</sup> It returned three occupational groups which are both vague and broad: 'Agriculture', 'Trade, Manufactures or Handicraft', and all others not in these two categories. The occupational groups in this study are grouped according to these to compare them with the

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<sup>14</sup> Little work exists on pre-1851 census information. Two helpful guides to using the census for the whole of the nineteenth century include C. Hakim, 'Census reports as documentary evidence: the census commentaries, 1801-1951', *Sociological Rev.*, 28 (1980), pp. 551-79, and E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: The Manuscript Returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901*, (London, 1989).

national figures for 1821.<sup>15</sup> The comparison (table 4.8) suggests that the sample under-represents agricultural groups by 50 per cent and over-represents the group 'Others'. This is not surprising since, as is shown below, most of the places of questioning were towns and cities in the Lowlands. However, this does not necessarily suggest that crime in the countryside was far less than in the towns; minor offences, such as stealing wood, were unlikely to find their way into the Lord Advocate's precognitions, though not those of the lower courts. The occupational comparison with the census is also complicated by the high number of hawkers who made up over eight per cent of the declarants, a figure which would certainly be too high for the whole of the country.

TABLE 4.8 Occupational groups in AD14 and the 1821 census<sup>16</sup>

Occupational group	no.	no.	%	%
	AD14	census	AD14	census
Agriculture	127	130.7	16	29
Trade and manufacturing	554	190.3	45	43
Others	329	127.0	40	28
	1010	448.0	101	100

Source: *PP 1822.XV*

The figures thus indicate that, while the migrant

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<sup>15</sup> The census groups to which the groups from the precognitions have been assigned are shown in Appendix F, part 2.

<sup>16</sup> Census figures are of the number of families (000s) employed in each group while figures for AD14 are of individuals.

sample does not mirror the national structure, it does include each of the three groups in large numbers. Certain occupational titles predominate in each of the three sectors: farm servants in the first, weavers in the second, and labourers, servanth a w k e r s in the third. There are also some indications that all these come from the lowest status and wage groups in each sector. This then revives the question, raised in chapter 1, of why these groups are more often in the source as declarants than the better off. There are a number of possibilities, such as

- (1) they were more likely to be arrested or charged with a crime, either because of their greater numbers in Scottish society or because of judicial opinion against them; or
- (2) they were more likely to witness a crime; or
- (3) that crimes involving suspects from the labouring classes, were more likely to be investigated than those involving the wealthy (e.g., petty thefts as opposed to embezzlement).

The continuing debates over the use of criminal statistics and the lack of studies concerning Scotland forestall any answers to this question but it is likely that, in the political climate of the 1810s, the labouring classes would be the first affected by any



changes in law enforcement.<sup>17</sup>

The characteristics of the occupational groups vary considerably in some respects. Table 4.9 shows the occupational differences of men and women in the sample. The groups with the largest numbers of women were found among Domestic, servants and farm servants. Several women were also in Textiles at the time of their questioning which should be expected as women made up a large porportion of the textile workforce throughout Scotland, particularly in the mills and bleachfields.<sup>18</sup> The lack of women in weaving is unexpected as they probably constituted at least a quarter to a third of hand loom weavers in this period.<sup>19</sup> Yet just over half of the women gave no information about their current or previous occupations. The largest groups of men were found among labourers, weavers and hawkers.

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<sup>17</sup> Fraser, *Conflict and Class*. See also V.A.C. Gatrell, 'The decline of theft and violence in Victorian and Edwardian England', in idem. et.al. (eds.), *Crime and the Law: the social history of crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London, 1980), and R.S. Sindall, 'The criminal statistics of nineteenth-century cities: a new approach', *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1986), pp. 28-36.

<sup>18</sup> C. Whatley, 'The experience of work', in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society*, pp. 227-51.

<sup>19</sup> N. Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History*, (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 28-9.

TABLE 4.9 *Occupations of males and females*

Occupational group	males	females	% %		tot	m:f ratio
			m	f		
Agric. - fields	47	12	5	4	59	3.9
Agric. - other	29	2	3	1	31	14.5
Farm servants	23	31	2	10	54	.7
Labourers	102		11		102	
Domestics	7	19	1	6	26	.4
Servants	18	30	2	9	48	.6
Commerce	53		6		53	
Dress	51	6	5	2	57	8.5
Food & Lodging	27	10	3	3	37	2.7
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	32	3	3	1	35	10.7
Hawkers	71	11	8	3	82	6.5
Minerals	44	3	5	1	47	14.7
Textiles	60	16	6	5	76	3.8
Weavers	92		10		92	
Sailors	43		5		43	
Soldiers	34		4		34	
Professional	35	2	4	1	37	17.5
Other	91	11	10	3	102	8.3
Unknown	72	165	8	51	237	.4
	931	321	101	100	1252	2.9

The occupations of the different age groups in table 4.10 suggest some divisions of labour by age. Again, the low numbers preclude complete certainty even about the sample taken from AD14, much less of all the people within AD14; but some broad hints do surface from the data. Occupational groups in which the young had higher proportions than those older include farm servants, Domestics, sailors and, to some extent, Textiles. The converse holds for labourers, Food and Lodging, weavers and soldiers. In only one occupation, hawkers, do both the youngest and oldest have higher proportions than the other groups. The extent to which these figures apply to a wider Scottish population is worth considering but any suggestions here would be tenuous; the presentation of these figures is primarily

to show who the declarants were and to lay the ground for how their mobility may have been influenced by their different social groups.

TABLE 4.10 Occupations of age groups (%)

Occupational group	9 -15	16 -20	21 -25	26 -35	36+	unkn
Agric. - fields	2	1	4	7	6	
Agric. - other	2	2	4	4	6	2
Farm servants	6	5	3	5		5
Labourers	2	8	11	8	12	8
Domestics	3	2	2		3	
Servants	3	5	5	5	1	4
Commerce	3	5	1	5	4	5
Dress	5	8	4	5	3	4
Food & Lodging		1	3	3	3	4
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	3	1	3	2	3	3
Hawkers	21	6	4	2	12	6
Minerals	3	4	5	7	4	3
Textiles	6	12	7	5	2	5
Weavers	6	7	15	10	11	5
Sailors	5	5	6	2	1	3
Soldiers		1	7	6	6	2
Professional		2	2	5	1	4
Other	10	8	10	9	8	8
Unknown	21	16	6	15	15	21
	100	100	99	100	102	102
no.	62	166	123	110	104	687

The occupations of the Scottish and Irish declarants also present curious findings (table 4.11a). Those groups in which the Irish were concentrated included weavers, labourers, hawkers and, to some extent, Textiles. Few Irish were found among the servants or in agriculture, and none were domestics. Other groups in which the Irish had a larger than usual proportion include Dress, and soldiers. Tables 4.11(b) and 4.11(c) break down further the sexual differences between the occupations of the Irish and Scots. They raise two important points, the first that Irish men

were the most likely to state their occupation; the second that, despite their low number Irish women contributed to the higher than usual proportions of the Irish in Textiles and hawking. The other groups with larger proportions of Irish (Dress, labourers, weavers and soldiers) came almost solely from the men. Incidentally, there was no specific mention of any 'tramping weavers', a majority of whom were said to be Irish.<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 4.11(a) *Occupations of Scots and Irish*

Occupational group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
Agric. - fields	58	1	6	1	59	58.0
Agric. - other	25	3	2	2	30	8.3
Farm servants	49	4	5	2	54	12.3
Labourers	61	37	6	19	101	1.6
Domestics	25		2		26	
Servants	45	3	4	2	48	15.0
Commerce	46	3	4	2	52	15.3
Dress	45	12	4	6	57	3.8
Food & Lodging	30	2	3	1	37	15.0
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	32	2	3	1	35	16.0
Hawkers	59	21	6	11	82	2.8
Minerals	41	6	4	3	47	6.8
Textiles	59	16	6	8	76	3.7
Weavers	54	37	5	19	92	1.5
Sailors	38	3	4	2	43	12.7
Soldiers	17	12	2	6	34	1.4
Professional	32	4	3	2	37	8.0
Other	88	10	9	5	102	8.8
Unknown	214	19	21	10	237	11.3
	1018	195	99	102	1249	5.2

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p.15.

TABLE 4.11(b) *Occupations of Scottish and Irish females*

Occupational group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
Agric. - fields	12		4		12	
Agric. - other	2		1		2	
Farm servants	29	2	10	7	31	14.5
Domestics	19		7		19	
Servants	29	1	10	3	30	29.0
Dress	5	1	2	3	6	5.0
Food & Lodging	8	1	3	3	10	8.0
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	3		1		3	
Hawkers	6	5	2	17	11	1.2
Minerals	3		1		3	
Textiles	11	5	4	17	16	2.2
Professional	2		1		2	
Other	10	1	3	3	11	10.0
Unknown	147	14	51	47	165	10.5
	286	30	100	100	321	9.5

TABLE 4.11(c) *Occupations of Scottish and Irish males*

Occupational group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
Agric. - fields	46	1	6	1	47	46.0
Agric. - other	24	3	3	2	29	8.0
Farm servants	20	2	3	1	23	10.0
Labourers	62	37	8	22	102	1.7
Domestics	6		1		7	
Servants	16	2	2	1	18	8.0
Commerce	47	3	6	2	53	15.7
Dress	40	11	5	7	51	3.6
Food & Lodging	22	1	3	1	27	22.0
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	29	2	4	1	32	14.5
Hawkers	53	16	7	10	71	3.3
Minerals	38	6	5	4	44	6.3
Textiles	48	11	7	7	60	4.4
Weavers	54	37	7	22	92	1.5
Sailors	38	3	5	2	43	12.7
Soldiers	17	12	2	7	34	1.4
Professional	30	4	4	2	35	7.5
Other	80	9	11	5	93	8.9
Unknown	67	5	9	3	72	13.4
	737	165	99	100	933	4.5

The most surprising figure from these last three tables is the high proportion of Scots in Agriculture-Fields. This almost certainly excludes the number of Irish settlers in the South West referred to earlier, many of whom would have been in agricultural work as

farm workers and farmers; yet some of the former may be among the labourers. It is likely that there is more to these differences than the chance results of the sample, yet the reasons behind them have a wide range of possibilities: from the Irish having merely transferred their skills and abilities to Scotland rather than effectively integrating into Scottish social and economic life; to the possibility that Irish tradesmen, farmers and servants were less likely to come before judicial authorities (either as suspects or witnesses) than were Irish hawkers and labourers.

The occupational groups of the different native groups (table 4.12), like those of age groups, provide an outline of information for some of the declarants. Some of the proportions in the table are obvious from common sense; for example, the percentage of those in Agriculture-Fields, farm servants and labourers is high among the rural born, while Dress is high among the urban born. ('Others' is also high among the urban born and it includes many urban-centred trades.) There are other categories which are not easily explained but must be noted in passing as possible areas for future work. Textiles and weavers show no congruence among the urban and rural born, while hawkers are found in similar proportions in almost each native group. Yet the numbers here are too small to make any firm judgements about the rural and urban origins of these and other anomalous groups.

TABLE 4.12 *Occupational groups of native groups (%)*  
*[place sizes in thousands]*

Occupational group	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	unkn	tot.
Agric. - fields				6	1	7	5
Agric. - other	6	1	2	4	2	2	2
Farm servants			4	2	2	6	4
Labourers		8	11	11	16	6	8
Domestics			2	4	1	2	2
Servants				4	1	5	4
Commerce	2	4	9	7	4	4	4
Dress	9	7	7		6	4	5
Food & Lodging	4	1		1	1	4	3
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.		3	4	2	2	3	3
Hawkers	11	8	4	8	9	5	7
Minerals	8	6	5	4	4	3	4
Textiles	11	10	7	4	7	5	6
Weavers	11	4	16	13	17	3	7
Sailors	2	11	9	2	2	3	3
Soldiers	6	4	4	4	7	1	3
Professional		1	2	7	2	3	3
Other	21	14	9	6	6	8	8
Unknown	9	15	5	11	8	25	19
	100	99	100	100	98	100	100
no.	53	71	55	83	220	772	1254

#### 4.4 Crime and legal status

The legal groups within this sample of declarants are studied below. The subject of criminal behaviour is only briefly touched on but arises again in chapter ten where it is examined in the light of family relations. The series is certainly valuable for examining aspects of crime, but it is a subject worth more investigation than can be carried out here. This section thus aims to explore the ties between the declarants' legal groups and their other social and occupational groups.

The declarants are grouped in table 4.13(a) by their suspected crimes at the time of their interrogations. The classification comes from

Hutcheson's contemporary work on procedure.<sup>21</sup> No distinction is made here between suspects who were indicted, tried or otherwise prosecuted, and those whose case description in the index included 'no proceedings' or 'not charged'. The groups thus reflect suspicion of particular crimes and nothing else. The issues of guilt and innocence, or of the existence and activities of a criminal class cannot be addressed here; there is too little information in AD14 to compare all of the declarants on such a basis. As mentioned above, the suspects in the precognitions thus reflect both those who were committing crimes as well as those who were likely to be suspected of crimes regardless of their involvement in any criminal act. The cases here also include those sent to the sheriff courts so that at least two levels of criminal jurisdiction were involved. The fact that most of the declarants in this study were suspects giving migration details also means that the figures here do not give a fully accurate picture of crimes committed in Scotland. These figures raise questions about the geography and incidence of crime and judicial administration, but they can only serve as pointers here and not fixed marks.

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<sup>21</sup> Hutcheson, *Treatise*, I, 191. A list of crimes and the number of suspects for each is found in appendix G.



TABLE 4.13(a) *Legal groups of males and females*

Legal group	males	females	m	% f	% tot	m:f ratio
State crimes	16		2		16	
Public trade	63	11	7	3	74	5.7
Public peace	20	1	2		21	20.0
Judicial	16	2	2	1	18	8.0
Sexual	14	14	2	4	28	1.0
Violent	95	28	10	9	123	3.4
Misc. agt. person	3	1			4	3.0
Property- theft	360	78	39	24	438	4.6
Property- robbery	54	8	6	2	62	6.8
Fraud	40	2	4	1	42	20.0
Religion	1				1	
Witnesses	251	176	27	55	427	1.4
	933	321	101	99	1254	2.9

The suspects are contrasted here with witnesses who also included declarants who gave evidence in investigations into crimes for which no suspect was produced.<sup>22</sup> The division is artificial in that a witness in one case could easily become a suspect in another; likewise a witness in a Precognition may have been suspected mentally by an official who lacked sufficient evidence to carry his idea further. Despite these problems it is still worth investigating whether there were important differences between the suspect groups and witnesses.

The largest two groups in table 4.13(a) are witnesses and theft suspects, each with over one-third of all declarants; the next largest group, suspects of violent crimes, makes up less than 10 per cent of the total. Crimes against the state related mainly to

<sup>22</sup> As mentioned in chapter one, these investigations were also referred to as Precognitions.

public trade, particularly giving out false currency or forged banknotes. Sexual crimes have been added to Hutcheson's classification; most would have been included in violent crimes, particularly those aimed at women such as concealment of pregnancy and abortion. The specific charge of child murder has been retained in violent crimes. Most cases against the person involved assault or homicide of some sort. Almost two-thirds of all suspects were in cases relating to crime against property, particularly theft or the re-selling of stolen goods; robbery (i.e., theft involving the use or threat of violence) accounts for a small portion of such crimes. Frauds and forgeries make up just five per cent of all those accused.

This classification of crimes potentially overlooks differences within the groups. The group 'suspects' places forgers alongside assailants. Even within the sub-group of theft suspects there is a great diversity which includes sheep-stealers as well as pick pockets. The point here is that the groupings may obscure more than they reveal by combining too many unlike people together. The figures for suspects and witnesses here cannot be extrapolated to say that they represent an identifiable group in early nineteenth-century Scotland which was made up of, for example, so many Scottish male weavers. There are too many gaps in the record to do this. To suggest that they represent some 'criminal class' would be mistaken because the experiences of the

suspects were so diverse, as were the circumstances which brought them before the law.<sup>23</sup> In addition, it was seen earlier that to be suspected of a crime could have little to do with being involved with a crime. It is not in the remit of this study to explore meanings of criminality or opinions of crime, yet it seems pertinent to caution against categorising as 'criminals' people who stole out of desperate want alongside those who were habitual law-breakers. Studies of particular crimes, especially theft, would be more valuable to assess the diversity of criminal behaviour. As has been shown, the declarants were not 'criminal' at the time of many of their actions which are of interest to this study; and as will be shown below, their experiences of mobility, work and family were by no means unusual since they shared many of the same circumstances faced by others in the labouring classes of Scotland at this time. Thus, while it is impossible to isolate in statistical terms the criminal or social 'population' from which these people have come, the precognitions can still take us further in understanding how labouring people led their lives.

The sex ratios of some of the groups differ considerably. The most important distinction between them is the high percentage of men in suspect groups and

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<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of such issues see D. Hay, 'War, dearth and theft in the eighteenth century: the record of the English courts', *Past and Present* 95 (1982), pp. 117-60.

of women as witnesses. Over half of the women, but less than one-third of the men, in this sample of AD14 were witnesses. The contrast in the figures is lessened when witnesses are removed and only male and female suspects compared (table 4.13(b)). There are still important differences, particularly in the categories of violent and sexual crimes. The violent crimes of men and women differed in that most of the latter's involved children: 22 of 28 violent crimes suspected of women concerned child murder or endangering children. Men's violent crimes primarily involved assault (48), murder (26) and rape (7), with three instances of child murder. The sexual crimes of women outstripped men's, as theirs were dominated by cases involving concealment of pregnancy while men's were almost entirely taken up with bigamy. The near equal figures for property crimes is surprising because of the disparity in the two above categories.

TABLE 4.13(b) Suspect groups of males and females

Suspect group	males	females	%		tot
			males	females	
State crimes	16		2		2
Public trade	63	11	9	8	9
Public peace	20	1	3	1	2
Judicial	16	2	2	1	2
Sexual	14	14	2	10	3
Violent	95	28	14	19	15
Misc. agt. person	3	1		1	
Property-theft	360	78	53	54	53
Property-robbery	54	8	8	6	7
Fraud	40	2	6	1	5
Religion	1				
	682	145	99	101	100

Despite the absolute numbers of women in the

documents and in this sample, these figures suggest that women were prominent in investigated crime, possibly at a level of five men to every woman as seen in this table where the sex ratio is 4.7. Such a guess needs further research to be confirmed but for the present the figures do help to outline the main areas of suspected criminal action for both men and women in this study of the precognitions. There may be some support for such a proportion from the returns on the number of men and women committed to prison in all counties in Scotland between 1811 and 1814 (table 4.14). These show that the ratio of men to women ranged from 4.9 to 7.2 in these years; however, this was likely to have increased during the depression and with the return of many men from the wars. Unfortunately, no similar information for later years has been found.

TABLE 4.14 Males and females committed to jail in all Scottish counties

<u>year</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>	<u>m:f ratio</u>
1811	93	19	4.9
1812	86	21	7.2
1813	105	16	6.6
1814	88	16	5.5

Source: *PP 1814-15.XI.293-310*

The legal groups of the age groups (table 4.15) suggest several trends. Declarants over 36 were more likely to be witnesses than those who were younger. In addition, declarants whose age was unknown also had a high proportion of witnesses, suggesting that most

witnesses were older than those in other groups. In contrast, the youngest age group was primarily suspected of theft but rarely of other crimes, most notably violent ones. Violent crimes were suspected of the other age groups in fairly even proportions, but crimes of public trade, and fraud, were suspected mostly of the three eldest groups. The lower percentages of witnesses among the first four groups suggests more than a quirk of the sampling procedure for this study of AD14 and more than the slightly greater proportion of females in this 'age' group. It is likely that officials in reality more often relied on older people to describe events, possibly ascribing greater innocence to them than younger people.

TABLE 4.15 Legal groups of age groups (%)

Legal group	9-15	16-20	21-25	26-35	36+	unkn
State crimes			2	5	4	1
Public trade		2	5	7	8	7
Public peace		2	4	3	2	1
Judicial	3	1	4	2		1
Sexual		1	3	4	3	2
Violent	3	10	15	14	10	9
Misc. agt. person						1
Property-theft	63	51	34	26	29	31
Property-robbery	2	4	10	7	4	4
Fraud		1	3	5	4	4
Witnesses	29	28	19	27	38	39
	100	100	99	99	102	100
no.	62	166	124	110	104	688

The nationalities of the legal groups are uneven but not greatly surprising (table 4.16(a)). Many of the Irish in AD14 were itinerant labourers and hawkers, and would not be nearly as well established to act as

witnesses. Assuming that all the Irish in AD14 have been found, there are extremely few Irish witnesses in comparison with the great number of other, undoubtedly Scottish, witnesses who are not in this study because they gave no details of their mobility.

TABLE 4.16(a) *Legal groups of Scots and Irish*

Legal group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
State crimes	11	5	1	3	16	2.2
Public trade	57	17	6	9	74	3.4
Public peace	12	7	1	4	21	1.7
Judicial	18		2		18	
Sexual	26	1	3	1	28	26.0
Violent	85	33	8	17	123	2.6
Misc. agt. person	3	1		1	4	3.0
Property-theft	361	63	35	32	438	5.7
Property-robbery	41	18	4	9	62	2.3
Fraud	37	2	4	1	42	18.5
Religion	1				1	
Witnesses	371	48	36	25	427	7.7
	1023	195	100	102	1254	5.2

When males and females in nationality groups are considered separately the contrasts change somewhat (tables 4.16 (b) and (c)). Scottish and Irish women have strong differences in their proportions of witnesses but the numbers of the latter are too low to make any firm conclusions. Among the men several categories, especially violent crimes and robberies, were still suspected of higher percentages of Irish but there were also proportionately fewer Irish suspected of theft than were Scots. While it is certainly possible that proportionately more Irish men were involved in violent and other crimes, there are other judicial reasons why they are in larger numbers here. It is

likely that Irish suspects were easier to trace, and that they were more likely to be prosecuted in order to remove troublemakers from outside communities than those from within. Research is needed on the criminal actions of Scots and Irish, as well as on the views which judicial officers had of both groups, to address these issues further.

TABLE 4.16(b) Legal groups of Scottish and Irish females

Legal group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
Public trade	7	4	2	13	11	1.8
Public peace		1		3	1	
Judicial	2		1		2	
Sexual	14		5		14	
Violent	26	2	9	7	28	13.0
Misc. agt. person	1				1	
Property-theft	67	10	23	33	78	6.7
Property-robbery	4	3	1	10	8	1.3
Fraud	2		1		2	
Witnesses	163	10	57	33	176	16.3
	286	30	99	99	321	9.5

TABLE 4.16(c) Legal groups of Scottish and Irish males

Legal group	Scots	Irish	% Sc.	% Ir.	tot	S:I ratio
State crimes	11	5	1	3	16	2.2
Public trade	50	13	7	8	63	3.8
Public peace	12	6	2	4	20	2.0
Judicial	16		2		16	
Sexual	12	1	2	1	14	12.0
Violent	59	31	8	19	95	1.9
Misc. agt. person	2	1		1	3	2.0
Property-theft	294	53	40	32	360	5.5
Property-robbery	37	15	5	9	54	2.5
Fraud	35	2	5	1	40	17.5
Religion	1				1	
Witnesses	208	38	28	23	251	5.5
	737	165	100	101	933	4.5

The legal groups of native groups also suggest several important points (table 4.17). The first is



that there is no clear-cut relationship, even with the low figures, between place of birth and suspected crime. There were fewer witnesses among the first native group (+50,000) but no real difference at the rural-urban divide, the possible exception being theft. There is a fair difference in theft which would be further increased if witnesses were removed from the figures. The implications of such a divide are unclear, particularly because of the low numbers, except that it leads to questioning how occupational groups compared in their suspected crimes; that is, whether particularly urban or rural occupations show any differences in their suspected crimes.

TABLE 4.17 Legal groups of native groups (%) (place sizes in thousands)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	unkn	tot.
State crimes	8		4	2	3		1
Public trade	6	4	4	8	9	5	6
Public peace	2	1	2	4	5	1	2
Judicial		3	4	1		2	1
Sexual	4		2	1	2	3	2
Violent	4	8	9	10	13	9	10
Misc. agt. person				1			
Property-theft	53	58	44	41	35	30	35
Property-robbery	9	3	15	6	7	3	5
Fraud	4	4		4	2	4	3
Witnesses	11	18	18	22	23	43	34
	101	99	102	100	99	100	99
no.	53	71	55	83	220	772	1254

In tables 4.18(a) and (b) the links between particular legal and occupational groups are apparent. Here there are even greater contrasts; again, these are hampered by the low numbers but they point toward a few likely differences. Farm servants stand out as those

who were usually suspected of violent crimes, as well as being witnesses, in stark contrast to hawkers. As will be discussed below, farm servants moved primarily between rural places while hawkers had a high proportion of movement involving urban places. Such observations cannot nor should not lead to simple statements about environmental influences on the incidence of crime but should encourage further research on the occupational groups involved in rural and urban crime, particularly to question whether investigated crime was suspected of long-term residents or itinerants. Other important aspects of this table are the high proportions of state crimes for weavers (usually administering unlawful oaths) and of public trade crimes for hawkers and Textiles (table 4.18(a)); in addition, there were high proportions of people in Commerce who were suspected of fraud, and of farm servants, General Dealers and Labourers, and soldiers suspected of sexual crimes. As expected, declarants whose occupation was unknown were disproportionately among the witnesses (table 4.18(b)). Such differences point to difficulties with the criminal classifications since public trade crimes include both the use of forged notes and false coin, as well as illegal combination. All but one of the suspected public trade crimes of hawkers involved bad money, while all but two of those of Textiles' involved illegal combination.

TABLE 4.18(a) *Legal groups of occupational groups (%)*

Legal group	Fm					
	Svts	Labrs	Dress	Hwkrs	Txtls	Wvrs
State crimes					3	10
Public trade		4	9	18	28	4
Public peace		2	4	1	1	1
Judicial	2	2				1
Sexual	6	2		1		
Violent	19	15	11	4	7	9
Misc. agt. person						2
Property-theft	7	48	28	59	39	39
Property-robbery	2	7	4	6	5	9
Fraud	6	3	4	1	4	2
Religion				1		
Witnesses	59	18	42	9	13	23
	101	101	102	100	100	100
no.	54	102	57	82	76	92

TABLE 4.18(b) *Occupational groups of legal groups (%)*

Occupational group	pub.						
	trade	sexl.	viol.	theft	robb.	fraud	witns.
Agric. (f)	4	4	4	3	3	2	7
Agric. (o)	1	4	1	4	5	5	2
Farm Servants		11	8	1	2	7	7
Labourers	5	7	12	11	11	7	4
Domestics		4	3	1	3		3
Servants	1	4	8	2			7
Commerce		4	3	5	2	14	4
Dress	7		5	4	3	5	6
Food & Lodging	4	7	2	2	3	5	4
G. Dlr. Lab.	4	11	3	2	3	2	3
Hawkers	20	4	2	11	8	2	2
Minerals	5	4	9	3	8		2
Textiles	28		4	7	6	7	2
Weavers	5		7	8	13	5	5
Sailors			7	6	3	2	
Soldiers	3	11	3	1	5		2
Professional	3		3	1	6	5	4
Other	1	7	6	11	10	17	6
Unknown	7	21	10	17	5	14	30
	98	103	100	100	99	99	100
no.	74	28	123	437	62	42	427

#### 4.5 Places of questioning

This section examines the locational aspects of the production of AD14 as it relates to the sample taken.

The tables below point out the differences between social and occupational groups in terms of their presence at rural and urban places, as well as at three places (Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth) which had large numbers of declarants. Only the broad groups of sex, nationality, occupation and legal status are examined for these places since age and nativity groups questioned there included too few people to merit discussion.

There were 113 places of questioning mentioned in the sample taken which were spread throughout Scotland, with most in the Lowlands. Table 4.19(a) gives the breakdown of these by place size and shows that over one third of the declarants were questioned at Edinburgh and Glasgow, though a full quarter were at the latter. The other declarants were distributed among the other places of questioning in fairly equal numbers, with higher proportions at those places listed in table 4.19(b). The high number of declarants at Kirkcudbright is surprising because of its size; while this may suggest a higher amount of crime or migrants there it more likely indicates a group of zealous officials.

TABLE 4.19(a) Places of questioning (by population size)

Pop. size	No.	Pct.	No. of places
+50,000	436	35	2
+5,000	350	28	21
+1,000	307	24	52
-1,000 areas	63	5	37
	1		1
unknown	97	8	?
	1254	100	113

TABLE 4.19(b) Places of questioning (with 25 or more)

Pop. size	Place	No.	Pct.
+50,000	Glasgow	319	25
	Edinburgh	117	9
+5,000	Perth	70	6
	Dumfries	41	3
	Aberdeen	39	3
	Paisley	35	3
	Ayr	30	2
	Campbeltown	29	2
	+1,000	Kirkcudbright	41
		721	58

Males and females were similar in the size of their places though males had a higher proportion at cities, and females at towns (table 4.20). Females also had a high proportion of unknown places because of their status as witnesses, as is shown below (table 4.26(c)). Age groups were also remarkably similar in their proportions questioned at rural and urban places, with the only differences being in the high percentage of 21-25 year olds questioned at large rural places, and of 26-35 year olds questioned at towns (table 4.21). This is surprising because of the greater rural focus of older groups' mobility (see chapter five). In addition, this difference is even greater for females than males. However, the numbers are too low here to make firm

conclusions.

TABLE 4.20 Places of questioning: males and females [excluding areas] (%)

Sex	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Female	29	31	23	5	12	100	321
Male	37	27	25	5	6	100	931
							<u>1252</u>

TABLE 4.21 Places of questioning: age groups (%)

Age group	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
9-15	42	24	24	5	5	100	62
16-20	46	22	20	8	4	100	166
21-25	45	19	33	3	1	101	123
26-35	45	30	15	5	5	100	110
36+	46	23	23	3	5	100	104
unkn	26	32	26	5	11	100	687
							<u>1252</u>

Such discrepancies indicate that these tables of places of questioning reveal only a small part of the declarants' spatial activity by showing where they were at only one point in time. This is also true of table 4.22(a) which shows the places of Scottish and Irish declarants. This does, however, show the Irish concentrating on cities similar to their destinations of mobility (see chapter seven). This concentration is evident for both Irish males and females (tables 4.22(b) and (c)).

TABLE 4.22(a) Places of questioning: nationality groups (%)

Nationality	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Irish	46	24	25	3	3	101	195
Scottish	32	29	25	5	9	100	1021
							<u>1216</u>

TABLE 4.22(b) Places of questioning: males in nationality groups (%)

Nationality	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Irish	46	24	24	3	2	100	165
Scottish	34	28	26	5	7	100	735
							<u>900</u>

TABLE 4.22(c) Places of questioning: females in nationality groups (%)

Nationality	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Irish	47	23	27		3	100	30
Scottish	26	32	23	6	13	100	286
							<u>316</u>

Glasgow certainly had a much larger proportion of Irish than Edinburgh or Perth (table 4.22(d)), and most of these Irish were male. These figures concerning nationality are a starting point for showing the geographical distributions of the declarants by nationality. They can be compared with figure 4.1 (at the end of this chapter) which maps the distribution of the places of questioning of Scots and Irish by the number of declarants found in each one (Maps A and C), as well as each place's estimated population size (maps B and D). The concentration of Irish in the West and South West is pertinent to both the range of their geographical mobility and of their occupational concentrations in textiles and weaving.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See B. Collins, 'The origins of Irish immigration to Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 1-18.

TABLE 4.22(d) Nationalities questioned at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth

Nationality	Edin.	Glas.	Perth	% Edin.	% Glas.	% Perth
Scottish	103	220	69	88	69	99
Irish	6	84	1	5	26	1
English	8	15		7	5	0
	117	319	70	100	100	100

The places of urban and rural natives provides a better foretaste of their different mobility patterns (table 4.23). City natives were overwhelmingly questioned at cities while the other groups had greater proportions at large rural places; this is particularly so for rural natives. Similar proportions of each native group were questioned at towns and this, along with each group's still high proportions questioned at cities, suggests that all native groups had a strong urban focus. There is some corroboration of this in later chapters but it must be noted that this urban focus is less relevant for natives of large rural places and even less so for those of small rural places.

TABLE 4.23 Places of questioning: nativity groups (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
+50,000	70	19	9		2	100	53
+5,000	55	23	15	7		100	71
+1,000	44	22	25	4	5	100	55
-1,000	46	17	30	5	1	99	82
areas	51	19	24	4	3	101	221
unknown	24	33	26	6	11	100	770
							1252

Occupational groups show a variety of patterns in their places of questioning, with a few groups having large proportions of unknown places (i.e., Agriculture-



fields, farm servants, Food and Lodging) (table 4.24). In these cases there is no direct link between unknown places of questioning and a high proportion of witnesses. A number of other groups stand out as having strong urban concentrations (above 66 per cent), namely Commerce, Dress, hawkers, Minerals, Textiles, weavers and soldiers, with a few other groups near these. Groups with a high proportion of rural places (above 40 per cent) include Agriculture-Fields, servants, General Dealers and Labourers, and sailors. This last group, however, also had a high proportion questioned at towns, indicating their strong ties to urban ports such as Greenock. These differences between groups are unsurprising as most correspond to expectations about the location of their work.

TABLE 4.24(a) Places of questioning: occupational groups (%)

Occupational group	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Agric. - fields	22	14	27	19	19	101	59
Agric. - other	26	39	26	3	6	100	31
Farm servants	17	28	28	7	20	100	54
Labourers	27	28	33	4	7	99	102
Domestics	50	12	19	12	8	101	26
Servants	17	21	42	13	8	101	48
Commerce	49	25	13	2	11	100	53
Dress	54	25	16	2	4	101	57
Food & Lodging	41	22	22	3	14	99	37
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	29	29	43			101	35
Hawkers	30	38	26	2	4	100	82
Minerals	45	26	26	2	2	101	47
Textiles	43	33	14	8	1	99	76
Weavers	64	16	16	3		99	92
Sailors	10	43	31	14	2	100	42
Soldiers	65	24	9	3		101	34
Professional	38	24	27		11	100	37
Other	32	29	29	1	9	100	103
Unknown	27	34	23	5	12	101	237
							<u>1252</u>

Further differences appear in the distributions of occupations at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth (table 4.24(b)). The most noticeable aspects of these are the high proportions of hawkers and Textiles at Perth, and of Textiles and weavers at Glasgow. These correspond roughly to the occupational structures of these places, as does, to a lesser extent, the higher proportion of Domestics at Edinburgh.<sup>25</sup> The large proportion of Agriculture-Fields at Edinburgh mainly reflects one case rather than important differences in its rural contacts. It should also be noted that the Irish at Glasgow contributed a majority of weavers and Textiles (table 4.24(c)), suggesting that AD14 reflects the increasing influx of Irish to such work at west coast towns.

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<sup>25</sup> See A.J. Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1979), Murray, *Handloom Weavers*, and R. Rodger, 'Employment, wages and poverty in the Scottish cities 1841-1914', in G. Gordon (ed.), *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1985), pp. 25-63.

TABLE 4.24(b) Occupational groups questioned at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth

Occupational group	Edin.	Glas.	Perth	% Ed.	% Gl.	% Per.
Agric. - fields	9	4	1	8	1	1
Agric. - other	2	6	2	2	2	3
Farm servants	4	5	2	3	2	3
Labourers	7	21	4	6	7	6
Domestics	8	5	1	7	2	1
Servants	4	4	1	3	1	1
Commerce	8	18	2	7	6	3
Dress	6	25	2	5	8	3
Food & Lodging	6	9		5	3	
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	3	7	2	3	2	3
Hawkers	6	19	11	5	6	16
Minerals	4	17	1	3	5	1
Textiles	1	32	9	1	10	13
Weavers	8	51	4	7	16	6
Sailors	1	4	2	1	1	3
Soldiers	3	19	3	3	6	4
Professional	6	8	1	5	3	1
Other	11	22	6	9	7	9
Unknown	20	43	16	17	13	23
	117	319	70	100	101	100

TABLE 4.24(c) Occupations of Irish questioned at Glasgow

Occupational group	No.	Pct.
Agric. - other	1	1
Labourers	7	8
Commerce	2	2
Dress	5	6
Food & Lodging	1	1
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	1	1
Hawkers	8	10
Minerals	2	2
Textiles	11	13
Weavers	21	25
Soldiers	10	12
Professional	2	2
Other	6	7
Unknown	7	8
	84	98

The places of questioning of legal groups also show some differences though the focus here will be on theft suspects and witnessess (table 4.25(a)). The latter had a slightly higher percentage at cities and at unknown places, but a much lower percentage at towns. Such

differences are evident for both males and females though female theft suspects were also in greater proportion at rural places (tables 4.25(b) and (c)). This suggests at first glance that witnesses had a strong presence at cities but the high proportion of unknown places of questioning reduces the strength of this. It is further weakened by findings in chapter seven which show that witnesses had a strong rural focus to their mobility.

TABLE 4.25(a) Places of questioning: legal groups (%)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
State crimes	100					100	16
Public trade	32	46	11	9	1	99	74
Public peace	67	19	10	5		101	21
Judicial		18	65	18		101	17
Sexual	25	29	21	7	18	100	28
Violent	21	24	34	14	7	100	123
Misc. agt. person	25		75			100	4
Property-theft	34	33	25	3	5	100	437
Property-robbery	37	31	29		3	100	62
Fraud	31	29	36	2	2	100	42
Religion			100			100	1
Witnesses	38	23	21	5	14	101	427
							<u>1252</u>

TABLE 4.25(b) Places of questioning: males in legal groups (%)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Property-theft	36	32	25	2	5	100	359
Witnesses	41	19	22	6	12	100	251
							<u>931</u>

TABLE 4.25(c) Places of questioning: females in legal groups (%)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	unkn.	Pct.	Tot.
Property-theft	27	37	28	4	4	100	78
Witnesses	34	28	19	3	16	100	176
							<u>321</u>

The differences are even more evident in table 4.25(b) which shows the legal groups questioned at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth. The group of hawkers at Perth had a large influence on that town's high proportions of public trade crimes which amounted to over one-quarter of Perth's suspects. There appears to be a corresponding imbalance of witnesses at Perth as a result of this. The other groups are fairly even except for the high proportions of suspects of state crimes and of robberies at Glasgow. The former arose from several weavers there who were involved in the 'administration of unlawful oaths'.

TABLE 4.25(d) Legal groups of people questioned at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth

Legal group	Edin.	Glas.	Perth	% Ed.	% Gl.	% Per.
State crimes		16			5	
Public trade	6	18	14	5	6	20
Public peace	4	10		3	3	
Sexual	3	4	2	3	1	3
Violent	4	22	3	3	7	4
Misc. agt. person		1				
Property-theft	33	118	38	28	37	54
Property-robbery	1	22		1	7	
Fraud	5	8		4	3	
Witnesses	61	100	13	52	31	19
	117	319	70	99	103	100

#### 4.6 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the declarants from several perspectives, including their sex, age, nationality, nativity, occupation and legal status. It has stressed the diversity of the people in the sample taken from AD14 and has drawn out the differences between some of

the sizeable groups, such as Scots of both sexes and Irish men. Other groups, especially age and nativity, have proved less valuable for analysis yet remain important areas for discussion if only to show the limits of the precognitions for illustrating people's lives from these aspects. The relationships between the groups in the sample taken from AD14 are strong for some, particularly occupation and sex, but less so for others, especially nativity and age.

In review of some of the findings, it was suggested that there were important gender divisions within nationality, occupational and legal groups but not in age or nativity groups. There were slight age differences within nationality and nativity groups, and apparently within occupational and legal groups. It is unclear whether there were important nationality differences between nativity groups, primarily because most Irish declarants gave no specific place of birth beyond 'Ireland'. There were important nationality divisions within occupational and legal groups but it is unclear what processes were at work to produce the differences found in the sample. The opinions of sheriffs and fiscals regarding the Irish most likely played a part but there was probably also some influence from the sampling procedure and from the declarants' migratory decisions, particularly for the occupational groups. There were important occupational differences within all of the other groups but this was much less so

for nativity groups. The links between some occupations and nativity groups was apparent, such as for labourers who mostly came from rural places, but there were other occupations which had no ties to a particular sector. There were certainly strong links between several occupational groups and their legal groups, such as in the cases of farm servants and hawkers, but the reasons behind these are unclear. They point toward the need for further research on urban and rural crime, on crimes of public trade, violence and theft, and on the occupational divisions of witnesses. The study of this last group is hampered particularly by the little information which they provided.

Finally, the places of questioning show that there was some diversity between the geographies of particular groups. This applies primarily to the Irish and to some occupational and legal groups. Few strong comparisons can be made between particular places of questioning because of the low numbers. Nevertheless, the tables above regarding Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth suggest that each of these places had particular configurations of occupational and social groups, some of which accorded with expectations, as well as different types of crime. The brief examination here of these three places suggests that a wider remit is needed, one which looks at places of movement and the groups entering and leaving these cities and towns, as well as the areas around them.

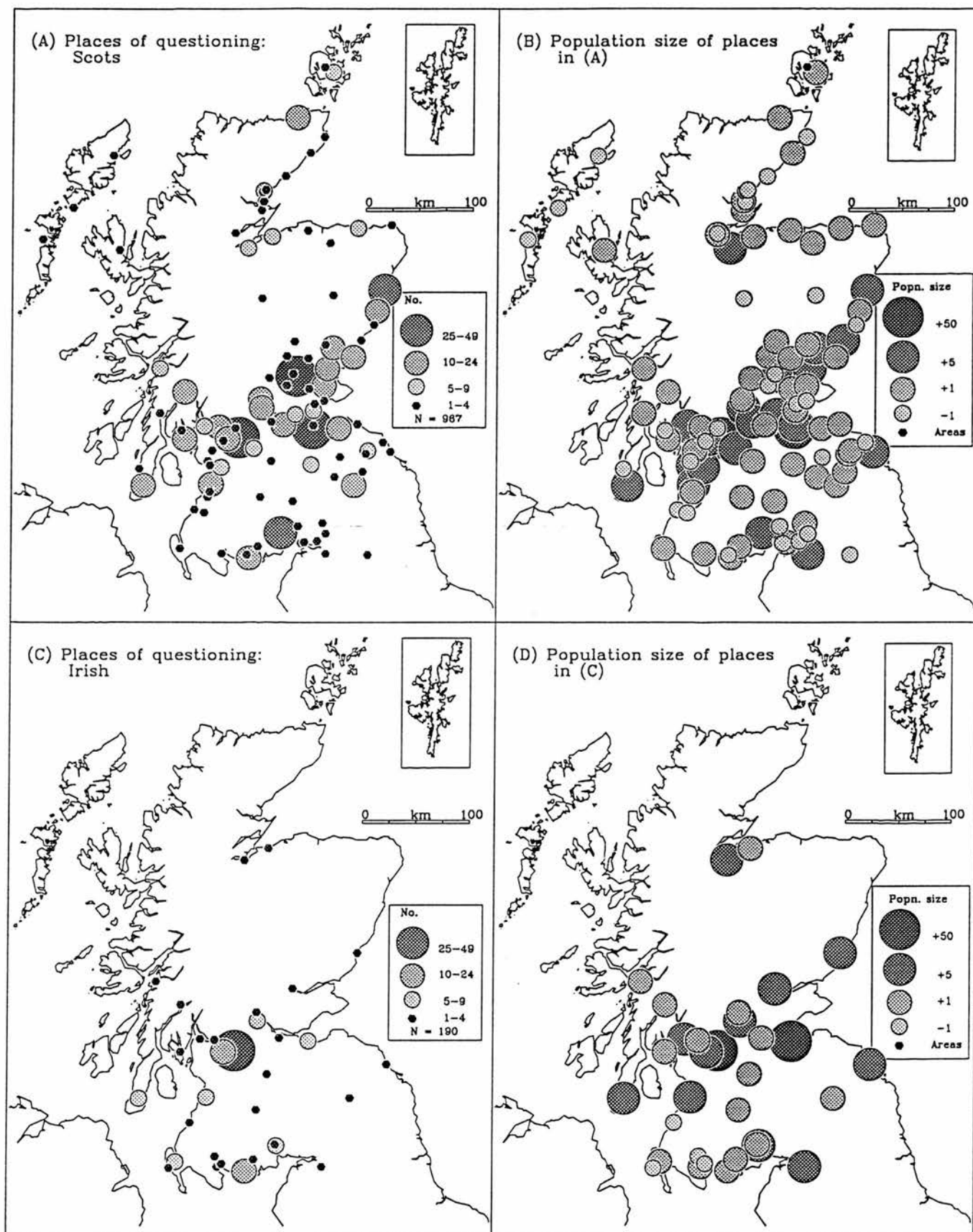


Fig. 4.1  
 Places of questioning of Scots and Irish (showing population size in 000s).



## CHAPTER 5

### *Geographical mobility: initial aspects*

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses three aspects of the declarants' mobility, namely the number of moves they made; the length of their stays at places; and the distances they travelled between locations. Movement between rural and urban places is examined in chapters seven and eight.

Recent work on Scottish mobility suggests that many people moved frequently throughout their lives and primarily over short distances. This apparently holds true for the early-modern period (c.1500-1800) as well as the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Such work has challenged the widely-held view that before the mid-nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup>R.A. Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: the evidence of testimonials', *J. Histl. Geog.* 11 (1985), pp. 79-94; I.D. Whyte, 'Population mobility in early modern Scotland', in Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, pp. 37-55; C.W.J. Withers and A.J. Watson, 'Stepwise migration and Highland migration to Glasgow, 1852-1898', *J. Histl. Geog.* 17 (1991), pp. 35-55.

century people moved rarely except to leave a rural home for a town. Some of the themes below concern these issues, namely that many of the declarants are known to have moved more than once; that some stayed at places for only short periods; and that many moved back and forth between cities and the countryside searching for work wherever their best chances lay. The complexity of the declarants' mobility, apparent in the tables below, indicates that generalisations are difficult to provide even from the experiences of several hundred individuals. Like the information in the previous chapter what is presented below provides a first step toward understanding the declarants' mobility as well as the likely experiences of much of the population of Scotland in the early 1800s. The precognitions cannot provide a definitive statement about the experiences of particular groups throughout Scotland (be they of gender, age or nationality) but they can be used to identify questions, and point toward complexities, which are not so apparent from other sources.

## 5.2 Amount of movement

The number of moves a group is known to have made primarily reflects the nature of the evidence of AD14 and only secondarily the actual level of mobility. Few studies of Scottish mobility have been able to look at this aspect of movement because of the intrinsic nature

of the sources available<sup>2</sup>; AD14 provides a rare look at the amount of movement but there are complications with the evidence. The number of moves of males and females among the declarants (table 5.1(a)) was slightly different, with males likely to state more moves; this is primarily because a greater proportion of women were witnesses, a group much less likely to provide personal information. The importance of AD14 for studying mobility is heightened by this table which shows that a large minority of migrant declarants provided details of two or more moves; this places it on par with the General Registers of the Poor for this type of information.<sup>3</sup> The differences between males and females were not great and it is likely that many people stated only one move because of the nature of their interrogations, rather than of their mobility. This is strengthened by table 5.1(b) which shows that a much greater proportion of male and female suspects stated three or more moves than did the declarants as a whole. This table also shows that male and female suspects were closer in their stated number of moves than were male

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<sup>2</sup> Two studies which have discussed the number of moves of migrants include R.A. Houston 'Frequent flitting': geographical mobility and social structure in mid-nineteenth century Greenlaw', *Scottish Studies* 27 (1983), pp. 31-47, and Withers and Watson, 'Stepwise migration'.

<sup>3</sup> Withers and Watson, 'Stepwise migration', and C.W.J. Withers, 'Poor relief in Scotland and the General Register of Poor', *The Local Historian* 17 (1986), pp. 19-29.

and female witnesses.

TABLE 5.1(a) No. of moves of males and females (%)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Female	61	19	14	6	100	321
Male	53	17	17	13	100	931
						<u>1252</u>

TABLE 5.1(b) No. of moves of male and female suspects (%ages)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Female	40	23	26	11	100	145
Male	44	18	21	17	100	680
						<u>825</u>

The number of moves of different age groups is found in table 5.2. The higher number for 21-25 year olds may well reflect that group's high proportion of suspects. This is mitigated by the fact that the 36+ group had a much higher percentage of witnesses while its number of moves was similar to those of the other age groups. However, this age group also had high proportions of labourers and hawkers, both of whom stated higher numbers of moves. It is possible that 9-15 year olds were moving more than other groups because of greater opportunities for and pressure to work. Yet it is more likely that many individuals in other groups did not state most of their moves but only their most recent or most important. This has implications for information coming from older declarants; these may have stated fewer places of childhood residence than actually occurred.

TABLE 5.2 No. of moves of age groups (%)

<u>Age group</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
9-15	50	16	21	13	100	62
16-20	53	15	19	13	100	165
21-25	46	17	22	15	100	123
26-35	55	15	16	14	100	110
36+	51	17	14	17	99	104
unkn	57	19	15	9	100	688
						<u>1252</u>

The Irish and Scottish in table 5.3 were also similar though a slightly higher percentage of Irish stated more than two moves; the main reason for this again lies in the higher proportion of suspects among the Irish.

TABLE 5.3 No. of moves of nationality groups (%)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Irish	51	14	21	14	100	195
Scottish	55	18	16	11	100	1021
						<u>1216</u>

Table 5.4 points toward more important differences between nativity groups' actual levels of mobility, yet it should be noted that these nativity groups were also dominated by suspects. There is an important distinction between natives of both large cities and small rural places (+50,000 and -1,000), on the one hand, and those of towns and large rural places (+5,000 and +1,000) on the other. These differences cannot be explained by their suspect:witness ratios. Only among the first two groups did high proportions state two or more moves while the latter groups gave an amount of information similar to the declarants in general. Despite the low numbers it is possible that differences

in mobility may have been between three groups rather than only the rural- and urban-born. Even more apparent in this table is the higher stated number of moves among natives of small rural places, with 42 per cent stating three or more moves. This is echoed in Houston's findings of high intra-rural mobility.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 5.4 *No. of moves of nativity groups (%)*

Native of	1	2	3-4	5+	Pct.	No.
+50,000	36	36	15	13	100	53
+5,000	48	21	20	11	100	71
+1,000	49	15	20	16	100	55
-1,000	33	24	18	24	99	82
areas	54	12	19	15	100	221
unknown	59	17	15	8	99	770
						<u>1252</u>

Such arguments are not mirrored in table 5.5 which shows that most declarants in occupations associated with rural areas stated few moves, with the exception of 'Agriculture - other' and, more importantly, labourers. The latter moved primarily to rural destinations and were one of the largest occupational groups among those born in small rural places. They also had one of the highest proportions of suspects while those of other rural occupations were much lower. Most groups who had high levels of mobility also had high proportions of suspects. This reinforces the idea that witnesses tended to be less mobile and thus more settled as residents than were suspects. This does not hold true

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<sup>4</sup> Houston, 'Geographical mobility'.

for weavers who also had a low percentage of witnesses and a low number of stated moves. This may be because a higher proportion of weavers were suspected of state crimes (usually administering unlawful oaths) and were thus reluctant to provide much personal information. Regardless of the reasons behind these differences this table makes clear that known levels of mobility were not similar between occupations and that the most important differences were primarily between legal groups and, secondarily between occupational groups. Hawkers particularly stand out here as showing the best example of a direct and obvious link between occupation and mobility: many hawkers stated several places of movement to which they tramped or where they sold goods.

TABLE 5.5 No. of moves of occupational groups (%)

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Agric. - fields	54	20	10	14	98	59
Agric. - other	42	19	26	13	100	31
Farm servants	70	19	4	7	100	54
Labourers	34	18	26	22	100	102
Domestics	62	15	19	4	100	26
Servants	60	15	17	8	100	48
Commerce	64	15	9	11	99	53
Dress	58	23	5	14	100	57
Food & Lodging	73	16	5	5	99	37
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	74	14	11		99	35
Hawkers	29	18	35	17	99	82
Minerals	36	23	21	19	99	47
Textiles	35	21	31	13	100	75
Weavers	58	16	14	12	100	92
Sailors	36	19	29	17	101	42
Soldiers	62	12	18	9	101	34
Professional	59	8	22	11	100	37
Other	58	18	13	11	100	104
Unknown	69	16	9	6	100	237
						<u>1252</u>

The importance of the interrogation process for

details of mobility is reinforced by table 5.6 which concerns the number of moves of legal groups. Each group is presented here to record the information, but it is clear that a few groups (notably Religious crimes) are not worthwhile for further analysis. Witnesses overwhelmingly stated few moves and this has affected many of the figures discussed above, for example, of women and many rural occupations. It should be noted again, though, that the higher percentage of witnesses among those born in small rural places (compared to those born elsewhere) did not affect that group's high recorded number of moves.

TABLE 5.6 No. of moves of legal groups (%)

<u>Legal group</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5+</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Public trade	35	27	23	15	100	74
Sexual	29	14	32	25	100	28
Violent	48	21	20	11	100	123
Property-theft	42	19	22	17	100	436
Property-robbery	26	18	31	26	101	62
Fraud	55	10	21	14	100	42
Witnesses	76	15	6	3	100	427
						<u>1192</u>

This table, along with the previous one regarding occupational groups, provides a useful tool for future work on AD14's mobility information. Particular groups among the migrants in AD14 were likely to provide more details of their mobility than others. While it is extremely likely that some groups had higher levels of mobility than others (e.g., labourers as opposed to those in Food and Lodging) there is no definitive way of proving this through AD14. Some of the figures point



toward a middle ground, somewhere between stated and actual levels of mobility, such as those found amongst the rural and urban born, and amongst some occupations. It is also likely that witnesses were much more rooted than were suspects. This line of reasoning has been taken further to suggest that increasing levels of mobility, particularly rural-urban movements, led to a real increase of crime in early modern Scotland.<sup>5</sup> Yet it must be stressed that such possibilities, dependent as they are on contemporary processes of investigation, interrogation and imputation, remain only possibilities and point toward the need for further research on Scottish crime and criminal procedure.

### 5.3 Length of stay

A second and much sought after indicator of mobility is the average amount of time a group stayed at places between moves. This, when linked with a group's amount of movement, is likely to help measure the degree of its transiency or stability. Few sources on Scottish mobility provide this information, and while AD14 is one of these it ultimately disappoints in its scantiness of detail. Table 5.7 shows the known lengths of stay of the declarants by their sex. The most important figures here are the low percentages of instances where the

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<sup>5</sup> B. Lenman and G. Parker, 'Crime and control in Scotland: 1500-1800', *History Today* 30 (1980), pp. 13-17.

length of stay is known: less than one-quarter of all the places of stay had an associated time period, and the number of declarants who stated such information is less than one-half of all declarants. For these reasons the information from AD14 regarding time is of minimal value and it is examined here only through three tables.

TABLE 5.7 Length of stay (months) of males and females (%)

Sex	<=1	+1 -6	+6 -12	+12 -24	+24	Pct. known	No. of months	No. of indivs.
Female	21	34	10	8	27	24	221	136
Male	18	28	12	13	29	23	743	421
							964	557

The first table (5.7) does, nevertheless, suggest some important points about AD14. Altogether the possible number of stays for females is 523, and for males is 1864. (The places under discussion do not include those stopped at during travelling but do include those where work was sought as well as those to which hawkers tramped in the course of their selling.) If, for the sake of convenience, a dividing line is made between stays of 24 or fewer months and stays longer than 24 months, then about 70 per cent of all recorded stays were less than or equal to two years. Even if all other stays whose time periods are unrecorded were over two years (an unlikely event) this would still leave well over one-quarter of all stays at less than or equal to two years. Likewise almost one-fifth of all stays would be 12 months or less. Such figures indicate that

at least a large minority of stays were short-term, supporting Houston's work on eighteenth-century Lowland Scotland.<sup>6</sup> As suggested above, the information which usually arises in the declarants' statements concerns their most recent movement, despite the fact that almost 40 per cent of the declarants stated their place of upbringing (21 per cent if 'areas' are not included). This complicates the source's study since all movements are considered equal in these tables, from those involving a brief search for work, to fairly permanent residencies.

A second table (5.8) exhibits the same problems of low proportions of (1) declarants who stated information about time and of (2) the stays for which the information is known (as low as eight per cent for sailors). Despite this several figures stand out and are worth considering. Both farm servants and servants had higher than usual percentages of stays between one and six months, supporting the findings of Houston and othave found servants' timings of mobility centering on Whitsunday and Martinmas. The duration of their services, particularly those of unmarried servants was also frequently limited to six months.<sup>7</sup> Yet there were other groups which apparently moved frequently

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<sup>6</sup> Houston, 'Geographical mobility', p. 385.

<sup>7</sup> M. Gray, 'Scottish emigration: the social impact of agrarian change on the rural Lowlands', *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973), p. 161.

(e.g., Domestics, Minerals and sailors) for which little information is available to link them with periodic moves similar to farm servants. In addition, those groups which seemed to stay longest differed considerably in their occupations and supposed outlook. This is particularly so for weavers and hawkers, both of whom had higher than usual proportions of stays over two years.

TABLE 5.8 Length of stay (months) of occupational groups (%)

Occupational group	<=1	+1	+6	+12		Pct. known	No. of months	No. of indivs.
		-6	-12	-24	+24			
Agric. - fields	20	29	15	14	22	30	59	25
Agric. - other	10	23	13	19	35	29	31	16
Farm servants	20	52	8	10	10	29	50	25
Labourers	20	32	11	12	25	27	114	60
Domestics	4	38	21	17	21	34	24	15
Servants	19	42	8	3	28	23	36	20
Commerce	17	23	13	20	27	19	30	22
Dress	26	21	14	9	30	25	43	29
Food & Lodging	9	23	23	9	36	22	22	15
Gen. Dls. Labrs.	10	38	5	10	38	25	21	14
Hawkers	26	18	8	8	40	18	62	34
Minerals	13	42	8	8	29	22	38	22
Textiles	13	28	11	14	34	28	76	41
Weavers	10	27	14	10	39	37	108	58
Sailors	43	14		21	21	8	14	14
Soldiers	19	38	6	19	19	16	16	10
Professional	15	25	25	10	25	16	20	13
Other	17	37	7	17	23	19	60	41
Unknown	29	25	9	7	29	20	140	83
							964	557

Table 5.9 also provides a surprising view of the declarants' mobility, particularly because of differences which were identified earlier between legal groups. Only five are discussed here but it must be noted again that some were dominated by particular social and occupational groups (e.g., public trade

crimes by hawkers). Theft suspects and witnesses show remarkable similarities in their lengths of stay. This tends to weaken earlier suggestions of differences in their rootedness to place, yet the low numbers again limit the extent of such conclusions.

TABLE 5.9 Length of stay (months) of legal groups (%)

Legal group	<=1	+1	+6	+12		Pct. known	No. of months	No. of indivs.
		-6	-12	-24	+24			
Public trade	20	16	17	10	36	33	88	48
Violent	15	35	11	19	20	22	96	56
Property-theft	21	30	8	10	30	23	374	215
Property-robbery	19	30	14	13	23	32	90	45
Witnesses	19	31	14	9	26	19	194	134
							<u>842</u>	<u>498</u>

#### 5.4 Distance

Measurements of distance are usually found in empirical studies of migration but they are often used in conjunction with a gravity model or with the same assumptions as gravity models, particularly that of an isotropic plain.<sup>8</sup> There is general agreement that, at the macro-scale, the amount of migration to a destination is directly related to its population size and inversely related to its distance from any particular origin. Such a statement is at times a helpful starting point when examining migratory systems within a country; it reminds us first that migrants

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<sup>8</sup> See J.A. Ingram, 'Geographical Mobility in Angus c1780 - c1830: Modernisation and Motivation' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1992) for the development of a gravity model for early nineteenth-century Angus.

produce links between almost all areas within a country; and secondly, that movement is never in only one direction, that for every flow of migrants from one town or region to another there is usually another flow going the other way.<sup>9</sup> Such models help overcome the images of maps which use arrows to represent net-migration from one region to another.<sup>10</sup> However, they do not help explain the process of migration at an individual or even small group level particularly since the assumed isotropic plain does not consider an individual's, or a group's, physical, social or economic geography except in the simple terms allowed by what can be measured, such as wage levels. Thus the use of distance as an 'explanatory variable' has been criticised by those who argue that ideas of space need to include, but should not be restricted to, the physical.<sup>11</sup>

Lee also attempts to develop theoretical solutions to some of these problems by introducing the idea of 'intervening opportunities'<sup>12</sup>; these include, among other things, the choice of two or more destinations when leaving a place. The choices behind arriving in

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<sup>9</sup> See E.G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *J. Royal Stat. Soc.* 48 (1885), pp. 167-227, and 52 (1889), 241-301.

<sup>10</sup> R.H. Osborne, 'The movement of people in Scotland, 1851-1951', *Scott. Geog. Mag.* 74 (1958), pp. 1-46.

<sup>11</sup> A.C. Gatrell, *Distance and Space: A Geographical Perspective* (Oxford, 1983), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Lee, 'A theory of migration'.

one place versus another are linked to many factors such as information networks, a place's appeal (in financial or aesthetic terms), and the likelihood of arriving with enough money or support to stay there. The choices behind any one migration are rarely evident in historical sources and even in AD14 they arise only occasionally. Because little is known about a person's move the simplest response has been to measure the distance between the two places involved and to then use that distance (or averages of many individuals' distances) as a surrogate for other types of distances, particularly social and economic ones. For example, studies of Scottish migration use distance measurements as illustrations of labour markets<sup>13</sup>, 'general levels of mobility within a society'<sup>14</sup>, and the level of social interaction between geographical sectors.<sup>15</sup>

Migrants' social distance concerns the constraints enforced by institutions (such as families and kirks which kept their members close to 'home') or by individuals on themselves (such as in a person's attachment to a place); but social distance also

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<sup>13</sup> D.G. Lockhart, 'Migration to planned villages in Scotland between 1725 and 1850, *Scott. Geog. Mag.* 102 (1986), pp. 165-80.

<sup>14</sup> I.D. Whyte, 'Marriage and mobility in East Lothian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Trans. East Lothian Antiq. and Field Naturalists' Soc.* 19 (1987), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Whyte and Whyte, 'The geographical mobility of women'.

includes the connections which these same institutions and individuals encouraged (such as families or communities who sent their children to live with a relative or to get married).<sup>16</sup> Migrants' 'economic distance', on the other hand, relates to traditional ideas about the range of a commodity or service, the latter being associated with how far a person has to go to sell his or her labour; but it also has to do with the types of places a person in a particular occupation can work. For example, the sailors in AD14 moved between ports and thus travelled longer distances than did servants moving between farms.

Three problems immediately arise with these ideas about distance and space. The first concerns the knowledge which migrants had of a destination; family ties, work opportunities, and the appeal of particular places were not dispersed evenly across Scotland. One example of this is the long-distance migrations characteristic of skilled workers in England and the tradition of temporary harvest migration from the

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<sup>16</sup> A.G. Macpherson, 'Migration fields in a traditional Highland community, 1350-1850', *J. Histl. Geog.* 10 (1984), pp. 1-14.



northwest Highlands to the Lothians.<sup>17</sup> Both of these groups had 'intervening opportunities' but only if they left their particular type of work; despite their very different circumstances they can be contrasted with servants who moved over short distances and predominantly stayed within a local area whenever possible. Thus the distances people travelled, and the spaces they created in their lives through daily and periodic mobility, differed between social and economic groups on the basis of many decisions and influences, not simply the 'friction' of physical distance.

A second and related problem is the difficulty in separating these types of distance. Economic distance probably played the most important part through people's need to support themselves and their households, but it is impossible to separate decisions influenced by economic needs from those influenced by social relations or cultural frameworks.

A third problem with traditional types of distance is their blindness to regional aspects of mobility. Different areas of Scotland had different labour needs and different information networks which produced

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<sup>17</sup> For the former, see H.R. Southall, 'The tramping artisan revisits: labour mobility and economic distress in early Victorian England', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 44 (1991), pp. 272-96. For the latter, see T.M. Devine, 'Temporary migration and the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth century', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 32 (1979), pp. 344-59, and C.W.J. Withers, 'Highland-Lowland migration and the making of the crofting community, 1755-1891', *Scott. Geog. Mag.* 103 (1987), pp. 76-83.

particular mobility patterns. For example, the economy and social structure of the South West differed considerably from that of the North East; yet when migration distance is considered for most studies such regional influences are often ignored.<sup>18</sup>

For this section's purposes this last problem cannot be addressed fully; a disaggregated analysis of regions will not be attempted here, primarily because of the lack of sufficient information from AD14. The declarants' distances are separated instead solely by their social and occupational groups. Regional differences, however, are studied in chapter eight. The previous two problems regarding distance raise more abstract problems of definition: what exactly do the distances travelled from one place to another mean? How does this meaning change for different groups? How did individuals interpret their distances? (For example, were they trying to maximise or minimise their distance

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<sup>18</sup> One study which attempts to incorporate regions (in the broadest possible meaning of the term) is A.A. Lovett, I.D. Whyte and K.A. Whyte, 'Poisson regression analysis and migration fields: the example of the apprenticeship records of Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.* N.S. 10 (1985), pp. 317-32. See also J. Doherty, 'Urbanization, capital accumulation, and class struggle in Scotland, 1750-1914', in G. Whittington and I.D. Whyte, *An Historical Geography of Scotland* (London, 1983), pp. 239-67) for an explicit exposition of the links between regional economies and urbanization.

from their origins?<sup>19</sup>) It is clear that no single answer regarding distance will suffice nor can a fully clear picture be built up from a few people within each group who were vocal about their mobility experiences. This section thus aims to describe some of the differences between groups' distances travelled, with the qualification that there is no one meaning of distance which can apply to all individuals or groups. In the most general terms distance reflects the range of the area which a person knew and in which he or she acted. Yet in saying this it must be noted that the act of moving increases the range of the known;<sup>20</sup> thus the likelihood of placing firm boundaries on people's lives is continually (and, some would argue, beneficially) thwarted.

The tables below concern distance measured between two points on the Ordnance Survey national grid, and most of these are related to particular places mentioned in AD14; a few are 'areas' such as parishes and counties.<sup>21</sup> Most distances here thus circumvent the problem of other studies which use parish kirks or county centroids as the basis of measurement; yet

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<sup>19</sup> See R.D. Lobban, 'The migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland, c.1750-1850, with particular reference to Greenock' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970).

<sup>20</sup> See E.H. Hunt, *British Labour History, 1815-1914* (London, 1981), p. 155.

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion of places in section 4.2 for further details of 'areas'.

straight-line distance, whether between centroids or actual places, still fails to represent adequately the travels of migrants from one place to another. They are a second-best, but necessary, option as there is not enough information about declarants' routes to carry out a full comparison. The distances moved are between places whose locations are known so it is possible that the movements between three places will be measured between the first and third places if the second has not been found. The average distances in the tables below do not include those which show no movement such as when the first and third places were the same and the second was not found; such situations, however, account for only 2.4 per cent of all possibly measured moves. The places not found have not occurred randomly as most were in the countryside. This will likely decrease the number of short-distance and inter-rural moves but may also affect any comparisons between groups which predominantly moved between particular types of places, such as farm servants moving between small rural places and soldiers moving between towns.

The groups which are discussed below concern gender, age, nationality, nativity and occupation. Legal groups are discussed but it must be remembered that there was comparatively little movement in AD14 directly related to crime, and that when a direct link was mentioned it had more to do with absconding from authorities rather than going somewhere to commit a

crime. There are some differences between suspect groups but these are tied more to gender and occupation than to any mobility arising from suspected crimes. Because of this, separating the declarants by their suspected crimes is not believed to be a useful way of understanding their experiences of mobility. Nevertheless, theft suspects and witnesses will continue to be analysed.

The distances of moves by males and females (tables 5.10(a) and (b)) differed considerably as might be expected from Ravenstein's laws and recent studies.<sup>22</sup> Both sexes' mean distances were inflated by long-distance moves yet the median distances suggest an even greater average disparity between their movement, with half of female moves under 26 km.<sup>23</sup>

TABLE 5.10(a) Average distances (km) travelled by males and females (includes all locations)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
Female	23	61	523	298
Male	49	92	1864	876
			2387	1174

<sup>22</sup> Whyte, 'Marriage and mobility'; I.D. Whyte and K.A. Whyte, 'Mobility of women'; and idem., 'Patterns of migration of apprentices into Aberdeen and Inverness during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Scott. Geog. Mag.* 102 (1986), pp. 81-92.

<sup>23</sup> For the purposes of measurement, the 'area' of Ireland is placed on the north coast of the island at the point closest to Scotland.

TABLE 5.10(b) Distance (km) travelled by males and females (%) (includes all locations)

Sex	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
Female	5	25	25	13	14	18	22
Male	2	11	19	19	21	27	78
							<u>100</u>

It is likely that long-distance moves continue to inflate these figures; thus distances involving only places within Scotland and the north of England are considered in tables 5.10(c) and (d). These exclude all locations in Ireland and most in England. This has narrowed the difference between the distances of males and females particularly by halving the proportion of males' moves over 100 km. There is still a substantial difference between the sexes which supports findings in other studies about the range of men's and women's mobility.

TABLE 5.10(c) Average distances (km) travelled by males and females (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
Female	20	40	467	269
Male	35	53	1523	733
			<u>1990</u>	<u>1002</u>

TABLE 5.10(d) Distance (km) travelled by males and females (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
Female	5	28	28	14	15	10	24
Male	3	14	23	23	24	14	76
							<u>100</u>

The distances of Scottish and Irish declarants

(tables 5.11(a) and (b)) show a similar trend with over 50 per cent of the Irish moving over 100 km when all locations are included. Relatively few Scots moved such distances suggesting that few are known to have moved outwith Scotland to Ireland or England (these measurements do not include overseas movements). While almost all Irish declarants are found in these two tables less than half appear in tables 5.11(c) and (d) where all Irish and most English locations are not considered. As such, these two tables provide insight into Irish mobility within Scotland but not into their overall mobility. Nevertheless, the movements of the Irish within Scotland were still wider ranging than those of Scots. This is not too surprising if it is assumed that Scots had more closely knit social networks for information about work opportunities, and that Scots would thus have been more closely tied down to local and regional economies. What is surprising instead is that the Irish had such a similar proportion of moves less than 26 km, suggesting that some Irish were more settled into local areas than were others. Yet when the occupations of the Irish who made short- and long-distance moves are compared (table 5.11(e)) there is little difference in their proportions. There is a slightly higher percentage of long-distance moves among Textiles and weavers, and of short-distance moves among labourers and Minerals. Yet table 5.11(e) suggests that most Irish groups participated in both short- and long-

distance moves in comparable proportions.

TABLE 5.11(a) Average distances (km) travelled by nationality groups (includes all locations)

Nationality	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
Irish	113	144	439	193
Scottish	34	68	1895	951
			2334	1144

TABLE 5.11(b) Distance (km) travelled by nationality groups (%) (includes all locations)

Nationality	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
Irish	2	6	12	10	18	52	18
Scottish	3	17	22	20	20	18	80
							98

TABLE 5.11(c) Average distances (km) travelled by nationality groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Nationality	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
Irish	40	48	202	84
Scottish	31	49	1762	903
			1964	987

TABLE 5.11(d) Distance (km) travelled by nationality groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Nationality	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
Irish	4	12	25	19	30	10	10
Scottish	4	18	24	21	21	13	89
							99



TABLE 5.11(e) Occupational groups of Irish short- and long-distance movers (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Occupational group	1-25 km	51+ km
Agric. - fields		2
Agric. - other	3	5
Farm servants	3	
Labourers	23	15
Commerce	1	1
Dress	3	2
Hawkers	19	18
Minerals	9	2
Textiles	10	19
Weavers	18	23
Sailors		1
Soldiers	1	1
Professional		2
Unknown	10	7
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
no.	78	84

The remaining tables in this section continue to exclude all locations in Ireland and most in England. Despite the loss of many Irish declarants from the figures it is more pertinent to this study of a Scottish source to examine its strongest aspects.

Age groups (table 5.12(a)) were extremely similar in their average distances, except for the 21-25 year olds who had a high median distance which is likely to have come from its higher proportion of males, except for the 'unknown' age group which had a low median distance and a low proportion of males. Each group's percentages in the disaggregated columns of distance (table 5.12(b)) show much diversity, particularly within the 10-25 km range. However, the proportion of each group travelling under 26 km is fairly close; the range from 36-43 per cent here suggests that age had little to

do with the declarants' range of mobility. This is surprising as it implies that the youngest groups went as far afield as those traditionally thought of as the most economically productive, i.e., the 21-35 year olds. Thus 'children' may have been as enmeshed in economic production and trade as much as their elders. Much of this could be attributed to their different occupations. A large percentage of young people were in occupations which led to more long-distance moves, particularly sailors. This is shown in the occupations of 9-15 year olds moving over short and long distances (table 5.12(c)). There is a greater difference between the proportion of agricultural occupations, and Textiles and weavers, which shows that almost all children in these groups moved over a short range. The greatest difference is between sailors while young hawkers moved almost equally over short and long distances.

TABLE 5.12(a) Average distances (km) travelled by age groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Age group	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
9-15	37	54	127	54
16-20	33	50	300	138
21-25	43	59	183	87
26-35	36	53	164	83
36+	36	56	189	78
unkn	29	46	1027	562
			1990	1002

TABLE 5.12(b) Distance (km) travelled by age groups (%)  
(excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Age group	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
9-15	2	22	17	22	23	13	6
16-20	3	13	30	19	23	13	15
21-25	4	10	26	16	25	18	9
26-35	4	20	16	23	21	16	8
36+	4	13	27	15	26	16	10
unkn	4	19	23	22	20	11	52
							100

TABLE 5.12(c) Occupational groups of short- and long-distance movers (%) among 9-15 year olds  
(excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Occupational group	1-25 km	51+ km
Agric. - other	2	
Farm servants	6	
Domestics	4	
Dress	6	9
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.		2
Hawkers	18	23
Minerals	6	4
Textiles	12	2
Weavers	12	4
Sailors	8	19
Other	6	11
Unknown	22	26
	100	100
no. of moves	51	47

The distances of nativity groups (tables 5.13(a), (b) and (c)) also show strong similarities with one another, except for the slightly higher averages of natives of urban places. Natives of cities (+50,000) had a high male:female ratio, while those of towns (+5,000) had a high Irish:Scottish ratio; both of these slightly inflate the figures. Table 5.13(b) shows the distances travelled by native Scots. It illustrates the extent to which the Irish moving over long distances had affected the figures in table 5.13(a). There is here a

decrease in the median distance of natives of towns (+5,000), but not of those born in cities since there were no Irish cities with large populations in 1821. Scottish natives of small rural places (-1,000) had a slightly higher median distance but Scots from 'areas' had a lower one. Thus the evidence for natives of rural places is inconclusive, especially when compared to that for natives of towns. The distribution of distances amongst native groups (table 5.13(c)) shows urban natives travelling the farthest, with over 50 per cent of the moves of those born in cities and towns being over 50 km. Those born in 'areas' also had a high proportion of long-distance moves which was expected since most declarants in this category were Irish who, more often than Scots, moved to urban places. Yet the other two rural groups were not that different with well over one-third of their moves also being over 50 km. This suggests that ideas regarding the frequent but short-distance moves of 'rural' people need to account for substantial proportions of longer distances than expected. It also suggests, more importantly, that the assumed local and regional networks of the rural born may have been only part of their social and economic world, with many having contacts in places further afield such as cities and other rural places beyond their immediate county or physical geographical region.

TABLE 5.13(a) Average distances (km) travelled by nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
+50,000	54	52	79	40
+5,000	76	91	110	56
+1,000	40	56	92	48
-1,000	41	64	173	72
areas	41	57	294	120
unknown	26	42	1242	666
			1990	1002

TABLE 5.13(b) Distances (km) travelled by Scots in nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	med.	no. of moves
+50,000	54	72
+5,000	64	94
+1,000	41	80
-1,000	47	147
areas	37	138
		531

TABLE 5.13(c) Distance (km) travelled by nativity groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	0	1-9	10-25	26-50	51-100	+100	Pct. of total
+50,000	5	8	22	13	43	8	4
+5,000	2	4	20	16	27	32	5
+1,000	4	9	23	27	18	19	5
-1,000	4	12	19	23	19	22	9
areas	3	11	24	20	28	15	15
unknown	4	22	25	21	19	9	62
							100

The distances which occupational groups travelled (tables 5.14(a) and (b)) show clearer differences between the declarants than any of the other previous tables, yet these differences are not easily explained. Those with short-distance moves were primarily in agricultural work or service, the latter being dominated by women. Yet Food and Lodging, and General Dealers and

Labourers, also had low average distances for no apparent social or economic reason. Groups with the highest averages include some which were expected (such as sailors, soldiers and Professionals); yet the group 'Agriculture - other' also had a median of 69 km, far beyond any other agricultural group. The second table here dovetails with the first as these latter groups with high medians also had high proportions of movement over 50 km; and the same groups which had low medians also had higher proportions of moves under 10 km. Much of this is expected as people in rural occupations would have a close-knit range of contacts and opportunities for their work while sailors, soldiers and Professionals were forced to go further afield through the nature of their work. Other diverse groups such as labourers, Commerce and hawkers each had large proportions of their moves in the middle range of 10-50 km. This suggests that the straightforward distinction between long- and short-distance movers may need to accommodate a third middle group, made up of those who did not necessarily go far afield for their work but who had wider spatial options than those in extremely local occupations.

TABLE 5.14(a) Average distances (km) travelled by occupational groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Occupational group	Med.	Mean	No. of moves	No. of indivs.
Agric. - fields	17	34	120	56
Agric. - other	69	72	54	26
Farm servants	25	39	90	44
Labourers	35	50	206	80
Domestics	21	37	37	23
Servants	17	34	88	41
Commerce	41	52	83	48
Dress	29	46	85	42
Food & Lodging	21	48	45	33
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	21	41	42	32
Hawkers	40	51	193	72
Minerals	41	46	98	42
Textiles	33	51	154	65
Weavers	35	43	133	64
Sailors	79	100	67	34
Soldiers	71	75	26	12
Professional	52	57	50	28
Other	36	46	158	88
Unknown	27	43	333	206
			2062	1036

TABLE 5.14(b) Distance (km) travelled by occupational groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Occupational group	0	1	10	26	51		Pct. of total
Agric.-fields	3	30	31	14	15	7	6
Agric.-other	2	15	15	9	30	30	3
Farm servants	1	30	21	20	17	11	4
Labourers	1	15	25	28	16	15	10
Domestics	3	35	27	14	14	8	2
Servants	1	32	31	15	15	7	4
Commerce	1	10	25	27	24	13	4
Dress	6	9	28	20	26	11	4
Food & Lodging	9	22	27	9	18	16	2
Gen. Dls. Lbrs.		19	29	26	19	7	2
Hawkers	1	10	24	24	30	11	9
Minerals	4	15	15	28	28	10	5
Textiles		21	25	14	27	14	7
Weavers	6	11	24	21	28	10	6
Sailors	4	6	18	13	22	36	3
Soldiers		12	15	8	31	35	1
Professional	6	8	8	26	42	10	2
Other	6	11	23	27	22	11	8
Unknown	7	19	25	20	17	12	16
							100

Many of the differences examined above are likely to have influenced the distances of legal groups (tables 5.15(a) and (b)). These show a substantial distinction between witnesses and suspects of property crimes. (It should be noted again that movements in which no distance was measured (e.g., six per cent for witnesses in table 5.15(b)) were not considered in calculations of average distances.) These differences are likely to have been influenced by the stronger presence of groups among witnesses and suspects who moved shorter or longer distances. For example, witnesses had a high proportion of farm servants and females, both of whom tended to move over short distances. Yet there were also differences between the legal groups within these social and occupational groups, suggesting that suspects (particularly of property crimes) consistently moved farther than witnesses. Thus these differences between legal groups are greater than can be explained through the movements of their particular sub-groups.

TABLE 5.15(a) Average distances (km) travelled by legal groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

<u>Legal group</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No. of moves</u>	<u>No. of indivs.</u>
Public trade	36	52	133	63
Violent	28	46	209	90
Property-theft	35	52	863	379
Property-robbery	39	50	146	52
Witnesses	26	42	460	341
			1811	925



TABLE 5.15(b) Distance (km) travelled by legal groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Declarant group	0	1 -9	10 -25	26 -50	51 -100	+100	Pct. of total
Public trade	1	17	18	22	31	12	6
Violent	3	20	24	23	19	11	10
Property-theft	3	13	26	20	24	15	42
Property-robbery	3	12	21	25	25	13	7
Witnesses	6	25	22	20	16	11	<u>22</u>
							<u>87</u>

Other tables below show further some of the differences between the distances travelled by males and females, and by Scots and the Irish. They illustrate the extent to which the information from AD14 can be disaggregated for migrants in this period. Table 5.16 shows much greater differences between age groups than was found earlier, especially between those older and younger than 20 years of age. The distances of 9-25 year olds in table 5.12(a) certainly were influenced by the high proportion of those groups' males, but table 5.16 also shows that the females in the 21-25 group also had a high median distance. This suggests that this last group, and the 26-35 year olds who had similar distances, were ranging somewhat farther than the younger groups. Those older than 35 showed no clear links with such trends: males in this group apparently moved farther (on average) than those in other age groups, and females in this group moved the second least distance of all the sex-age groups. It is difficult to say why the females had such differences as few gave their occupation as well as their age, and because the

number in each age group is so low. There may also be hidden reasons such as raising children which influenced their distances. Among the males there is again a high percentage of hawkers in the 36+ age group which here accounts for its high median average.

TABLE 5.16 Average distances (km) travelled by age groups (males and females) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Age group	Med. males	Med. fems.	No. of moves males	No. of moves males	No. of moves fems.	No. of moves fems.
9-15	46	6	109	44	18	10
16-20	35	17	236	108	64	30
21-25	47	25	149	72	34	15
26-35	45	22	122	61	42	22
36+	50	13	155	61	34	17
unkn	32	21	752	387	275	175
			1523	733	467	269

The distances of males and females among the Scots and Irish can be mentioned briefly as there is little change from the median distances of nationalities in general (table 5.17). The low number of females among the Irish precludes any comparison of their distances with Scottish females. The median distance of Scottish men is close to that of Irish men, suggesting that within Scotland the two nationalities' ranges of mobility differed very little.

TABLE 5.17 Average distances (km) travelled by nationality groups (males and females) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Declarant group	Med. males	Med. fems.	No. of moves males	No. of moves males	No. of moves fems.	No. of moves fems.
Irish	41	18	180	71	22	13
Scottish	35	20	1323	651	439	252
			1503	722	461	265

This is apparently not the case when median distances are compared for nationalities within occupational groups (table 5.18). Only four occupational groups are considered here as all others had fewer than 20 moves. Both labourers and hawkers moved over comparable distances but Textiles and weavers show considerable differences as the Irish in both cases moved much further on average. There is no readily apparent reason in group terms for these average distances. The movements between urban and rural places of nationality groups among textile groups show no clear trend either. The Irish in Textiles did move to more urban destinations than did the Scots, in which case longer distances would be expected; yet the Irish and Scottish weavers had similar proportions moving to urban and rural places.

TABLE 5.18 Average distances (km) travelled by occupational groups (Irish and Scots) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Occupational group	Med.	Med.	No.	No.	No.	No.
	Scots	Irish	moves	indvs.	moves	indvs.
			Sc.	Sc.	Ir.	Ir.
Labourers	33	36	158	59	42	19
Hawkers	40	41	142	53	45	17
Textiles	29	61	129	55	25	10
Weavers	33	51	88	48	37	14
			517	215	149	60

One final table shows the median distances of theft suspects and witnesses by their sex (table 5.19(a)). It suggests that the differences between these groups was true for both males and females. Such differences were

not found so strongly in other groups, and this may further suggest that both males and females who were suspected of theft were indeed ranging farther than their counterparts who were witnesses. It is not possible to compare these ideas with Sewell's study of Marseille because he does not examine the mobility of witnesses.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, they may tie in with his argument that theft suspects were often 'marginal migrants', that is, their ranges of movement reflected fewer 'intervening opportunities' from family or occupational support networks. This would need further research to support such an argument, particularly because the lengths of stay for theft suspects and witnesses were very similar (suggesting the former were no more transient), and because the median distances here are not hugely different. The differences in this table are most important for what they reveal about women's ranges since the difference is greatest between female suspects and witnesses. These differences are difficult to ascribe to occupational differences because of the low numbers of women in each legal group for whom occupations are known (table 5.19(b)).

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<sup>24</sup> W.H. Sewell, Jr., *Structure and Mobility: the men and women of Marseille, 1820-1870* (Cambridge, 1985), ch. 7.

TABLE 5.19(a) Average distances (km) travelled by legal groups (males and females) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Legal groups	Med.	Med.	No.	No.	No.	No.
	males	fems.	moves	males	fems.	fems.
Property-theft	36	29	698	303	143	67
Witnesses	30	18	249	181	183	141
			947	484	326	208

TABLE 5.19(b) Occupational groups of female suspects and witnesses (%)

Occupational group	sexual	violent	theft	witnesses
Agric. - fields	7	7		5
Agric. - others				1
Farm servants	21	21		12
Domestics	7	7	4	6
Servants	7	21	5	11
Dress		4	4	1
Food & Lodging		4	3	4
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	7	4		1
Hawkers			5	
Minerals				2
Textiles			12	2
Professional				1
Other	7		6	3
Unknown	43	32	62	53
	100	100	100	100
no.	14	28	78	176

## 5.5 Conclusions

The tables above regarding the declarants' numbers of moves, lengths of stay and distances travelled, show clear differences in the mobility of some groups, notably males and females, legal groups, and some occupational groups. Within Scotland the distances of nationalities differed insignificantly (except for some occupations) while nativity groups were divided between the longer-distance moves of the town-born and the shorter-distance moves of the rural-born. Males within

age groups were also divided between those younger and older than 20, with the latter moving further on average. The reasons for these differences have been explored as far as possible but one further indicator of mobility experience remains to be discussed more fully: the interaction between rural and urban places. This is done in chapter seven. Before this analysis is carried out, chapter six examines a variety of literature which touches on several of the themes raised in this and the previous chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### *Regions and mobility*

#### 6.1 Introduction

The last two chapters have set out in some detail the information from AD14 regarding the declarants and their mobility, as well as the constraints in using such information. This chapter sets out to place their mobility in the context of current ideas concerning regional production and identity. Much of the discussion centres on efforts to understand and create meanings about regions (both abstract and concrete) and how those meanings can be studied through mobility. Many of these themes are also echoed in the declarants' statements; thus this chapter argues that an examination of this literature provides a helpful context for discovering what the declarants' mobility patterns and processes may mean. It also argues that there are limitations to applying such ideas to the declarants' information.

The chapter begins by examining new strands of

thought concerning regional geography, particularly those which are linked to the ways people create regions. This is especially pertinent to the declarants' mobility which was often of an impermanent nature and relied on family and other social networks. Following this is a discussion of recent debates in historical geography over the production of regions, and regional identities, in the midst of industrialization, and through the mechanism of mobility. The last section focuses on two issues, namely how Scottish regions have been discussed, and how mobility between rural and urban places may have contributed to the production of regional identities.

## 6.2 Traditional and reconstructed regional geographies

Many of Scotland's regional and local differences are well known. These include the geological distinctions between the Highlands, the central belt and the Southern Uplands, as well as the differences in language and dialect throughout the country. Within a relatively small country lie distinct and deeply-felt divisions. There are also important disagreements about how to demarcate areas, both politically and culturally. For example, a locality or district may have a majority of Gaelic speakers and thus be classified as a Gaelic-speaking area. Yet there may be other aspects to such a classification which suggest a more complex picture. In



this case there may be a large minority of English immigrants with its own dialect and ways of communicating which are very foreign to the Gaelic speakers. Additionally some in the Gaelic majority may have made Gaelic their first language in response to English immigration in order to protect their identity as Gaels. Thus the region of a language may be in continual flux as people act according to different pressures and aspirations.<sup>1</sup> In the light of such complexities, simple as this example may be, is the question of how geographers are to describe and demarcate human activities from one area to the next. How are such differences produced? and what else do these differences reflect (e.g., cultures, social groups, mentalities)?

Geographers have traditionally attempted to separate the world into identifiable regions. These have been based on a diverse range and combination of phenomena, such as geology, soil types, land-use practices, races, languages and cultural practices. Behind these attempts to classify one area as distinct from another lies a wide range of philosophies and concerns, many of which have used similar methods for contradictory aims. Such aims include showing the direct and determining effects of the environment, of religion, of skin colour, of foods consumed, or of

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<sup>1</sup>C.W.J. Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981: the Geographical History of a Language* (Edinburgh, 1984).

material resources on people's behaviour and outlooks.<sup>2</sup> From this two questions stand out as pertinent to the lives of the declarants found in AD14: how strong were people's regional identities? and why did these vary from place to place?

Much of traditional regional geography has been concerned with describing the ties between the natural environment and the human activity contained within an area. There are clearly divisions in how such concerns are translated into research, as some geographers have attempted to produce an 'exact science' while others, such as E.W. Gilbert, have aimed to achieve 'the humane and subjective art of describing regions'.<sup>3</sup> Gilbert argues that the best regional geography will locate each region as a part within a whole, as well as showing the interdependence of places and regions.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, traditional regional geography is criticized severely in recent work which takes a more theoretical view of the spatial differences of human activity. Current developments in regional geography have moved away from the deterministic link between physical and human geography, as well as from the acceptance of an innocent viewpoint from which to understand people's actions. A

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<sup>2</sup> C.J. Glacken *Traces on the Rhodian Shore* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 3-34.

<sup>3</sup> E.W. Gilbert, 'The idea of the region', *Geography* 45 (1960), p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 174.

'reconstructed regional geography' has grown out of claims that spatial science is unable adequately to explain (as opposed to describe) regional differences.<sup>5</sup>

Advocates for a new regional geography have distanced themselves from traditional geography in a number of ways. One attempt characterizes the agenda of traditional regional geography as simply 'describing and making sense of the earth's surface', criticizing it as theoretically naive for its failure to account for how people make judgements and formulate problems about their observations.<sup>6</sup> Traditional regional geography has thus not been critical enough of problems of interpretation, and has not asked in depth how meaning is gained from diverse and contradictory sources.

Other critics raise more fundamental disagreements. Anne Gilbert argues that much of traditional regional geography is grounded in the idea of modernization which presumes that a gradual but inexorable progression of change has been and is taking place throughout the world. This advance accounts for 'improvements' in health-care, food production, education, and other social and economic arenas. In the hope that modernization would eradicate inequality between regions (e.g., in terms of opportunities for income) lay the

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<sup>5</sup> N.J. Thrift, 'On the determination of social action in space and time', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1 (1983), pp. 23-57.

<sup>6</sup> M. Pudup, 'Arguments within regional geography', *Prog. Hum. Geog.* 12 (1988), pp. 373-5.

idea that regions were gradually but definitely disappearing. The focus of much traditional work was thus on rural regions, their cultures, ways of life and topography, and how these aspects were under threat from modernization and its accompanying process, urbanization. This criticism is also slightly one-sided as traditional regional geographies have engaged in analyses of urban areas and complex regions. But behind the criticism is an important insight into the agenda of a new regional geography. The focus has now moved to how regions are constantly changing and becoming, not disappearing as a result of modernization. This approach thus aims to move from the description of places, and the activities contained within them, to the analysis of processes through which regionalization persists and even increases. The region is here represented as both a structure and a process, with social relations at the centre of both these aspects. The region is now seen to be a place of 'complex interaction between social actors in a material environment both affecting and affected by these social relations.'<sup>7</sup> Gilbert argues that the centrality of social relations to regional formation is upheld by a diverse range of 'new' regional geographies, including

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<sup>7</sup> A. Gilbert, 'The new regional geography in English and French-speaking countries', *Prog. Hum. Geog.* 12 (1988), p. 215.

those which present the region as a 'local response to capitalist processes'<sup>8</sup>, as the 'focus of identification'<sup>9</sup>, and as a 'medium for interaction'.

One influential work in the last group has argued that the study of the formation of regions (in both past and present) depends on more than a 'compositional' approach. Such an approach amounts to a blending of the important influences on activities which are contained within an area, including topography, the organization of production, class structure and formation, divisions of labour, and the 'local form of the state'.<sup>10</sup> This approach does provide insights into the processes behind the character of a region, the people within it and the ways these have changed; it also produces a powerful tool for understanding the structures underpinning a region. Yet the new regional geography aims to go beyond this focus on social, economic and political structures to achieve its goal of developing a theory of social action which will change the realities behind such compositional accounts.

Thrift provides a framework for studying regions

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<sup>8</sup> For example, see D. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (London, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> For example, see Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Space and place', in S. Gale and G. Olsson (eds.), *Philosophy in Geography* (Dordrecht, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Thrift, 'Social action', p. 39.

which focuses on locales<sup>11</sup> which together make up a region. The latter term has here moved away from meaning a particular place to, instead, a combination of settings for social interaction (e.g., the locales of work, home and school). This definition of the region as made up of such settings helps to point out that ideas about arenas of social activity are now ranging from the topographically- or politically-defined landscapes of some traditional regional geographies to ambiguously geographically-referenced places. This new regional geography provides a particularly helpful context for understanding people's lives on both a daily and long-term basis. Within locales boundaries are established (and are changed) in both space and time regarding where people move, who they encounter, what is allowed in these encounters, and what they learn (or are instructed) in such meetings.<sup>12</sup> Yet it must be remembered that the boundedness of each locale differs both within and between regions, and between each type of locale.

These ideas about regions are strongly influenced by structurationists and differ from other schools of thought (particularly Marxist and humanist) by seeing the region 'as the active context' for the organization

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<sup>11</sup> The term is borrowed from A. Giddens' *Central Problems in Social Theory* (London, 1979), ch. 6, and reflects links both with structuration theories and with time-geography.

<sup>12</sup> Thrift, 'Social action', p. 40.

of social relations.<sup>13</sup> Gilbert cites Raffestin and other French-speaking geographers as important for the study of this interaction between people and their settings.<sup>14</sup> Their work has emphasised the 'spatial networks through which this interaction takes place.' Here the region becomes a territory, or 'the network of relationships by which information - knowledge and practice - is transmitted and reproduced.'<sup>15</sup> There are tensions between these ideas of the region as a network or as a combination of locales, but both are agreed that there is no necessarily unified areal boundary which can delimit one region from another.

The theme of mobility seems to fit well into such a discussion, dependent as it is on networks of information.<sup>16</sup> Thrift argues that mobility is central to the new regional geography, and suggests that an 'ontology of mobility' is the best way towards achieving

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<sup>13</sup> Gilbert, 'New regional geography', p. 213.

<sup>14</sup> See C. Raffestin, *Pour une géographie du pouvoir* (Paris, 1980) and 'Remarques sur les notions d'espace, de territoire et de territorialité', *Espaces et Sociétés* 41 (1982), pp. 167-71. These works are also discussed in A.B. Murphy, 'Regions as social constructs: between theory and practice', *Prog. Hum. Geog.* 15 (1991), pp. 22-35.

<sup>15</sup> Gilbert, 'New regional geography', p. 219. However, see R. Taylor, *Human Territorial Functioning* (Cambridge, 1988) regarding the limits to the use of the term territorial.

<sup>16</sup> See K. Schurer, 'The role of the family in the process of migration', in C.G. Pooley and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: a social history of migration* (London, 1991), pp. 106-42.

that geography. This ontology challenges the certainties of place and is

about issues of convergence and overlap, about borders, about processes of bordering and border pedagogy, about interstitial (third) cultures, about margins and centres.<sup>17</sup>

While Scotland would seem an appropriate place to study these themes because of its unique politics and culture, and because of pervasive images of the Scots as migrants, these ideas may particularly help to raise further questions about mobility and regions: What are the boundaries which both institutions (e.g., the state, the family) and migrants placed on movement? How did migrants change regions and regional identities, both in demographic and cultural terms? What happened to a migrant's understandings of boundedness, of place and of self in the process of moving? In such a context the geographical impact of migration cannot be limited to the in- and out-flow of people, or to changes in the built environment, such as increased housing to accommodate incomers. These are certainly important issues but even more important are the ways in which people and their regions were affected by mobility, as well as the ways in which they used and viewed their mobility as a part of their identity.

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<sup>17</sup> N.J. Thrift, 'For a new regional geography 3', *Prog. Hum. Geog.* 17 (1993), p. 96.



### 6.3 Historical geography and regions

Some of the ideas discussed above regarding the production of regions are raised in recent work by historians and historical geographers, but usually in an English context. The terms of the debate about regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have more to do with practical economic and social questions about development than with philosophical questions about structure and social action. Questions which have vexed research on this period concern what happened to local and regional economies (and thus labour markets and labour migration) when industrialization took place (both over time and space). Where was capital invested? Why in some areas, and at some times, and not others? Was it simply because of the material base or were there spatial divisions of labour (e.g., concentrations of skilled or cheap labour) which attracted capital? How did people respond to investment in their area? How did they interpret their place (both spatial and social) in the changing social and economic systems?

In a European context Tilly has argued against several 'fallacies' of nineteenth-century social science, including the idea that differentiation (e.g., the increasing division of labour) was the key to society's survival. This idea both influenced domestic programmes for development and supported imperialist contact with other peoples. It also ties in with ideas of modernization which imply a 'continuum of societies',

from the modern West to the undeveloped remainder.<sup>18</sup> Tilly suggests instead that nineteenth-century Western society 'de-differentiated': the scope of labour strategies declined, products were simplified on production lines, and capital concentrated and pushed out 'small dispersed units linked by merchant capitalists'.<sup>19</sup> Such concentration brought about a few industrial regions which acted as 'drains' for the continent; thus while tasks were subdivided, concentration was more prominent than differentiation. He nevertheless suggests that the tension between differentiation and concentration is secondary to the larger political question of how production and coercion (the latter seen as part of the integration of a national political and economic order) were organised.

These issues of the production of order and disorder, and of integration and differentiation, are addressed in a different way by Langton. He calls for the application of the regional concept to the industrializing period as a way of challenging the idea that 'industrialization destroyed regional

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<sup>18</sup> C. Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York, 1984), p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p. 48.

distinctiveness in England as elsewhere.'<sup>20</sup> His argument is that regional differences were instead exacerbated by industrialization in terms of economic activity, social networks, cultural identities, and political and trade union movements. Regions are here defined loosely as 'areas of economic and social cohesion and cultural identity'. Such regions had certainly existed in pre-industrial England and each usually had a common administrative, agricultural and urban focus, yet the degree of each focus differed between regions and 'at different spatial scales.'<sup>21</sup> Such differences meant that, while 'regions' existed, regionalism was not widespread. (The latter term is defined as 'a coherence over many aspects of life amongst different sectors of society within a single mesh of areas and a conscious identification of people within these territories.'<sup>22</sup>) The scope of such

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<sup>20</sup> J. Langton, 'The industrial revolution and the regional geography of England', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.* N.S. 9 (1984), p. 145; see also the criticisms of and expansions on Langton's ideas in: M. Freeman, 'The industrial revolution and the regional geography of England: a comment', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.* N.S. 9 (1984), pp. 507-12; P. Hudson (ed.), *Regions and Industries* (Cambridge, 1989); *idem.*, *Industrial Revolution*; D. Gregory, 'The production of regions in England's Industrial Revolution', *J. Histl. Geog.* 14 (1988), pp. 50-8; J. Langton, 'The production of regions in England's Industrial Revolution: a response', *J. Histl. Geog.* 14 (1988), pp. 170-4; and D. Gregory, 'Reply', *J. Histl. Geog.* 14 (1988), pp. 174-6

<sup>21</sup> Langton, 'Industrial revolution' [1984], p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*

definitions seems to embrace both traditional and new regional geographies but would also categorize the latter more as the study of regionalism.

Industrialization stimulated coherence in provincial England and thus the fragility of wider national identities (in political, cultural and economic terms) was maintained. Langton argues that the economic base for such coherence was the inland waterway system of canals which demarcated transport, communications, migration and production at the regional level. Only with the advent of the railways did regional coherence break down, increasing the attraction of London and producing 'powerful currents of national integration.' Nevertheless, these changes initially produced an even greater sense of 'regional cultural consciousness and cohesion' because of greater economic specialization as well as the perceived cultural threat of a national society.

Within this model, migration patterns are seen as supporting coherence, particularly since most moves were made over short distances. The inter-dependence of economic activity at the regional level intensified such patterns, as well as regionally-specific work practices and kin networks both of which were intertwined with mobility. Langton's ideas have been criticised for the timing and scale of regionalism<sup>2 3</sup> and for their limited

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<sup>2 3</sup>Freeman, 'Comment'.

incorporation of the geography of production<sup>24</sup>; but the role of mobility within the model has received little attention except for the work of Southall.<sup>25</sup>

As Southall has commented, Langton's argument rests greatly on the experience of miners who were, and still are, extremely local in their attachments to places, institutions, and work. It is misleading to apply such attachments to the whole of the working class and Southall's work on early Victorian tramping artisans makes clear that individuals from many trades were not restricted to localities or regions during their most economically productive years. The exact numbers involved are not known but, he argues, their influence on the national trade union movement and the welfare of members of each craft was large. Their mobility was central to strengthening their trade and class loyalty and to reducing their ties to localities. 'In this sense trade union consciousness was antithetical to the local community solidarity typified by miners.'<sup>26</sup> He allows that this involved a minority of people

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<sup>24</sup> Gregory, 'Production of regions'.

<sup>25</sup> H. Southall, 'Towards a geography of unionization: the spatial organization of early British trade unions', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.* N.S. 13 (1988), pp. 466-83; idem., 'Mobility, the artisan community and popular politics in early nineteenth century England', in G. Kearns and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Urbanising Britain: essays on class and community in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 103-30; and idem., 'The tramping artisan revisits'.

<sup>26</sup> idem., 'Geography of unionization', p. 481.

(invariably men) but argues that it points to one of a number of histories of the working class(es), who were primarily differentiated by their mobility patterns.

In further work he raises the question of how mobility affected people's class consciousness and social relations. The focus is again on early Victorian trade unionists but there are valuable comments regarding mobility which provide a useful context for the declarants in AD14. In the autobiographies Southall studied there were several recurrent themes about the results of male artisans' mobility. These works showed that some men, even those younger than 20, had a wide spatial network of contacts providing information about work, and that their class awareness increased with the range of their movement. Mobility increased their sense of confidence and their common identity which in turn increased their financial support for one another. At the same time mobility decreased the 'local chauvanism, even tribalism, that vitiated radical movements in less developed societies.'<sup>27</sup> The amount of movement among these men was very high, but many frequently returned to their families, indicating a rudimentary circulation between their places of work and their home origins. Their tramping usually ended when they took on greater responsibility to their families, such as getting married or raising children. Mobility thus played roles

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<sup>27</sup> idem., 'Mobility'.

both in creating ties between groups and institutions in different places, and in creating new identities among migrants.

The debates over the meaning of regions which the 'new' regional geography sets out to discover and produce have rarely explicitly affected those concerning the regional geography of England or Scotland in the industrializing period; Langton especially has aimed to not 'sneak into the modish closets of epistemology.'<sup>28</sup> There are, however, certain points of contact since both are concerned with the production and changing character of regions, and with people's networks of information and exchange as they relate to regional and national identities. Southall's emphasis on several histories of the working classes places the debates in a different context, one which is concerned with the changing experiences of people both within and outwith regions, and of people who were not easily tied down to any particular place or region. It is clear from both Langton's and Southall's accounts that a single source or a single occupational group is insufficient to understand the complexity of people's lives both in and through time and space. The precognitions are particularly valuable for information about regional mobility but it must be remembered that AD14 can, like most sources, only highlight the issues raised here.

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<sup>28</sup> Langton, 'Industrial revolution', p. 165.

Nevertheless, such issues remain important if only to remind us that behind the valuable but limited information in AD14 and other sources lie the experiences of many people with their own hardships and aspirations.

#### 6.4 Scottish regions and circulation mobility

Scottish historical studies have usually shown great sensitivity to the country's regional differences. It is generally agreed that Scotland, at least from the seventeenth century, developed on a regional basis, with important differences existing both between and within the Highlands and Lowlands.<sup>29</sup> Most of these differences followed topography and agricultural practices which were rooted in each area's soil, climate and land ownership structure. These made for 'differences from place to place in cropping and in social organization'.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the differences within Scotland may not have been as great when compared with other countries. Most Lowland areas outwith the Southern Uplands integrated their grain and stock farming and altogether

there were less marked regional variations within Scotland in settlement patterns, farm structures, field systems and types of husbandry as well as

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<sup>29</sup> Devine, *Great Highland Famine*; Gray, 'Scottish emigration'; and Turnock, *Historical Geography of Scotland*.

<sup>30</sup> Gray, 'Scottish emigration', p. 100.



social structures and inheritance patterns than there were in contemporary England or France.<sup>31</sup>

Others have suggested but not fully discussed the idea that Scotland has had changing political regions, especially in terms of political and social protest with an east/west division in the Lowlands, and a North West/South and East divide in the Highlands; these again followed other divisions of land tenure and economic bases.<sup>32</sup> There were certainly disagreements in the nineteenth century regarding how far Scotland should be integrated into the UK government, which raises questions about how much Scots saw themselves as members of a state, of a nation, and of particular regions and localities, and how such sentiments varied throughout the country.<sup>33</sup> The problem of comparing Scotland with England regarding such issues is the former's status as a nation without a state and the accompanying lack of any one dominant centre, as London was for England.<sup>34</sup>

Studies of Scottish regions are useful for understanding how economic and social activities

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<sup>31</sup> I.D. Whyte, 'Proto-industrialisation in Scotland', in Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, p. 230; see also Devine, 'Social responses', p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> C. Whatley, 'How tame were the Scottish Lowlanders during the eighteenth century?', in Devine, *Conflict and Stability*, pp. 1-30; Devine, 'Social responses'; and K.J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances*.

<sup>33</sup> M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle: a political history of modern Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1987).

<sup>34</sup> D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a stateless nation* (London, 1992).

differed between areas and how such differences changed over time.<sup>35</sup> Such studies differ greatly from the agenda of the new regional geography which aims to make links between the ways in which regions became what they are and the social relations of the people and institutions who created regions.<sup>36</sup> This study of the precognitions offers a middle way between these two, arguing that AD14 can show how people acted regionally (or not) through their mobility, but that it cannot show how they perceived their identity in local, regional or national terms. The declarants' regions discussed below will thus differ from traditionally demarcated areas in which, for example, textile goods were produced or not. Yet it must be remembered that even this latter type of region is difficult to demarcate over time and space because of problems of scale, and because of the continual overlapping of different sectors and forms of production, producing in effect any number of sub-regions.<sup>37</sup> Whyte's reference to Scotland's 'less marked regional variations' suggests either that such overlaps were prevalent there, particularly in the Lowlands, or

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<sup>35</sup> In particular, see Turnock, *Historical Geography of Scotland*.

<sup>36</sup> But see I. Carter, *Farmlife in Northeast Scotland, 1840-1914: The Poor Man's Counrtry* (Edinburgh, 1979) for a study which goes far in joining these themes.

<sup>37</sup> J.K. Walton, 'Proto-industrialisation and the first industrial revolution: the case of Lancashire', in Hudson, *Regions and Industries*, p. 45-7; but see Whyte, 'Proto-industrialisation' for a mapping of Scottish textile regions.

that regional indicators were muted throughout the country.

It should also be remembered that analysis of the declarants' mobility will not lead to any exclusive definition of what their mobility patterns mean, particularly in terms of their attachments to places, their work opportunities or their family networks. Subsequent chapters will show that all of these often occurred simultaneously for individual declarants. It is argued, instead, and in tandem with Gilbert's discussion of Raffestin, that these mobility patterns are mostly a reflection of the declarants' fields of knowledge, fields based on their aspirations, opportunities and responsibilities. The decision-making process behind such patterns is only rarely known, with few having stated why they went to one place as opposed to another; yet it is assumed here that their moves were not either random nor completely rational since they invariably possessed some information albeit often limited. For example, expected support from family, including information about work, apparently had a greater impact on their decisions than did knowledge of particular employment.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, some of the declarants were also fleeing authorities; this type of

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<sup>38</sup>S. Holland, in *Capital versus the Regions*, (London, 1976), ch. 4, makes a similar point for the southern regions of both the USA and Italy in the mid-twentieth century.

movement could take them in any direction but (when known) it was usually toward family or acquaintances.

Rural-urban links usually differed between regions because of each one's unique industrial and agrarian economies. It is apparent that most towns had their own catchment areas for migration which were usually influenced most by distance and by the presence or lack of competing towns.<sup>39</sup> Work on the migration of apprentices suggests that the catchment areas of towns differed according to each place's primacy within Scotland.<sup>40</sup> Edinburgh's national in-migration area contracted in regard to rural migrants during the eighteenth century with the rise of other towns, while in regard to urban migrants it remained fairly constant.<sup>41</sup> However, work on Aberdeen and Inverness has shown that these regional centres had small and relatively stable areas, 'despite marked social and economic changes in their hinterlands.'<sup>42</sup> These studies suggest that, on the one hand, the catchment areas of Edinburgh and Glasgow (and possibly towns in close

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<sup>39</sup> C.W.J. Withers, 'Highland migration to Dundee, Perth and Stirling, 1753-1891', *J. Hist. Geog.* 11 (1985), pp. 395-418.

<sup>40</sup> R.A. Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: the evidence of testimonials', *J. Hist. Geog.* 11 (1985), p. 380 comments that apprentices were increasingly unrepresentative of Scots by the later eighteenth century.

<sup>41</sup> Lovett et. al., 'Poisson regression analysis'.

<sup>42</sup> Whyte and Whyte, 'Patterns of migration'.

proximity to them) changed over time through their competition as national centres; while on the other hand, the catchment areas of some other outlying urban places changed little because of a lack of competing towns. These studies also suggest that information about opportunities was influenced by several factors, though not completely constrained by any one. These included distance, population, and intervening opportunities. The first two seem to have been much more important for small towns than for large ones. Other influences have been suggested, such as kinship and trade links.<sup>43</sup>

The picture which emerges from these and other studies has primarily two aspects. The first concerns movement within particular regions which was grounded in both farming practices and labour markets. Movement within these seems to have changed little by the early nineteenth century, though there were slight increases of moves to regional centres.<sup>44</sup> The second concerns movement to larger centres, particularly Edinburgh and Glasgow. The source areas for such movement were distributed within their own local hinterlands as well as throughout the country, including both rural and urban places. In addition to these two aspects, there was a large amount of temporary movement for farm labour

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<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*; Houston, 'Geographical mobility'.

<sup>44</sup> I.D. Whyte's article, 'Marriage and mobility', illustrates this for East Lothian.

from the Highlands and Ireland. There has been much work on such patterns of movement, as well as suggestions about regional interactions and regional differences. Most of these studies have been constrained by the sources available to look principally at overall patterns while little work has been possible on counter-streams, on links between life-course transitions and mobility, and on links between work and residence changes.<sup>45</sup>

One way of exploring how social and economic groups behaved regionally is put forward by Langton and Hoppe which builds on their earlier work.<sup>46</sup> Their concern is with studying mobility as a way of uncovering the relative autonomy or integration of the rural and urban spheres. In their view the autonomy and dominance of urban places is a dominant theme in much historical and geographical literature but one which usually depends on the changing proportions of rural and urban populations, and on 'the fundamental and universal differences between urban and rural, and of the significance of the

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<sup>45</sup> An exception is Whyte and Whyte, 'The geographical mobility of women'.

<sup>46</sup> J. Langton and G. Hoppe, 'Urbanization, social structure and population circulation in pre-industrial times: flows of people through Vadstena (Sweden) in the mid-nineteenth century', in P.J. Corfield and D. Keene (eds.), *Work in Towns, 850-1850* (Leicester, 1990), pp. 138-63; and *idem.*, 'Town and Country in the Development of Early Modern Western Europe', No. 11, *Historical Geography Research Series* (1983).

former as the motor of long-run historical change'.<sup>47</sup> They criticise those who use such changing proportions, which indicate demographic urbanisation, as indicators of modernization, and social and cultural urbanization; in such cases people are perceived as being and becoming either rural or urban, so that there is (misleadingly) a continual distinction between the two categories. They argue instead that there was no 'homogenous urban reality', no rural-urban migration streams or an urbanisation of population but rather 'vast and ceaseless circulations of people back and forth between town and country, traditional and modern economic sectors and cultures.'<sup>48</sup>

Their study of a nineteenth-century Swedish town presents a case for two 'different "urban societies"', one made up of 'patricians' (e.g., professionals and merchants) and the other of 'plebeians' (e.g., labourers and servants). The first included both rural- and urban-born people who stayed primarily within the urban system; the second was made up almost entirely of the rural born who moved to a town, returned to a rural place, and then repeated the process any number of times. Langton and Hoppe argue that there were two

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<sup>47</sup> *idem.*, 'Urbanization', p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, p. 140. It should be noted that their use of the term 'circulation' refers more to general rural-urban interaction via mobility, and not to circular mobility, i.e., movements between two specific places.

groups, not of rural and urban people, but of patricians and plebians, with the latter exhibiting their rural aspirations through circulatory mobility.

The questions about circulation which Langton and Hoppe raise in their study are important here since they have not been discussed explicitly in a Scottish context, though they are implicit in several studies.<sup>49</sup> Work by Devine indicates that much of Scotland's rural population was accustomed to circulating regionally for farm service; when such work was unavailable they are thought to have moved into villages, towns and cities.<sup>50</sup> The tacit assumption in some works on Scottish mobility is that they moved permanently.<sup>51</sup> However, Devine suggests that the stereotype of the 'rural innocents' holds little weight for Scotland since rural and urban employments had much in common: throughout the 18th century textile work drew the economies of towns and the countryside together, giving those in the latter experience in industrial work. Kinship ties between the two also eased the migrations of many people.<sup>52</sup> Rural-urban links grew stronger through the increasing

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<sup>49</sup> For example, Gray, 'Scottish emigration'.

<sup>50</sup> Devine, 'Urbanisation'.

<sup>51</sup> For example, M. Gray, 'Migration in the rural Lowlands of Scotland, 1750-1850', in T.M. Devine and D. Dickson (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 104-17.

<sup>52</sup> Devine, 'Urbanisation', p. 44.



population, and particularly with the high rates of increase during the period 1801-21, as well as through the shedding off of surplus rural labour. Scotland did experience 'structural unemployment' in the 1810s and 1820s, but this

was mainly confined to the large towns, the western Highlands and the communities of industrial workers (and especially handloom weavers) in the countryside.<sup>53</sup>

Here again, though, the assumption seems to be that once off the land a person never returned, though this runs contrary to the experiences of those in Langton and Hoppe's study of Sweden.

This is not to question the obvious point that many people moved from the countryside into towns and cities during the early nineteenth century. Census records show that the number of people in towns increased at phenomenal rates, leaving little doubt that many from the countryside moved into these places.<sup>54</sup> In addition, movement from peripheral counties into the central belt appears to have dominated net-migration flows which supplied labour for the cities.<sup>55</sup> However, lying between these two observations, a hiving off of surplus

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, p. 47; see also J.H. Treble, 'The standard of living of the working class', in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society*, pp. 188-206.

<sup>54</sup> Devine, 'Urbanisation'; R.A. Houston, 'The demographic regime', in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society*, pp. 9-26.

<sup>55</sup> Gray, 'Migration'; Osborne, 'The movements of people in Scotland'.

labour on the one hand, and the dramatic increase of population in urban places on the other, are questions about the nature of mobility. Devine has countered the assertion that the farm and village were still the 'typical social environment' of Scots in 1820 with the percentage of the country's total population in centres with over 5,000 persons.<sup>56</sup> By 1821 it had grown to 27.5 per cent, from which he concludes that 'The towns were no longer adjuncts to an overwhelming rural social order but had become the dynamic centres of economic change.' This had the further impact of focusing the economy of the countryside on providing for urban needs. These ideas of an increasing urban focus raise several questions; in particular, how did the mobility of social and economic groups differ between rural and urban areas? What types of places did they move between and how often?

It should be noted that Devine's ideas are nominally opposed to the argument which Langton and Hoppe develop for mid-nineteenth century Sweden. They suggest that the economies and societies of rural and urban places were inextricably linked, with each effecting change in the others. Yet while this may apply to a 'pre-industrial' town and its rural hinterland in Sweden, the Scottish Lowlands (through which most of the declarants moved) were industrializing

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<sup>56</sup> Devine, 'Urbanisation', p. 31.

rapidly both in the towns and in the countryside. Devine's argument is that towns' economies were far more important than those of countryside areas, but whether this is based simply on population figures (as the context suggests) or on production figures is unclear. These arguments raise important questions about how change is perceived. Much of industrial production in both towns and the countryside was financed by urban merchant capitalists and it may be possible to argue that economic change was thus essentially urban-based. This depends to some extent on seeing the economy as led by shifts in capital investment, shifts which migrants followed if they were to work, for example, in the new textile sites which were erected throughout the Lowlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>57</sup> Yet there is the strong point that capital was constrained in its locational decisions, not only by the availability of energy but also by that of labour (whether cheap or skilled), and by housing and other infrastructure. Such debates must be carried forward by other research but it is necessary here to point out this unresolved area in the historical context of the declarants' mobility.

The chapters below set out some of the contributions which the precognitions can make to the study of regions and mobility. Several of the themes

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<sup>57</sup> Turnock, *Historical Geography of Scotland*, pp. 55-7.

which have been discussed above are raised below but because of the source's nature no attempt is made to test formal hypotheses. Rather two aims are kept in mind: first, and primarily, to explore how far AD14 can be used to uncover the process and influences on the declarants' mobility and histories; and secondarily to show how adequately it can answer some of the questions which the debates discussed above have raised.

## CHAPTER 7

### *Movement between rural and urban places*

#### 7.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, historians and geographers often use the terms 'rural' and 'urban' as significant and worthwhile categories for classifying places. Within each category there may be grades which are near or far from the rural-urban divide, and these grades can be based on each category's distinguishing traits, such as its population size or density, or the amount and type of its services. Langton and Hoppe's work has shown that behind this division of places often lie many assumptions about the people residing in each type of place, such as their work opportunities, their family structures and their mobility patterns; assumptions can go even further regarding different outlooks, cultures and politics. Rural and urban places are thus supposedly inhabited by specifically rural and urban people who are fundamentally different in their cultural expectations and social practices. When people

cross the divide (for the nineteenth century this is usually assumed to be a rural-to-urban move) they leave their old lives and pasts behind, and are assimilated into their destinations both physically and culturally; thus demographic urbanization is thought to produce cultural urbanization. This chapter examines these issues through AD14, asking how adequately the precognitions can illuminate both the rural-urban divide and the people who crossed it, or stayed on one side or the other.

Like chapters four and five much of the information about the declarants' mobility is expressed through tables. The content of most of those below shows the percentage of each group (e.g., males and females) who moved between rural and urban places; thus there are four types of movement for each table:

U-U (from one urban place to another, or the same, urban place)

R-U (from a rural place to an urban place)

U-R (from an urban place to a rural place)

R-R (from one rural place to another rural place)

This obviously simplifies the experiences of declarants who moved two or more times, so that the same person could conceivably be found in all four groups. This is an unusual example but it is apparent from the total numbers of moves and of individuals for each table that there were overlaps. Such issues, particularly of circulation between rural and urban places, are examined

in appendix H. For now the simple one-move scheme provides a broad outline of the differences between the declarants' movement.

## 7.2 Movement between rural and urban places

There was a clear difference in the mobility of males and females (table 7.1(a)), with the latter moving primarily between rural places while males had a more even spread; yet both groups had relatively few moves from urban to rural places. The high proportion of women in the R-R group was apparently not caused by their high proportion of witnesses but by their occupations, with about one third of females in agricultural work. Females whose occupations are unknown moved more akin to males in general (table 7.5(c)), indicating that these women were much less likely to have been in agricultural work.

TABLE 7.1(a) Movement between places: males and females (%)<sup>1</sup>

Sex	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
Female	19	22	13	45	99	549	310
Male	24	26	16	34	100	1910	893
						2459	1203

Differences between males and females are explored

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<sup>1</sup>The total number of individuals (1203) is less than in previous chapters. This is because extremely casual activities at places of stay, particularly hawkers' tramping stops, have been removed from the analysis.

further in tables 7.1(b) and (c) which show the movement of declarants questioned at rural and urban places. This information strongly suggests that there was an important rural-urban divide for female declarants questioned at rural places, as few were ever at any urban place. Males, however, had a larger percentage involved in urban-related movement with a slightly higher than average proportion of moves from urban to rural places. The declarants questioned at urban places (table 7.1(c)) were more spread out between the types of moves than were those questioned at rural places, and both males and females had similar proportions. Unsurprisingly these groups show a higher proportion of R-U and U-U moves, but this has been at the expense of R-R movement and not of U-R. This last category of movement is important as it goes against the rural-urban flow of net migration in Scotland during this period.

TABLE 7.1(b) Movement between places: males and females questioned at rural places (%)

Sex	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
Female	4	11	12	73	100	103	88
Male	9	15	19	57	100	670	265
						853	353

TABLE 7.1(c) Movement between places: males and females questioned at urban places (%)

Sex	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
Female	32	27	14	27	100	299	183
Male	33	34	14	20	101	1139	572
						1438	755

Younger people apparently moved in larger



proportions between urban places while older people moved more between rural places (table 7.2(a)). At first glance, it would seem that this had much to do with their occupations since a large proportion of young people were hawkers and sailors who moved more often than most others between urban places. Young people may have had a greater pull into urban places through more diverse work opportunities but this is not borne out by the figures which give them the lowest proportion of R-U moves and the highest of U-R moves. Yet the figures for young people are not greatly affected by sailors or hawkers in that age group, the two occupations in which young people were found in high proportions. This suggests that the high percentage of U-U movement was consistent for most young people.

TABLE 7.2(a) Movement between places: age groups (%)

Age group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
9-15	33	21	19	27	100	133	58
16-20	27	28	15	31	101	361	161
21-25	21	28	18	32	99	262	120
26-35	20	29	11	41	99	209	104
36+	19	26	13	42	100	239	103
unkn	22	24	16	39	101	1255	657
						2459	1203

When the movements of males' and females' age groups are compared even more striking differences are found. The same trends found in table 7.2(a) are accentuated for males while they are almost completely absent for females. The numbers of females are much lower and firm conclusions cannot be made from them;

however, both of these tables point toward the possibility that the female declarants of all ages had very similar movements between rural and urban places while male declarants had dissimilar movements, particularly between those younger than 21 and those 21 and older. Again the main differences are between inter-urban and inter-rural movement and these are likely to be a result of how these men and women came into the source, i.e., where they were questioned. This is consistent with table 4.20 (the size of places of questioning of males and females) which shows a much higher proportion of females than males questioned at rural places.

TABLE 7.2(b) Movement between places: males in age groups (%)

Age group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no.	Tot. no.
						moves males	indivs. males
9-15	39	24	20	18	101	114	47
16-20	30	30	15	25	100	284	125
21-25	22	30	18	30	100	223	103
26-35	21	32	13	34	100	164	79
36+	20	26	14	40	100	199	80
unkn	21	24	16	39	100	926	459
						1910	893

TABLE 7.2(c) Movement between places: females in age groups (%)

Age group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no.	Tot. no.
						moves females	indivs. females
9-15		5	11	84	100	19	11
16-20	16	19	13	52	100	77	36
21-25	15	21	15	49	100	39	17
26-35	13	18	2	67	100	45	25
36+	15	23	10	53	101	40	23
unkn	23	24	16	37	100	329	198
						549	310

The moves of Scottish and Irish declarants (tables 7.3(a) and (b)) reveal a high proportion of R-U moves among the Irish, caused primarily by moves from the area of 'Ireland' to towns on the west coast, especially Glasgow and Paisley. The movements of Scottish and Irish males which did not involve 'areas' is thus shown in table 7.3(b). The restrictions take out females and most places in Ireland, and show the type of moves each group made primarily within Scotland. The differences are large with two-fifths of Irish males' moves between urban places compared to a quarter of those of Scottish males. Yet there is still a large amount of U-R and R-R movement among both groups, suggesting that Irish males were as involved as Scottish males in moving between different types of places, albeit under different circumstances and with different support networks.

TABLE 7.3(a) Movement between places: Scots and Irish (%)

Nationality	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
Irish	21	33	11	34	99	447	193
Scottish	22	23	16	38	99	1959	980
						2406	1173

TABLE 7.3(b) Movement between places: Scottish and Irish males (%) (excludes 'areas')

Nationality	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
Irish	40	17	17	27	101	199	79
Scottish	26	23	18	33	100	1317	651
						1516	730

Nativity groups also show some apparently clear differences between rural and urban movement (table

7.4(a)) but it must be stressed that these were similar for males and females from each nativity group. Almost two-thirds of urban natives' moves were inter-urban while about two-fifths of rural natives' moves were inter-rural. Yet this last figure is not far from the level of inter-rural movement for all of the declarants; a more important difference is conceivably between the urban- and rural-born engaged in U-R movement. The urban-born had much higher proportions than did the declarants on the whole, providing an unexpected finding. Despite the low numbers this may suggest that U-R movements were made not by 'return-migrants' circulating between rural and urban places, but by those who by rights should have had a place in the urban economy. However, this may simply reflect the time period of this sample of AD14 (i.e., predominantly the later 1810s) when urban employment was declining and people had to search elsewhere for work. This table thus reflects the counter-flow, of the urban-born engaged in U-R movement, to the dominant flow of the rural-born engaged in R-U movement.

TABLE 7.4(a) Movement between places: nativity groups (%)

Native of	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
+50,000	66	8	19	7	100	106	53
+5,000	57	10	24	8	99	155	71
+1,000	20	37	8	36	101	112	55
-1,000	18	27	10	44	99	206	75
areas	13	37	11	39	100	503	219
unknown	20	23	17	40	100	1377	730
						2459	1203

It must also be noted that movement between almost each type of rural and urban place was similar in proportion (table 7.4(b)). Thus natives of towns (+5,000) moved in equal number to both large and small rural places, as did native of cities. Likewise natives of small rural places (-1,000) moved equally to towns and cities. However, natives of large rural places (+1,000), and of areas (with a large proportion of Irish), moved twice as much to cities as to towns. Thus there seems to have been no inordinate amount of crossing over the rural-urban divide at the nearest 'border', i.e., between towns and large rural places; if anything, towns were bypassed in favour of cities by people originating in large rural places.

TABLE 7.4(b) Movement between rural and urban places:  
nativity groups (%)

Origin - destination	Native of					
	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	unkn
<i>Urban-Urban</i>						
+50 - +50	34	6	4	4	3	4
+50 - +5	19	6	5	3	3	4
+5 - +50	8	29	3	7	4	6
+5 - +5	5	15	8	4	3	6
<i>Rural-Urban</i>						
+1 - +50	2	2	21		1	3
+1 - +5	2	3	10	2	2	4
-1 - +50	4	1	3	13	2	6
-1 - +5	1	3	2	11	2	7
area - +50		1	1		22	1
area - +5				1	9	2
<i>Urban-Rural</i>						
+50 - +1	7	3	2	2	2	3
+50 - -1	8			3	1	5
+50 - area	2				1	
+5 - +1	2	10	5	2	3	5
+5 - -1	1	10	1	2	2	4
+5 - area		1			1	
<i>Rural-Rural</i>						
+1 - +1		4	7	1	2	2
+1 - -1	1	1	15	5	4	5
+1 - area			2		1	
-1 - +1		2	4	11	3	6
-1 - -1	4	1	4	22	8	23
-1 - area			1	2	1	1
area - +1	1	1		1	6	1
area - -1	1		3	1	11	2
area - area				2	5	1
	100	99	100	100	100	100
No. of moves	106	155	112	206	503	1377
No. of indivs.	53	71	55	75	219	1203

These groups are as close as AD14 can come in supplying details of 'rural' and 'urban' people and, while there are important differences between their overall mobility between types of places, large proportions of each group clearly crossed back and forth over the 'divide'. Thus it is possible to conclude that the urban- and rural-born had a large proportion of their moves within their respective sectors, and that

substantial minorities left their original sector for the other (e.g., a large proportion of the urban-born went to rural places). However, there were relatively few moves of either group which involved moving from their opposite sector (e.g., the urban-born leaving rural places) to return to their original sector (e.g., few urban people engaged in R-U movement). The figures from table 7.4(a) of the U-U and U-R movement for the rural-born (especially those from +1,000 and -1,000) show that this group was more likely to stay within the urban-system after arriving than they were to return to a rural place. This challenges Langton and Hoppe's findings for Sweden to some extent but may be mitigated by the fact that AD14 is predominantly an urban-produced source. Thus people questioned in an urban place were more likely to be moving within the urban system, as was shown in tables 7.1(b) and (c).

In addition, movements which originated from a person's opposite sector (e.g., urban places for the rural-born) were much more common for the rural-born (26 per cent) than for the urban-born (17 per cent) (table 7.4(a)). The importance of this nine per cent difference is difficult to judge. It is certainly not large enough to support the idea that rural migrants were absorbed fully into the urban workforce, and that they did not displace the urban-born who were already

working there.<sup>2</sup> But neither is it small enough to suggest that circulatory movement was equal between the rural- and urban-born.

However, the proportions of movement between opposing sectors (i.e., R-U movement for the urban born, and U-R movement for the rural born) are almost identical. These groups were certainly not identical in their occupations but they were acting in similar ways by 'returning' to their original sectors. Two final tables explore these similarities between the rural- and urban-born (tables 7.4(c) and (d)). These concern the larger occupational groups of each nativity group which engaged in R-U and U-R movement; the aim here is to show whether the number of each occupational group within each native group differed greatly in the types of movement they made. The R-U movements (table 7.4(c)) are dominated by Irish natives (in 'areas') but the other four categories show that most of this type of movement was carried out by rural natives within each occupational group. The converse of this, U-R moves (table 7.4(d)), is not so clearly defined within most occupational groups. There is a balance of rural and urban natives making this type of movement except for those in Textiles where there is a slight imbalance, and among sailors who had a large imbalance in favour of the

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<sup>2</sup> See J.G. Williamson, 'Migrant earnings in Britain's cities in 1851: testing competing views of urban labour market absorption', *J. Eur. Econ. Hist.* 19 (1991), pp. 163-90.



urban born.

TABLE 7.4(c) Movement between places: R-U moves of nativity groups by their occupations (no.)

Occupational group	Native of						Tot.
	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	unkn	
Labourers		3	3	8	23	30	67
Commerce	1	2	4	6	9	17	39
Hawkers	2	1	4	7	17	18	49
Textiles	1	1	2	3	18	14	39
Weavers	1	1	7	8	31	11	59
Sailors	1	3	4	1	4	12	25
Professional		1	1	6	4	10	22
	5	9	24	38	114	114	304

TABLE 7.4(d) Movement between places: U-R moves of nativity groups by their occupations (no.)

Occupational group	Native of						Tot.
	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	unkn	
Labourers		6	1	3	9	20	39
Commerce	2	2		2	3	7	16
Hawkers	4	3	2	3	8	21	41
Textiles	2	4	1	1	7	14	29
Weavers	3	1	1	3	9	13	30
Sailors	1	9	2		1	7	20
Professional		2		2		10	14
	11	18	5	14	36	98	182

The number of declarants in these two tables are too low to draw any firm conclusions but do point toward a problem which further research on Scottish internal migration may be able to address. There are at least two possible explanations if the figures in these tables are applicable to the wider Scottish mobile population. First, those occupational groups which engaged in U-R movement were different from other occupational groups, i.e., they are the people who were circulating between rural and urban places while other people made one-off moves from, e.g., a rural to urban place. The latter

type of people would include most servants and farm servants who left the land (or other rural places) once and for all. Alternatively, these figures point to a deeper problem of people's changing identities, particularly when seen through their occupational groups. Thus a farm servant, unable to get a hire, may have moved to a town; he or she may then have become a labourer or hawker and returned to the countryside in a new guise and for very different purposes. The changes in agricultural work in the Lowlands are known to have decreased the number of tenants and servants but also to have increased the amount of labouring work available.<sup>3</sup> The process through which many people left the land as tenants and servants but 'returned' to it as labourers may have involved some circulatory mobility of the type which these two tables point toward. Some of these issues are addressed in chapter nine.

The distances of nativity groups, as discussed in chapter five, showed that the urban born tended to move over long distances (+50 km) much more than did the rural born (table 7.4(e)). This raised the question of whether these long-distance moves were primarily inter-urban, and whether short-distance moves were primarily inter-rural. Tables 7.4(f) and (g) show that a larger

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<sup>3</sup> See Gray, 'Scottish emigration', and A. Gibson, 'Proletarianization? The transition to full-time labour on a Scottish estate, 1723-1878', *Continuity and Change* 5 (1990), pp. 357-89.

proportion of each nativity group's long-distance moves (except those of 'areas') were inter-urban, and that natives of small rural places and areas had a larger than usual proportion of short-distance R-R moves compared to all of their R-R moves. The numbers in these tables are low, so despite these expected results firm conclusions are not possible.

TABLE 7.4(e) Median distances (km) of Scots in nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	Med.	No. of moves
+50,000	54	72
+5,000	64	94
+1,000	41	80
-1,000	47	147
areas	37	138
		<u>531</u>

TABLE 7.4(f) Movement between places: long-distance (+50 km) moves of nativity groups (%)

Native of	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
+50,000	77	5	15	3	100	62	44
+5,000	65	9	21	6	101	105	59
+1,000	30	32	6	32	100	50	31
-1,000	20	34	11	35	100	98	49
areas	11	48	7	34	100	325	200
unknown	32	24	17	27	100	458	289
						<u>1098</u>	<u>672</u>

TABLE 7.4(g) Movement between places: short-distance (1-25 km) moves of nativity groups (%)

Native of	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
+50,000	56	7	30	7	100	27	15
+5,000	42	12	19	27	100	26	18
+1,000	6	38	3	53	100	32	24
-1,000	9	23	11	58	101	57	37
areas	13	20	20	48	101	107	59
unknown	7	23	16	55	101	603	397
						<u>852</u>	<u>550</u>

Occupational groups at first seem to provide another opportunity to examine traditional rural and urban groups (table 7.5(a)). There were several groups which were questioned primarily in rural places, particularly agricultural workers and labourers, and those which were questioned in urban places, yet none of these groups were confined to any one type of movement. Declarants in the groups Agriculture-fields, farm servants and servants had high proportions of moves between rural places, while Dress, hawkers, sailors and soldiers all had high proportions of moves between urban places. The disparity between the high proportions of inter-rural moves made by agricultural groups, and the highest proportions of inter-urban moves (by Dress, etc.) suggests two points. The first and more obvious is that none of the occupational groups came close to being exclusively urban, in the way that a few groups were almost exclusively rural. The second is that most groups with high inter-urban mobility (except hawkers) had few inter-rural movements and widely divergent proportions of R-U and U-R mobility. There are thus few overall conclusions to draw about the urban and rural nature of these groups or their movements. Nevertheless, some groups do stand out, such as those just mentioned, which had high proportions of moves in one category or another (e.g., Commerce and Domestic had many R-U moves) while others are important for coming close to the averages of all groups (such as

Minerals, Textiles and weavers).

TABLE 7.5(a) Movement between places: occupational groups (%)

Occupational group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot.	Tot.	Tot.
						no.	no.	no.
						moves	indvs.	
Agric. - fields	5	16	6	74	101	126	57	
Agric. - other	16	25	11	48	100	64	30	
Farm servants	4	17	14	65	100	94	47	
Labourers	15	25	14	45	99	271	101	
Domestics	7	39	17	37	100	41	25	
Servants	4	10	5	80	99	92	44	
Commerce	18	42	17	22	99	92	51	
Dress	40	28	13	19	100	103	55	
Food & Lodging	25	33	16	25	99	51	36	
Gen. Dlrs. & Labrs.	21	32	15	32	100	47	34	
Hawkers	36	21	18	25	100	230	81	
Minerals	27	21	17	36	101	109	45	
Textiles	27	21	16	35	99	182	73	
Weavers	21	32	16	30	99	183	91	
Sailors	37	27	22	14	100	92	39	
Soldiers	38	41	9	13	101	56	30	
Professional	25	32	20	23	100	69	35	
Other	27	25	20	28	100	187	103	
Unknown	23	25	16	37	101	370	226	
						2459	1203	

Tables 7.5(b) and (c) further show that the sexual differences between occupational groups' movements were limited, first, to hawkers, where inter-rural movement for females involved 36 per cent of their moves while that for males was 23 per cent; and secondly, to Textiles where inter-urban movement for females accounted for 38 per cent of all their moves while that for males was 24 per cent. In addition 41 per cent of males' moves in Textiles were between rural places compared to only 17 per cent of females'. These differences may go some way toward suggesting that females in Textiles and male hawkers were strongly urban-focused in their movements; yet despite these

gender differences most other occupational groups moved in similar proportions between rural and urban places despite the large differences in each group's travelled distances (as shown in chapter 5). The importance of this is that, while females may have had a shorter range of opportunities, they were in a similar variety of places than were males and at times were more so (e.g., women in Textiles). Women's opportunities in Scotland were certainly more constricted than men's both in terms of their range of movement and work<sup>4</sup>, but such differences were apparently not carried over into their types of movement. Nevertheless, it is apparent below (chapter ten) that the contexts and processes of men and women's movements were usually very different.

TABLE 7.5(b) Movement between places: males in occupational groups (%)

Occupational group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot. no. moves		
					Tot. males	indivs. males	
Agric. - fields	2	15	4	79	100	81	45
Farm servants	7	16	18	60	101	45	18
Servants	10	7	83		100	29	16
Hawkers	38	21	18	23	100	197	70
Textiles	24	20	15	41	100	140	57
Unknown	19	21	16	44	100	134	65
						626	271

<sup>4</sup> See R.A. Houston, 'Women in the economy and society of Scotland, 1500-1800', in Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, pp. 118-47.

TABLE 7.5(c) Movement between places: females in occupational groups (%)

Occupational group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no.	Tot. no.
						moves	indivs.
						fems.	fems.
Agric. - fields	9	18	9	64	100	45	12
Farm servants	2	18	10	69	99	49	29
Domestics	9	34	19	38	100	32	18
Servants	6	10	5	79	100	63	28
Hawkers	24	24	15	36	99	33	11
Textiles	38	26	19	17	100	42	16
Unknown	25	27	16	33	101	236	161
						500	275

A brief look at the distances of some occupational groups (combining males and females) provides additional insights into how the ranges of each group differed according to the type of movement (table 7.5(d)). Only four groups can be compared fully here because of the otherwise low numbers, but it is clear that there were large differences between weavers (who had very similar distances between all types of movement) and Textiles (who ranged widely from a median of 14 km for their U-R moves to 52 km for their U-U moves). The inter-urban distances of weavers can be explained by their geographical distribution as they moved primarily in the west. The other groups show a clear difference between the long distances of inter-urban moves and the short distances of inter-rural moves; yet there is no clear trend among R-U and U-R movements, suggesting that different groups (e.g., of males and females, or Scots and Irish) may explain these differences. However, the numbers are too small here to divide these occupational groups further.

TABLE 7.5(d) Median distances (km) of occupational groups [excluding all locations in Ireland and most in England]

Occupational group	Distance				No. of moves			
	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R
Labourers	51	32	29	25	34	43	32	94
Hawkers	47	40	41	23	73	32	40	47
Textiles	52	29	14	23	42	28	26	58
Weavers	35	37	41	31	32	32	26	35

Finally, the sectoral movements of legal groups are found in table 7.6(a). There are some unexpected figures here, particularly for those suspected of sexual and public trade crimes, both of which had high proportions of inter-rural moves. These figures cannot be accounted for by their respective occupational groups. For example, the inter-rural movement of hawkers and Textiles, who were strongly represented in public trade crimes, was not nearly as great as that found for the entire group in public trade crime. It is likely that differences between males and females are at root here since the inter-rural moves of this legal group were much more prevalent among males than females who had few such moves. However, this is not the case for those suspected of sexual crimes; both males and females in this group had high proportions of inter-rural moves, despite their different types of sexual crimes. This suggests that different types of sectoral movement were not invariably linked to each group. Rather, that combinations of groups, whether legal, occupational, sexual or nativity groups, are needed to help explain how movement differed from one to the next.



At present this cannot be carried out as fully as needed because of the relatively low sample size.

The figures below for theft suspects and witnesses indicate moderate but consistent differences between the types of origins and destinations of both groups. Theft suspects had a higher proportion of inter-urban moves, and only a slightly higher proportion of U-R moves, than did witnesses. The latter on the other hand had a higher proportion of inter-rural moves and a slightly higher proportion of R-U moves than theft suspects. This suggests that the latter were somewhat more likely to have been urban-based and urban-focused. However, there are no large differences between these groups which further supports the idea that neither one was greatly restricted to one sector or the other. This is brought out even more clearly in tables 7.6(b) and (c) which show the sectoral movements of males and females in these two groups. The figures have changed slightly for both legal groups but they suggest that the differences persist. In addition, however, there are further differences present between males and females, and some of the differences between theft suspects and witnesses have declined (e.g., for males' R-U, U-R and R-R movement). This leads to the conclusion that these differences between legal groups constituted tendencies rather than clear divisions. This ties in with the same lack of clear divisions regarding the distances of males and females in legal groups which were suggested in

chapter five.

TABLE 7.6(a) Movement between places: legal groups (%)

Legal group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves	Tot. no. indivs.
State crimes	28	44	12	16	100	25	16
Public trade	18	27	13	42	100	171	72
Public peace	14	55	14	17	100	29	20
Sexual	11	26	21	42	100	89	28
Violent	16	22	12	50	100	263	117
Property-theft	29	23	16	32	99	1007	430
Property-robbery	28	28	19	24	99	186	61
Fraud	23	21	14	41	100	104	41
Witnesses	18	29	12	41	100	534	395
						2459	1203

TABLE 7.6(b) Movement between places: males in legal groups (%)

Legal group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves males	Tot. no. indivs. males
Property-theft	30	23	16	31	100	843	353
Witnesses	18	32	13	37	100	313	228
						1156	581

TABLE 7.6(c) Movement between places: females in legal groups (%)

Legal group	U-U	R-U	U-R	R-R	Tot.	Tot. no. moves fems.	Tot. no. indivs. fems.
Property-theft	24	20	17	38	99	164	77
Witnesses	19	24	11	46	100	221	167
						385	244

### 7.3 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that the precognitions cannot be used to confirm or disprove the ideas of Langton and Hoppe about the existence of two societies in the urban system. Nevertheless, AD14 does further our understanding of people's interaction between rural and

urban places by showing that inter- and intra-sectoral movements were carried out by all groups but to varying degrees. Langton and Hoppe's study depended on a much wider range of occupational groups, and of rural- and urban-born people within such groups, than is found in AD14. The declarants, however, cannot be studied comprehensively through both their nativity and occupational groups simultaneously because of their low numbers. This is a drawback of the source because the tables discussed above point toward these two categories as the most important for the declarants. While the declarants' gender, age and nationality groups also showed certain differences, their nativity groups particularly showed strong attachments to their sectors of origin, as well as to leaving their original sector for the other. This is not too surprising considering that most of the declarants stated only one movement. Yet these groups also revealed that a sizeable proportion of their moves (from over one-sixth for urban natives to over one-quarter for rural natives) originated in their opposite sector (e.g., urban natives engaged in rural-urban and rural-rural movement). The movements of occupational groups differed greatly between agricultural groups and other groups, yet even these other groups were not remaining predominantly within the urban system but showed strong rural connections through their origins, and often their destinations. Several of these groups maintained these

connections through high proportions of urban-rural and rural-rural mobility. In addition, some of the tables suggested that circulatory mobility was taking place but for particular groups, primarily the rural born. Such mobility points toward the need to examine problems of links between changing work roles and mobility (see chapter nine).

This chapter has cautioned against using the figures from AD14 for firm conclusions, suggesting that it is most useful for pointing out problems concerning different groups' mobility. The distinction between rural- and urban-related movement has been apparent in only a few instances, leading to the conclusions that, first, the precognitions reveal people whose mobility was complex, and second, that most of the declarants cannot be categorised as simply rural or urban. These figures also cannot be translated to say that any one person in these groups would have a particular proportion of urban- or rural-focused moves. The declarants had individual and changing contexts of migration which did not always accord with the groups in which they have been placed here. Nevertheless, the generalisations about each group have some merit and are explored in a different way in the following chapter which discusses regional and urban mobility patterns.

## CHAPTER 8

### *Regions and patterns of movement*

#### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the geographical patterns of movement into and out of towns and cities; it particularly focuses on Glasgow. It asks how these patterns differed between social and occupational groups, and how well these patterns reveal each group's regional focus. The previous chapter showed that the declarants moved repeatedly between rural and urban places but that the two urban societies which Langton and Hoppe discovered for Sweden were not in evidence to the same degree in the precognitions. AD14 was thus suggested to be dominated more by people who were more likely to circulate between town and country than to stay entirely within the urban system. This chapter takes these themes a step further by examining how movement between rural and urban places was limited geographically, and how such limits differed between particular groups. As such, the presentation of

pertinent information relies heavily on maps and tables used in conjunction. (The maps are found at the end of this chapter.) This chapter aims to show the extent to which the declarants' movements were focused on regions and types of places. It also asks what these patterns of movement tell us about people's geographic horizons.

## 8.2 Movement to and from towns and cities

The patterns of movement are first examined in a general way, with a focus on movement into and out of towns and cities. Two types of information are used to discuss these patterns and bear some explanation. The first is the different population sizes of the origins and destinations of moves to and from urban places; this information points toward the extent of the urban or rural focus of the declarants involved and provides an opportunity to examine how mobility linked urban and rural places. The second is the groups which made these moves to and from urban places. Particular groups were represented more strongly at some places than at others (e.g., there were more sailors at Greenock than at Dumfries).

Most of the first group of maps below show strong regional ties between each town and the rural places surrounding them (figs. 8.1-8 and tables 8.1-2). There were usually regional ties between a town and other urban places albeit on a much wider scale. For example,

most of Aberdeen's urban origins and destinations were on the east coast (fig. 8.1); Dumfries's were in the south and west (fig. 8.2); Perth's and Dundee's were in the central belt and on the east coast (figs. 8.6 and 8.3); and Paisley's were in the central belt (fig. 8.5). Greenock's were the most wide-ranging and reflect the movements of sailors going to and from ports (fig. 8.4).

TABLE 8.1(a) Population size (000s) of origins to cities and towns (%)

Cities and towns	Origins					Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas			
Edinburgh	28	24	12	27	8	100	190	172
Glasgow	18	26	12	16	28	100	395	341
Aberdeen	11	35	20	20	15	100	46	41
Dumfries	21	19	21	26	14	100	43	38
Dundee	8	41	22	19	11	100	37	34
Greenock	26	28	13	17	15	100	53	46
Paisley	30	20		23	28	100	40	36
Perth	18	27	18	30	8	100	74	64
							878	772

TABLE 8.1(b) Average distances (km) travelled to cities and towns (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Cities and towns	Med.	Mean	No. moves indivs.	
			No. moves	No. indivs.
Edinburgh	57	65	173	155
Glasgow	35	48	288	232
Aberdeen	92	98	43	38
Dumfries	57	73	31	27
Dundee	30	42	35	32
Greenock	46	62	41	37
Paisley	21	48	28	26
Perth	40	50	72	62
			711	609

TABLE 8.2(a) Population size (000s) of destinations from cities and towns (%)

Cities and towns	Destinations				areas	Pct.	No.	No.
	+50	+5	+1	-1			moves	indvs.
Edinburgh	40	30	10	19	1	100	118	104
Glasgow	28	26	19	21	5	100	233	205
Aberdeen	15	35	35	13	3	100	40	36
Dumfries	29	21	29	21		100	34	31
Dundee	14	43	31	12		100	51	47
Greenock	33	35	8	18	6	100	49	44
Paisley	53	18	11	13	5	100	38	35
Perth	20	33	22	20	7	100	46	40
							609	542

TABLE 8.2(b) Average distances (km) travelled from cities and towns (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Cities and towns	Med.	Mean	No.	No.
			moves	indvs.
Edinburgh	52	55	114	101
Glasgow	35	43	224	200
Aberdeen	92	92	38	34
Dumfries	47	70	31	29
Dundee	30	49	50	46
Greenock	42	64	40	39
Paisley	10	20	36	34
Perth	45	51	46	40
			579	523

Edinburgh and Glasgow provide a different perspective because of the number of declarants questioned at each place as well as the more numerous and diverse work opportunities which existed at each (figs. 8.7-8). Each city was dominated by mobility involving the other and, less so, by mobility within itself. Glasgow also had ties with nearby towns (from Ayr to Stirling), as well as with Perth, Dumfries and Belfast. There was some movement from and to outlying rural places in the South West, the Lothians, Perthshire and particularly Ireland, but most was near Glasgow. Movement between Glasgow and small rural places was evenly matched with movement between Glasgow and large



rural places in both number and pattern, except for the cluster of small rural destinations near Glasgow (fig. 8.7.2(c)).

Edinburgh's patterns show a near mirror image to Glasgow's despite the lower numbers of people involved. There was not nearly the same concentration of in- and out-movement from and to rural places as Glasgow had, but the geographical range of such movement was similar, with origins and destinations in Caithness, Skye and the Inverness area. Yet the bulk of movement was concentrated in the central belt from Ayrshire and Greenock in the west to Berwick and Dundee in the east; there were also slight connections with the North East, the South West and Ireland. The strong urban focus of Edinburgh is seen more clearly in tables 8.1(a) and 8.2(a) and was only comparable to Paisley's and Greenock's, both of which were concentrated on Glasgow.

A few groups are found in sufficient number to compare their movements to and from Edinburgh and Glasgow. These include males and females, Scots and Irish, rural and urban natives, a few occupations, and male theft suspects and witnesses. Only males and females are considered for Edinburgh as the other groups' sizes are too small. The comparisons provide indications of how differently these groups moved to and from these cities and thus give some idea of their relative rural and urban links.

The movements of males and females to and from

Edinburgh (figs. 8.9-10, and tables 8.3-4) suggest that females were generally moving in closer proximity to Edinburgh, particularly since they had higher proportions of rural origins and destinations. Yet several females were also found at rural and urban places throughout Scotland, but especially to the north of Edinburgh. These few long-distance moves to Edinburgh from rural places go against the norm of their short-distance moves, but they suggest that a minority of females were prepared to travel over long distances directly from rural places, places which supposedly had less information about urban opportunities. The mean distances of women in the two tables below are similar to the findings of the Whytes in their study of womens' movement to Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> Females' median distances here differ greatly, from 27 to 51 km. However, the lower figure is influenced mostly by movement within Edinburgh. The numbers are low here but the similar distances of males and females moving into Edinburgh indicates that women may not have been more excluded from networks of information and opportunity than males. Yet behind such patterns lie important sexual divisions of labour, with migrant women concentrated particularly in domestic service.

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<sup>1</sup> Whyte and Whyte, 'Geographical mobility of women'.

TABLE 8.3(a) Males and females moving to Edinburgh by size of origins (%)

Sex	+50	+5	+1	-1 areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	31	13	13	40	4	100	48
Male	27	27	12	23	10	100	142
							<u>190</u>
							<u>172</u>

TABLE 8.3(b) Average distances (km) travelled to Edinburgh by males and females (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	27	62	46	38
Male	58	67	127	117
			<u>173</u>	<u>155</u>

TABLE 8.4(a) Males and females moving from Edinburgh by size of destinations (%)

Sex	+50	+5	+1	-1 areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	54	14	4	29	100	28	23
Male	36	34	12	17	1	100	90
						<u>118</u>	<u>104</u>

TABLE 8.4(b) Average distances (km) travelled from Edinburgh by males and females (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	51	61	28	23
Male	52	53	86	78
			<u>114</u>	<u>101</u>

Male's and female's movements to Glasgow were also similar, although their places further afield were in Ireland and the South West (figs. 8.11-12, and tables 8.5-6). Females in these cases were more restricted in their Scottish-wide mobility than were those moving to and from Edinburgh. Yet most of their origins and destinations of outlying movement were also rural

indicating some similarities with the Edinburgh females. Females here also had more rural-urban movement than males but their urban-rural and inter-urban moves were very close to males, suggesting not so much an identical geographical range as a similar presence at rural and urban places. Nevertheless, the median distances travelled by males and females in their movements to and from Edinburgh and Glasgow were close in almost all cases. This again casts some doubt on the idea that males invariably moved farther than females, particularly when going to towns and cities. The precognitions point toward the need to expand ideas about the social and economic fields of female activity, at least for those moving to and from these two cities.

TABLE 8.5(a) Males and females moving to Glasgow by size of origins (%)

Sex	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	19	36	3	14	28	100	72	63
Male	18	24	14	17	28	100	323	278
							395	341

TABLE 8.5(b) Average distances (km) travelled to Glasgow by males and females (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	32	46	53	48
Male	35	48	235	204
			288	252

TABLE 8.6(a) Males and females moving from Glasgow by size of destination (%)

Sex	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	29	22	20	24	5	100	41	39
Male	28	27	19	21	5	100	192	166
							233	205

TABLE 8.6(b) Average distances (km) travelled from Glasgow by males and females (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Sex	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Female	29	37	39	37
Male	35	44	185	163
			224	200

The differences between the movements of Scots and Irish who went to Glasgow were primarily in regard to their rural and urban origins. A much larger proportion of Scots came from cities (i.e., Edinburgh) but at the same time a similar proportion of Scots and Irish came from towns (table 8.7(a), fig. 8.13). If 'areas' were evenly spread between large and small rural places then the differences in rural origins was probably much less than appears in this table. The Irish were certainly more geographically concentrated in their origins in Ireland, and around Glasgow, than were the Scots, and no Irish came from Argyll or north of Perth. Yet they had contacts with Dumfries-shire, as well the Borders which was unexpected (fig. 8.13). While these moves were few they are also echoed in movements from Glasgow (fig. 8.14). Little is known about return moves from Glasgow to Ireland, but the evidence from AD14 suggests that both Irish and Scottish declarants moving from Glasgow

went equally to urban places, with the Scots concentrating on cities (especially Edinburgh) and the Irish on towns (table 8.8(a)).

TABLE 8.7(a) Scots and Irish moving to Glasgow by size of origins (%)

Nationality	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Irish	8	24	1	8	60	100	119	101
Scottish	23	28	17	21	12	100	262	226
							381	327

TABLE 8.7(b) Average distances (km) travelled to Glasgow by Scots and Irish (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Nationality	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Irish	51	52	37	35
Scottish	34	46	244	210
			281	245

TABLE 8.8(a) Scots and Irish moving from Glasgow by size of destinations (%)

Nationality	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Irish	19	40	21	7	14	100	43	36
Scottish	30	24	19	25	3	100	187	166
							230	202

TABLE 8.8(b) Average distances (km) travelled from Glasgow by Scots and Irish (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Nationality	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Irish	41	52	37	33
Scottish	34	41	184	166
			221	199

The two nationality groups show some differences in their rural destinations but there is a broad similarity in their proportions of rural and urban destinations.

This suggests that the declarants' ethnicity was not a major influence on the size of places they went to when leaving Glasgow. There was apparently a smaller geographical range of movement among the Irish with few moving far from Glasgow except for moves to Edinburgh. Yet the median distances of the Scots and Irish were close, furthering the idea that these groups did not have greatly different patterns in the west of Scotland.

This was not the case for Scottish rural and urban natives moving to and from Glasgow (tables 8.9-10 and figs. 8.15-16). The geographical range of both groups was similar in many respects but slightly wider for rural natives. As expected, a large proportion of moves by the urban born involved urban places yet about one-quarter of their moves from Glasgow were to rural places, most of which were near the city (table 8.10(a), fig. 8.15, 8.16). On the other hand almost half of the moves by natives of small rural places to Glasgow originated in urban places, with both cities and towns in equal measure, while none were from large rural places.

TABLE 8.9(a) Scottish nativity groups moving to Glasgow by size of origins (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
+50,000	68	5	5	21		100	19	16
+5,000	5	85	5		5	100	20	19
+1,000	12	8	81			100	26	22
-1,000	27	20		53		100	30	25
areas		6	6	9	78	100	32	31
unknown	25	33	14	23	4	100	135	113
							262	226

TABLE 8.9(b) Average distances (km) travelled to Glasgow by Scottish nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
+50,000	54	44	18	15
+5,000	32	62	18	17
+1,000	43	52	25	21
-1,000	24	35	29	24
areas	70	81	28	27
unknown	32	38	126	106
			244	210

TABLE 8.10(a) Scottish nativity groups moving from Glasgow by size of destinations (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
+50,000	56	13	13	16	3	100	32	29
+5,000	25	50	25			100	4	4
+1,000	25	75				100	4	3
-1,000	50	17		33		100	12	10
areas	17	17	50	17		100	6	6
unknown	22	25	21	29	3	100	129	112
							187	164

TABLE 8.10(b) Average distances (km) travelled from Glasgow by Scottish nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Native of	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
+50,000	69	48	31	29
+5,000		32	4	4
+1,000		43	4	3
-1,000		27	12	10
areas		47	6	6
unknown		40	127	112
			184	164

These figures, low as they are, not only point toward difficulties in generalising about the experiences of rural and urban natives, but also suggest that there was little straightforward progression of movement from small rural places to larger ones, and then on to towns and cities. Those declarants who made



two or more moves show that an erratic series of moves between all sizes of places was not unusual. For example, William Mudie [96] was born in the parish of Dailly in Ayrshire in 1785 and was questioned at Glasgow for robbery in August 1813. Mudie said that he married when he was 13 and soon thereafter came to Glasgow where he worked for three years as a weaver. He then went to 'Greenfield', which was probably nearby, to work as a miner for three years; this was followed by colliery work at Wishaw, near Glasgow, and then at 'Shelliemuir' in East Lothian. He returned to Wishaw and then went to Bo'ness in West Lothian where he had been employed last. He next went to Wallyford, near Musselburgh, to find work, and then arrived in Glasgow where he met with his suspected accomplice, a fellow collier.

The activities which the declarants stated they carried out at their places of stay covered a wide range and were occasionally of a casual nature, such as seeking work or selling goods. Since relatively few declarants stated the length of time of their stays it is likely that a substantial minority of their stays were transient, with many not involving any sort of permanent residence (though a search for work implies that a person was willing to stay in one place for some time). This is to caution against seeing the precognitions as reflecting 'permanent' mobility or migration flows between areas in the way that the census has been used. Yet in turn it further reinforces the

idea that AD14 reveals a truer picture of the declarants' ongoing mobility, showing movements which were used to support themselves and their dependents.

Scottish rural and urban natives moving from Glasgow, despite the problem of low numbers, show certain similarities in the types of their destinations (table 8.10 and fig. 8.16). In both cases about two-thirds of their moves were to urban places, suggesting that both groups here moved similarly within the urban system. This is again mitigated by the movements of natives who made two or more moves, among whom urban natives had extremely few moves to rural places while rural natives moved constantly between rural and urban places.

This is shown even more clearly in figs. 8.17-18 and table 8.11(a) which show the places of stay of rural and urban natives of all nationalities. Over 80 per cent of the places of stay of urban natives (who had ever been at Glasgow) were urban places while less than 60 per cent of those of rural natives were urban. (There is little difference between these figures and those for Edinburgh.) Natives of cities (fig. 8.17) had, paradoxically, the most limited range of places, with concentrations in Glasgow and Edinburgh as well as in towns and rural places in the central belt. Natives of towns (also fig. 8.17) show a wider range of places with small concentrations in Paisley and Belfast but with less contact with rural places than city natives

had. Natives of large rural places (fig. 8.18) show a similar pattern as town natives, being spread throughout Scotland and having few other rural (i.e., -1,000) places of stay. Natives of small rural places (also fig. 8.18) show a rather different pattern, primarily because of their concentrations in places in the South West as well as near Glasgow, including Greenock. Their range of places was no less than the other groups' and their places of stay outwith the South West were diverse, including all types of rural and urban places.

TABLE 8.11(a) Nativity groups (all declarants) ever at Glasgow by size of places of stay (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. stays	No. indivs.
+50,000	73	11	8	8	1	100	113	37
+5,000	44	44	7	4	1	100	104	36
+1,000	45	11	39	3	2	100	66	23
-1,000	36	19	7	37	2	100	120	32
areas	40	9	6	8	36	100	365	115
unknown	48	21	10	19	3	100	524	166
							1292	409

There is obviously a strong urban bias within the tables because of the inclusion of stays at Glasgow. The figures can be compared with table 8.11(b) which shows all the places of stay of all native groups. The urban concentration for natives of towns has only slightly decreased while it has dropped to less than 40 per cent for rural natives.

TABLE 8.11(b) Nativity groups (all declarants): size of places of stay (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. stays	No. indivs.
+50,000	66	18	6	9	1	100	160	53
+5,000	27	50	13	8	1	100	226	71
+1,000	21	17	45	15	2	100	168	55
-1,000	18	15	12	51	4	100	291	82
areas	22	13	11	18	37	100	732	221
unknown	18	21	15	41	4	100	2150	769
							<u>3727</u>	<u>1251</u>

This table, however, also has a bias, but here it is toward the declarants' places of nativity. Thus table 8.11(c) shows nativity groups' places of stay after they left their places of origin. This is to discover whether people moved primarily to the same type of places as they were originally from (e.g., natives of cities moving mostly to cities) or whether they were more spread out between other rural and urban places. City natives had about half of their stays in cities with another quarter at towns. The proportion of town natives at towns was similar to that of city natives, but smaller at cities and greater at large rural places; this suggests that there were sectoral, as well as geographical, differences between these two urban groups. Rural natives continued this trend of declining proportions at cities but the increases occurred at small rural places, moving to 23 per cent for natives of large rural places, and 33 per cent for those of small rural places.

TABLE 8.11(c) Nativity groups of all nationalities:  
size of places of stay excluding places of nativity (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. stays	No. indvs.
+50,000	49	26	9	13	2	100	106	52
+5,000	39	28	20	12	1	100	152	68
+1,000	30	25	18	23	4	100	111	54
-1,000	24	21	16	33	6	100	211	81
areas	31	18	16	26	10	100	507	217
unknown	18	21	15	41	4	100	2150	769
							<u>3237</u>	<u>1241</u>

This trend is echoed in table 8.11(d) which shows the places of stay of native groups who were ever at Glasgow, but which also excludes places of nativity as well as stays at Glasgow. The proportions of stays at cities declines for each group going down the table but those for stays at small rural places (column four) only increases for natives of small rural places. The trend for the first three native groups is increasing stays at towns, moving from 24 per cent to 32 to 44. This is, however, hampered by the low figure for natives of large rural places. Nevertheless, the figures for natives of cities, and of small rural places, suggest that the former stayed primarily within the urban sector while the latter stayed almost equally in both sectors, concentrating on small rural places and towns. This reinforces the idea that the two urban societies discussed by Langton and Hoppe were present among the declarants but were also muted because of some similarities in their occupations and social status.

TABLE 8.11(d) Nativity groups of all nationalities ever at Glasgow: size of places of stay excluding places of nativity and stays at Glasgow (%)

Native of	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. stays	No. moves
+50,000	41	24	18	16	2	100	51	30
+5,000	29	32	23	13	3	100	31	15
+1,000	19	44	19	13	6	100	16	5
-1,000	11	43	15	26	4	100	53	21
areas	12	29	19	26	15	100	117	42
unknown	11	36	17	32	5	100	303	152
							<u>571</u>	<u>265</u>

The movements of occupational groups to towns and cities are difficult to study through the precognitions because of the low numbers involved. One way around this is to compare the places of stay of occupational groups in order to determine how different their patterns of movement were. Table 8.13 shows the size of all places of stay for occupational groups who had ever stayed at Glasgow. The patterns of four of these groups are found in figs. 8.19-20. Labourers and hawkers (fig. 8.19) were both involved in the most casual forms of work (see chapter nine) and thus tended to have more casual movements in their searches for work and custom. A greater proportion of hawkers' stays were at towns and large rural places while labourers stayed more often at small rural places and areas. The patterns of their places of stay are somewhat more complicated than the table suggests. Labourers who had ever been at Glasgow concentrated in the central belt though they did have outlying places in the North East, the Highlands and particularly Ireland. Hawkers on the other hand were found scattered throughout Scotland (and Ireland) with a

greater emphasis on the West, the South West and Perthshire than on areas east of Glasgow (excluding Edinburgh).

TABLE 8.13 Occupational groups ever at Glasgow by size of places of stay (%)

Occupational group	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. stays	No. indivs.
Agric.- fields	31	14	10	38	7	100	29	5
Farm servants	13	27	10	50		100	30	4
Labourers	40	16	7	20	17	100	105	28
Commerce	52	9	14	16	10	100	58	21
Dress	51	27	7	1	13	100	82	30
Hawkers	42	27	13	9	9	100	159	29
Minerals	46	14	10	21	8	100	71	20
Textiles	45	16	11	17	11	100	141	39
Weavers	43	12	11	16	18	100	170	55
Soldiers	53	19	2		26	100	43	19
Professional	50	17	3	17	14	100	36	10
Other	59	18	12	3	8	100	92	36
Unknown	52	19	6	13	10	100	162	61
							1178	357

Finally, males in two legal groups moving to and from Glasgow, are examined through tables 8.14-15. These show that theft suspects' movements originated almost twice as frequently at urban places than did witnesses'. This is reflected in the former group's strong ties with Edinburgh and several towns in the west (fig. 8.20). However, this difference is not found in the ranges of the two groups, with both having similar median distances and geographical patterns, though witnesses were, in several cases, coming from farther away. Conclusions regarding movement from Glasgow for these groups are problematic, mostly because of the low numbers of witnesses whose moves within Glasgow reduce their median distance for out-movement (table 8.15(b)).

TABLE 8.14(a) Males in legal groups moving to Glasgow by size of origins (%)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Property-theft	23	29	14	13	21	100	122	108
Witnesses	14	19	19	13	36	100	70	65
							192	173

TABLE 8.15(b) Average distances (km) travelled to Glasgow by males in legal groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Legal group	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Property-theft	34	44	93	81
Witnesses	32	50	49	46
			142	127

TABLE 8.16(a) Males in legal groups moving from Glasgow by size of destinations (%)

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
Property-theft	31	33	16	20	100	86	76
Witnesses	44	24	8	24	100	25	24
						111	100

TABLE 8.16(b) Average distances (km) travelled from Glasgow by males in legal groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

Legal group	Med.	Mean	No. moves	No. indivs.
Property-theft	35	43	85	76
Witnesses	14	32	25	24
			110	100

The lack of information from witnesses may lie at the root of their different pattern of the places of stay of these groups who were ever at Glasgow (table 8.17 and fig. 8.22). However, there is also the likelihood that they were in practice more limited in the range of their mobility. This is clearly the case for the information available as witnesses stayed almost



entirely within the Glasgow area though there were some ties with Ireland, the Lothians and Tayside. Theft suspects on the other hand had a strong presence at all types of places throughout the country. Again, these are tendencies more than outright distinctions, yet they too lend credence to the idea that suspects (particularly of theft) ranged farther and were more transient than witnesses.

TABLE 8.17 *Legal groups: size of places of stay (%)*

Legal group	+50	+5	+1	-1	areas	Pct.	No. moves	No. indivs.
State crimes	55		10	17	19	100	42	16
Public trade	24	15	11	37	13	100	246	74
Public peace	30	18	10	18	24	100	50	21
Judicial	5	15	33	43	5	100	40	18
Sexual	19	15	9	52	5	100	117	28
Violent	16	15	13	41	15	100	393	123
Property-theft	21	27	17	26	9	100	1445	436
Property-robb.	24	27	19	21	10	100	250	62
Fraud	24	18	15	35	8	100	147	42
Witnesses	21	16	13	41	9	100	963	426
							3693	1246

### 8.3 Conclusions

This chapter, in conjunction with the previous one, has aimed to examine regional and sectoral links through mobility patterns and trends. There is a great deal of information in AD14 which, when disaggregated, shows complex patterns. Yet the certainty of these is hampered by the often low numbers of people. To summarise, groups which were expected to focus on rural or urban places were found to do so; for example, urban occupational groups and urban natives stayed more often at urban than rural places, while agricultural workers

and rural natives tended more toward rural places. In addition, almost all groups had a regional focus (except a few occupational groups such as sailors), but the 'region' in which they operated was larger than those dominated by any one town or city. This is reinforced by movement to and from Glasgow, and the places of stay of groups ever at Glasgow. Nativity groups in particular showed urban and rural tendencies which corresponded to their places of birth or upbringing. Nevertheless, these conclusions are mitigated not only by the low numbers but also by the consistent lack of any group's overwhelming concentration at either rural or urban places. This goes some way toward suggesting that all groups were involved in circulatory movement to some degree. It is likely that the declarants in this time period were thus closer to Langton and Hoppe's circulatory plebians than to the stereotype rural-urban migrants who drifted toward both the city and their eventual urbanization.

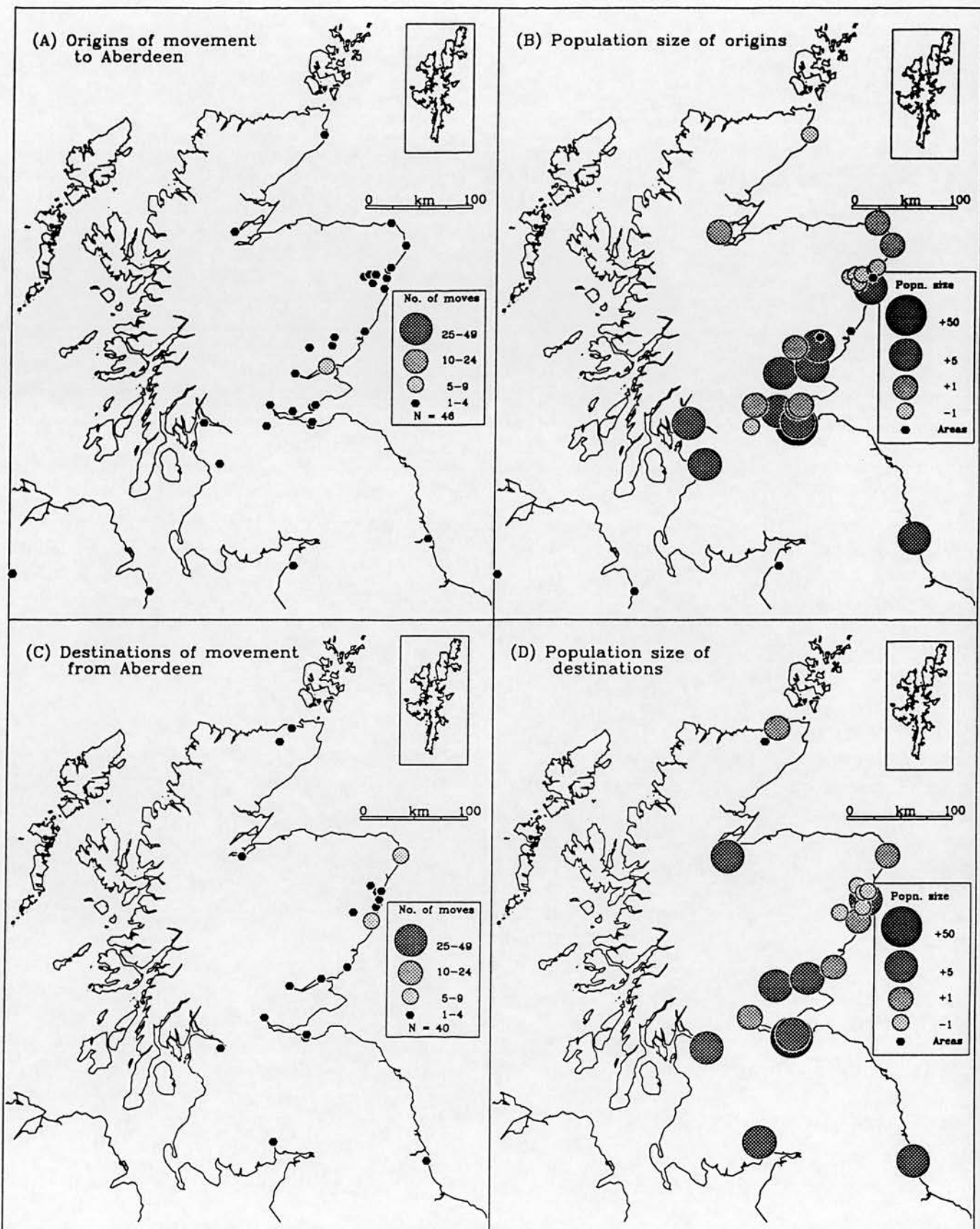


Fig. 8.1

Movement to and from Aberdeen (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

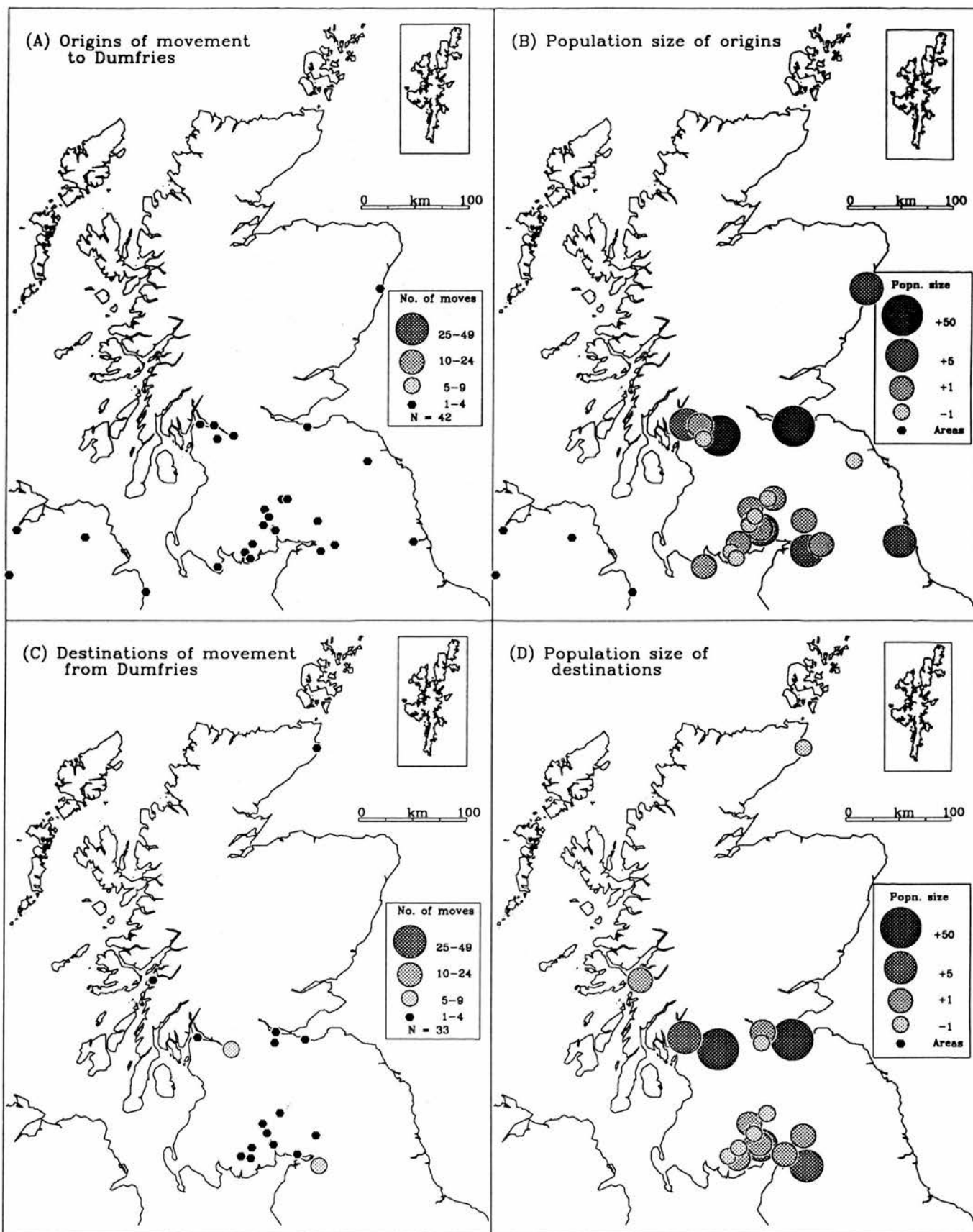


Fig. 8.2

Movement to and from Dumfries (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

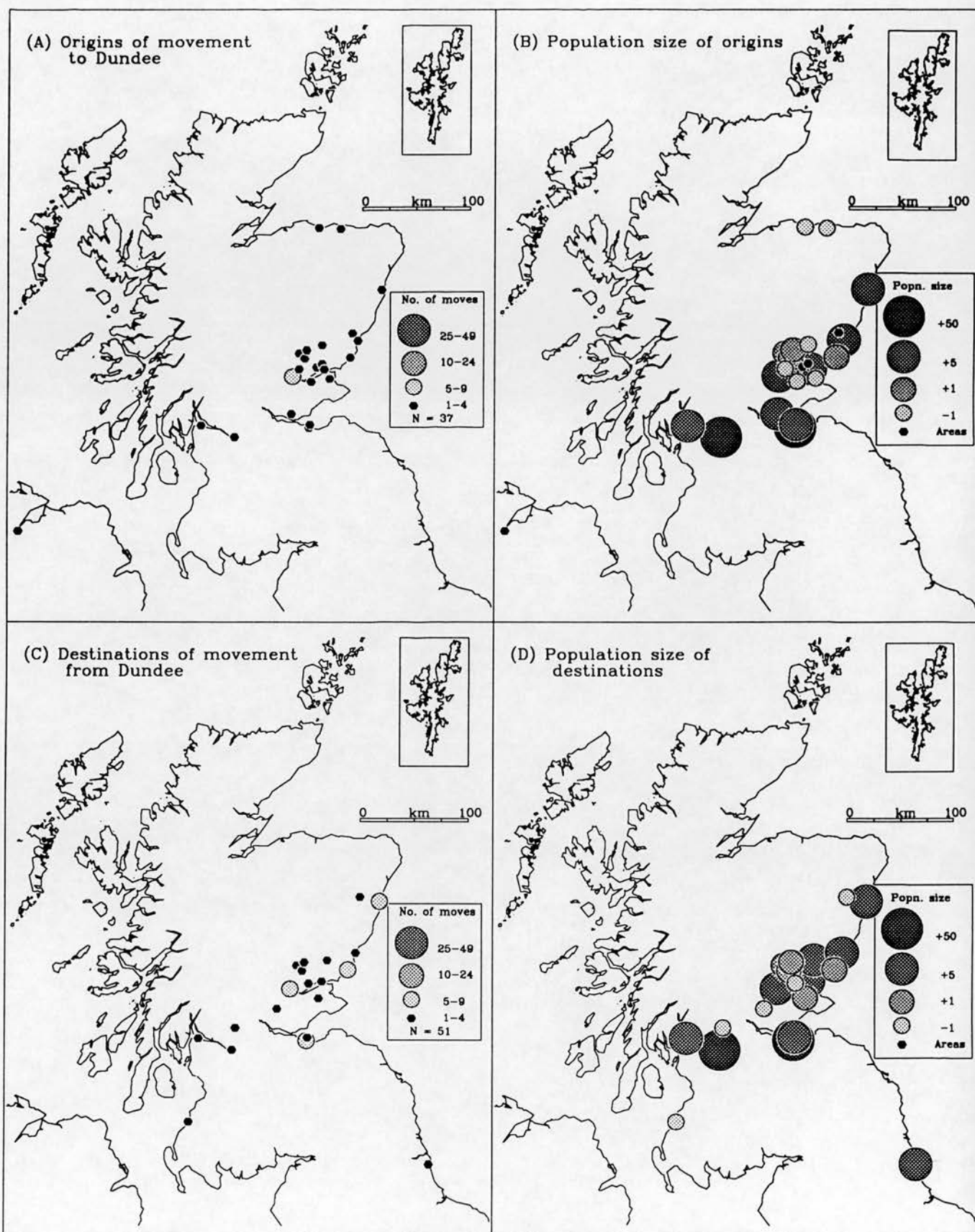


Fig. 8.3

Movement to and from Dundee (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

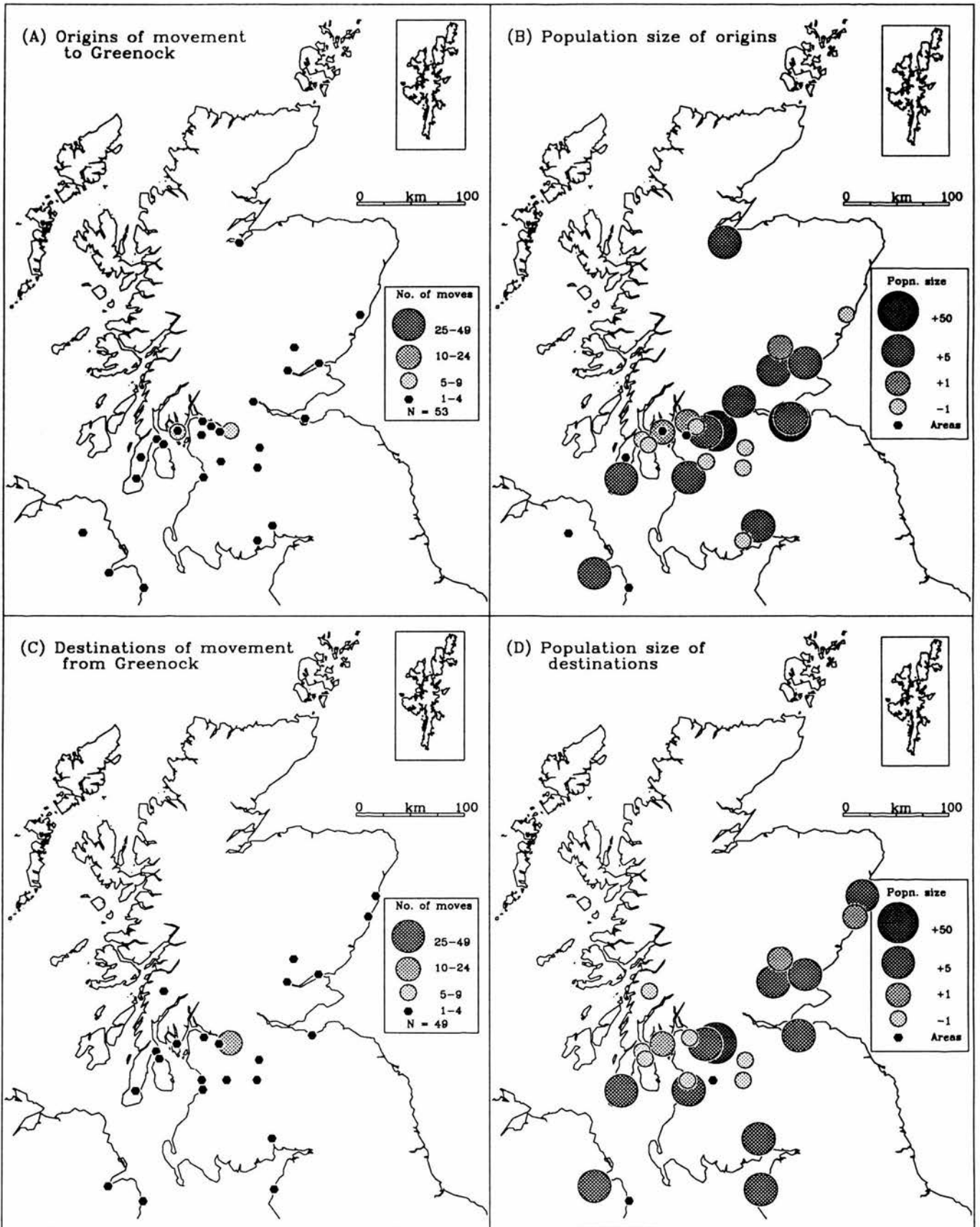


Fig. 8.4

Movement to and from Greenock (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

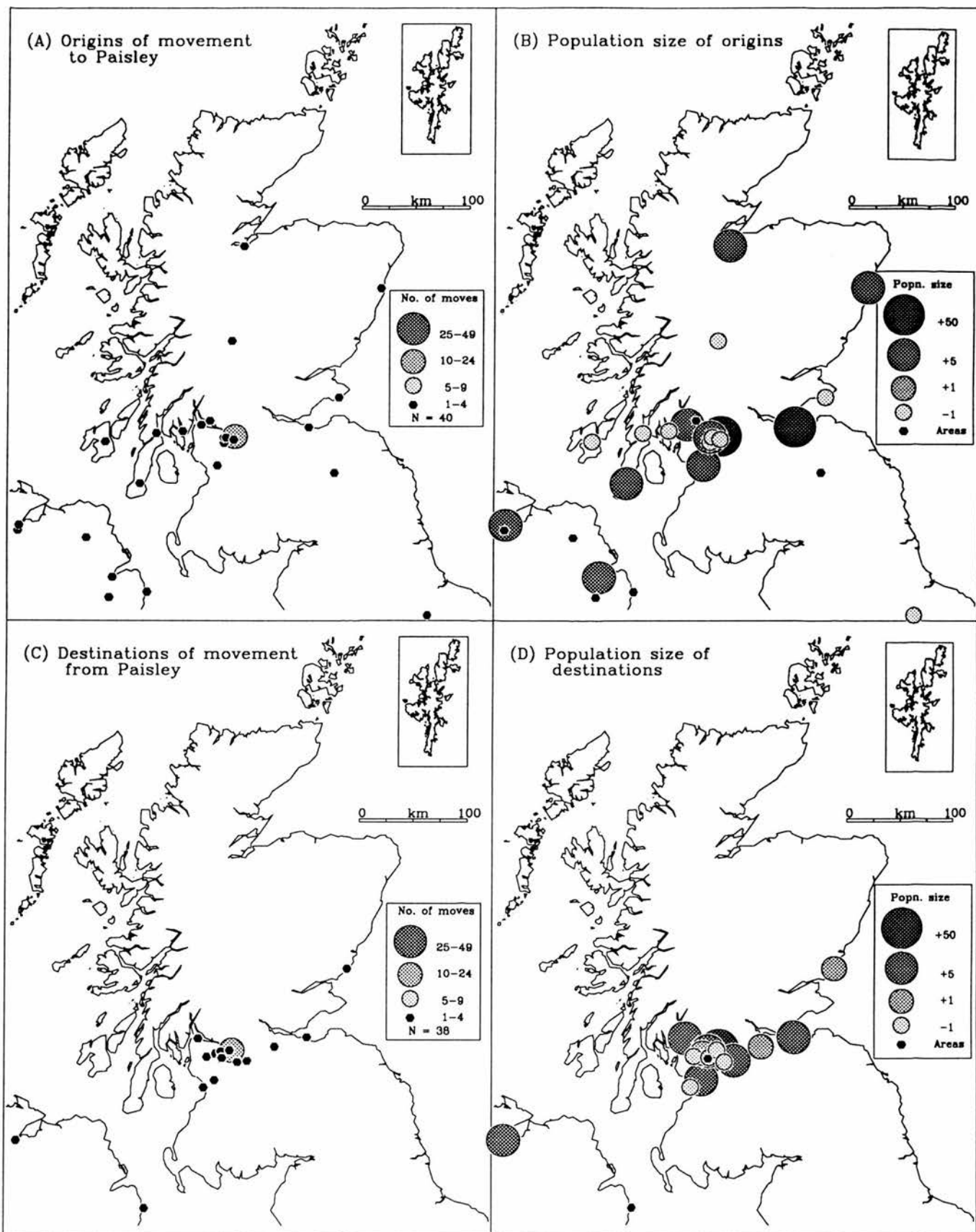


Fig. 8.5

Movement to and from Paisley (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

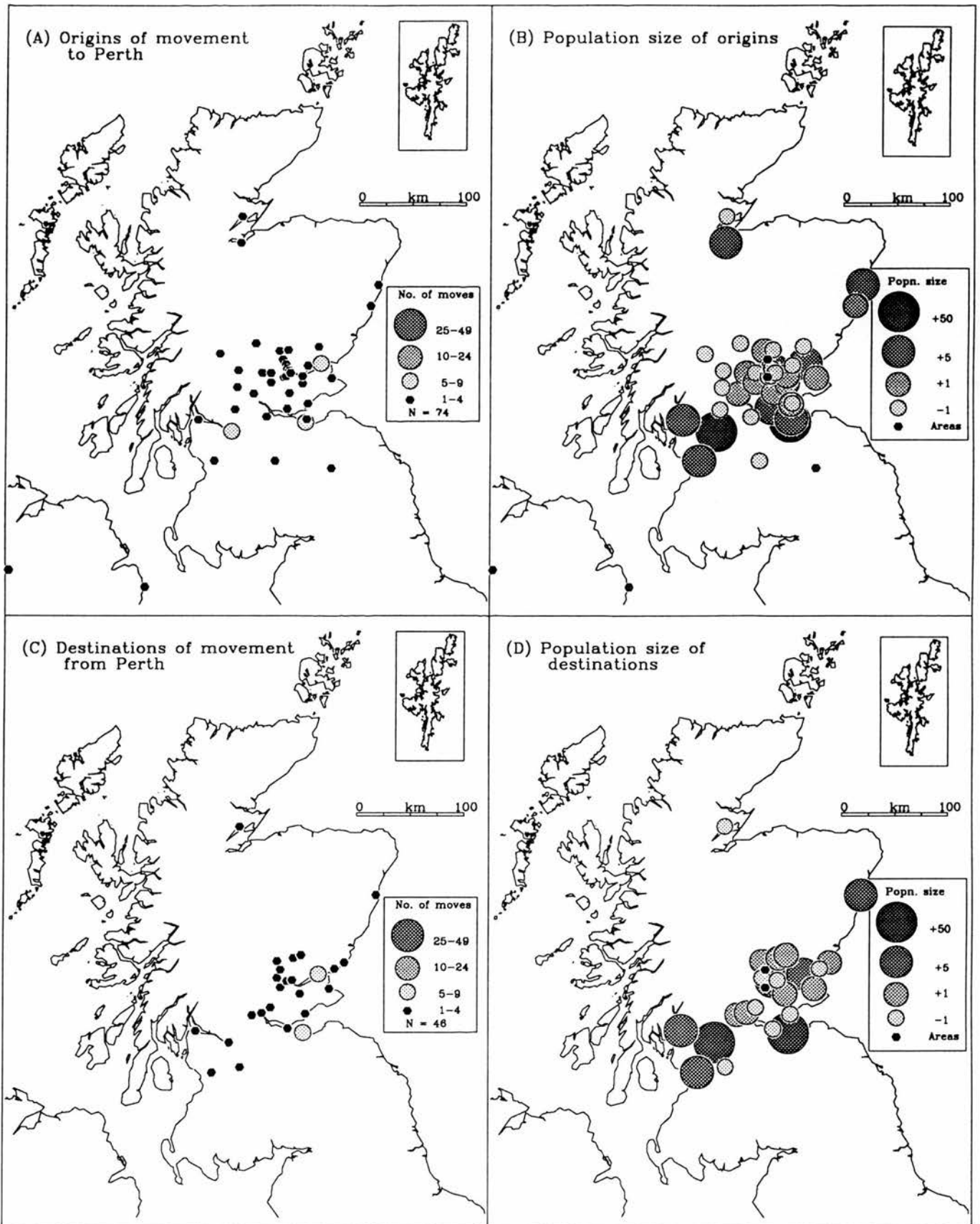


Fig. 8.6

Movement to and from Perth (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).



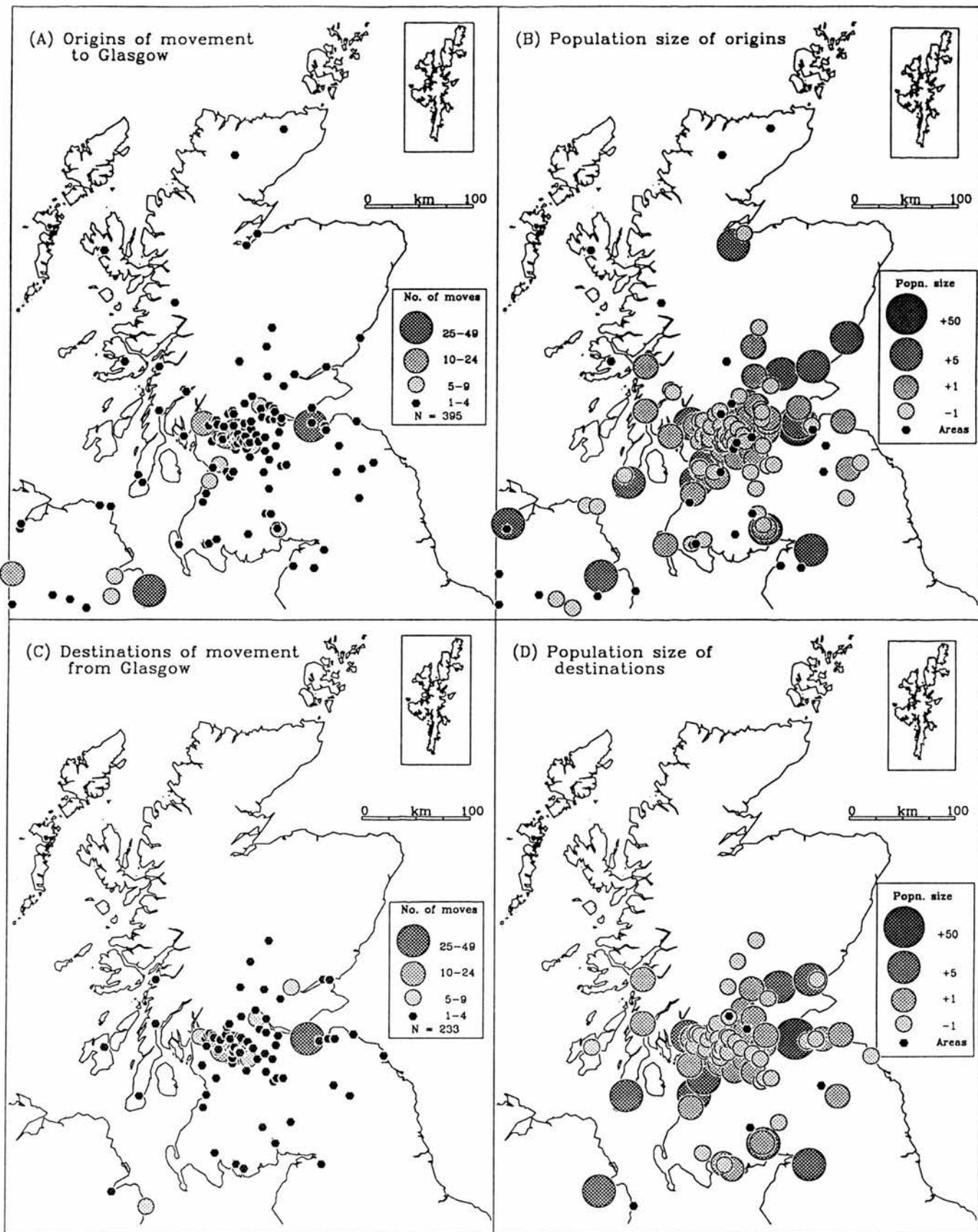


Fig. 8.7.1

Movement to and from Glasgow (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

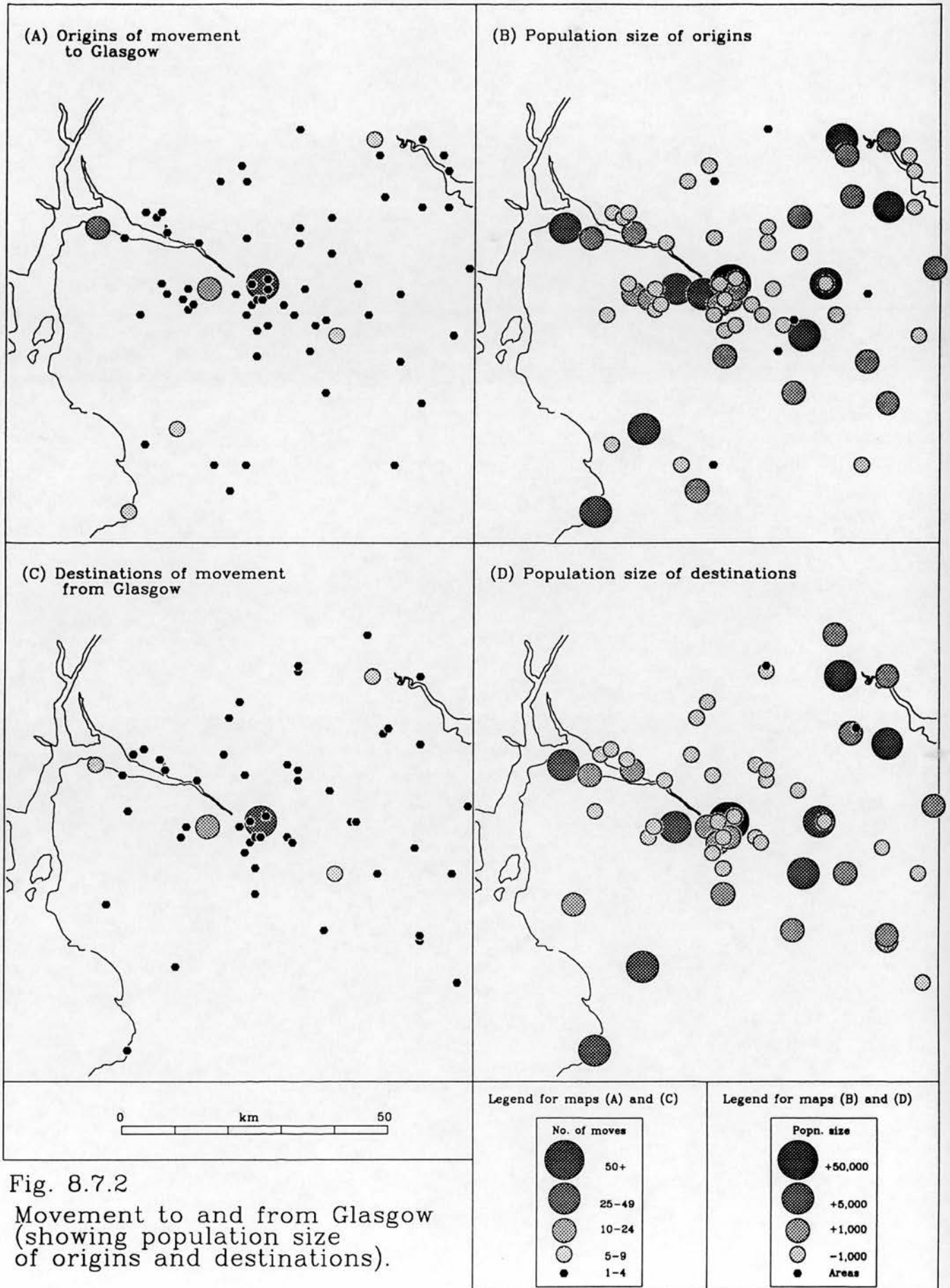


Fig. 8.7.2  
 Movement to and from Glasgow  
 (showing population size  
 of origins and destinations).

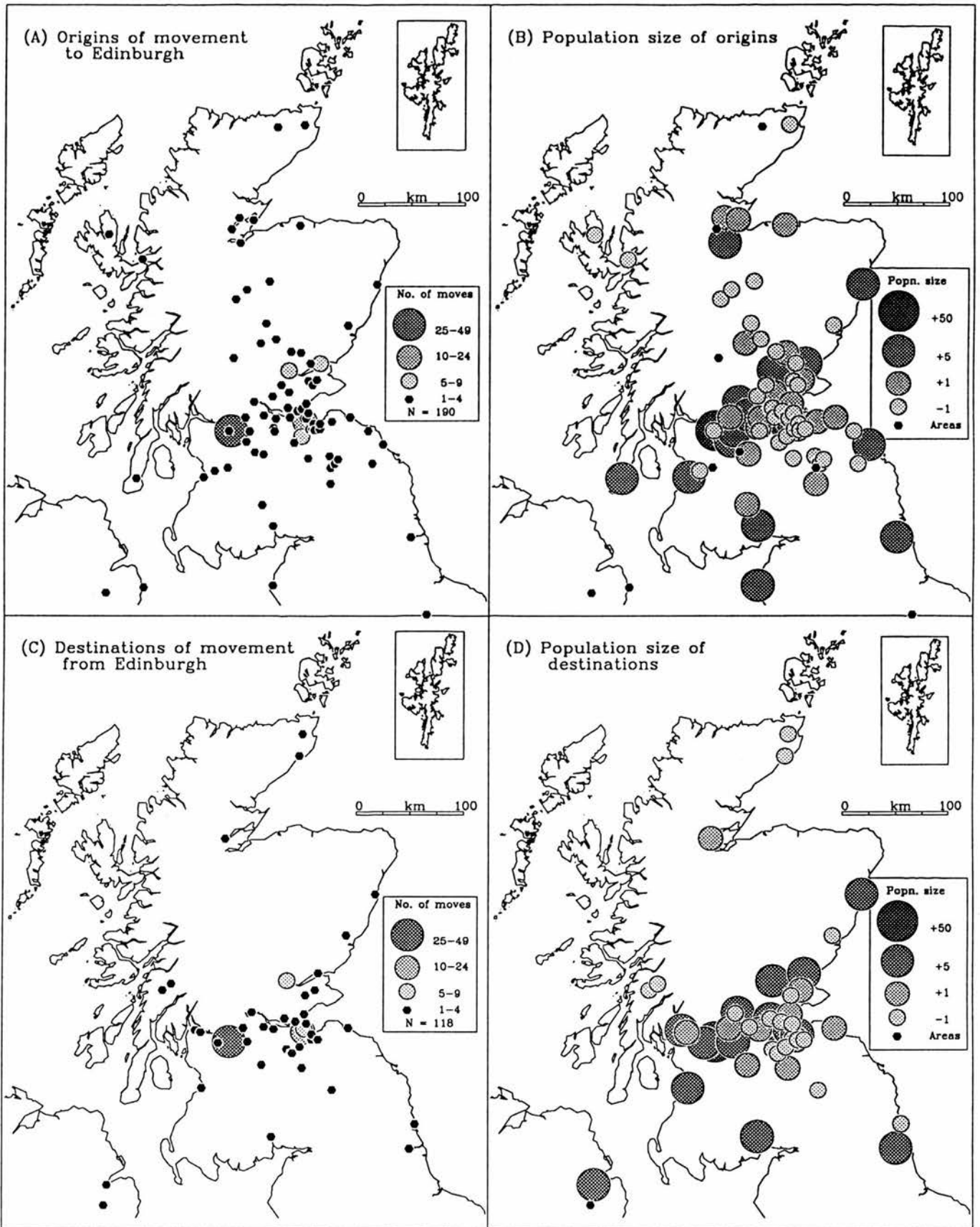


Fig. 8.8.1

Movement to and from Edinburgh (showing population size of origins and destinations in 000s).

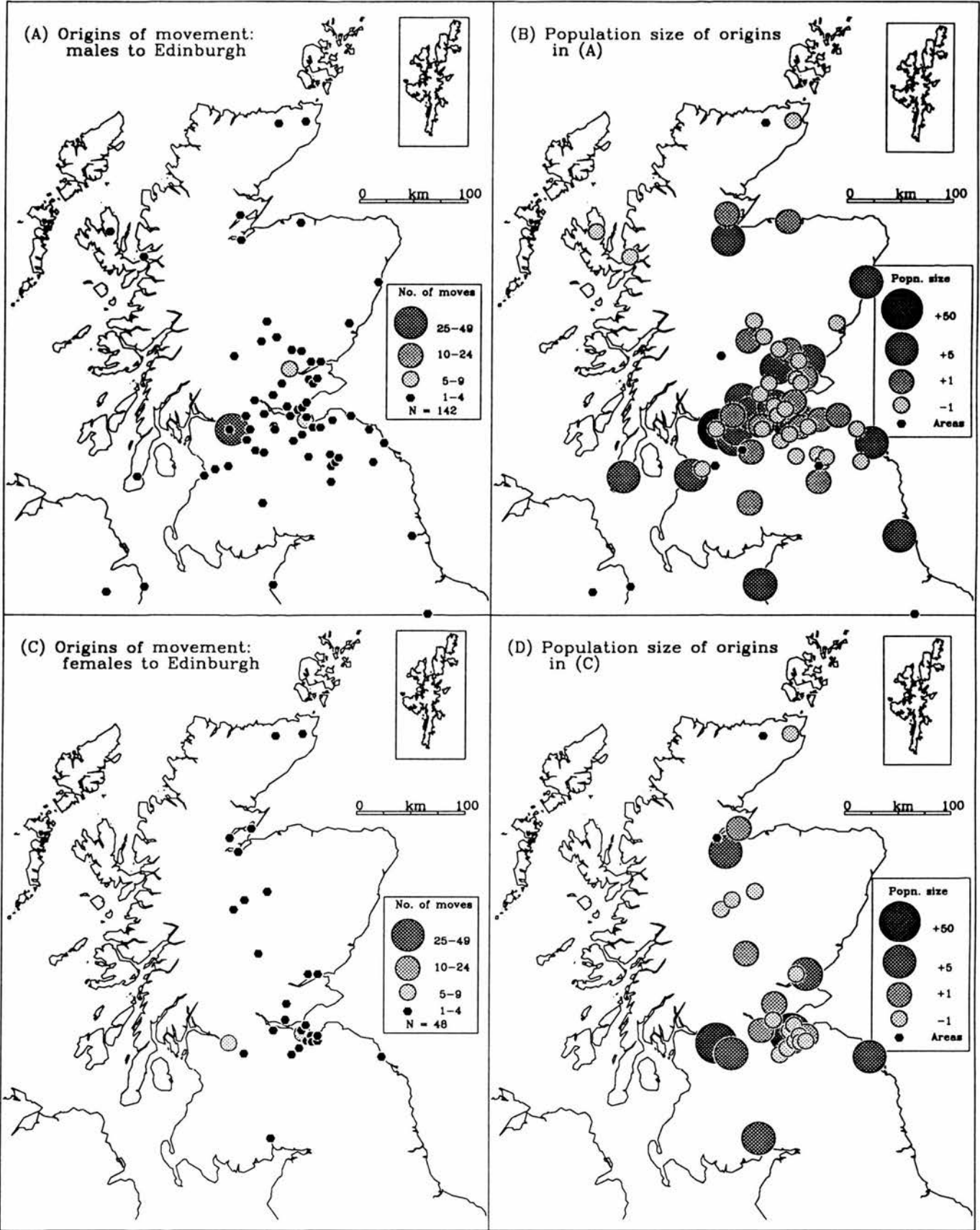


Fig. 8.9.1

Movement of males and females to Edinburgh (showing population size of origins in 000s).

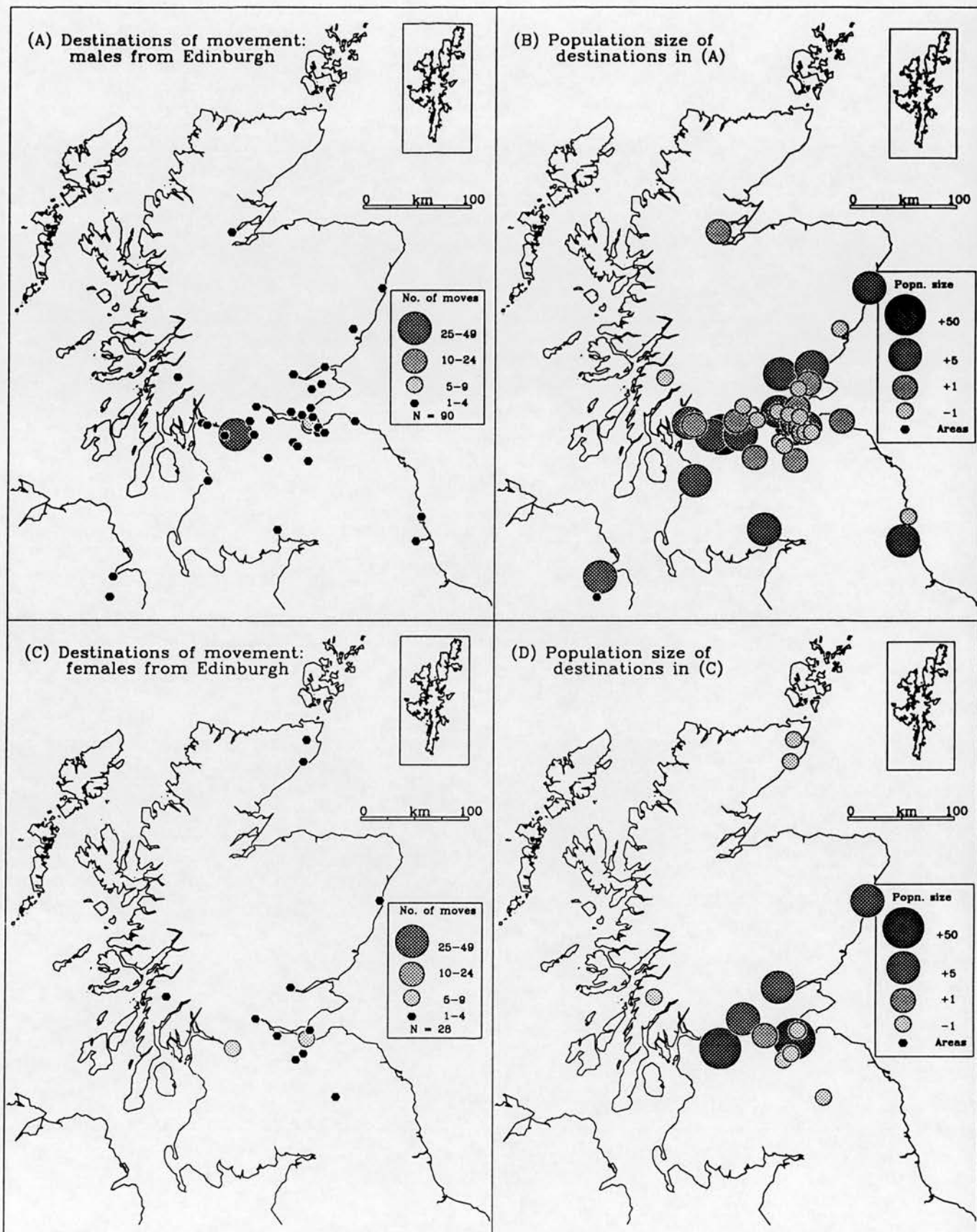


Fig. 8.10

Movement of males and females from Edinburgh (showing population size of destinations in 000s).

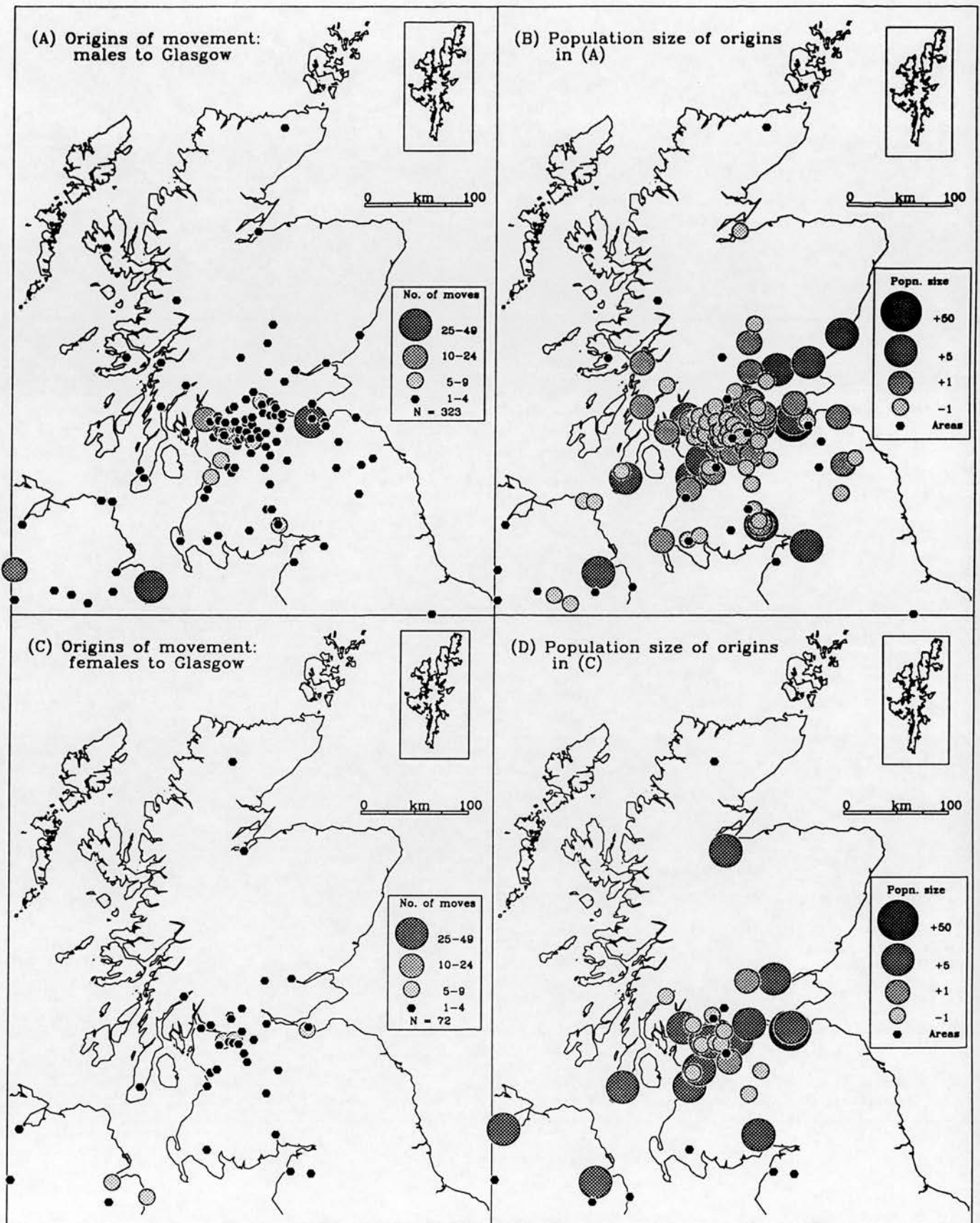


Fig. 8.11.1

Movement of males and females to Glasgow (showing the population size of origins in 000s).

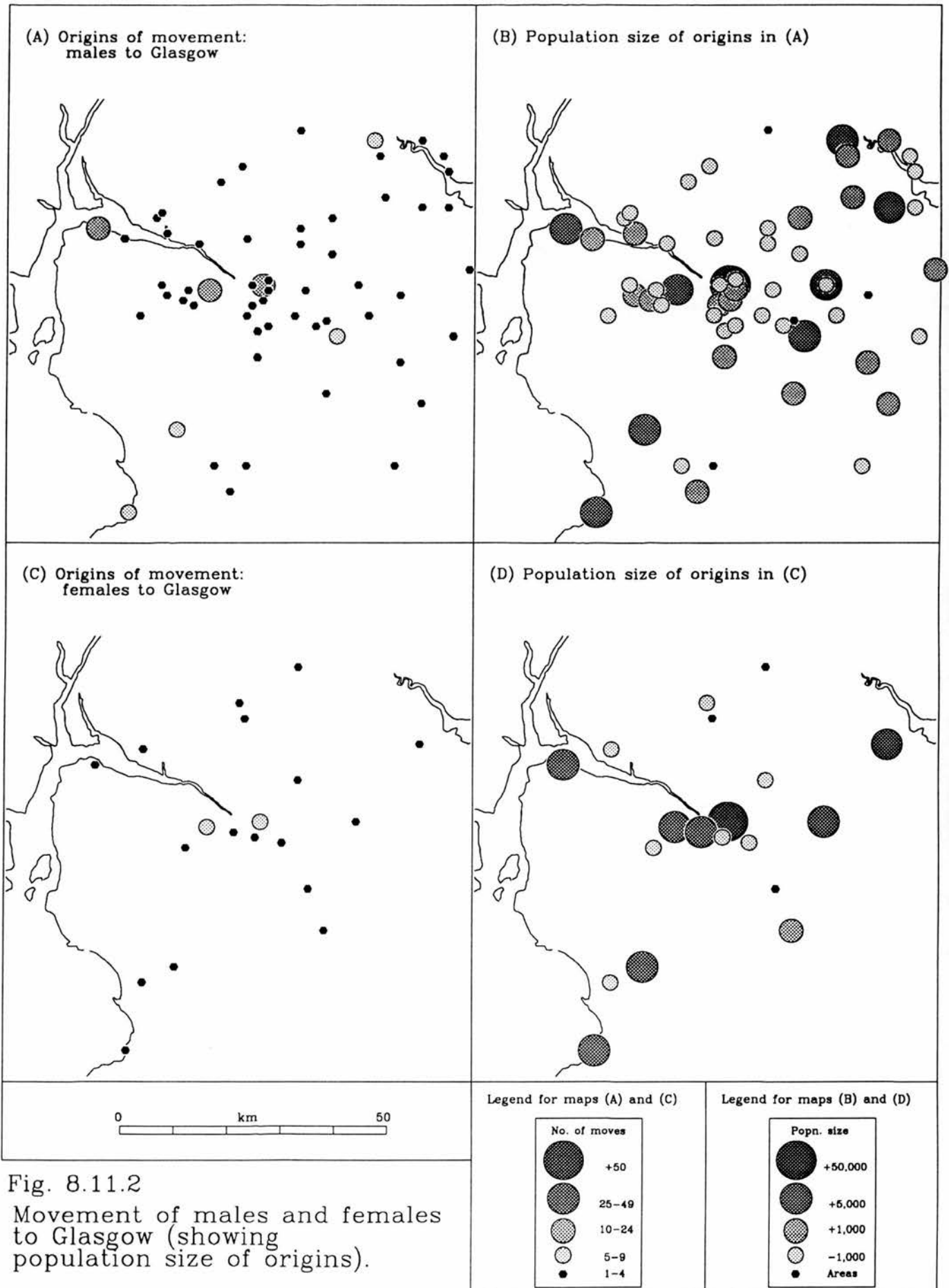


Fig. 8.11.2  
 Movement of males and females to Glasgow (showing population size of origins).

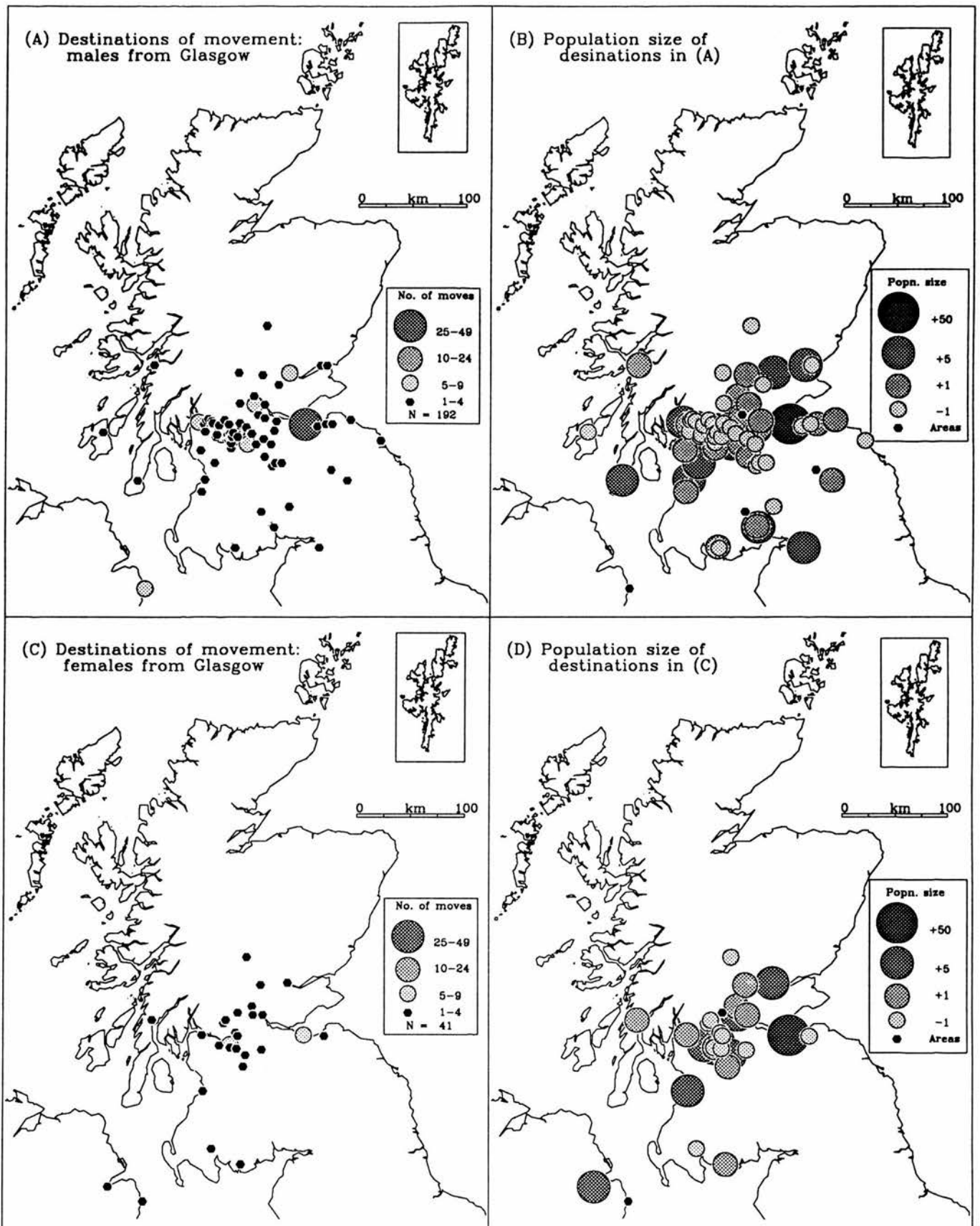


Fig. 8.12.1  
 Movement of males and females from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations in 000s).



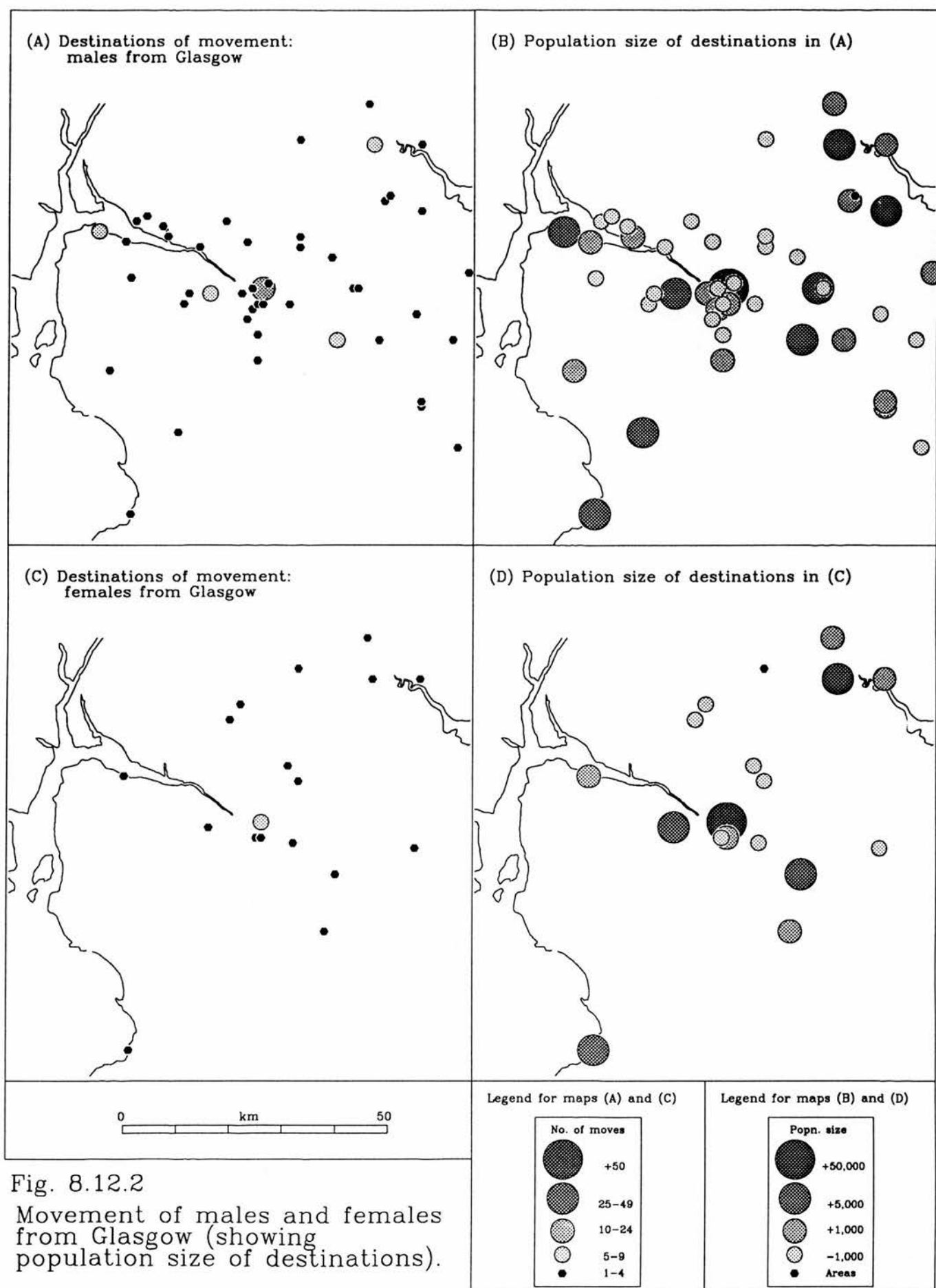


Fig. 8.12.2  
 Movement of males and females from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations).

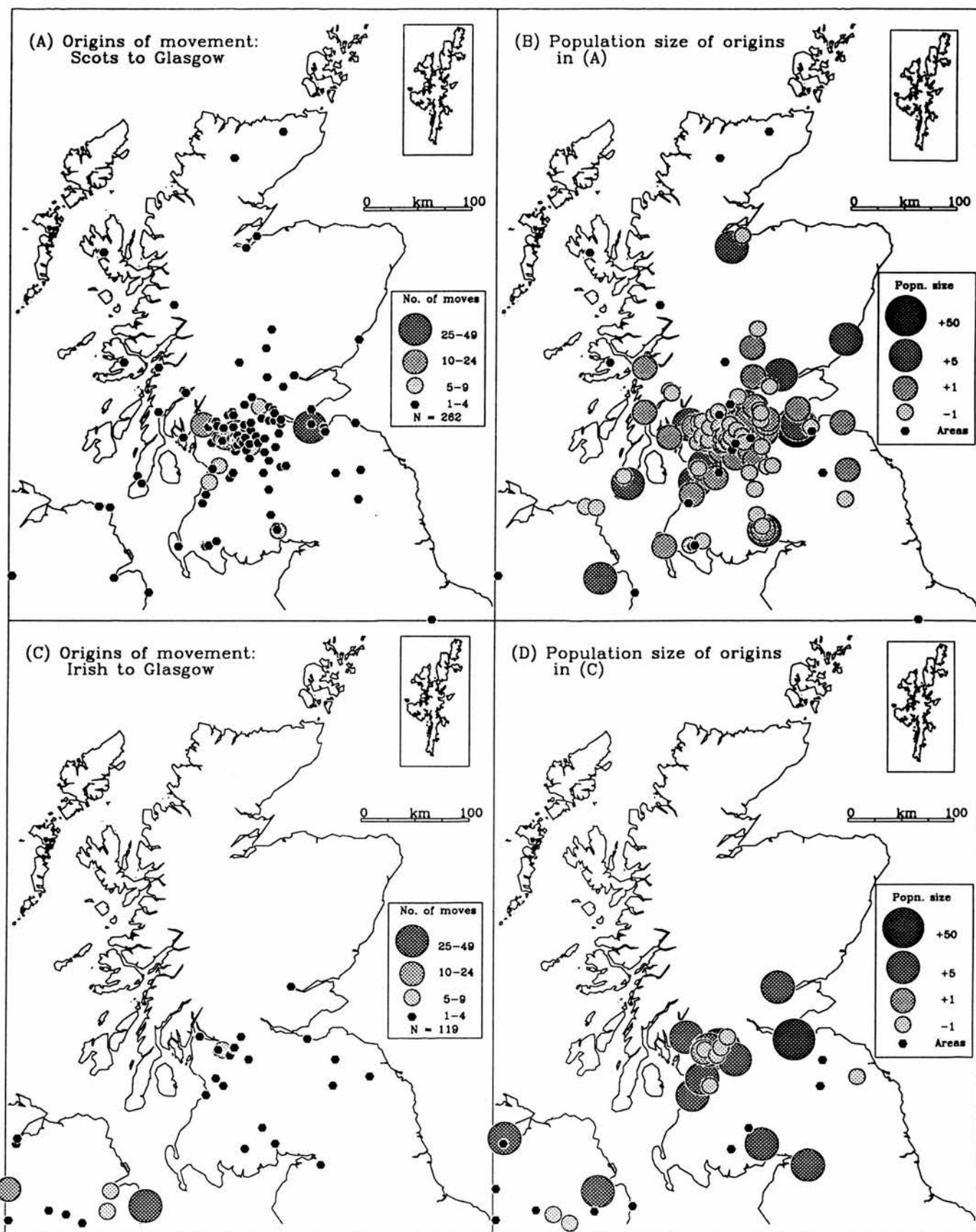


Fig. 8.13.1

Movement of Scots and Irish to Glasgow (showing population size of origins in 000s).

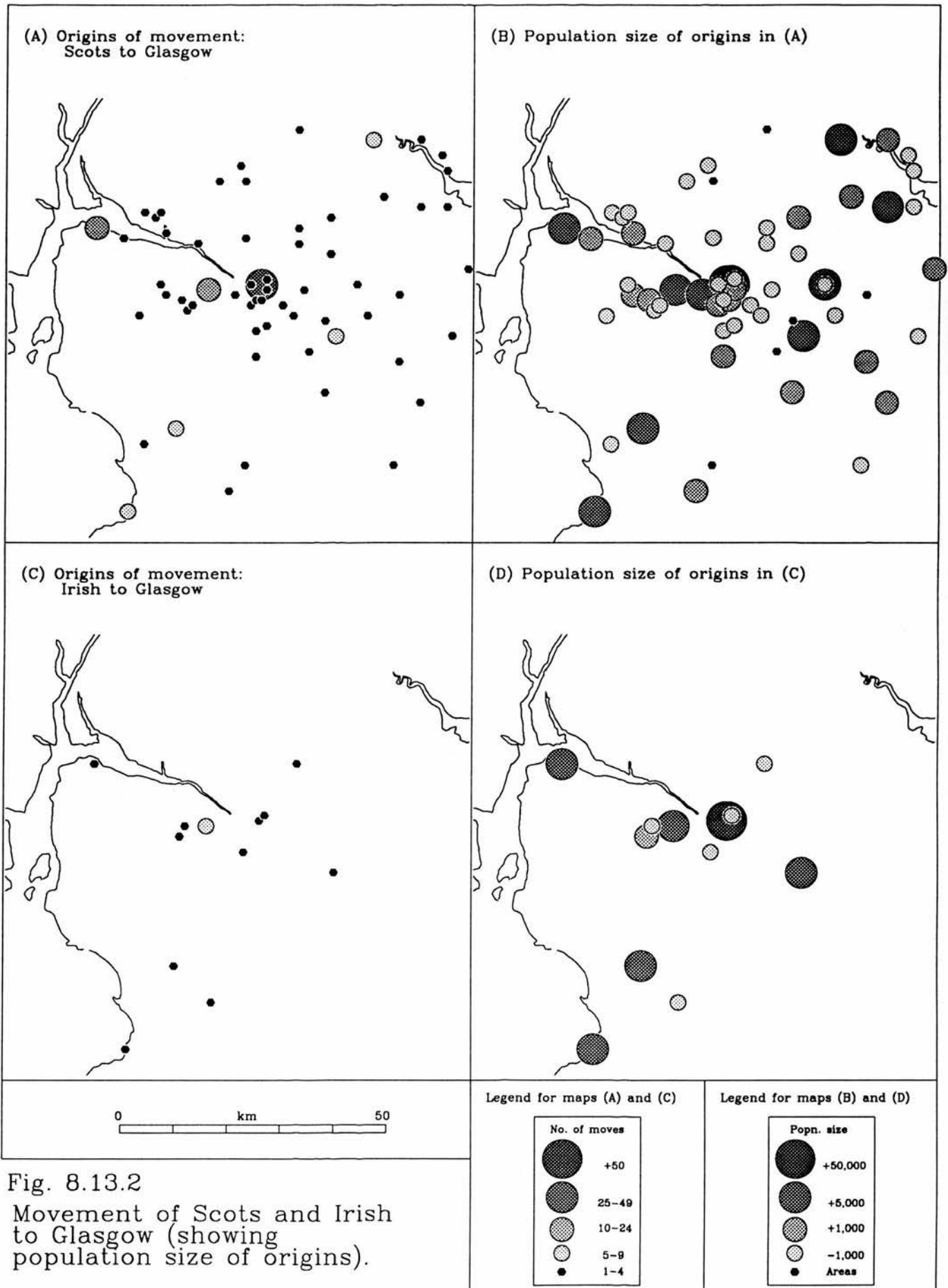


Fig. 8.13.2  
Movement of Scots and Irish  
to Glasgow (showing  
population size of origins).

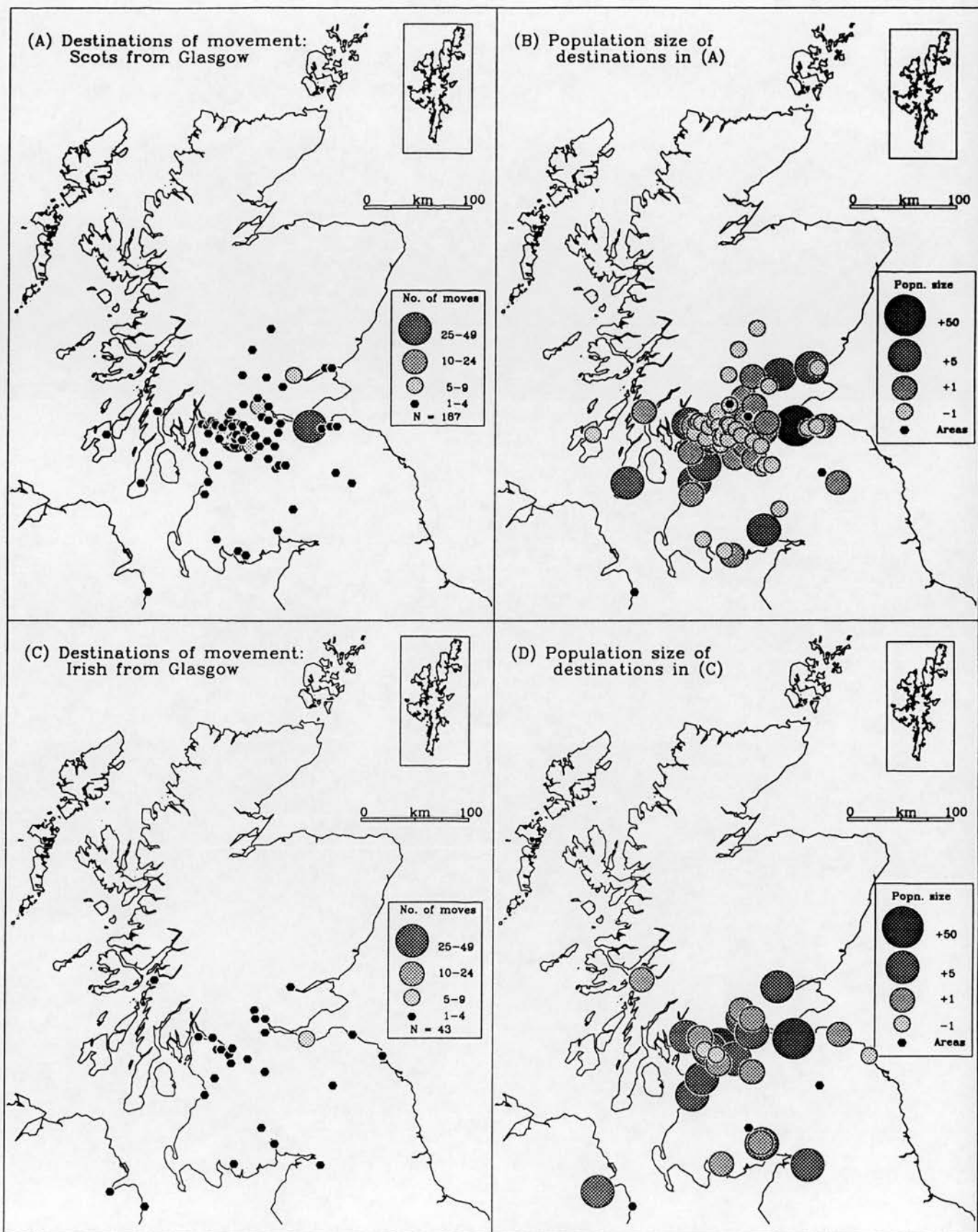


Fig. 8.14.1

Movement of Scots and Irish from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations in 000s).

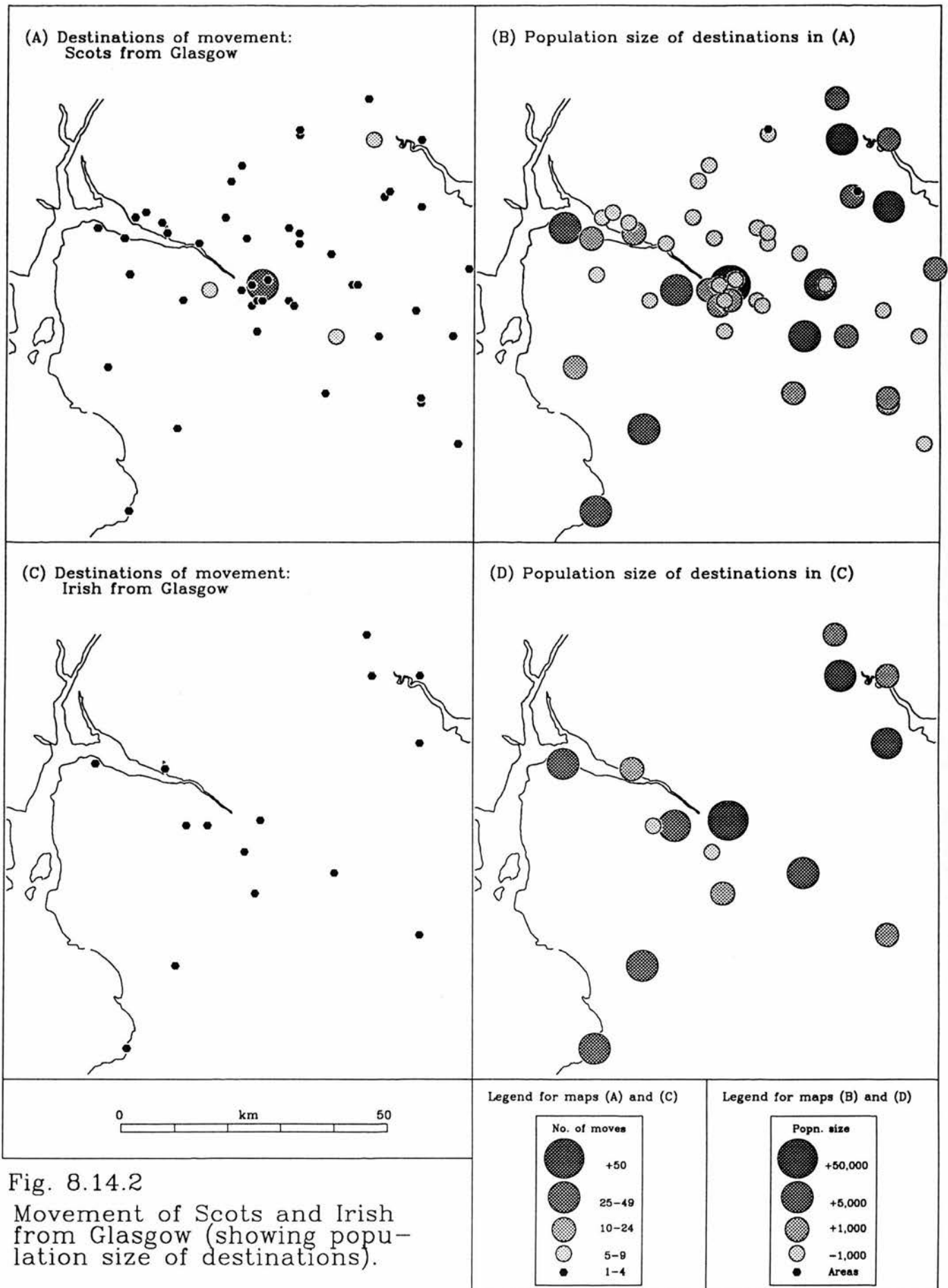


Fig. 8.14.2  
 Movement of Scots and Irish from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations).

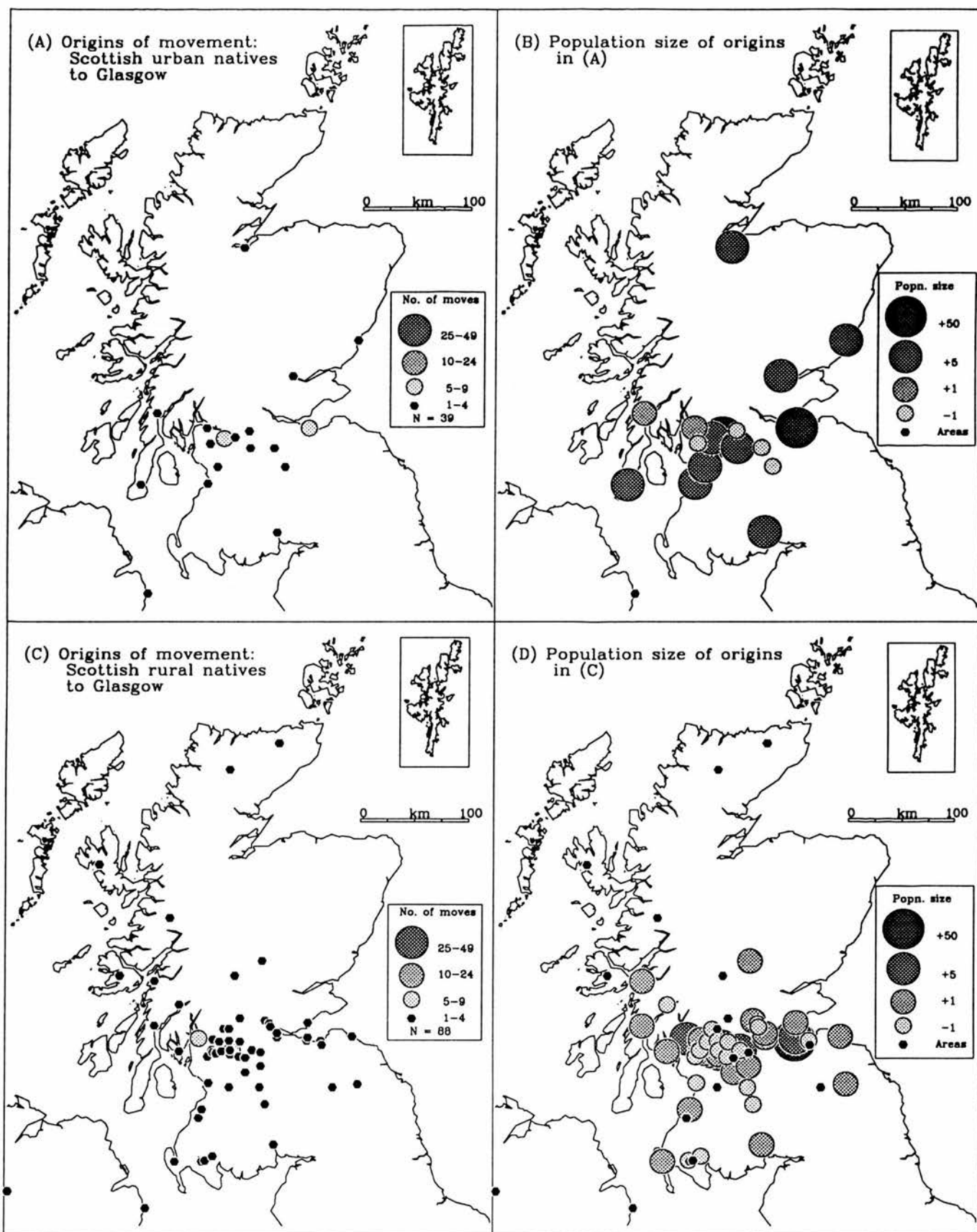


Fig. 8.15.1

Movement of Scottish urban and rural natives to Glasgow (showing population size of origins in 000s).

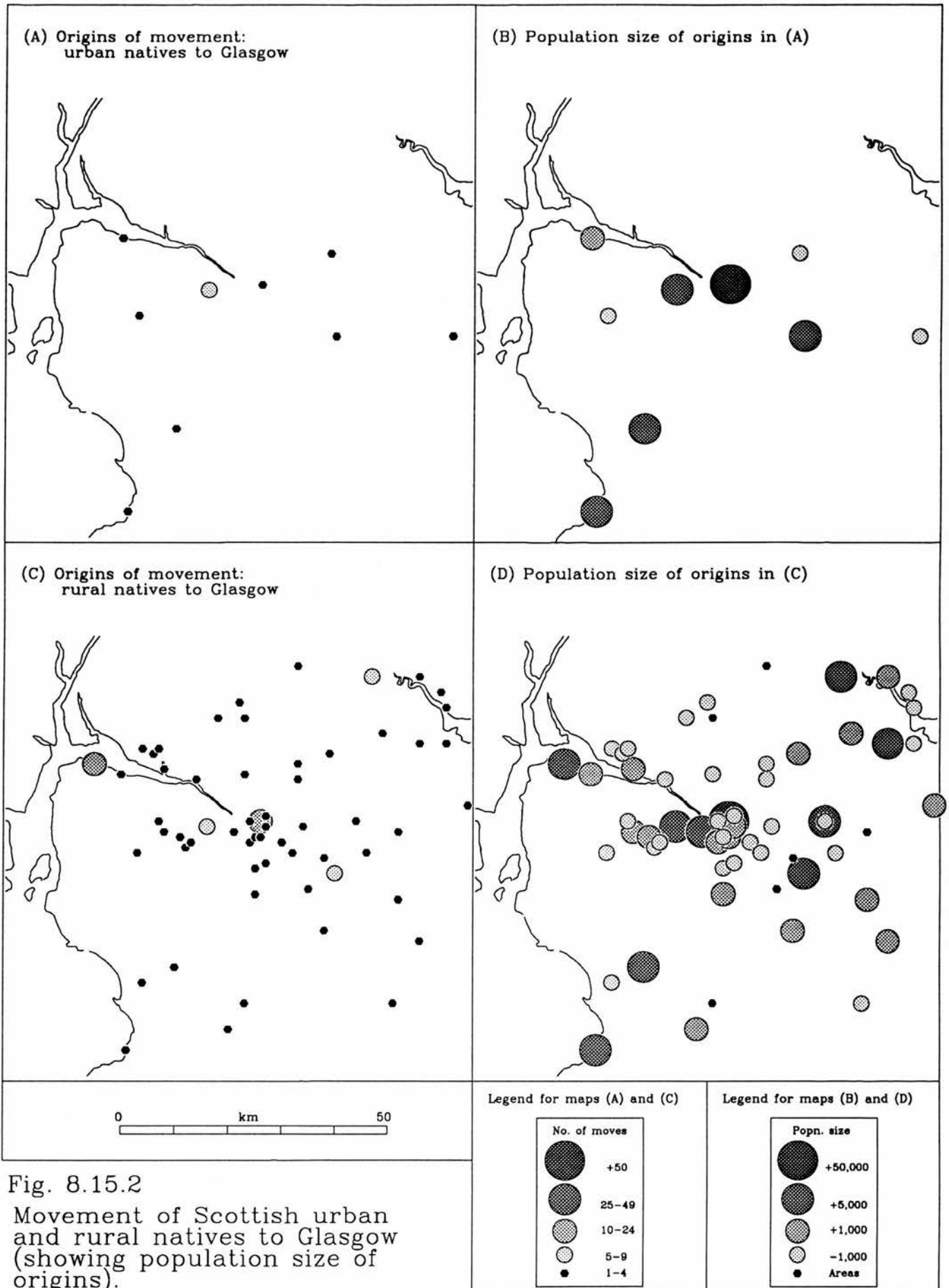


Fig. 8.15.2  
 Movement of Scottish urban and rural natives to Glasgow (showing population size of origins).

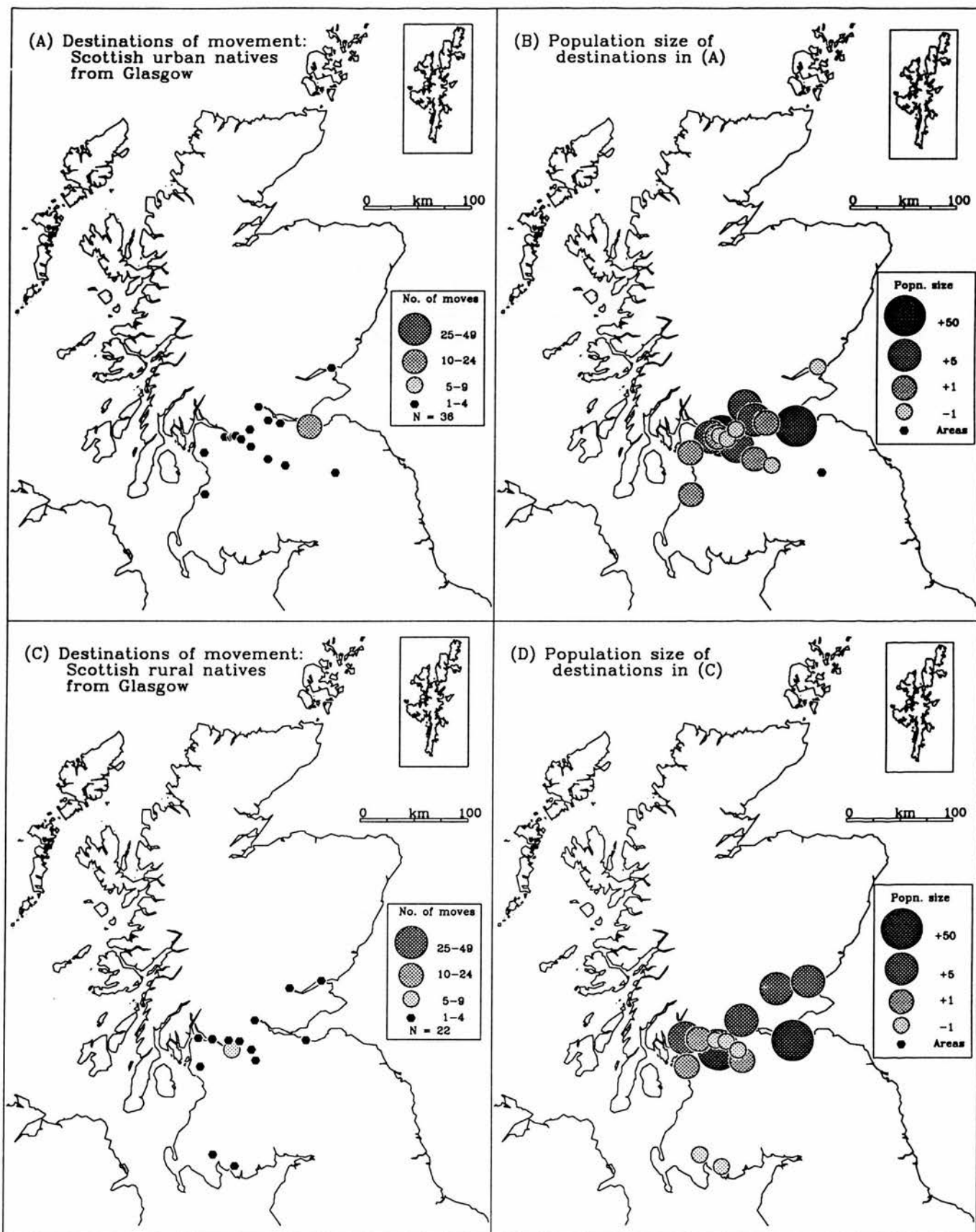


Fig. 8.16.1

Movement of Scottish urban and rural natives from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations in 000s).



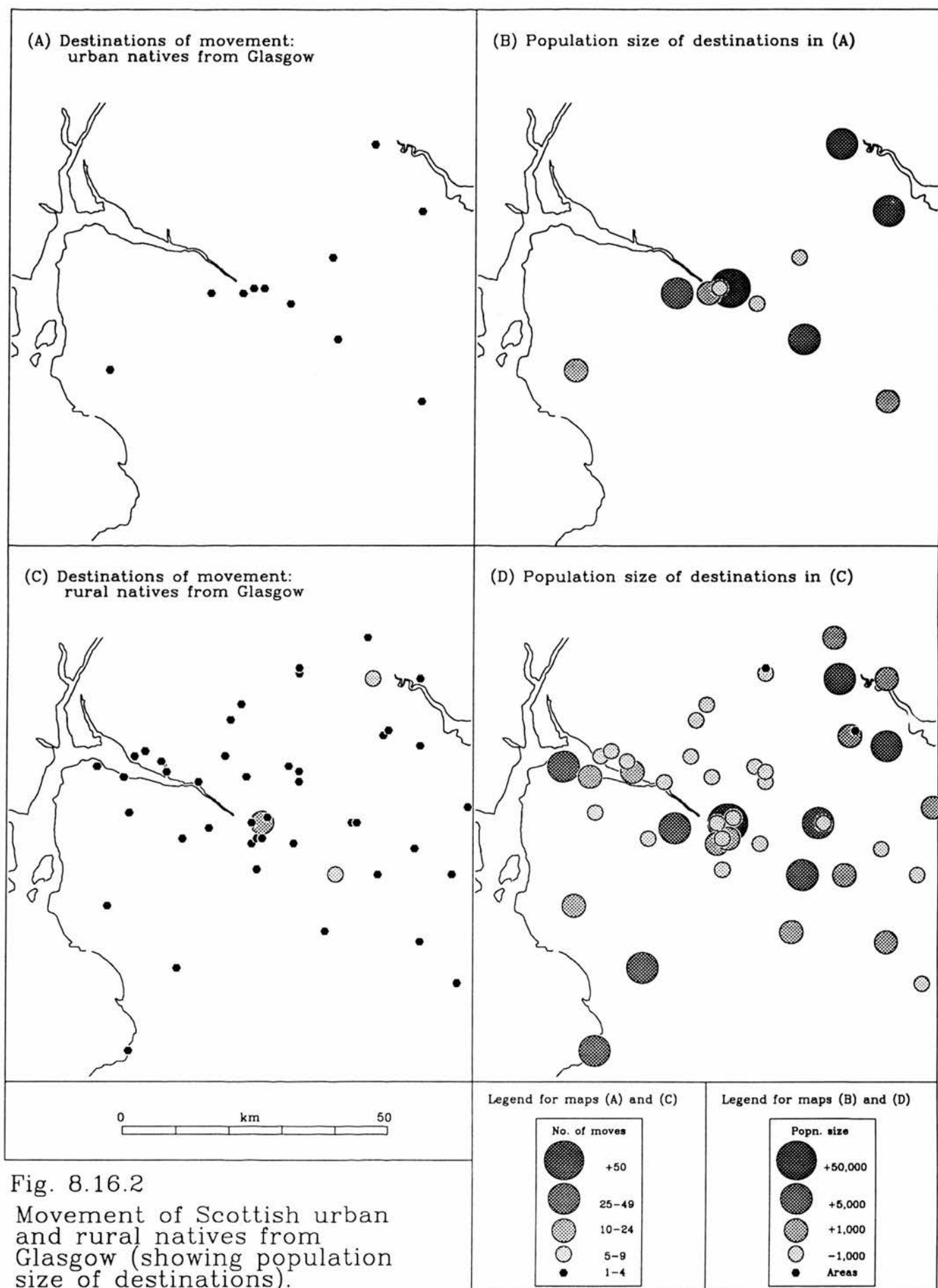


Fig. 8.16.2

Movement of Scottish urban and rural natives from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations).

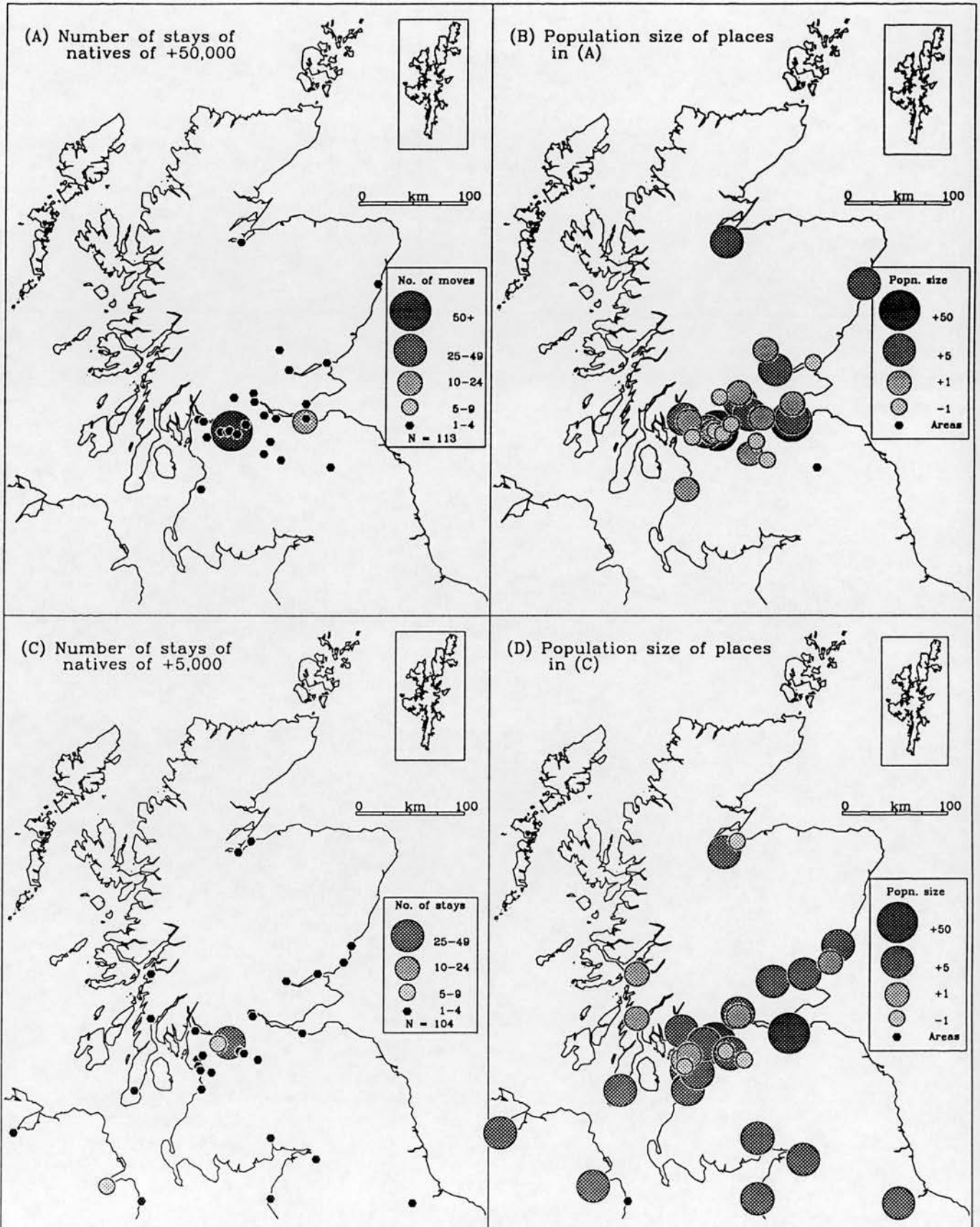


Fig. 8.17

Places of stay of urban natives ever at Glasgow (showing population size in 000s).

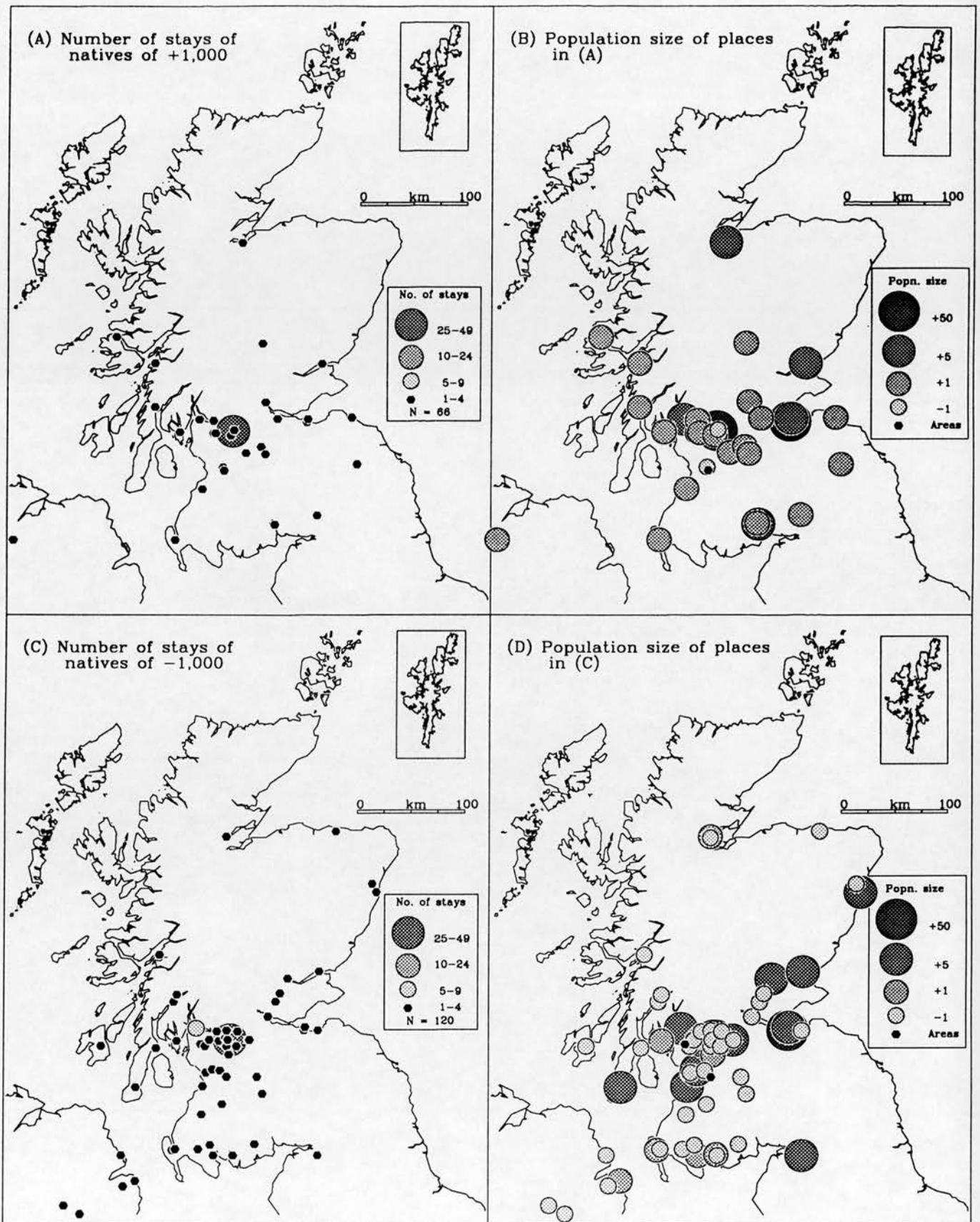


Fig. 8.18

Places of stay of rural natives ever at Glasgow (showing population size in 000s).

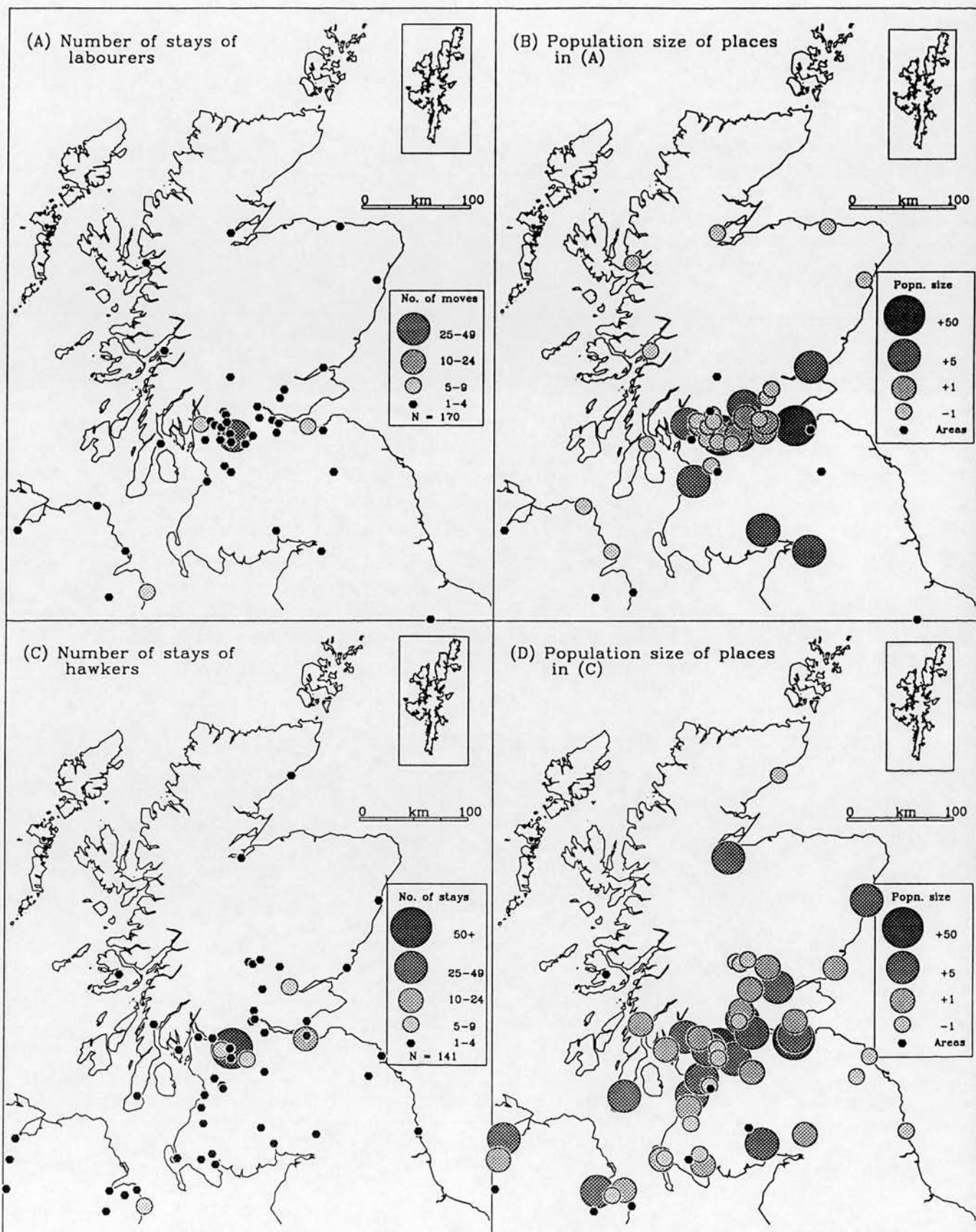


Fig. 8.19

Places of stay of labourers and hawkers ever at Glasgow (showing population size in 000s).

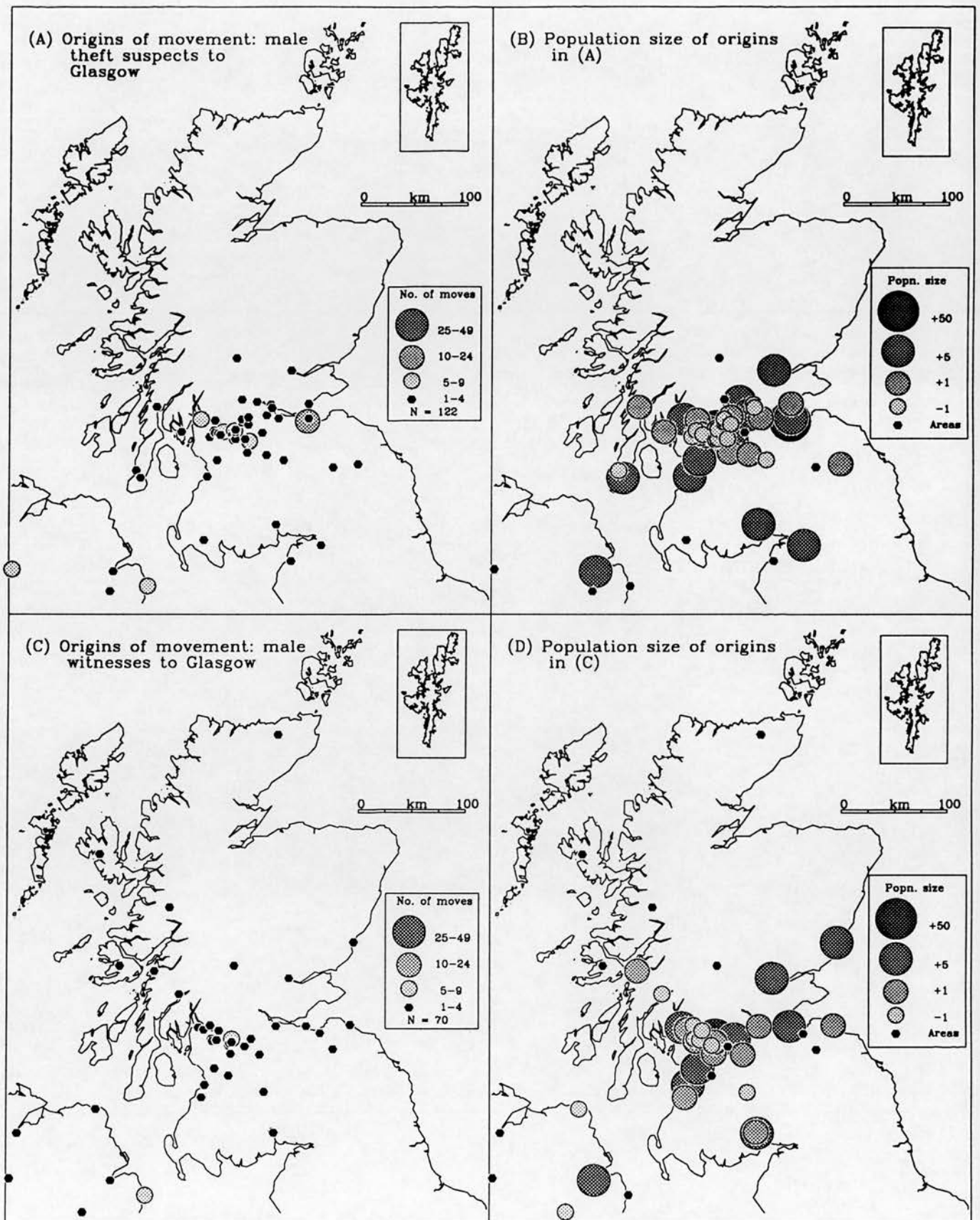


Fig. 8.20.1

Movement of male theft suspects and witnesses to Glasgow (showing population size of origins in 000s).

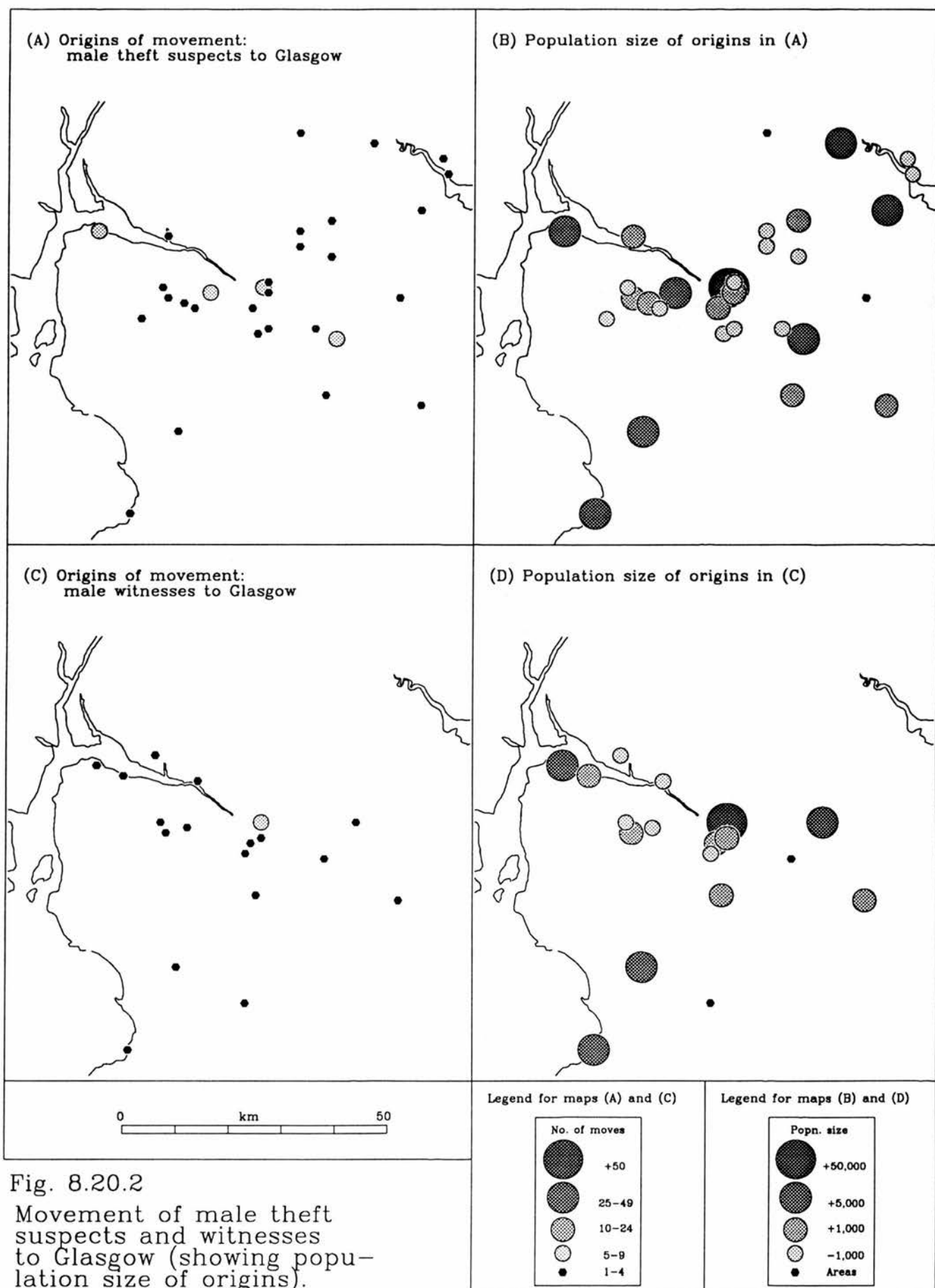


Fig. 8.20.2  
 Movement of male theft suspects and witnesses to Glasgow (showing population size of origins).

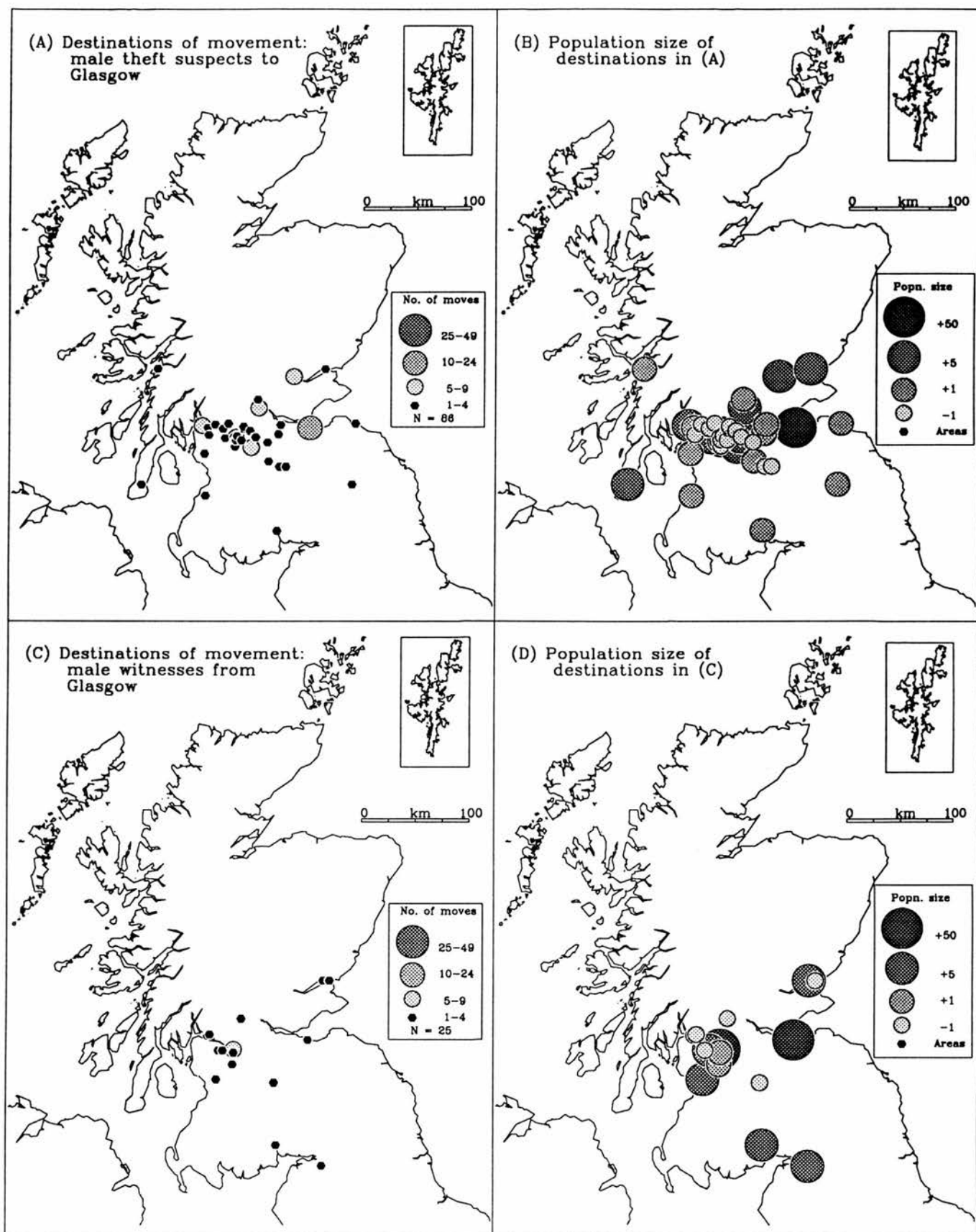


Fig. 8.21.1

Movement of male theft suspects and witnesses from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations in 000s).

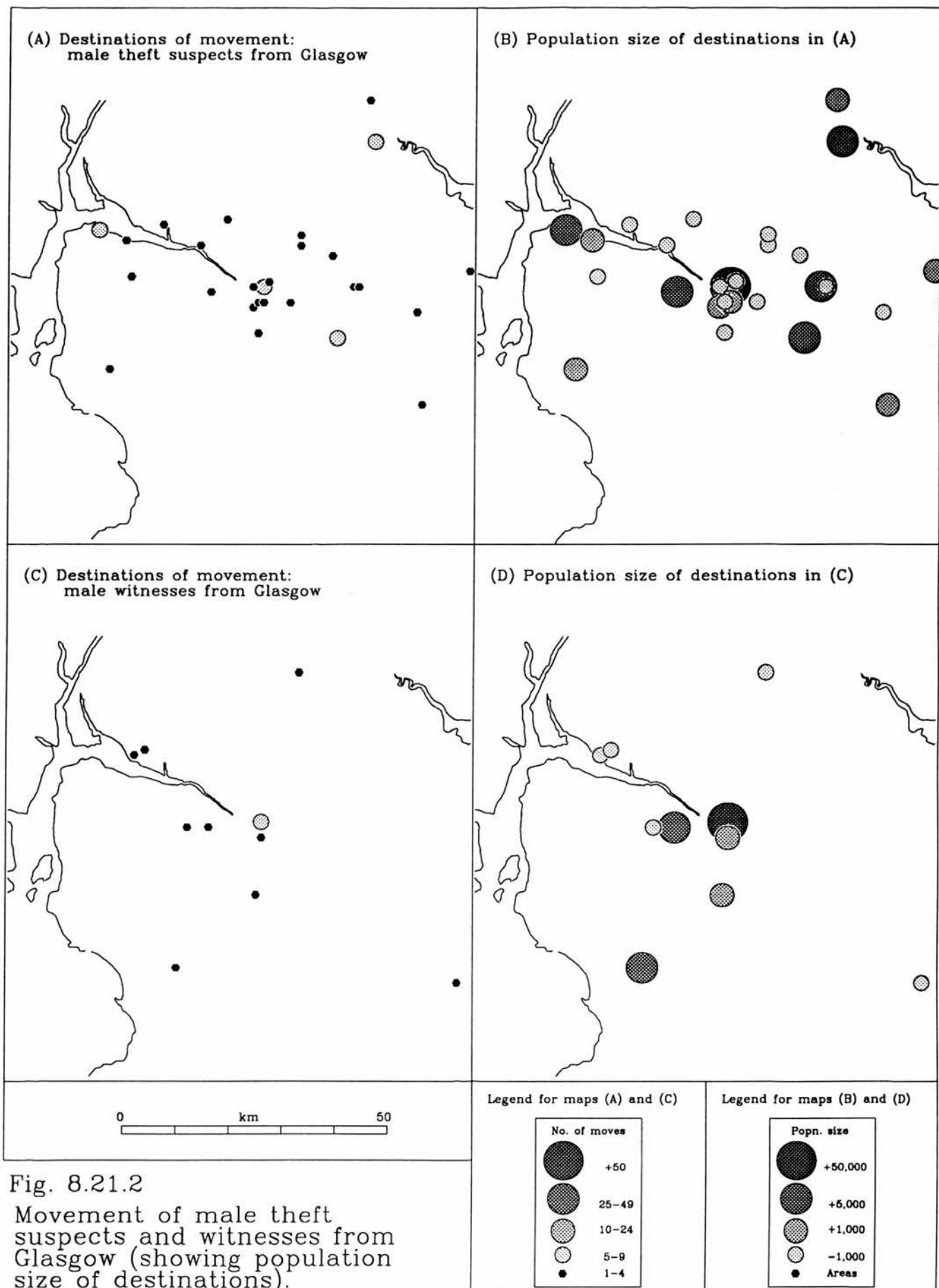


Fig. 8.21.2  
Movement of male theft suspects and witnesses from Glasgow (showing population size of destinations).



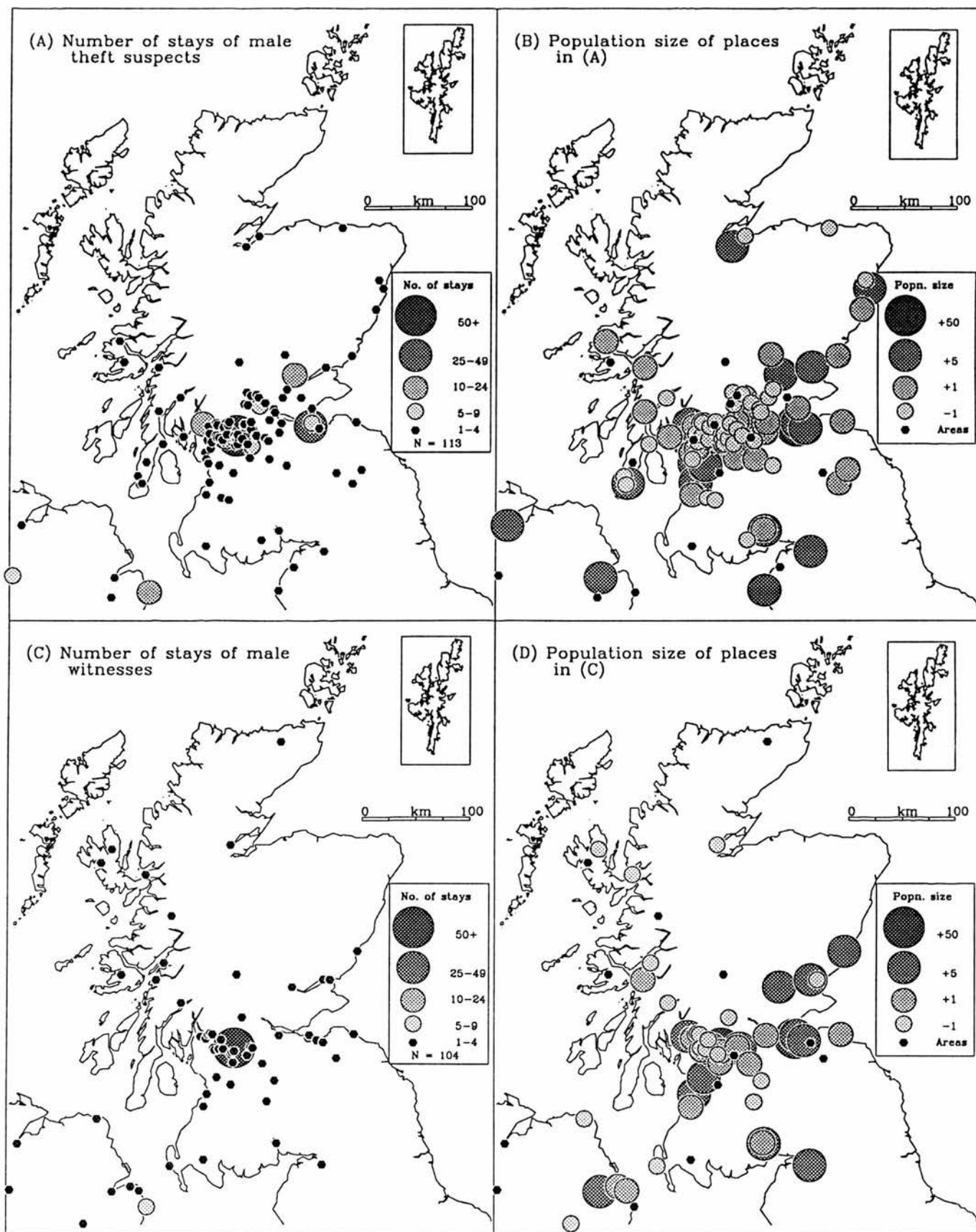


Fig. 8.22.1

Places of stay of male theft suspects and witnesses ever at Glasgow (showing population size in 000s).

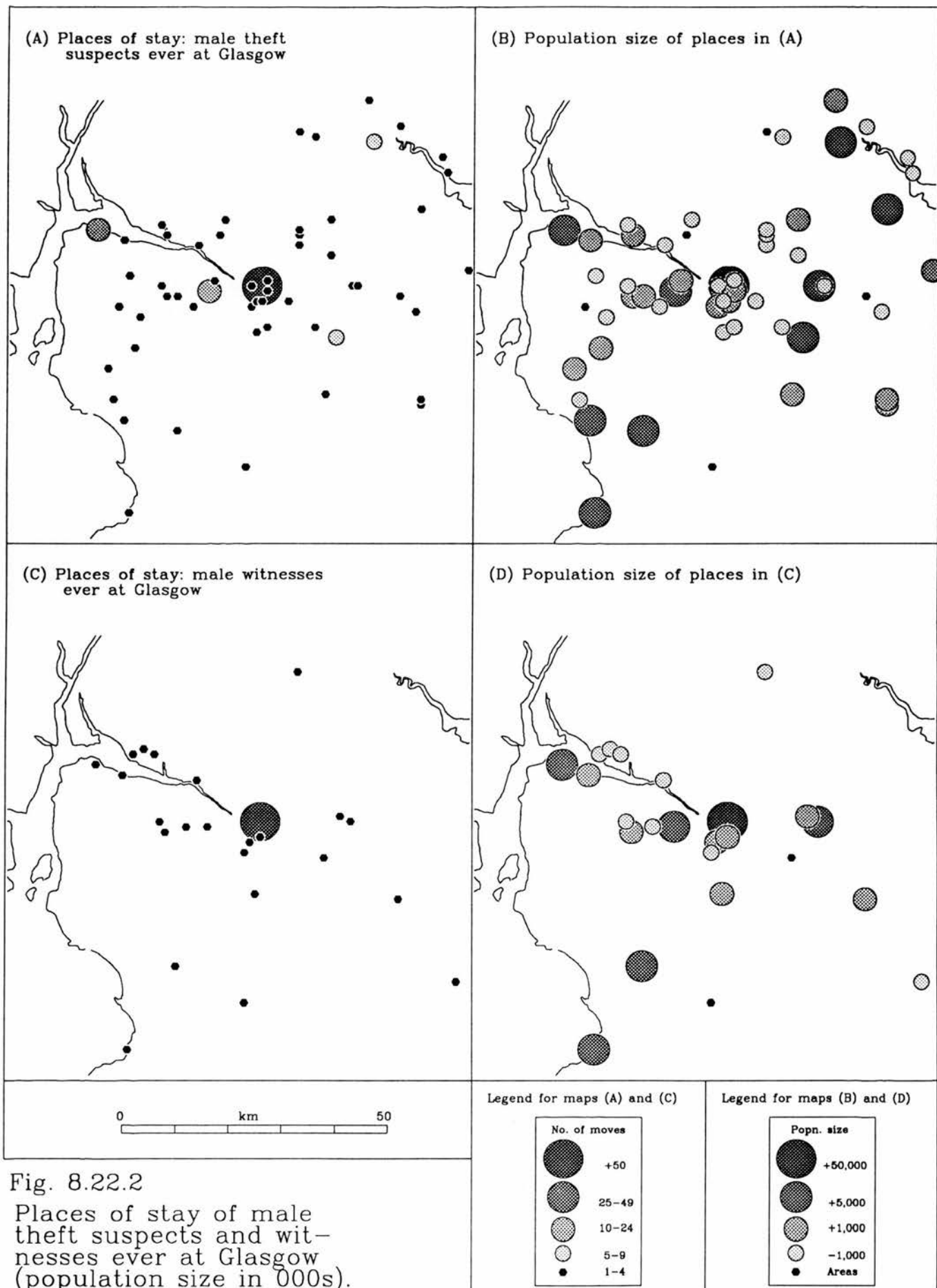


Fig. 8.22.2  
 Places of stay of male theft suspects and witnesses ever at Glasgow (population size in 000s).

## CHAPTER 9

### *Work experiences and transitions*

#### 9.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have challenged the idea that geographical mobility inevitably disrupted people's lives. This chapter examines another potential disruption: occupational change. The first part discusses literature which raises issues pertinent to the declarants' occupational changes. It examines different meanings of work in theory, and in practice in early nineteenth-century Scotland. The second part is an overview of the changes made by the declarants, divided here into the occupational groups they entered and left. It looks at the types of occupations declarants had before they entered a group and those which they went into after leaving it. It addresses the questions of whether these declarants were (1) going up or down an occupational hierarchy, or (2) moving in and out of occupations which had a more or less equal standing. It is argued that there was a hierarchy for

the declarants in this study but that they used it in response to economic and social conditions, and that they were not entrapped in it.

The third part of this chapter is concerned with how people left their work, i.e., the circumstances which pushed them out of work. It looks at three types of events: crime, slowdowns in the economy, and crises in families and businesses. The fourth part examines how people entered their new work, i.e., the circumstances and decisions which brought them into work. It looks at a variety of situations, such as how people searched for work; how they got a new job; how they moved to find work; and how they went into labouring work when skilled work was unavailable.

A note of caution is pertinent here. Since the declarants discussed their lives before interrogators, albeit at times in great detail, many were likely to have hesitated before revealing the intricacies of their work strategies. For example, there is not much information on informal or illegal work, such as prostitution. Smuggling arises occasionally but declarants may have felt confident mentioning this since Excise was responsible for its prosecution and not the fiscals, justices or sherriffs.

## 9.2 Occupational changes: background literature

As discussed above, the period in which most of the

occupational changes occurred was after the Peace of 1815, and during the post-war depression of c.1817-20. The demography of the period was changing rapidly, with thousands of men and their families returning from the war, causing a rise in the number of newborn children. The downturn in the economy, coupled with increasing competition for work, caused disruptions in the lives of many of the declarants. Within a set of criminal records, which reveal many people who resorted to theft, there is a greater likelihood of finding people on their way down the social and occupational scales. In times of trouble the declarants had few resources beyond their work skills and families; few mentioned any union activity or receiving financial support from the Church. The urgent need to get work is apparent in many declarants' statements, and was only alleviated by family support or geographical mobility.

This chapter is concerned with the declarants' occupational titles and groups, two important identifying tags used by social and economic historians and historical geographers. Like gender and ethnicity, occupation is one of the most important tools for discovering differences between people and for suggesting reasons about different actions. Within other studies there is often an underlying assumption that occupational titles accurately reflect both the nature of work (e.g., a weaver weaves cloth) and the nature of social divisions (e.g., a weaver has a

different social world than a lawyer).

Two problems immediately appear when occupational titles are found in a historical source. The first concerns how well titles reflect the work a person carried out. For example, in two different sources, such as the census and directory listings, a man may have referred to himself as a labourer in one, and as a weaver in the other. In still another source, such as the precognitions, he may have said he is a 'weaver and labourer'. The problem then becomes not a matter of whether he was one or the other, but how he was both. How did he carry out both types of work throughout the year? Had he left weaving permanently but still held onto the title for social status? Did his friendships and economic relations change significantly if he had gone into labouring almost permanently? If he had not, how were his social relations any different from other weavers or labourers?

The second problem carries on from the first and asks whether occupational groups actually mean anything beyond the type of work which was carried out. (This is assuming that the first problem can be resolved adequately, that the titles can describe a common experience of work.) Occupational groups are often used as surrogates for social class but this has received strong criticism because 'class is, and was, a relationship and thus inaccessible to historians even if

they try to take this relationship into account.'<sup>1</sup>

Yet the most frequent response to such criticisms by nineteenth century historians has been to continue using class or status groupings, such as Armstrong's modifications of Booth and the Registrar-General, but with some qualifications.<sup>2</sup>

Most studies assume that meaningful divisions within societies can be found by separating people on the basis of skills used in their listed occupations. The meanings of occupational titles, and of work, depend on several things only some of which can be known for any one group at any one time. The biases of sources of information play a key role in what is known about people's occupations and work. Terms used in one source may mean something very different in another from a different time and place; in two sources for the same year a person may be described in very different terms.<sup>3</sup>

Recent work on England, particularly as summarised by Pahl, has emphasised the changing meanings of work within a framework of social, particularly household,

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<sup>1</sup> J.A. Phillips, 'Working and moving in early nineteenth-century provincial towns', in Corfield and Keene, *Work in Towns*, p. 185. The idea originated in P.N. Furbank, *Unholy Pleasure: The Idea of Social Class* (1985), pp. 40-50.

<sup>2</sup> Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', especially pp. 198-225; General Register Office, *Classification of Occupations*, 1950 (London, 1951).

<sup>3</sup> P. Glennie, *Distinguishing Men's Trades* (Hist. Geog. Res. Group, 1991), p. 15.

relations.<sup>4</sup> This change in emphasis, from male-dominated studies of work to family-centred ones, reflects the change in recent patterns of employment and work throughout the world; the nearly full male employment of the 1950s and 1960s in Britain was certainly not the norm of the last 250 years either there or elsewhere. The economic and demographic restructuring of the last 25 years has caused growing unemployment and new divisions of labour; both of these have brought about more informal and traditional practices of work which focus on 'getting by' rather than getting ahead.<sup>5</sup> Simultaneously, there appear to be moves toward earlier practices of dividing and sharing domestic tasks, and away from strict sexual divisions of household (unwaged) labour.

Pahl argues that the gender division of men working outside the home and women within it is largely a creation of the last 100 years. He stresses the idea that the Industrial Revolution, and industrial relations, changed work practices, as did the restriction of common rights and the decrease of domestic production. Household strategies well into the eighteenth century made use of a form of work that 'was carried out by households and was a combination of self-

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<sup>4</sup> R.E. Pahl, *Divisions of Labour* (Oxford, 1984) and (ed.), *On Work: Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Approaches* (Oxford, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> Pahl, *Divisions of Labour*, p. 9.



provisioning subsistence, wage labour and by-employment.'<sup>6</sup> For Pahl, work in pre-industrial England was diverse and often supplemented by informal work and privileges. Only when opportunities for these last two were restricted did unemployment and underemployment become large problems.

Throughout nineteenth-century Britain, and indeed parts of twentieth-century Britain, the diversity of work, both formal and informal, has been manifest in many ways. Many people in both the countryside and in towns were engaged in by-employments, work in addition to or equally important as a person's documented occupation for his or her income. Such work often had seasonal aspects so that one form of work is left to carry out another, e.g., a labourer would harvest crops for a few months before returning to a town where he would pick up day jobs during the rest of the year. Supplementary work is closely associated with by-employments but was carried out on a more continuous basis and usually from the same place as a person's formal work. It played a key role in supporting households whose members added to the family income by raising and selling livestock, performing personal services, and engaging in rural industries such as spinning and weaving.<sup>7</sup> Subsidiary work was an integral

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<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> J. Benson, *Penny Capitalists* (Dublin, 1983), chs. 3 and 8, and Whyte, 'Proto-industrialisation'.

part of this last type of work as it was performed by household members and apprentices for little or no remuneration.<sup>8</sup> This was particularly important to families in rural areas which depended on domestic production.<sup>9</sup> The divisions of labour within households were certainly never equal, with women bearing the brunt of the workload and also often engaged in waged labour. Yet Pahl suggests that despite this, pre-industrial households placed an emphasis on carrying out complementary tasks rather than separate ones.<sup>10</sup>

The particular ways in which such co-operation occurred changed from place to place and between periods, yet the shift which Pahl and others suggest for the study of work remains important. Despite the national and aggregate generalisations of some of the above studies, it is vital to take these issues into the examination of individuals' and households' work strategies if we are to understand how people organised and supported themselves. The questions raised by Pahl and others focus less on how isolated occupational

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<sup>8</sup> J. Rule, *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England* (London, 1986), p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* (Cambridge, 1985), ch. 4, and R.W. Malcolmsen, 'Ways of getting a living in eighteenth-century England', in Pahl, *On Work*, pp. 48-60.

<sup>10</sup> Pahl, *Divisions of Labour*, p. 33. He cites M. Segalen's study of contemporary France, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family* (Oxford, 1983), but questions whether this applied wholesale to England with its emphasis on individualism.

groups changed, and more on how the social and economic relations of household members changed over time as well as within immediate circumstances. The meanings of work changed with these relations as much as they did with economic cycles and economic landscapes.

The precognitions contain some information which sheds light on a few of these issues. The context provided here by Pahl and others suggests questions which this and other studies need to address, yet much depends on the content of the sources available. There are indications of work strategies in the statements but relatively few declarants provided such information; a full picture awaits the use of many other sources in conjunction. One area in the study of work which AD14 can contribute to is that of occupational change. As indicated above, changing work and engaging in different jobs throughout the year was a common experience, particularly in the countryside. While some of the declarants were involved in such changes there were others who seemed to move permanently out of one occupation into another.

The literature on occupational change is large with little consensus about the balance between its myths and realities.<sup>11</sup> Kaelble has suggested, in an international comparison, that there was a higher chance of moving down the social scale in nineteenth-century European

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<sup>11</sup> Payne, *Mobility and Change*.

cities than in American ones.<sup>12</sup> Recent work by Miles and Vincent argues that, within Victorian England, social mobility was achieved by some groups and increased during the second half of the century.<sup>13</sup> Yet upward movement was not easily achieved and was balanced by the downward journeys of many others. Divisions within the working class were clearly based on skills and cultures of work, but enough movement occurred 'to influence the perceived career horizons'. Movement from manual to non-manual work was primarily made by the skilled, particularly through the increase in white collar work at the end of the century. Toward the first part of their period, though, there is ample evidence of sectoral stability, mainly among the top groups of skilled labour. They thus suggest that 'an elite existed within the working class well before the heyday of British industrial capitalism'.<sup>14</sup>

The expansion of occupational mobility in England seems to have taken place from the mid-Victorian period onwards. Occupational mobility in early nineteenth-century Scotland remains to be examined in depth

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<sup>12</sup> H. Kaelble, *Social Mobility in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Europe and America in Comparative Perspective* (Leamington Spa, U.K., 1985), p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> A. Miles and D. Vincent, 'A land of "boundless opportunity"?: mobility and stability in nineteenth-century England', in S. Dex (ed.), *Life and Work History Analysis: qualitative and quantitative developments* (London, 1991), pp. 43-72.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 56 and 66.

primarily because of the lack of suitable sources which allow analysis of social stratification. The structure and composition of the working class in early nineteenth-century Scotland is not known in detail because of the few surveys done in that period and the broad categories used in the census. In addition, no attempt has been made to delineate the occupational structure of the pre-census period.<sup>15</sup>

Assessing Scotland's changing percentages of rural and urban population has been used as one starting point but this is essentially unsatisfactory. While it is evident that in 1821 over two-thirds of Scots lived in communities of under 4000 inhabitants this does not draw out the changes in Scotland's occupational structure during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period of great change and growth in both agriculture and industry.<sup>16</sup> Nor do such numbers indicate the changing composition of the workforce, e.g., the numbers of labourers and servants in agriculture. Many industries certainly expanded. The population figures for several cities show how rapidly growth occurred, and it is usually known which industries and employments were expanding in those

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<sup>15</sup> Glennie's study of the occupational structure of pre-census England, *Distinguishing Men's Trades*, makes use of a wide range of sources, particularly militia lists.

<sup>16</sup> T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People* (Glasgow, 1969), p. 242.

places.<sup>17</sup> Yet more exact national and regional patterns of sectoral growth and redistribution remain unknown and are difficult to draw out for the pre-1841 period when few detailed occupational surveys were conducted.<sup>18</sup> There is also little information on the work backgrounds of different occupational groups so that we are left with broad ideas about patterns of occupational mobility but few details about real people.

The Scottish working class was affected in the short-term situation of the 1810s by the war years and depression, and by the increase of surplus labour; these resulted in the downturn in wages in both agriculture and in urban trades.<sup>19</sup> There were few options and many people would have had to rely on casual labouring and the added income of other family members, including children as well as both parents and possibly kin. Without this added support the possibilities included a time of poverty and retrenchment; taking to the road to seek out labouring work; or stretching the already few resources available by such recourses as taking in lodgers or kin. By 1815 the former security of Poor Law support had diminished and was unavailable for the able

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<sup>17</sup> D. Turnock, *The Historical Geography of Scotland* (Cambridge, 1982), chs. 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> See James Cleland's *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1832).

<sup>19</sup> T.M. Devine, 'Social stability and agrarian change in the eastern lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840', *Social History* 3 (1978), pp. 331-46; and Treble, 'The standard of living'.

bodied<sup>20</sup>, and wage regulations for urban trades had been abolished<sup>21</sup>; resources were thus often limited to personal contacts for local assistance in getting work, or for knowledge about opportunities further afield. For those at risk, finding a stable income must have been difficult and would have required coordinated family and personal strategies to secure a decent income.<sup>22</sup>

The rest of this chapter goes on to discuss some of the strategies employed by the declarants during the wars and the following depression. Their occupational changes are discussed first in aggregate and then in more individual terms, exploring the context of their movements. Many of the themes raised above in the wider literature are touched on below though the focus here stays on 1) what occupational changes are actually known through the statements and 2) how the declarants left one occupation for another, and what support they had during such changes.

### 9.3 The declarants' occupational changes

A list of all the known occupational changes made by the

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<sup>20</sup>R. Mitchison, 'The Poor Law', in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society*, pp. 252-67.

<sup>21</sup>Fraser. *Conflict and Class*.

<sup>22</sup>See below (ch. 10) for a discussion of the declarants' strategies and family relations.

declarants is in Appendix D. It comes from 129 declarants, about a tenth of those in this study, and occurred both during and after the war years. There are two tables for each group: the first shows the occupations which each person had before taking up an occupation in that group. For example, in the first table of the group General Dealers and Labourers (table D.8.1) there was one declarant who had been a shoemaker before entering that group as a dykebuilder. The second table of each group gives information about people leaving that group; for example, in the second table of the same group General Dealers and Labourers, a shopman became a sailor. Most of the declarants are listed twice, both in the incoming table (e.g., table D.1.1) and in the outgoing table (e.g., table D.1.2). Thus the shopman who became a sailor can be found in table D.8.2 as well as in table D.13.1 among other sailors. Declarants who changed jobs but stayed within an occupational group are listed only once, in the first table for the group; thus, the barnman who became a tenant is found only in the first table for Agriculture. (It should also be noted that those who stated two or more occupational changes have an asterisk (\*) next to their identification numbers in Appendix D.)

The information about occupational change is found in the statements of all types of declarants but some gave this information in much higher proportions than others. This is apparent from table 9.1. Each person



is placed in the group they were in when they were questioned.

Table 9.1 Occupational groups:percentage and number giving work histories

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>% of group</u>	<u>no. in group</u>	<u>Tot. in group</u>
Agriculture (Fields, Others)	13	11	87
Farm Servants	11	6	54
Servants	17	8	48
Labourers	24	25	103
Commerce	10	5	51
Dress	7	4	57
Food & Lodging	24	9	37
Gen. Dealers & Labourers	6	2	35
Hawkers	26	21	82
Minerals	11	5	47
Textiles	5	4	76
Weavers	7	6	92
Sailors	7	3	43
Soldiers	29	10	34
Professionals	5	2	37
Others	6	8	127
Average and totals	avg. = 12%	129	1010

The largest groups, those with 75 or more declarants in total, include Agriculture, labourers, hawkers, Textiles and weavers. Of these only hawkers and labourers had more than 20 per cent of their members stating occupational changes. (These figures come from the number of individuals in the first table for each group in Appendix D.) Smaller groups which had about 20 per cent stating their changes included servants, Food and Lodging, and soldiers. These details will have some importance for future work on the precognitions, such as which groups to target for occupational histories.

At first glance the numbers of declarants entering and leaving suggests that movement into particular

groups was a step down the economic ladder. Thus a group which had many declarants entering, and few leaving, could be seen as a final resort as well as a snare. Such a scenario assumes that the declarants were on their way down socially and economically, with many resorting to crime as well as to work requiring few skills. The tables of labourers and hawkers show that few people left these groups while many went into them. In light of the above assumptions these two groups were dead ends with little opportunity for better work.

A slightly different perspective is gained when the types of work performed by those entering and leaving each group is examined. Those who had been in skilled work, such as tradesmen, or in formally hired work, such as farm servants, went into both labouring and hawking. Yet the 'outgoing' tables of labourers and hawkers show that not everyone stopped changing their occupations after entering these groups. Several labourers did go on to become hawkers, but others became farm servants; and while there is little information about the later occupations of hawkers, the three which are recorded show some diversity, from the seasonal work of a harvester to the more settled work of a baker's servant and a weaver.

The occupations which the declarants are grouped under would, in some studies, be seen as their occupations for life. The last two chapters took for granted that these occupations were meaningful in all

cases and that occupational groupings would provide valuable insights into differences in mobility. This was generally true for the groups as studied in those chapters. Nevertheless, even a cursory look at the tables in Appendix D poses a challenge to such assumptions, as the declarants went from one occupational grouping to another, and from one economic sector to another. A more detailed look at the information in Appendix D is provided in table 9.2, a matrix of movement from each occupational group to the others.

The interaction between most groups was small, the greatest being within Agriculture (see table 9.3). There were only a few groups which had interactions of five or more people. In all, 89 types of interaction, of a possible 153, are recorded in table 9.2; despite the larger numbers of some groups, this indicates a wide range of occupational change.

TABLE 9.2 *Occupational groups: movements between groups*  
[n=153]

From	To															
	Ag	FS	Sv	Lb	Cm	Dr	FL	DL	Hk	Mn	Tx	Wv	Sa	So	Pr	Ot
Ag	11	1	1	1	2		1		3	1			2	1		1
FS			2	3			1		1							1
Sv	1	2	2	2	1	1		1			1			1		
Lb		2	1	2					3			1		1		
Cm			1	1			3		1					1		
Dr								1	1	2				1		
FL			1	1	1	1	1		1		1					
DL										1			1			
Hk	1		1									1				
Mn				1			1									
Tx							2		4			1	1			
Wv					1				2	2	1			4		2
Sa	1			6					5			1				5
So	1			8	1	2	1		1			1	1		1	1
Pr										1	1			1	3	
Ot				2					1			1	1	3		.
	15	5	9	28	6	4	11	2	23	7	4	6	6	13	4	10

- |                                       |                      |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Ag - Agriculture                    | 9 Hk - Hawkers       |
| 2 FS - Farm Servants                  | 10 Mn - Minerals     |
| 3 Sv - Servants                       | 11 Tx - Textiles     |
| 4 Lb - Labourers                      | 12 Wv - Weavers      |
| 5 Cm - Commerce                       | 13 Sa - Sailors      |
| 6 Dr - Dress                          | 14 So - Soldiers     |
| 7 FL - Food & Lodging                 | 15 Pr - Professional |
| 8 DL - General Dealers<br>& Labourers | 16 Ot - Others       |

TABLE 9.3 *Interaction between groups (taken from table 9.2)*

No.	From	To
11	Agriculture	Agriculture
8	Soldiers	Labourers
6	Sailors	Labourers
5	Sailors	Hawkers
5	Sailors	'Others'
4	Textiles	Hawkers
4	Weavers	Soldiers

The job changes of each separate group cannot be fully explained because of the often sparse information given by the declarants. The tables above and in Appendix D provide a starting point for arguing that a few occupational groups were at the bottom of the hierarchy of desired work, particularly labourers and hawkers.

The issue of skills has been hinted at repeatedly in the above discussion; there are many cases which illustrate changes in the use of skills, such as one in which Barnard McGuire, a tailor from Ireland, became a packman [1086]. The discussion above has grouped the declarants by the environments in which they worked; grouping by skill provides an alternative perspective on how these declarants changed their social, not merely economic, environments. Many studies have suggested that skills act as a surrogate for social class, so that changes in occupation can also be seen as changes in social worlds.<sup>23</sup>

Social class is discussed here as a counterpoint to the economic sectors used above but the debates and controversies concerning social class range far beyond the brief discussion here. The social groupings are used here as reference points for the declarants and not for the entire social structure of Scotland. Social

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<sup>23</sup> See the critique of studies regarding social mobility in Payne, *Mobility and Change*.

groups are here used only in this discussion of occupational change, following Payne's suggestion that they are best seen in dynamic rather than static terms.

The declarants' occupational changes in Appendix D are grouped by social class in tables 9.5 and 9.6. These groupings are based on Armstrong's modifications of the Registrar-General's divisions of occupations by class.<sup>24</sup>

The general groupings include:

- I - professional occupations
- II - intermediate (most non-manual middle class) occupations
- III - skilled occupations
- IV - partly skilled occupations
- V - unskilled occupations.

Each occupation mentioned by the declarants in Appendix D was placed in one of these groups on the basis of suggestions in Armstrong. His work is used here primarily because it provides the most comprehensive overview of occupations and classifications to date. Cowlard has criticised these groups as too 'rudimentary'<sup>25</sup> but for the purposes here three main problems with this classification will be raised. First, skills are distinguished here in very

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<sup>24</sup> Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation'.

<sup>25</sup> K.A. Cowlard, 'The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth-century urban development', in *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog.* N.S. 4 (1979), pp. 239-57.

general ways because of the little information available. For example, some who said they were tradesmen may have performed their work sporadically but preferred a higher status label when questioned by officials. This is a problem for economic groupings as well. For example, handloom weavers and factory weavers differed significantly in their economic relations and cultural aspirations, though they are placed in the same economic group.<sup>26</sup> In some cases both groupings would be misapplied if, for example, a man's main work was as a labourer but he called himself a tailor because he had such skills. In other cases only one grouping system would be 'correct'; if a man was primarily a cow keeper and labelled himself as a cattle dealer, then he would be put in the wrong social class but not the wrong economic group, merely by handling the same type of product.

In addition, Armstrong's modification of the Registrar-General's scheme, whereby he put employers in either classes I or II, cannot be applied to the precognitions. The declarants rarely stated any information concerning their status as employers, though it is likely that some were, such as the farmers and tradesmen.

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<sup>26</sup> T. Clarke and T. Dickson, 'Class and class consciousness in early industrial capitalism: Paisley 1770-1850', in T. Dickson (ed.) *Capital and Class in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 22-4.

The third problem concerns the social class grouping only and is one that several studies, including Armstrong's, have addressed. At the heart of this social grouping is the idea that skills and occupations are directly linked to the social realms in which people associated with others, through both work and leisure. Such associations were not only evident in these activities but were also to do with self-identity. Rule suggests that distinctions both existed between, and were felt by, skilled and unskilled workers; for example, weavers saw themselves as a cut above labourers regardless of their immediate, and sometimes desperate, situations.<sup>27</sup> This has led to some disagreement over the allocation of particular occupations to groups. For example, Jones argues that clerks should be grouped in class II instead of III because 'The social universe of the artisan was far apart from that of the clerk, although their respective incomes might not differ significantly.'<sup>28</sup> As Phillips has argued, it is one thing to differentiate between groups of shoemakers and bankers but

Were tailors as a group distinguishable from grocers as a group?...Even more serious problems arise in trying to make finer distinctions, and most of these questions have only the most general and unsatisfactory answers.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Rule, *Labouring Classes*, p. 112.

<sup>28</sup> G.S. Jones, *Outcast London* (1971; rpt. Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), p. 356.

<sup>29</sup> Phillips, 'Working and moving', p. 188.



Armstrong diverts such criticisms with the suggestion that individual researchers produce their own classifications alongside his. He also addresses the criticisms that group III is 'swollen', producing an unrealistic category since all sorts of different occupations are together. This group includes self-employed shopkeepers, tradesmen, skilled workers in industry and transport workers. He suggests that the industrial classification be used in conjunction with the social classification; group III, as well as the other groups, could thus be divided 'to distinguish between manual and non-manual workers,...or between petty entrepreneurs, clerks and skilled workers'.<sup>30</sup>

The Registrar-General's classifications of 1951 divide classes III, IV and V into several sub-groups. These are shown in table 9.4.

TABLE 9.4 Sub-groups of classes III, IV and V

III (skilled)
a. mineworkers
b. transport workers
c. clerical
d. armed forces
e. others
IV (partly skilled)
a. agricultural workers
b. others
V (unskilled)
a. building and dock labourers
b. others.

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<sup>30</sup> Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', pp. 212-13.

Such a scheme is one way of dividing up the large number of people found in these groups. In order to compare the changes of declarants who left Britain, and those who stayed, all soldiers and sailors are placed in group III(d) even though some of the latter may not have served in the navy. Some of Armstrong's suggestions are also applied here, such as placing all drivers of passengers in group III, carriers and carters in group IV, students in the class for which they were studying, and apprentices in the class which they were working toward.<sup>31</sup> There is cause for also arguing, though Armstrong does not raise this point, that many agricultural workers should be placed in a skilled sub-group. The skills of hinds and other farm servants were on par with many others in class III; however, they are retained in class IV but analysed separately. The changes in social class in agricultural work may thus have not been so pronounced as in other sectors. For example, when Donald McPhail [576], a shepherd on Mull, became a tenant he was most likely using similar skills under different titles, but possibly under different social relations. This raises the important question of how real the link was between supposed changes in both skills and social class when viewed solely through occupational change.

Table 9.5 shows the inter-class movements made by

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

the 129 declarants discussed above. These can be found in a different form in Appendix E. All of their occupational changes have been recorded for this table. The figures in the main body of the table refer to the percentages of the total number of changes (151)<sup>3 2</sup>, so that 19 per cent of the changes involved people moving from class III to V. The table shows that nearly 80 per cent of the changes were between classes III, IV and V. Half of the changes came from people who started in class III and almost half of these stayed within III. Class V shows the most remarkable change in numbers as 10 per cent of the changes originated in that class while almost a third resulted in moves to V. Most of this movement came from classes III and IV. Not all of the movement was downward, as most of the changes originating in V resulted in moves to III and IV.

TABLE 9.5 All movements between classes (%) [n=151]

From	To				% tot
	II	III	IV	V	
II	3	3	3	1	10
III	3	21	7	19	50
IV	5	10	9	9	33
V		4	2	2	8
%tot.	11	38	21	31	101

Many of the moves into V came from soldiers and sailors in III, which raises the question of how much had really changed for these men in terms of status. In the classification, both soldiers and sailors are put

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<sup>3 2</sup> Two occupational changes are left out because they do not fit into the classes.

into class III, but there are complications similar for these groups similar to those for clerks mentioned above by Jones. The social worlds of soldiers and sailors were probably too different from others in class III to group them all together. While the numbers are too low to draw firm conclusions about the relative fortunes of soldiers and sailors, their movements were usually downward and account for almost two-thirds of the moves from class III to classes IV and V. They are separated from the other classes in table 9.6. Several in both groups had come from class III in the first place before becoming soldiers and sailors. The tables in Appendix E for these two groups show that most of the soldiers, and the three sailors whose previous work is known, came from class III. Nevertheless, among those who stated what occupations they held after leaving the military or the sea, most went into class V, particularly sailors: 13 of 16 sailors, and 8 of 15 soldiers, did this.

TABLE 9.6 All movements between sub-classes (%) [n=151]

From	To						% tot
	II	III a-c,e	III d	IV a	IV b	V	
II	3	2	1	2	1	1	10
III a-c,e	3	6	9	1	2	7	28
III d	1	6	1	1	2	13	24
IV a	3	4	1	2	4	4	18
IV b	2	3	1	2	1	5	14
V		3	1	2		2	8
%tot.	12	24	14	10	10	32	102

note: see table 9.3 for sub-group definitions.

There are several possible explanations of this if

such a result was widespread. During their time away, either in the military or at sea, some soldiers and sailors may have lost their skills by not using them at sea; others lost their information networks for employment opportunities; and others lost their aspirations to continue on in skilled work or to better themselves through work, preferring their freedom to a renewed discipline. There is little doubt from many of the statements that the military often had destructive effects on the spirits of male declarants; each of these reasons very likely lay behind the decisions of some returnees. Yet the question remains whether this downward movement was part of a long-term trend since most of the changes recorded here occurred during the post-war depression, and often as a direct result of it. To answer this, further research on the histories of soldiers and sailors from non-depression years is needed.

The above tables suggest that inter-class movement was, at the very least, not unusual despite the qualifications made. Most conspicuously absent is movement into class I, yet there are several instances of movement into class II by the skilled and partly-skilled. It is likely that further occupational information can be found in the statements of non-migrants in the precognitions, and that there are more cases of movement involving classes I and II, particularly from witnesses, than have been found here.

Even so, table 9.6 in particular suggests that occupational changes took place between almost all groups, barring movement from V to II, and that these changes were similar between most of the groups. The exception here is movement into class V which was highest primarily because of the soldiers and sailors; but it also had several from the rest of class III entering it. It is apparent that further studies of occupational change will need to look carefully at the categories of analysis, particularly regarding the applicability of social class groupings to soldiers, sailors and agricultural workers.

These examples of occupational change provide an opportunity to look at the experiences of some declarants and to gain insights into their decisions and circumstances. The question of how representative this group of declarants is of the precognitions as a whole, or indeed of Scotland, is tantalizing but unanswerable at this preliminary stage in the source's study. More fruitful is the question of how occupational changes were part of a person's life: how did these changes come about and what effects did they have? Information regarding this is difficult to gather from the early nineteenth century and other periods as well as today; nevertheless, it is likely that the few instances discussed here will shed light on the decisions made by others in the same period.

The precognitions provide an imperfect record of

the occupational histories of the declarants and of the exact jobs which they performed at each of their places of residence. Nevertheless, it has been shown that they do provide valuable insights into the declarants' movements between economic sectors as well as, with some qualifications, between social classes. The declarants appear to have had similar experiences of job changes between themselves, regardless of the particular occupational groups they started in or left. This section suggests particularly that occupational movement between economic groups, was certainly not fixed. The implication here is that many people in manual labour of all skill levels changed their occupations throughout their lives and careers, but especially during 'normal' crises (such as job losses and the deaths of household members) as well as during extraordinary and widespread hardships (such as economic depressions). Because of this there is an important need to reassess ideas about the stability of occupational identities, and ideas about sources of income. If the people here were typical of others in Scotland in the same period then households were under considerable financial and emotional pressures. Such pressures were on entire families and not just men, a point which is difficult to remember when most of the stories below came from men, but which is vital nonetheless.

#### 9.4 Circumstances precipitating job changes

The immediate reasons behind changing jobs are difficult to uncover through the precognitions. Thirty declarants said why they were looking for or had taken on new work. The reasons they gave are diverse and can only illustrate, rather than explain, the events which precipitated work-related movements. While other declarants changed their occupations, most only stated the contexts in which they made their decisions. However, contexts of work and family, while important, do not provide any clearly stated reason for leaving work. The reasons given by the thirty declarants included slow or better trade; personal, family or business crises; crime and banishment; and being fired.

The post-war depression, and earlier economic slumps in particular sectors, directly influenced the occupational changes of the declarants. Several of the thirty, especially weavers and tradesmen, referred to times when business became 'dull'. Slowdowns in the economy would presumably have also increased the likelihood of business and family crises, yet these were never mentioned together by the declarants.

Thomas Robertson [979], 26, responded to slowdowns in trade by alternating jobs. He learned to be a slater in and near Perth until he was 21 in 1814 when he went to Dunfermline. He worked there as a journeyman slater for two and a half years, and then went to Shields, on the Tyne, for another two and a half years, working



sometimes as a slater and 'at other times going to sea' when slating was unavailable.

Other tradesmen responded to their job losses with equally diverse shifts in setting and circumstance. James Davies [587] was a locksmith from Newcastle-upon-Tyne; in February 1817, 'when times grew bad', he became a hawker and worked as such for at least a year until his statement. In another case was John Cuthbertson [951], 18 and a native of Edinburgh. He worked as a joiner there until September 1820 'when he lost his situation & came to Glasgow in quest of a job, but trade being worse than in Edinburgh, he enlisted' in the 70th Regiment. Both of these statements help to tease out the hierarchies of occupational choice suggested in the previous section and indicate that such work (e.g., hawking and soldiering) was unlikely to be a first choice.

Weavers and other artisans were probably more affected by the economy's downturns than were those in less skilled work such as labourers and petty traders. The weavers here had to move from a fairly stable workplace, often at home, and go into casual work, competing with those who had been in it longer. The responses of weavers and their families to such crises is occasionally known although those with a skilled spouse and children would have had more room to

manoeuvre.<sup>33</sup> Patrick Gavin [178] was one; he went looking for better prospects while his wife completed the loom. In early 1812 Gavin temporarily left his home and wife in Carlisle to go to Edinburgh to find work. He had heard that 'the prices were better in Scotland', and stayed there until questioned in March of 1813.

After the Peace of 1815 the number of weavers increased substantially; at the same time wages were falling and the authorities were giving up 'all attempts to control the absconding of apprentice weavers, prior to the completion of their contracts'.<sup>34</sup> A few weavers in the precognitions indicated how they coped with the increasing competition as well as their difficulties with leaving their trade. James Nelson [1146], an apprentice weaver in Hamilton, had earlier worked in Airdrie for two months; but with 'trade becoming then very dull' [c.1819] he put all his money into hardware to sell in the countryside. Other weavers had similar fortunes. James Dunlop [461], 18, had left his apprenticeship as a weaver after being in it for four and a half years. In late 1817, about ten months later, he went to the cotton mills at New Lanark 'on account of the dullness of the trade'. He 'was employed in the carding room for about three months' after which he spent two months going through the county with a pack,

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<sup>33</sup> Murray, *The Scottish Handloom Weavers*, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

but since he had no 'license as a hawker' he gave it up and was unemployed since. Whether Dunlop left his apprenticeship too soon is not known but his story suggests that as a young, unestablished weaver he had only two options: a formal hire at David Owen's mills or an informal attempt at self-employment as a hawker.

Other weavers went into into agricultural work, such as Duncan McAllister [973]. At 21 years of age he had worked as both a weaver and labourer. In early 1819, 'when the weaving became dull', he left his native Beith in Ayrshire and went to England:

That since that time he has been two or three times in England and in intervals returned to Scotland and wrought in different parts of Scotland at different jobs when he could get anything to do sometimes in the farming line but not at weaving.

Crises and problems related to family and business responsibilities also pushed weavers and other declarants out of work. Declarants in all types of occupations encountered business problems, some of which were not tied to the depression. For example, the death of an employer or master set some people on a very different course than they had anticipated.

James Russell [1327], the son of a chapman in Leith, had gone to Paisley in 1816, at the age of 12, to work with a shoemaker. Six months later his master quit the business and Russell went to sea for a year (on the *Nonesuch* of Leith and the *Jessie* of Dundee). He then worked as a chapman until he was questioned in mid-1821. His chances of becoming a shoemaker apparently ended

with his master's decision, as he went back to his father's occupation and did not take up with another master.

Those who lost their work with little warning often spent some time hawking, even those who were put out of business. This was the case for James Russell above, as well as for William Kidstone [695] who also lost his employer; he lived with his mother, his father having died as a soldier. Kidstone had been a ropespinner until his employer died in late 1817: he 'has been idle these three weeks past' though 'he has gone about the Country selling trifling articles.'

Another, Michael Docherty [942], was described as a packman and tin box maker; he had been a dyer in Glasgow and quit to work on his own at an unspecified job. However, 'not having been successful' he 'gave up' the work in mid-1820. Since then Docherty and his wife, Elizabeth Fleming, made and sold 'tin boxes for holding phosphorus'. They lived at first in Glasgow and Paisley, and then Docherty went to harvest near Edinburgh in that same year, before he ended up in jail for fraud. In Docherty's case, simple occupational titles seem pointless since he moved rapidly from one job to another. Despite his initial failure at self-employment, Docherty had several possible strategies, including hawking, but also working with his wife or returning to his semi-skilled work. The contrast between Kidstone and Docherty lies mainly in their

ability to use different options, such as previously learned skills and established family ties. Whether these were actually used is another matter.

There were others who stayed within their occupation but were forced to move geographically because of business failures. One was James Forsyth [1023], a 48 year old mason who lived in Edinburgh but was from Morayshire. He had worked there until he was 30 when he moved to Inverness. He stayed there until he was 46, in 1818, 'when in consequence of several losses in Trade by failure of different persons with whom he was connected he was compelled to leave that place'. Since then he worked 'for a short time in the county of Perth' and then in Edinburgh until his statement in 1820. Unlike the others described above, Forsyth left his home area not to try his luck elsewhere, but specifically because of business failure; his ties to the area became completely overshadowed by his ties to his business.

Others went in and out of work with few commitments to their trade, easily entering and leaving it. One case was Peter Macdonald [329], who had worked as a servant until Whitsunday 1816; he then began to work 'with a horse and cart of his own' until the horse died during that same year's harvest. He then went to work as a labourer around Glasgow. Macdonald frequently visited his mother who lived in Kippen, near Perth, and his brother who worked near Glasgow. He maintained

family contacts by returning to his mother and going job-hunting with his brother. These were likely to have been far more important to him, in his semi-skilled work, than any attachment to his occupations.

Family problems and strategies also had important results for household members, particularly children. Several young declarants, particularly those from cities and towns, became hawkers as a result of family problems. Two examples illustrate how hawking was used as a family strategy. Matthew Donaldson [1031], a 13 year old travelling hawker, was sent out by his father, a sawyer in Glasgow. He went to live with his aunt in Edinburgh but in June 1820 she,

being unable to keep him...provided him with a Box and a few hardware goods that he might earn his livelihood by Hawking these goods.

From another case, Niven Fisher [473], 12 years old, was the youngest son of a soldier in Anderston, Glasgow. He had lived with his father and his family until early 1817

when in order to gain a maintenance for himself he set out with a small pack made up of needles, pins, faissars and sleeve buttons...assisted by his father.

Fisher and Donaldson were sent out either to supplement family income or to alleviate family expenses. This was similar to a common strategy of many Northwest Highland families who sent their older children to farm labouring and harvesting in the

Lowlands.<sup>35</sup>

Other inevitable problems, such as the death of a parent, could speed up a likely course of events, such as a child's departure from home. This occurred in the case of Janet Hannah [508], a 40 year old farm servant in Minigaff parish, Kirkcudbrightshire. Her father had been a miller and a tenant in Penninghame parish, Wigtownshire, 'but he died about seven years before the Tack [lease] expired.' Hannah was the youngest child in the family and lived with her father until he died in 1798 when she was 20; she then went into service like the other children in her family. That Hannah came from a family, and an area, in which service was not unusual is not as important here as the decisive event of her father's death. It was not uncommon for a younger daughter to remain at home taking care of her parents, either until marriage or by not marrying. Whether such support affected a person's (usually a daughter's) work opportunities is unknown; even in this case Hannah was young enough to move easily into the service market, working around the Southwest until she was questioned in 1818.

Marital separation was also a factor leading not only to geographical movement but sometimes to occupational changes. James McCloy [164], a weaver, had left his wife in Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire, after he

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<sup>35</sup> See Devine, *Great Highland Famine*, ch. 6 for a discussion of temporary migration strategies.

claimed 'she behaved ill' in 1813; he changed his work and took up farm labouring during the harvest of that year; after the harvest he began to tramp and sell goods through the countryside, basing himself at St John's Clauchan [Town] of Dalry in Kirkcudbrightshire. His transition from weaving at home to harvesting and hawking throughout the country involved several changes at once: he gave up his work, his marriage and home to take on informal tasks, a bigamous marriage, and an ever-changing residence. The willingness to change work, in this case taking on less prestigious jobs, enabled all of these to occur.

Accidents and ill health also caused job losses yet only a few declarants said that their occupational changes were linked to their health. John Wilson [1157], 18, was born and raised in Bothwell parish near Glasgow. He had 'followed Country Work till about two years ago [early 1818], when he fell badly and came to Glasgow, where he got into employment that was not so severe upon him, chiefly in making up hay in parcels or bundles for Sale to Cowfeeders.' Wilson had the opportunity to continue on in what was essentially rural work in the city. While his injury forced his move, his change of work was not extreme nor was the distance moved very far; he did not mention his family but any ties which did exist would not have suffered from his injury or move.

In other cases, the proximity of family did not



override physical problems. Hector McDonnell [298], an 18 year old from Ireland, had been in the navy for over seven years. He returned to Greenock in October 1815, where he had a brother, and where he worked as a day labourer; but after three months his health declined so much that he had 'to throw himself upon the charity of the Public for about 5 months'. He then travelled to Ayrshire where he got into the removal business. This mention of public charity is one of the few times begging is mentioned as a response to job loss, and is especially unusual since he had his brother nearby.

One woman who also suffered ill health and had family nearby was Ann Baxter [497], who was 22 years old in 1818. Her father, a sailor and school teacher, had died when she was six; her mother continued to reside in Bridgeton, Glasgow. Baxter worked in the

Cotton Mills of Oswald Stevenson and Company and Mr. William Dunn in Bridgeton since she was able to work but left them, on account of bad health, about four months ago [April 1818] That about two months ago [June 1818] she went to work in the Bleachfield of Mr. Williamson of Carmyle, where she continued for about five weeks, and since that time she has not wrought at any work, and been in no regular Lodgings.

Baxter's story should be noted not only for how long workers, particularly in textiles, could be out of work for poor health, but also for the fact that not all women maintained ties with their families. The statements on the whole suggest that women's ties with their families were stronger than men's, yet Baxter shows that this cannot be expected in all cases. Such

weak links were also likely to be more evident among women in industrial work.

#### 9.5 Entering new work

Many of the stories above describe how the declarants found work, and any separation of losing work and entering new work is bound to simplify people's actual experiences. Yet the following section, based on information from 45 declarants about how they found work, provides insights into the search for work which have not yet been raised. There is some overlap between the two groups in this and the previous section (i.e., 12 declarants) but repetition of information is kept to a minimum.

Declarants found work in several ways, both formally and informally. In the few cases of farm servants and farm labourers, the search for a fee involved either a journey to a hiring market, or directly to a farmer, for a period of service or labouring.

Two farm workers stated how they came into harvest work around Falkirk and Glasgow. In August 1813 Thomas Scott [127] and Elizabeth Paterson [128] went from East Lothian to Falkirk and hired themselves as shearers to a Farmer Broom who lived two miles southeast of the town. They worked there for a week and then returned to Falkirk. This process of going to Falkirk and being

hired to a nearby farm was repeated four times. At the end of five weeks Scott sought work in Falkirk itself; when he failed to get any he went to Glasgow 'to a house near the cross'. He was 'hired at the cross' by a labourer at Tradesmansgreen for one month, after which he returned to East Lothian. Paterson also went on to Glasgow but did not say what she did there before also returning. (In passing it should be noted that this is the only mention of a labourer hiring someone to work.)

There were others like Paterson and Scott who worked on farms after going to hiring markets. Hugh McCormick [613], a 44 year old unmarried servant, was a native of North Uist and served as a seaman in the Royal Navy from 1806 to 1815. Between May 1817 and his statement in November 1818 he had been in the 'District of Kintyre' and had 'hired himself as a servant for the last harvest quarter' at Muasdale, Killean parish. A week before his statement he had gone to Campbeltown 'to look out for other service at the market or fair to be held upon that day'; he stayed two days and then returned to Muasdale.

Declarants did not discuss the conditions of their service except for Peter Clark [629], the son of a contractor in Linlithgow. Clark was a labourer at the Calder Iron Works in Old Monkland parish in 1819, but in July 1817 he had hired himself out at 'Bridge of Glasgow' to Alexander Sharp of Kilmahew, Dumbartonshire. Clark had worked for Sharp about one week when the

latter beat him for not shearing well. Clark ran away but was brought back, and locked up without food for a night; Clark then ran away for good.

The pursuit of better wages and better conditions of service applied to those in the more prestigious sectors of farm service as well. William Young [591] was a farm servant who provided a uniquely detailed history of his work and salaries, primarily because he was suspected of fraud. In 1789 he entered his first service, at Riddleton, Maxton parish, Roxburghshire; for half a year's work he was paid £4. He then went to live with his father, a tenant's servant, in St. Cuthberts Stead near Tilmouth; Young stayed there for eight years (1789-97) and earned £200 by doing piece work, and by getting free clothes, and his room and board. He next went to Ford Mill, in Haddington parish, East Lothian, for one year (1797-98) and married there. On Whitsunday 1798 he went to Branxton, near Cornhill-on-Tweed, Northumberland, where his furniture cost £22. He stayed there one year (1798-99) as an overseer of the farm for which he was paid potatoes, lint and firing as well as £45, of which he saved £30. He was next in the service of a Mr. Hogarth at Fireburn, near Coldstream, Berwickshire, for ten years (1799-1809). His annual pay was

two Capfulls of Lint down [seed], Half a Boll or four half Fulls of Potatoes planted - a Cow kept, a Stone of Oatmeal per week and £28 of money. That during this time his wife bore him two Children and he saved about £100.

He next went to Lennoxlove, East Lothian for one and a half years (Martinmas 1809 to Whitsunday 1811) serving Lord Blantyre doing 'any kind of work'. He then went to West Ord near Berwick and 'made very good wages by different jobs'; later in his declaration he said he worked at 'day wages' for five years there (1811-16), saving £20. He then went to Grievestead where he stayed until his declaration in February 1818. He was paid by having his potatoes planted and was given 12 and a half 'Bolls of victuals...by the Berwick measure' which included six of oats, four of barley, two of 'pease' and half of one of wheat. Altogether he saved £6 in that time and had at present £200. About February of 1817 he loaned money to a packman 'in Tweedmouth now residing somewhere in Fife'. In June of 1817 he was in Jedburgh 'to look out for a more eligible situation than that he was then in'. One month later he was in Kelso on his way to St. Boswell's 'to accomodate a person then with some money'. In October he was back in Jedburgh for a settlement of money he owed to a friend. Young's father had died at West Ugg [?] eleven years earlier, in 1807. He also had three sisters; one was at Hoselaw Bank, Roxburghshire, and the wife of a labourer. Another was at Eyemouth, Berwickshire, and the wife of a cadger, or packhorseman. The other was at Glasgow and the wife of a labourer. Young also had a brother who was at West Ord.

While it is not possible to gauge whether each

change of service bettered Young's prospects, his planning and savings indicate that he was thoughtful in handling his affairs. If anyone was to do well in life it would be Young. He was certainly searching for better situations and depended primarily on himself after leaving his father's house where he built up his savings. No other declarant provided such information about their planning; most indicated that their main incentive was simply to find work, and better wages if possible. As shown earlier some declarants were willing to give up temporarily their families and homes to achieve these.

Most of the declarants did not enter work as formally as Young, and many appear to have chanced upon their work more often than not. Their casual approach sometimes involved journeys to visit family members or lovers. In other cases family members travelled together to find work, or attempted to meet each other at a particular place for the purpose of getting work.

As suggested above, entering farm labouring was often done informally. An extreme example of this comes from Jean Cullens [569] who was suspected of child stealing in October 1818. Earlier in the year she had left her parents in Glasgow's Parkhead and lodged with James Anderson, a weaver in Glasgow's Tollcross. She stayed with him and his family off and on for several months, shearing sometimes near Kirkintilloch and then returning. In late September she went with Anderson's

daughter, Elizabeth, to Hamilton to gather potatoes; the next day Elizabeth wanted to return home but Cullens wanted to find work, so they travelled to Lanark, Biggar, Linton, Penicuik and Edinburgh over the next two weeks. Cullens asserted that she

did not charge Anderson never to tell any person to whom she belonged or threaten that if she did so the declarant would thrust her fist thro her Anderson's liver...[nor] that she and the declarant were sisters and orphans [sic].

They were found by James Anderson in Edinburgh.

This type of wandering between villages and towns, despite its connection with kidnapping, suggests that farm labourers were prepared to go far afield for their work and had some idea that work opportunities would present themselves if they were in the right place. The 'wandering' was not aimless so much as a way of trying their luck in one place after another.

This approach to finding work is usually evident in the statements of labourers and other casual workers, but artisans were also widening their search. One was William Falconer [648] who was about 33 in 1813 when he was discharged from his regiment at Inverness. He spent less than two weeks there with his wife and then went to Edinburgh on his own 'in search of work'.

There are several cases which indicate strong links between mobility and finding work. Thomas Rute [588], was a tallow chandler in Inchbonny, near Jedburgh. In August 1817 he went to England to find work but he found none 'till he came to Carlisle' where 'he got a weeks

work...for which he received eighteen shillings' [sic]. James Matthew [780] was a labourer born in Canterbury and discharged from the army in 1811-12. In his statement at Langholm he said 'That he came to this Country looking for work.' Isobel Mitchell [1213] went with her husband David Duncan, 'in quest of work', to Aberdeen from Alyth, in Perthshire, in late November 1820 . They had lived in Alyth, where her brother was a saddler, for three months. Duncan had been an apprentice saddler in Coupar Angus and then a 'Sugar house' worker in Dundee. In another case, Ann McGie [1239] and her husband James Dilling, a labourer at Ayr, had brought their 'family' of five children from Co. Down to Troon in June 1820. Dilling went to England 'to endeavor to find work', returned and then took the family to Ayr in late August. Ann McGie and William Montgomerie, a sailor later suspected of raping McGie's nine year old daughter, were to go begging for food at 'gentlemen's houses'.

Some declarants combined their casual approach to looking for work with their strategies for committing crimes. Hector McDonnel [298], discussed earlier, had returned from his period of bad health and begging to help two women move from Greenock to Ayr by boat. While coming back from Ayr after one trip he and his workmates wrecked the boat on a beach. McDonnel said that four men with another boat offered to take them to Ayr; these four left to get other things, and McDonnel and the



others waited 'a considerable time' for them to return before leaving with their boat. They were forced into Skipness, on Kintyre, where they were 'detained by the civil power'.

Two young men were much more systematic in combining crime and looking for work. Ninian Alexander [429] and Alexander Preston [430] were described in a letter from James Stark of Cupar as going from farm to farm: 'if they meet any person they say they are going through Fife seeking work' and if not they stole Sunday clothes out of the bothies: 'There have been a great number of petty thefts in Fife of late' mostly of washing and pottery. The two were suspected of taking stolen goods from Fife to Edinburgh and returning to Fife for more. One known theft of theirs was at Shiels, Falkland parish, while another was suspected at Sir John Oswald's 'farm offices' at Dunnikier, near Kirkcaldy.

Occasionally the statements provide a glimpse of the declarant's decision-making process regarding work and mobility. One came from Roderick Boyd [1138] who was born in Londonderry in 1799 and was a sailor and pedlar. He served five years in the British navy; he had come on a vessel from London to Aberdeen in late 1819, succumbed to a great fever and stayed there for some time. He was 'on his way through Perth towards Leith with the view to get a place on a ship' when he met George Whyte, a pedlar, and went to Oban with him. Another story regarding a change of plans comes from

Margaret Grieg [1169] who, with her husband John Ferguson [1170], went from their home in Inverary, Argyll, to Peterhead in November 1820. They went in order to get Ferguson employment 'on board some vessel'. They found no work but were told there was an opportunity in Inverness; they left Peterhead in early December in the company of William Deuchars [1171], a ropespinner from Alyth in Perthshire, who was also on his way to Inverness for employment.

The unplanned search for work was often linked to some sort of crisis arising from punishment or poverty. James Edgar [226], 15 years old and a native of Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire, had been in and out of jail several times since he was 13. In mid-1815 he had gone to Greenock where he was imprisoned but soon freed; he went to Dundee to find 'a situation on board a ship'. He found none and went to Leith for the same reason 'but was soon apprehended and committed to Edinburgh jail' in August.

Another declarant who tried to elude the authorities while seeking work was Hugh McColgan [465], a native of Donegal who was born in 1795. He had come to Paisley in 1812 or 1813 and was put in Glasgow's jail in May 1817 for fraud. He remained there for almost six months after which he returned to Paisley's Tolbooth jail for two months. He was then banished from Renfrewshire for seven years, so he went to Glasgow 'but not having money to get him employment there, and being

unacquainted with any person, he was obliged to return to Sclate' [near Paisley?] where he had been for four years. He found work there but was later questioned at Glasgow for suspicion of theft.

One man said he was eluding not so much the authorities but the troubles going on around him. James Donald [1092], a weaver in Strathaven, was suspected of sedition following the 'Radical War' in April 1820. He had left Strathaven that month, when 'the people marched on Glasgow', in order 'to get better work than he had in Strathaven'. Donald went to 'Ledddington', near Galston in Ayrshire, but was brought back and questioned in Hamilton. He disclaimed any involvement with the radicals but did confirm that he was in the Union Society which read the Manchester Observer together.

## 9.5 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the declarants' work histories from two perspectives. The first focused on their occupational changes in total, showing the interaction between economic and social groups. Those groups which stated the most occupational changes were hawkers and labourers, while others with high proportions included servants, soldiers and those in Food and Lodging. The interaction between any two economic, or industrial, groups was rarely high, indicating that the declarants' movement between economic sectors was fluid.

Social class was raised as a counterpoint to economic groupings to see if the declarants were not only changing their economic sectors but their level of used skills as well. The large majority of changes were found between classes III, IV and V; moves within class III, from IV to III and from III to V accounted for 50 per cent of the changes. Most of the movement from III to V was shown to have come from sailors and soldiers, raising the question of whether their social worlds, as well as their environs, had actually changed. The tables in Appendices D and E carry this question further for many of the declarants. Occasionally changes in social relations could be discovered, as in the case [591] of a farm overseer who became a servant; but this was rare, showing the limits of the precognitions' contribution to ideas regarding occupational and social change in aggregate.

The chapter went on to discuss the declarants' occupational changes from another perspective, the reasons behind their movement from and to work. The sections concerning these made use of many brief pieces of information regarding the context and details of the declarants' changes. The great diversity of reasons for moving to and from work indicates that there was no final common experience of work among the declarants, even for those doing the same type of work. While the declarants did share practices of work, the contexts in which they performed work often differed greatly. The

lack of common experiences arose from two causes. The first was the time period in which most of the changes occurred. Many of those shown here were caused by the post-war depression, but they are known primarily because the declarants who said they changed occupation (almost all of whom were suspects) either resorted to or were suspected of using illegal strategies to cope with their situations. Only further research on other periods and other non-suspect groups will disentangle the reasons behind occupational change (such as the depression) from the reasons behind illegal strategies. Most of the changes occurred before the suspected crimes and did not inevitably lead to the declarants coming before officials.

The second cause of the lack of common work experiences, at least among the declarants discussed here, was hinted at throughout the stories and will be discussed in the next chapter. It concerns family relationships, which could make a large difference in the course of a person's work history.

## CHAPTER 10

### *Transitions, hardships and family relationships*

#### 10.1 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated how the the declarants used their mobility and work to support themselves and to cope with changes of fortune. Many suggested that their family relationships also played an important part in seeing them through the transitions in their lives, such as losing and finding work. These relationships greatly influenced the course of some declarants' lives, financially, geographically and emotionally. This chapter examines the influence of such relationships on the declarants during their transitions and hardships.

The first section of this chapter discusses the literature regarding family relationships and transitions where it sheds light on the declarants' statements. This is particularly in the area of family responses to changes which affected individuals and families, and were caused by unique as well as historical events. The second section focuses on the

transitions in the relationships between children and adults. It looks at the changes in people's lives during times when parents or children left the home, when young adults got married and when couples separated. Particular attention is paid to how family members treated each other during these times, and how they affected each other's mobility and work. The third section focuses on a recurrent theme in the declarants' statements, the impact of hardships and crises on family relationships. Those discussed here include unemployment, begging, mental handicaps, illegitimacy, crime and punishments. This section primarily aims to uncover the support which declarants sought or received from family members. A secondary aim here is to gain insights into people's expectations of their families and the limits to family support.

## 10.2 Background literature

This section examines different approaches to studying family ties and mobility, and how such approaches can be modified when using the declarants' statements. One of the primary aims of the research on this group of declarants has been to explore the influences on, and circumstances of, their mobility. As discussed in chapter six, a wide range of influences, from employment opportunities to information networks, were thought to have discouraged or attracted people to move. The

element which will be considered here, namely family relationships, was hinted at throughout the last chapter as being directly linked with information networks. There is little work on the early nineteenth-century family in Scotland, in regard to mobility or otherwise, primarily because of the few sources available. Yet the family remains an important area of investigation because of its centrality to most people for long periods of their lives, especially in the consideration of mobility.

Mobility is an important base from which to study family relationships, particularly because it often arose from or changed them; circulation mobility, in particular, often depended on family ties. Active links such as these are found in work on nineteenth-century Lancashire, by Anderson, and New England, by Hareven.<sup>1</sup> Both of these indicate that family relationships sustained and, in some cases were strengthened through, rural-urban and agricultural-industrial mobility. They have countered ideas which suggest that rural-urban migration

uprooted people from their traditional kinship networks, and that the pressures of industrial work and urban life caused a disintegration of the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Anderson, *Family Structure in nineteenth-century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), and T.K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: the Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge, 1982).



family unit.<sup>2</sup>

The study of family history has usually taken three approaches which focus in turn on demographic, cultural and economic aspects of the family.<sup>3</sup> The approach taken in any one study is often driven as much by the sources available as by the methods chosen. Anderson argues that all three approaches are needed in conjunction if family history is to progress; yet to accomplish this a wide variety of sources is needed.

In some ways, the precognitions are suitable for studies taking an approach which focuses on household economics since the statements give details about dynamic aspects of family relations; there is little about either family structures or cultural perceptions of the family as an institution. The dynamic aspects found in the statements concern mutual assistance, individual and family strategies, adaptations to new circumstances and the family context of mobility. Little information about family relations from the statements can be quantified because of the relatively few numbers of declarants who gave many details about them. Such an attempt could take place after much further work on the record series so that occupational

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<sup>2</sup> Hareven (in *ibid.*, p.1) criticizes W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1918-20) and works by several in the Chicago School.

<sup>3</sup> M. Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (London, 1980).

and regional differences, and changes over time, could be examined. This chapter is primarily concerned with exploring the quality and depth of the information given by the declarants who are known to have moved in order to outline the precognitions' usefulness in describing family relations.

One variation of the household economics approach is the 'life course perspective' which often uses life histories akin to those found in the statements. This perspective, particularly as advocated by Hareven and Elder<sup>4</sup>, has been described as a 'framework' rather than a methodology or 'explanatory theory'.<sup>5</sup> The life course of an individual or a family is made up of the transitions each undergoes and the choices which are inherent to them. Transitions are the important changes which people experience throughout their lives. The life course differs from the traditional 'life-cycle' in that there is no one standard or expected model of how a person or their family will change over their lifetime. Transitions include such diverse events as entering adolescence, adulthood and old age; moving from one town to another with one's family as a child; leaving one's

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<sup>4</sup> Hareven, 'Introduction' in idem., *Transitions*, pp. 1-16. Elder, 'Family history and the life course'; idem., 'Perspectives on the life course', in idem. (ed.), *Life Course Dynamics: Trajectories and Transitions* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), pp. 23-49; and idem. 'Families and lives: some developments in life-course studies', *J. Fam. Hist.* 12 (1987), pp. 179-99.

<sup>5</sup> T.K. Hareven 'Family history at the crossroads', *J. of Fam. Hist.* 12 (1987), p. xv.

family; marriage; and taking up employment. The transitions of a lifetime make up a person's or a family's trajectory. The transitions and trajectories of one family member also often affect those of the others, such as the divorce of parents on their children. Changes are thus seen as interlocking people with one another as well as with their historical and cultural settings.

These inter-connections raise many questions about the ways in which families operate and make use of the inter-dependence of their members. How did families respond to historical circumstances such as economic crises? How did the decisions of each member of a family affect those of the others, both in the short and long term? How did the timing of transitions, such as when to leave home, affect family life? All these issues are important to life course analysis.

The life course perspective is undeniably historical in outlook but it is usually explored through oral histories and present day sources. Nevertheless, in one of the most important historical studies of the life course in nineteenth-century New England, Hareven and Elder discuss the distinctive characteristics of life course analysis and how different methodologies can be employed in carrying it out.<sup>6</sup> The three main

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<sup>6</sup>Elder, 'Family history and the life course', and Hareven, 'Introduction'.

features of the framework which are pertinent to historical work include: 'the synchronization of individual with family transitions; the interaction between life-course transitions and historical change; and, ultimately, the cumulative impact of earlier life-course transitions on subsequent ones'.<sup>7</sup>

One of the obstacles to studying transitions with an eye to life course analysis lies in the lack of sources to be exploited systematically. Both longitudinal data, particularly oral life histories, and cross sectional data such as that from a census, can be used separately or in conjunction to follow the life courses of groups or individuals. One of the main methods employed in previous studies has been cohort analysis (usually the study of a particular age-group) using either longitudinal or cross-sectional data. The aim in this has been to determine the effects of distinctive historical conditions on different age cohorts; achieving such an aim usually depends on detailed records or the possibility of applying linkage techniques. Individual studies, constrained by their available sources, will necessarily focus on different aspects of the life course, such as cohorts, family dynamics, the timing and sequence of events, or the impact of historical events.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hareven, 'Introduction', p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See Elder, 'Families and lives' for a discussion of the literature on these themes.

The sections to follow will show that the precognitions cannot produce a complex history of individuals' and families' life courses. There is simply not enough information in the statements to form the basis of an adequate study of all these issues, nor is there much to build on from other work. Again, this is a problem of a lack of sources available for a study of life courses. Some issues of the life course framework and the themes in the statements do overlap yet there are areas in which the statements cannot address its concerns. Like many sources before the 1851 census and the 1855 civil registration, the statements often leave out dates of transitions and time periods between them; synchronous events, such as migration at marriage, are rarely found as well. The precognitions give examples of both longitudinal and cross-sectional data but in neither case is the data systematic enough to be exploited fully for particular cohorts or for the synchronous transitions of family members. Indeed, it is not even possible at this stage in their study to disaggregate information at a local or regional level. Instead, the statements provide an impression of the interaction between individuals' and families' life courses, and of the effects of historical circumstances. Their study should serve as a preface to further work, showing how some transitions were carried out and what their context was in terms of family relations.

Despite the limitations of the statements, the

concerns raised by Hareven, Elder and others regarding the life course remain important to this study. They provide a complex and insightful perspective from which to approach other connecting themes. As will be argued below, one of these themes in the statements was the importance of family relationships during individuals' transitions and hardships.

Such themes from the statements find echoes in Anderson's work on nineteenth-century Lancashire. In it he uses a sample from the 1851 census for Preston, along with other sources, to draw a picture of family ties which endured 'residential mobility, industrial employment, and high mortality rates'.<sup>9</sup> Rural and urban kin initiated contact for employment and during 'critical life situations'. These situations included crises such as unemployment and death as well as standard life course transitions such as leaving home, marrying and bearing children. In the midst of such situations, kin in and around Preston often went to live with one another, usually for short periods. The greater division of household responsibilities and expenses, and the information about work opportunities and conditions given by resident kin to migrant kin, suggested that both parties benefitted from such arrangements.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 141, 153.

The study went further to show that, given the lack of other means of support and economic security in hard times, kin acted as 'the only source of assistance which ever began to promise an adequate (if qualified) predictability of response at a cost which could be met with the resources possible'.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, in early nineteenth-century Scotland some people had access to poor relief and in places this included supplements to low wages. Yet there was a contrast in levels of relief between rural and urban areas since reduced labour surpluses in the former exacerbated economic difficulties in the latter. In addition, such supplements appear to have ended in the 1810s.<sup>12</sup>

Anderson suggests that kin were especially needed in times of high population turnover, and weak societal norms meant neighbours could not be so depended on. Nevertheless, resident kin usually provided assistance only for short periods since they were susceptible to the same problems besetting migrant kin, particularly unemployment. Most of the people involved in Anderson's study were poor and would have had to restrict their aid when more immediate needs arose; this could make the difference between helping children as opposed to cousins.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>12</sup> Mitchison, 'The poor law'.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 165.

Many similar aspects of family relationships were found in Hareven's study in which assistance from kin living in the same place often occurred daily depending on the particular needs of family members, such as for child care or running errands.<sup>14</sup> Weaknesses in kin ties could arise in any number of situations, such as when people were caught between competing loyalties to relatives and employers.

These studies of Anderson, Hareven and others present a strong case for considering (1) the active involvement of family members in one another's lives both as migrants and non-migrants, and (2) the continuity and possible strengthening of family ties during instances of migration.<sup>15</sup> Some of the issues raised by these studies can be addressed through the declarants' statements. The next two sections of this chapter do this by examining family relationships in light of transitions and hardships.

### 10.3 Family relationships and transitions

The studies of family history discussed above have shown different ways in which family relationships affected the course of people's lives. This section examines the

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<sup>14</sup> Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, ch. 5.

<sup>15</sup> See A.G. Darroch, 'Migrants in the nineteenth century: fugitives or families in motion?', *J. Fam. Hist.* 6 (1981), pp. 257-77 for a review of pertinent literature.



impact which the declarants' families had on their transitions through childhood and adulthood. Only a few transitions are discussed explicitly, such as leaving home and marrying, yet there are several others which appear in the stories below. In addition, there are other themes running through this chapter which have been touched on in earlier chapters. These include the conjunction of geographical mobility and occupational change; the mechanisms which support mobility; and differences between movers and stayers.

The first part of this section looks at two transitions of children. These include (1) first concerns the loss of one or more parents due to death, marital separation or other causes; and (2) concerns children leaving home either permanently or temporarily.

Following this is a discussion of adults' transitions; this primarily concerns marriage since transitions involving work were discussed in the previous chapter. Issues of financial support, the maintenance of family contacts, temporary and permanent separations, and remarriage are all discussed here. Adult mobility which involved family support is then examined. Family-related movement helps indicate how families supported one another through both normal and difficult times, though it is a less important transition than marriage.

### 10.3.1 Children, parents and leaving home

Several themes arise in the statements regarding children's transitions and family relationships but two of the most important are considered below. These include the absence of parents, and children's departure from home.

Many declarants referred to only one parent, usually their father, when discussing their family and household. The home and family was often identified through the father when before officials, even if the man was dead. In several cases parents had separated, usually with only one taking the children. The absence of a parent often forced children to earn money at an earlier age than if both parents were living. Alternatively they may have been sent away to reduce the burden on the remaining parent and other children. The circumstances of such families varied widely. With the loss of a parent a family risked being pushed into poverty. The effect of a parent's death could be lessened if children were sent to stay with relations. Some children ended up working with their grandparents for short periods but these usually went on from there to casual labour or petty trade. Remarriage after a spouse's death was influenced by economic and social factors, with the household needing to provide an income as well as care for any children.

For people who grew up on the land the deaths of their fathers did not necessarily cut their ties to the

countryside. This was the case for Janet Hannah [508] discussed in the previous chapter; she went into farm service like her brothers and sisters before her. William Kirkland [686], the son of a farmer who 'died without making any settlement', stayed on the same farm for eight years. Afterwards he 'lived on his patrimony' but ended up with no permanent residence and no regular work.

The death of a parent could also prompt the surviving family to move; several left one town for another, usually Glasgow or Edinburgh. William Pirrie [425], a 15 year old packman had come to Glasgow from Co. Tyrone with his parents when he was two. When he was nine his father died, whereupon the boy and the rest of the family moved to Edinburgh.

In some families one or both of the parents were away temporarily or permanently by their own decision. This absence was usually linked with work. In some hawker's and sailor's families this was part of a cycle with one or both parents leaving but routinely reuniting with their family. The children in such cases were cared for by the remaining parent, their neighbours or their relations. Stewart Jameson [646], a 12 year old hawker travelled with his mother, making baskets on the north side of Loch Tay. They met there with his brother and stepfather and then all proceeded together.

In other situations where one or both parents permanently left their children (only nine are known)

someone else cared for the children or they had work to support themselves. In some of these cases it appears that children were simply left to fend for themselves. The youngest was Lachlan Comb, a 12 year old boy who was a meat carrier in the Greenock fleshmarket and who had been a flesher's labourer in Rothesay. His deceased father had been a sailor and his mother was a servant and itinerant worker there and along the west coast of Scotland. Yet he resided with his mother's cousin in Greenock.<sup>16</sup> This signals a theme which is discussed below, namely the support which other family members gave to children.

Although there were several bigamy cases in the precognitions, couples seem to have separated rarely. When separations did occur the children usually went with their mother but this was not an absolute norm. Mary Carouse [212] had married in Ireland but her husband later left her and went to Scotland. She followed him and he left her again, taking one of their two children. Christine Watson's parents had separated and she alternated her residence between them and her places of service [599]. Her mother had a home in Gelvin, Kinross-shire; her places of service were at Edinburgh and at Transy in Dunfermline parish; and her father lived at Horsleyhill in Roxburghshire. Her moves were influenced by a combination of family ties, the

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<sup>16</sup> See [299], [431] and AD14/17/45.

availability of work, and her trouble with the law.

The widowed and deserted were likely to seek remarriage as a guard against poverty, but this could create problems for the children. Little is known about children's reactions to remarriage from the statements but the two recorded show them opposed to it. When her mother decided to remarry, Elizabeth Jameson [645], aged 10, 'ran away from her' in Fortingall, Perthshire. She began to hawk goods which her brother made at Stirling and was later forced by her aunt (Stewart Jameson's mother mentioned above) to hawk with her. Janet Anderson, a 27 year old bleachfield worker, was the child of a widowed labourer at Drumgaeth, Mains parish, Angus. He had remarried but since Anderson 'could not agree with her stepmother she left her father's house'. She was then six months pregnant and went to Dundee where she found work. Such opposition was, however, unlikely to prevent remarriage in this period. Still, both of these cases point toward the recurrent, though not invariable, theme of movement to towns and cities in the face of difficulties. Indeed, other studies suggest such problems may just have easily led to vagabondage rather than rural-urban movement.<sup>17</sup>

Leaving home is one of the most important transitions in the life course, often involving changes

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<sup>17</sup> L.P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1992), p. 88.

in family relationships and work. Of 31 declarants (including only 5 females) who stated their age at the time they left home, most went between the ages of 10 and 20, but usually in their later teens. Those under 15 often became chapmen or shop attendants or went to sea; one was even discharged from a militia at the age of 10 [8]. Those over 15 were much less likely to become chapmen, as several went into the military, and into farm and domestic service; others moved to a large town, particularly Glasgow, to try their luck and apply their trade. Most of these options were likely to have been influenced by their age at movement because of family restrictions and their degree of skills.

Both young men and women were often involved in cycles of six months in service and six months with their parents.<sup>18</sup> The main ways out of this cycle, for the female declarants in particular, involved marriage, a move to domestic service in a town, or textile work. Unsurprisingly, young men were more likely than women to take to casual labour or hawking and fend for themselves without parental support or supervision. Separation did not necessarily lead to permanent severance. The ability of children to work away from home was probably vital to a family's finances (whether rural or urban) and to that of travelling families. Without such

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<sup>18</sup> T.M. Devine (ed.), *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland: 1770-1914* (Edinburgh, 1984).

separations many families would not have coped financially.<sup>19</sup> In addition, some families in the precognitions made arrangements for children to live with other relatives who would provide work or temporary support. While some children returned home after half-year periods of service others left for indefinite periods, reappearing years later to live with or near their parents. Several married women went back to their parents during their husbands' military service as well as during periods of marital estrangement. In other cases sons returned after years away at sea, in the military or for more unusual reasons. William McAllister [376] had been banished in September 1817 for seven years, presumably from Glasgow. He went to reside with his mother in Pollockshaws but returned to Glasgow to urge his wife to go to Edinburgh with him: 'she said she could not go unless he could raise money to relieve her clothes which she had pledged to support her while he was in prison.' This case particularly shows how family relationships intertwined, how parents continued to be used as a safety net, and how mobility was restricted by financial and marital responsibilities.

There was no mention of parents refusing to reaccept their children and some of the rejoined families went on to work together. At times this

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<sup>19</sup> L.A. Tilly, 'Individual lives and family strategies in the French proletariat', *J. Fam. Hist.* 4 (1979), p. 145.

involved skilled work such as in the case of Archibald Galt [414], a native of Douglas, in Lanarkshire, who returned from the navy in 1816. A year later he 'came to Gorbals...to his father's house'; since he had no employment and his father was a mason Galt was employed to dress gravestones in a churchyard with his brother. In most cases, though, reunions involved casual work and came after short, temporary separations. Neil Shields [509], a 20 year old labourer, returned to his family at Cograburn, Dumfries-shire, after working the harvest in a nearby parish. He went to work as a labourer on the new road from Carlisle to Glasgow. In an incident in which a constable tried to arrest Shields and his mother, Mary Campbell, the latter tore up the warrant and put it into the constable's mouth. All the workers around made 'a great noise, laughing and rejoicing...in which the declarant [Shields] and his mother joined'. The constable returned with 12-18 Irishmen, and when Campbell threw stones at them Shields ran between them to stop her. Meanwhile, another worker, John McKinna, 'gave Murphy [one of the Irishmen] a punch on the side with his hammer.' Such situations are likely to have strengthened family ties (by creating family legends) despite the periodic separations of such families of labourers.

Reunions such as these occurred during periods of both hardship and normal life, indicating that many parents continued to function as accustomed return



points for their children well after they had left home. These also show an explicit link between family relations and children's strategies, with parents helping their children even after they had left home once.

### 10.3.2 Transitions of adults

Adults transitions are many and varied but the main ones discussed by the declarants included marriage and marital break-ups. The discussion below concerns how couples coped with their changing family relationships, and how their marital and sexual relations developed.

About 60 declarants stated details regarding the history of their marriages; these form the basis of the following discussion. After considering some of the general information concerning marriages in the precognitions, this sub-section looks at how spouses financially supported one another and their families, particularly during temporary separations. It then examines the declarants' permanent separations, particularly focusing on bigamy cases, and shows how other family members supported couples through these separations. It finishes with a brief discussion of the declarants' remarriages. There are no neat gaps between these topics, each of them raising themes of (1) support from both immediate and extended family and (2) mobility

as an individual and as a household strategy.<sup>20</sup>

Within the statements there is a great difference in the quantity and quality of men's and women's information. Women form about one-third of the declarants giving details about their marriages. This is a relatively high proportion since females were much less likely to state in-depth information about themselves. This may point to marriage having greater importance for women than men in Scottish society at this time.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, it was not uncommon for some women exclusively to discuss their husbands' lives, often not raising their own work and family roles. As if to emphasise this, most men also stated their own work and actions often to the exclusion of their wives except to state that a marriage had occurred. Thus much of the information about marital relations coming from both men and women concentrates on the role(s) of husbands.

As with most of the declarants' histories, isolating one action from another is difficult and not always desirable. Many of the married declarants discussed their mobility, work or family support, and often some combination of the three. It may help to start with an example of such a combination from a broken marriage in the North East. Margaret Gordon and

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<sup>20</sup> See Tilly, 'Individual lives'.

<sup>21</sup> See also Houston, 'Women in the economy', and Whyte and Whyte, 'Geographical mobility of women'.

Alexander Dow were married in 1802 in Gartly parish, Banffshire; Gordon was raised in Fochabers in Boharm parish, some 30 km to the northwest. At the time of the marriage both Gordon and Dow served a farmer at Edendiach in Aberdeenshire and after 12 months they moved on to Balquahin in Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. Dow left Gordon in 1810 with five children and, in 1813, married the daughter of a farmer in Udney parish, farther to the east in Aberdeenshire. In the meantime, Gordon had moved back to Boharm parish with her children [446] .

Cases like this shed some light on the information regarding marriage histories in the precognitions: dates and durations of marriages, the number of children and the residence(s) of parents are all common in the statements. Especially pertinent here is the detail that Gordon returned to live near her parents; this was common among the women in the precognitions yet details of wider family support for young spouses are often lacking. In the case of Gordon it is not known whether she lived with or close to her parents, or what support they gave to one another. This is also fairly typical of the content of the statements; the outline of events and family ties can be discovered but there is often little about the frequency of family contacts or the extent of any material support between family members. The statements suggest that family relationships were very important to couples but they do not provide a

gauge to measure that importance. Nevertheless, there are some examples, explored below, which provide glimpses of the extent of such support.

The statements provide some broad generalisations about the background of first and second marriages. The age at first marriage for both men and women is known for 22 declarants and was usually between 21 and 27 though two were younger than 18.<sup>22</sup> Most spouses had previously worked for several years and often met one another at a place of farm service or in a village or town where they both lived.

Several instances of second marriages have been found in the statements. There were 12 individuals who had remarried and three of these said they were in their early 40s at the time while one other was 35. Six of the 12 said they had left, or been left by, their spouse while four others said they were widowed; most of the men who left their wives went on to attempt bigamy. The time between becoming a widow(er), or undergoing a separation, and remarriage was usually under five years and closer to two. Since little is known about the background of these remarriages it is not known whether such short periods reflect primarily economic or social pressures.

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<sup>22</sup> This is similar to other findings for Scotland as shown in Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, pp. 329-34. This is partly because of the imbalance in the sex ratios for 20-30 year olds in 1821. These had been even greater during the war years.

Another unusual type of relationship found in the precognitions includes couples who lived together by consent but outwith marriage. The law would have regarded such relationships as 'a separate type of evidence by which marriage might be established.'<sup>23</sup> It is known that some people outside such relationships regarded these couples as married, yet it is unclear if they saw them as having regular or irregular marriages. Some couples were very casual in their relationships. Hector McDonnell [298], a discharged seaman, labourer and remover in Greenock said that Christian McLachlan (the mother of Lachlan Comb mentioned above) [431] 'occasionally lived' with him as his wife 'when he met with her but is not married to her'. (This was confirmed by Angus Ferguson [301], a fellow suspect.) It must be noted that McLachlan, charged in another case one year later, made no mention of McDonnell, suggesting that their relationship may have been even more casual than McDonnell had implied.

Other cases show complicated situations in places regarded as remote but which had much contact with sailors, soldiers and other transient residents. In a case from Orkney, Henry Munro [198], a sergeant in the 3rd Royal Veteran Battalion, was suspected of culpable homicide. The woman who had died was Margaret Moar,

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<sup>23</sup> R. Mitchison and L. Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780* (Oxford, 1989), p. 100.

Munro's mistress. He had been stationed at Stromness for several years and had two children with her. Before coming to Orkney he had married Juliet Dun in India and had brought her to Stromness where she still lived. Dun's origin is not known but while the couple had not lived together for five years she remained on Mainland, Orkney. When William Kirkland [686] (mentioned above) left his father's farm he went to Dundee and mostly lodged there as well as at Arbroath. In 1811, he and his Dundee landlady, Susan Strath [734], had a child but he still had no occupation 'other than writing letters for those who may employ him.'

Such relationships were normally rebuked by the kirk sessions, especially if a child was born. (If the parents agreed to get married the child could be baptised without any indication of illegitimacy.)<sup>24</sup> These three stories show the variety of such relationships. There were those who occasionally lived together, such as McDonnell and McLachlan, and seemed to have very loose ties with one another. Others lived together on a fairly permanent basis, raising children and looking after each other in the same way as married couples. There is no mention in the precognitions of any religious or social condemnation against casual relationships or common-law marriages, and it is probable that the extent of both those such

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<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, p. 200.

relationships, and their condemnation, like illegitimacy, varied across Scotland.<sup>25</sup>

The financial circumstances of married couples in the precognitions is occasionally known. There is no explicit mention of either women or men planning for marriage yet a few of the men seem to have saved money for a few years before marrying. Most people probably expected to get married and the lack of information may indicate that it was presumed to be the norm. Nevertheless, the low sex ratio of males to females for the 20-30 age group would have lessened many women's chances for marriage.

The marriages in AD14 often coincided with both spouses being in stable jobs and in which they remained for at least a year afterwards. Such occupations usually included farm servants or tradesmen; hawkers with a steady business also married and continued to ply their trade, often taking their spouses on as co-workers. The jobs of spouses were also sometimes the same, such as in the case of weavers, hawkers and farm servants; such occupations were common to both genders

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<sup>25</sup> See T.C. Smout, 'Aspects of sexual behaviour in nineteenth-century Scotland', in A.A. Maclaren (ed.), *Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 55-85, and J.A.D. Blaikie, 'The country and the city: sexuality and social class in Victorian Scotland', in Kearns and Withers, *Urbanising Britain*, pp. 80-102.

throughout the Lowlands.<sup>26</sup>

Temporary separations between spouses arose for a number of reasons but were usually linked with the work of the husband. Only occasionally did declarants state details about financial support which came from husbands who were temporarily absent. The best example is of a couple who had not married but were regarded by his employer as husband and wife. John Wilson [324] and his female lover Douglas Forrester [325] had a child together in 1798; Wilson worked as a printer in Edinburgh at the time and visited Forrester occasionally in the Pleasance. For the most part they both stayed in Edinburgh but apparently did not live together. This was until May 1816 when Wilson began work as a lighthouse keeper at Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth. He took Forrester with him and 'she lived with him for some months' until he left in September for Corsewell Lighthouse in Kirkholm parish, Wigtonshire.

After he left, the Superintendent of Lightkeepers for Northern Lighthouses sent £6 6/- to Forrester as part of Wilson's wages. Meanwhile Wilson had married at Stranraer in February 1817 and, when charged with bigamy, said he

never meant to acknowledge her [Forrester] as his wife. That while at Inchkeith he sent for her on one occasion, and upon another she came of her own

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<sup>26</sup> See Rodger, 'Employment, wages and poverty', and E. Gordon and E. Breitenbach (eds.), *The World is Ill Divided: women's work in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Edinburgh, 1990).



accord.

Leaving aside the possible meanings of being 'sent for', this story indicates that a mechanism was in place for some employed men to support their families and thus their own mobility. This was not likely to have been a common practice for most employers of men who were away from home. The families of itinerants such as sailors and some labourers would have had to supplement their incomes, partly because of the uncertainty of the husband's wage returning with him, but mostly because a labouring man's wages were usually too low to support his entire family.<sup>27</sup>

There is ample evidence in other studies as well as in the precognitions of the importance of women's labour to the household, particularly in spinning and weaving.<sup>28</sup> In several instances women's work supported men's mobility. There is the case of Patrick Gavin [178], a weaver, who married Jean McManus in 1807 in Co. Tyrone. They had left there in 1809 and ended up in Carlisle in early 1812. In February 1813 he went 'to seek work about Edinburgh leaving both his Wife and children' in Carlisle. He 'heard the prices were better in Scotland' and felt that there was 'no harm as he left his wife, who can weave, to finish the Web.' McManus

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<sup>27</sup> See I. Levitt and C. Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 100-13.

<sup>28</sup> See Pahl, *Divisions of Labour*, ch. 3, and Whyte, 'Proto-industrialisation'.

was certainly not incapable but had her own skills to support her family.

Other women entered farm service, or harvested with friends or their children, while their husbands were away temporarily. In August 1813 Elizabeth Paterson [128] and Thomas Scott [127] went from East Lothian to work at the harvest on several farms in the Falkirk area. Paterson was married to another man, a seaman, but was suspected of concealment of pregnancy in March 1814, eight months after her service. Scott was suspected of child murder but the charge was later dropped. The child had died under suspicious circumstances and presumably Paterson's husband was away at the time.

One couple on Bute provide an example of complementary occupations which may have been common in port towns. Isabella Wilson [1124], and Ronald McAllister were both born in Kintyre and came to Rothesay in 1812. In April 1820 Wilson said that she kept a lodging house, while McAllister was a 'seafaring man'; he had not worked that year until a month earlier when he started going from Rothesay to the west of Ireland. That Wilson needed to work is apparent from McAllister's periods of unemployment and absence. In addition they had eight children, with three girls working in the cotton mill at Rothesay while the eldest boy had gone away to Greenock to get a berth on a ship.

Relatives also assisted couples who were separated

temporarily. John Geddes [90], a private in the Argyllshire militia, was stationed at Paisley. His wife lived with his sister at Port Dundas in Glasgow and Geddes went there each weekend. Such support from in-laws is evident throughout the statements.

In the light of the marital difficulties of some couples who were temporarily separated, the marriages of hawkers seem remarkable in two respects. First, their separations were frequent and often long because of the nature of their work. Second, their marriages apparently lasted the longest of all the declarants'. This may in fact been a consequence of their work if those away from home, usually men travelling on their own, valued their families because of their long separations. Likewise there was an obvious mutual dependency resulting from the unknown level of income from any one trip. But this does not entirely explain the long-lasting ties between hawkers as the same situation arose for the families of sailors and soldiers. Hawkens gave no indication of extra-marital relationships and presented a picture of devotion to their families. (This is not to say that married hawkers had no such relationships but that they said nothing about them.) The reasons for such loyalty are unknown but it would be helpful to know if there was a greater interdependence between, and possibly greater equality of, male and female hawkers than was found in

other working couples.<sup>29</sup>

This apparent fidelity is most evident when both husband and wife went on the road. Couples on the road endured the same hard conditions whether travelling together or apart. Staying on in such a line of work may have been a test of loyalty to one another. The main point here though is that women who hawked, unlike women in other forms of work, had a high degree of autonomy from their husbands in their decisions about where to travel and how to carry out their business. Such autonomy, combined with pooling resources, may have encouraged hawkers to stay together longer or permanently.

A few examples may shed some light on this. In 1815 two hawkers, William Coyle [232] and his wife, had returned to Glasgow with their children after a year in Liverpool. They had previously lived in Glasgow for 20 years. On their return his wife immediately went to sell goods in Edinburgh. Leaving their children with some neighbours Coyle set out a week later from Port Dundas 'by the casual boats' on the canal; on arriving in Edinburgh's Grassmarket he was told his wife had returned to Glasgow. He then went on to several places in the Borders before returning home. In another case,

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<sup>29</sup> There is little known about female hawkers, even from R. Leitch's otherwise helpful article '"Here chapmen billies tak their stand": a pilot study of Scottish chapmen, packmen and pedlars', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotl.* 120 (1990), pp. 173-88.

David Charles [177] had taken a trip by himself but on his next was accompanied by his wife and a weaver friend of theirs. Another couple, Jean Hunter [170] and William Tweedie [171], were based in Donaghadee, Ireland, and had been married for 10 years. Tweedie had hawked for 12 years and also had some experience in keeping a public house. On their present trip they travelled together from Stranraer to Ayr and then split up, he going to Nottingham and she to Glasgow. Each of these couples illustrates the autonomy of both husbands and wives, the necessity of separating and the expectation of reuniting.

Among all the declarants details about permanent separations, unlike temporary ones, are usually found in bigamy cases. In these, declarants gave unusually thorough accounts of their marital and family histories, probably because of both the relationship's crisis and the officials' need to establish the identities of the parties involved. In addition, bigamy cases provide some of the strongest hints about the importance of immediate family, to women in particular.<sup>30</sup>

Almost all of the cases of bigamy involved a spouse or partner who moved geographically. Indeed, mobility was probably the most common characteristic of these cases since remarriage, while a previous spouse was

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<sup>30</sup> There has been little work done on bigamy in Scotland; see Mitchison and Leneman, *Sexuality*, pp. 123-4.

alive, was illegal and nearly impossible if both husband and wife remained in the same area. Almost all of these cases arose from husbands' attempts to remarry and in only one had both a husband and wife earlier agreed to their separation. Thus, for men at least, bigamy may have been the only way out of a dissatisfying marriage.<sup>31</sup> Within the twelve cases studied here the separations usually occurred after five years though some came within the first year and others after 20 years.

In the bigamy cases there was rarely any hint of reconciliation. Only seven of the bigamy cases have enough details to piece together the histories of all the people involved. Each situation was different from the others, in the events leading up to the husband's departure, the reactions of both wives, and the known involvement of their families.

Men suspected of bigamy gave a variety of reasons for leaving their spouses and families, from petty disagreements to serious threats. The emotional and financial investments put into marriages make separations volatile events at any time. In Scotland at this time a severance could be devastating for some women, particularly if their husbands were the primary earner and if they were left to care for several

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<sup>31</sup> See A. Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford, 1986), for the choices of separation in England.

children. The anger of some women, as their lives were turned upside down, is apparent in their statements and actions. Yet it is not possible to provide a blanket description of men and women's feelings about their marriages, particularly when expectations of fidelity and economic support may have differed geographically and socially, as did attitudes to illegitimacy.

Some of the bigamy cases provide a glimpse into men's reasons for leaving and women's responses to their husbands' departures and remarriages. James McCloy [164] (discussed in chapter nine), a weaver and widower with seven children, married his second wife, Margaret Perry [165], in Donaghadee, Co. Down in 1808; they went to Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire, late in 1809. They remained together until the summer of 1813 when McCloy left; he later complained that she had 'behaved ill'. He remained in the South West and, at the start of the harvest that year, married Agnes Thomson whom he had met in Kirkmaiden. McCloy then tramped and sold goods in the countryside until making his statement that December. Thomson had lived in Mochrum parish, across Luce Bay from Kirkmaiden, for 20 years but had kept her 'certificate of character' from Ireland where she was raised. Perry's anger at the situation was such that she burned both Thomson's certificate and marriage licence.

The actual events behind such discord are difficult to discover, whether in the 1810s or the present day.

The statements of couples in bigamy cases provide insights not so much into people's actual experiences of marriage but more into what they deemed important about their relationships. There were probably more reasons behind Perry burning the certificate and licence, and McCloy leaving her. Most of the stories go only so far, tantalizing us with fragments of information and emotion. At the same time several themes converge in such stories: McCloy's changes of marriage, work and residence occur so close together that each change clearly allowed or supported one or both of the others.

This was also true for James Ferguson [574], a former soldier, and his wife Margaret Dickson, married in Dundee on 17 June 1805. At times over the next ten years Dickson 'was abroad with him during the war', giving birth to three children though only one was still alive in 1818 when they gave their statements. In June 1815 Ferguson left Dickson at Fintry, north of Glasgow, later accusing her of having 'threatened to take his life'. He remarried at Perth in May 1817 and continued to reside there; but Dickson retained a financial interest in him. In the following May, she came to Perth to find him, knowing he would draw his pension there. Regardless of Ferguson's seemingly adequate public reason for leaving, Dickson continued to exercise her financial claim on him.

Throughout several of the bigamy cases family members of the couples were mentioned, either as active



supporters of one of the spouses or merely as reference points. Active support discussed below usually went to the wife. In one case of chain migration Mary Begbie [727] left West Melville, Lasswade parish, where her father was a ploughman, and went to Edinburgh's Canongate where she worked as a domestic servant to an advocate. Two of her sisters already lived in Edinburgh and at least one of them also worked as a domestic servant. Begbie met George Cameron [721] who worked as a mason at the same house. He was a native of Fife and, in 1803, had married Rebecca Lymmers, the daughter of a ploughman at Crail; they were married in Pitlessie, near Cupar in Fife. Cameron had been a weaver at the time but a year later went to England as a soldier. When he returned to Perth with his regiment he 'ignored' Lymmers and moved to Edinburgh. His father and brother had earlier moved to villages within and near the city. While Cameron was away in England Lymmers had remained in Pitlessie living with her brother, a shoemaker named Balfour, until 1813 when Balfour moved to Edinburgh. Lymmers remained there with her 16 year old son.

In passing it should be noticed that this case exhibits many of the benefits and drawbacks of the statements. The relationships of these declarants with their own family members seem obvious at first glance: the Begbie sisters had a home base; Balfour and Rebecca Lymmers supported each other in hard times; and Cameron lived near his brother and father. The mere mention of

family members in proximity provides a great temptation to imagine stronger links than may have existed. It may simply suffice to suggest, as do other studies, that family members exerted a strong pull on one another's mobility, seen most clearly in the movements of the Begbies. Ingram in particular suggests that 'the decision to move and the chosen destination may be more related to personal contacts than the operation of wider processes.'<sup>32</sup>

For others parental support was much more obvious. Catherine Falconer [1244] was from Watten parish in Caithness as were James Mackady [1243] and his first wife, Margaret Murray. Falconer had married a soldier from the same parish but, 'being a soldier', he had left soon after the wedding. Mackady and Murray had been married for seven years when in 1817, Murray said, his 'affections seemed to be alienated from her to Catherine Falconer'. In July of that year, Mackady lost his job as the post runner between Thurso and Wick, and in September he and Falconer went to Edinburgh. They were married there, set up house and he soon became a brewer's servant. In January 1821 Mackady was charged with bigamy and at that time Falconer, who had returned to Caithness, said that she had given birth in July 1820. A month later she had 'repented her improper conduct with him and left him', returning to live with

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<sup>32</sup> Ingram, 'Geographical mobility', p. 291.

her mother in Watten parish.

Mackady had a brother in Edinburgh and an uncle in Leith (who died soon after Mackady arrived). Neither Falconer nor any witnesses mentioned her as having relatives in the area. While there is not enough evidence to say that she had no acquaintances to support her in Edinburgh it seems that both her mother and home parish provided a place of security and repentance. Her actions were apparently so extreme that she had to be with one or the other, her mother or Mackady, with little choice socially or financially to strike out on her own.

Another aspect of several bigamy cases was remarriage. As stated above, 12 remarriages were found among the declarants studied here, with most arising from bigamy cases. The ratio of marriages to remarriages found among the declarants in this study was about four to one. The remarriages not arising from bigamy usually involved widows and widowers who had been married for any number of years, from about 2 to 25. Children were often brought into a second marriage and the number of children belonging to any one person could grow greatly with a second marriage. One man, William Hutchison [443], had eight children from his first marriage of seventeen years and went on to have another eight, again over seventeen years. In the few cases known, a person's second spouse was usually similar to the first, either in being from the same area, or in

coming from a similar background. This seems to have been the case regardless of the way the first marriage ended, whether in separation or in death.

### 10.3.3 Mobility and other family relationships

This section briefly illustrates the way declarants made use of kin, here meaning relatives other than their parents or children, for their mobility and other activities. The family networks of many Scots and Irish went past the immediate bounds of parents and children living together. Declarants also met, visited and worked with extended family members who lived near and far. Some of the declarants illustrated such links but not to the extent that was found for parents and children. The lack of information about links between other relations, even siblings, suggests that these kin were not as important in influencing the mobility and work decisions of the declarants. Yet kin did assist in the mobility of some declarants. The importance of this is that these ties crossed all generational boundaries, ranging from siblings to grandparents and great-uncles. In this way family links were continuously made (and broken) and were not at all exclusive to parents and their children. The benefits and difficulties of family relationships evident in some of the precognitions point geographers and historians toward a fuller history of families and family life. This must take account of how and why families worked together or followed a course of

self-destruction, often emotionally and physically violent. The importance of migration in such situations as an outlet must be accounted for.<sup>33</sup>

The mobility of some declarants was partly influenced by the presence of their relatives at a destination. Relatives actively sought out each other to work with or went to great lengths to see each other. Several deponents referred to their visits or attempted visits to their relatives; almost all of these were to see brothers, sisters and aunts. One soldier, who had enlisted in Inverness and deserted in Dublin, went to Cork to see a 'relative' [293]. This was the most distant family contact in the statements and, if true, it suggests that communications or commitments were retained even over large distances.

Some declarants visited their kin while looking for work, making use of their hospitality to increase the chance of getting a job. This can be seen in the case of William Brady [459], a soldier who had been born in England and raised in Ireland. He came to Glasgow to visit his brother-in-law and to see 'if he could fall in with employment.' The extent of his in-law's support is

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<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Lobban's thesis as well as recent work on violence in the home: A. Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: sexual assault in England 1770-1845* (London, 1987); A.J. Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: conflict in nineteenth-century married life* (London, 1992); and D. Peterson, 'Wife beating: an American tradition', *J of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1992), pp. 97-118.

not known but this story finds echoes in the studies by Anderson and Hareven in which kin provided each other with not only a place to stay but contacts for employment as well.

Sometimes a visit could extend to a long stay. Euphemia McDonald [1211] from Aberdeen went to visit her sister who had married a farmer near Dunfermline and stayed for six months. She probably did some work to earn her keep as she had worked in a bleachfield in Aberdeen before her trip and went to another in Dundee afterwards. This is even more likely since Dunfermline was also heavily involved in the linen industry.<sup>3 4</sup>

Some siblings are known to have moved together. Two brothers [329, 330], a labourer and a farm servant accused of robbery and assault, went to Glasgow together 'to get a fee'; they had both been in and near the city for the previous five years, probably working on their own. Others who had taken to the road met up with each other for mutual support. Two brothers, John and Joseph Boag [730, 731], were both unemployed cotton spinners. John, 21, had recently come up from London after his army discharge; Joseph, 18, had been out of work after nine years in a cotton mill in Glasgow. After seeing their brother William off on a ship to Jamaica they set out together, travelling along the southwest coast as tinkers. This story shows how relatives influenced

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<sup>3 4</sup> Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry*, p. 6.

temporary moves yet in other situations declarants moved to or near their relatives or took up work with or near them.

Family assisted moves could occur at any moment and were not necessarily planned. They came from all types of family relationships and not just through siblings. In August 1816, William Pirrie, a 15 year old Irish packman discussed above, was living in Edinburgh when he met his brother-in-law going home to Glasgow. He travelled that way with him, saying that he would not be a burden, would sell his books and then return home. He met another packman near Falkirk whom he had seen at several fairs between Greenock and Edinburgh; they went together to Glasgow and stayed on in the area for the next five months [425]. This case, like others before, shows how some young men on the road needed fellow travellers, most likely for safety as well as companionship. Family were not essential for this but were likely to have been the first choice in most cases.

As seen in earlier cases of immediate family, it is likely that many people's choice of destination was influenced by the presence of their relatives. Agnes Johnston [297], a servant at Mountmill, Berwickshire, was suspected of concealment of pregnancy. The farm was near Oxton where two of her aunts lived; both were witnesses in the case. Johnstone stayed with one of them between giving birth and returning to her father's house in Dalkeith.

One young man worked with his older relatives as though being passed from one to another. John Buchanan [1117], an 18 year old weaver, worked at Calton, Glasgow. He then spent two months with an uncle at Alloa, six months with a great-uncle at Balfron and then four months with his grandfather at Baldernich. This may have served several purposes such as exposing him to different conditions, not wearing out his welcome and building up his expertise through family guidance.

Relatives also enabled mobility by caring for each others' children. This occurred particularly if both parents had died, or if a single parent was away to work or was unable to care for his or her children. This responsibility was predominantly taken up by grandparents, aunts and uncles. Children usually stayed only temporarily with their relatives in such situations and were then sent away to work, usually as hawkers. John Dunbar was a 15 year old native of Keir parish, Dumfries-shire. His deceased father had been a weaver and his mother, who had since married a sailor, was presently residing in Leith. Dunbar was raised by his mother's father, a labourer at Campbell Bridge near Thornhill, Dumfries-shire. Dunbar said that ever since he 'was able to do anything he has been employed in country service such as herding Cattle, and lately in driving a Cart and horse for his grandfather' for about a year previous to Candlemas 1820. It was then 'he took up a pack and travelled the Country selling small



articles of hardware such as needle, pinse & ca. [sic]' [1044]. In another case a 13 year old hawker, Matthew Donaldson, was the son of James, a sawyer in Glasgow. Matthew said that 'his father being unable to keep him he went to Edinburgh and resided with his aunt' in the Grassmarket; 'and she being unable to keep him, she about three weeks ago provided him with a Box and a few hardware goods that he might earn his livelihood by Hawking these goods'. He met up with 'three young men and two Women' and they all went to Kirkcaldy, Perth and Dunkeld where there was a fair the day before his statement [1031].

Such support also came from friends and neighbours as seen in the case above of William Coyle [232] and his wife who left their children when they went hawking. In another case mentioned above Susan Strath left her daughter with a neighbour, Isobel Johnstone, who was married to a sawyer. When Strath was going from Dundee to the Arbroath market, Johnstone asked her to call on her mother and say that the 'family were all well.'<sup>3 5</sup>

The transitions of the adults and children in this sample of the precognitions were often affected by the presence and influence of immediate family and other kin. The relationships already explored show many ways in which family supported one another, but most appear to have been measures which only temporarily delayed

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<sup>3 5</sup> Testimony of George Robertson, AD14/19/69.

financial responsibilities. The following section continues these themes of family assistance and explores how it was given in the midst of more drastic situations.

#### 10.4 Responses to hard times

This section explores transitions and their effects on family relationships from a different perspective, looking particularly at difficult and often distressing events. It emphasises two generalised situations: crime and crises. The first concerns several aspects of crime and its effects on family relations; one area of particular interest here are cases involving women's concealment of pregnancies and child murders. The second type of situation, crises, looks at a wide range of troubles which the declarants encountered and the ways in which families responded to these.

##### 10.4.1 Crime, punishment and the family

The impact of crime and punishment on families varied widely partly because of the different family histories but also because of the different crimes. Some of the latter were tactical acts to survive hunger while others, such as assaults, could create family crises. The declarants occasionally referred to family ties during periods of crime and punishment and touched on issues of mutual support, economic vulnerability and

family circumstances.

In only ten cases were suspected accomplices from the same family or household. The crimes were varied and no one type was predominant; they included thefts, robberies, assaults, passing forged notes and deforcement (here meaning to wrest control from governing officials). The thefts were committed by spouses, brothers, whole families, and even the son and the lover of one woman. Both assault cases involved pairs of brothers, one of whom was also suspected of robbery. The lack of cases with two or more family members suggests that crime was usually an individual activity, occurring after a person had made a break from his or her family. This would, however, need to be confirmed by criminal studies of non-migrants. In addition, the types of crime which people carried out (from murder to theft) were likely to have different family relationships behind them. There does seem to be some link between migration and crime, but this apparently varies by the types of crime committed, the repetition of such crimes and the strength of their family networks.<sup>36</sup>

There were few cases of intra-familial crime yet there is little to compare such cases with to estimate the actual incidence of such crime. The crimes included one case of culpable homicide. Henry Munro, a sergeant

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<sup>36</sup> Sewell, *Structure and Mobility*, ch. 8, discusses these issues for Marseille.

mentioned above, was accused of culpable homicide against his lover with whom he had had two children [198]. There was also an assault case in which the suspect, John McEwing, was a 32 year old sailor from Ardrossan in Ayrshire. He went to Torris Dale on Kintyre 'for the purpose of seeing his mother, and getting possession of a smack [a fishing vessel] which belonged to his said Father, at the time of his death.' At one point McEwing got drunk and became senseless because, he claimed, 'the Declarant has several wounds upon his head which he received in an action' at sea. It was then that he hit his mother on the cheek with his fist. His mother, Margaret Walker, was taking care of one of Ewing's children at the time. She said that he had been to visit her several times since her husband's death, and that McEwing had been fishing with his father's boat and 'labouring the Declarant's ground.' She concurred that his injury came in the West Indies [1118, 1119]. There is no indication, however, that the formal links between Walker and McEwing changed or that Walker stopped tending to her grandchild.

Finally there was a case of incest which was sent to the Crown Office months after the incident. A note simply signed 'J.H.' makes clear that the delay was seen to be more important than the merits of the case:

For what purpose a case of this description is reported eleven mos. after the offence was committed I cannot understand and Mr. Warrender [the Crown Agent] will therefore inform the Fiscal that the time of the Crown Counsel is not to be

wasted...by reading all the absurd cases which they may think fit to report on clearing their depositions. Sending this case up now is not only ridiculous but highly improper and accordingly I must return it as one that ought not to have been reported. Mr. W. will transmit my remarks to the Fiscal to prevent similar proceedings in the future.<sup>37</sup>

The lack of other cases does not help to dispel suspicions that much family violence was not reported by family members and, if reported, may easily have been deliberately overlooked, particularly given the remonstrance to the fiscal just mentioned.<sup>38</sup>

In only two cases is there mention of family support for suspects or prisoners. This strongly suggests that family members may have been reluctant to visit or have been unable financially to support someone else while he or she was in jail. Suspects may also have been reluctant to give information about their families, for whatever reasons, to their interrogators. The two cases include Elizabeth Fleming whose husband had been imprisoned in Edinburgh; she then left Glasgow for Edinburgh where she carried on the business they had started, selling tin boxes to hold phosphorus [942]. In another case Archibald McNicoll said that during his imprisonment his parents and sister supported him, presumably financially, during his two months in prison [1275]. Visiting relations in prison may have differed

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<sup>37</sup> AD14/19/270.

<sup>38</sup> Mitchison and Leneman (in *Sexuality*, p. 82) suggest that a resultant pregnancy was needed for the kirk sessions to take action on a charge of incest.

greatly between each jail because of the variety of powers given to jailers and because of the aims of particular jails.<sup>39</sup>

There were other types of crime which often impinged on family relationships; among these were child murder and concealment of pregnancy which are recorded occasionally in the precognitions and which were very common in rural Scotland in this period.<sup>40</sup> Both crimes carried the possibility of capital punishment until 1809 when punishment for the latter was put at two years.<sup>41</sup> Many of these cases involved migrants. Twelve of these contain detailed information about the women (and sometimes men) involved in the crimes. The occupations of the suspects included one bleacher while the rest were domestic or farm servants scattered throughout Scotland from Harris to Kirkcudbrightshire. A few were in their late 30s or 40s, yet most were in their early 20s. Only one, who was 27, said she had had a previous child; it had died at 14 weeks [1200].

Most of the women conceived, gave birth to and, in some cases, got rid of, their children away from their parents' home. Mobility, particularly for service, was

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<sup>39</sup> J. Cameron, *Prisons and Punishment in Scotland from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 49-67. See also the evidence of Sir William Rae, in PP 1819.VII, 'Gaols and other places of confinement', and those of S. Macgill, *Remarks on Prisons* (1810).

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Jenny Ingram for this point.

<sup>41</sup> Mitchison and Leneman, *Sexuality*, p. 212.

an important element in evading the law and the moral judgements of their families. Movement from the parental home usually occurred before conception and this is reinforced by the number of servants among these women.<sup>42</sup> There is little information about the lovers of these women, though. One was a labourer working at the Caledonian Canal or at a road works (his lover was from Lewis and lived on Harris) [239]; another was simply known to be a chaise driver. Permanent movement before birth would seem an obvious strategy for women trying to keep their actions secret from their families, neighbours and kirks, yet such movement was not found at all. Instead it seems that the family ties of most of the women continued throughout, or following, the period of their pregnancies: many returned to their families or home areas before or soon after giving birth. Two women discussed above have already shown this continuity (i.e., Elizabeth Paterson [128] and Agnes Johnston [297]). In another case Helen Law gave birth at the 'Lying in Hospital' in Edinburgh; she stayed there for the two weeks allowed, and went back to her father, a labourer in Linlithgow [937].

These women used and furthered their family relations despite their 'crimes' and in the midst of extremely difficult periods. While most women seem to

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<sup>42</sup> Mitchison and Leneman (*Sexuality*, p. 155), found that the overwhelming majority of women coming before the sessions were servants.

have been closer or more aware of their family links than men were, there were other women who gave little indication of this. Janet Hannah, discussed above, was suspected of child murder. She gave details about the places of her farm service and her family relations which covered a 20 year period, but gave no information about her current family relations, her lover or even why she had abandoned her child [508]. Catherine Falconer (not the one described above), was also suspected of child murder while she was a changekeeper's servant. She only stated her father's name and said nothing else about her family [935]. Other information regarding her came from her employer and a former fellow farm servant.

Most of other women accused of these crimes mentioned at least a few details about their families. Grizel Bryce gave no occupation but was the widow of a publican and lived at Blackford in Perthshire. She had put her stillborn child in a window behind her bed where she had previously hidden whiskey. It remained there from March until May 'when she understood it was discovered in her absence by her daughter' who was married and lived in the same village [1084]. Another was Margaret Bean, a servant at Knipock, Kilchrennan and Dalavich parish, Argyll, who had come from Caithness, possibly via Leith. Her mother, sister and child stayed there, but Bean gave no indication about why she was in her service so far from family [160]. Such differences



in the apparent levels of family ties may have depended just as much on the actual extent of communication and support as on an individual declarant's decision to disclose such links. Such decisions probably depended on the history of their families as they seem to cross boundaries of age, occupation and region.

Another theme which concerns families and hardships is punishment. It is clear that punishments varied widely and that the declarants reacted differently to their imprisonments. Most declarants faced these on their own as it was rare for family relations to be discussed in conjunction with punishments (except banishment). Thus there are few details about how family members supported each other at such times. It is possible that there were many other inmates like Gavin Bell, alias James Graham, a 19 year old tailor suspected of housebreaking and theft and questioned at Glasgow. He lied in his first declaration regarding his parent's residence which was, like his own, in Monklands, Lanarkshire. His father was a labourer and 'he assumed the name of James Graham as he did not want to let his people know that he had been committed to jail'.<sup>43</sup> There is a possibility that his own occupational mobility may have also played a part in his secrecy, in an attempt to retain respectability.

In other cases prisoners were assisted by jailers

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<sup>43</sup> AD14/21/122.

in order to escape. In late 1819 James Clark said that he had been in jail at Forfar in early 1817 for sheepstealing. He escaped by bribing the jailer with a five pound note to let in a saw. A group of people outside the jail put up a ladder for him and other inmates. Clark went down 'by fastening his blankets to the bars of the window' and 'immediately went to Aberdeen'. He worked for a quarrier near there until the harvest 'when the Declarant and his wife went to shearing to different people and that last winter he was working at the Union Canal near Edinburgh'. He was there until July 1819 when he went to Aberdeen 'working to different people' until he was apprehended.

The meaning of imprisonment, particularly as an indication of criminality, differed from place to place. Some city jails would have been extremely difficult to break out of while rural jails received little attention, partly for financial reasons and partly because there were so few prisoners in them.<sup>44</sup> The meaning of punishment also differed from person to person as some declarants admitted their guilt while others were clearly innocent, at least of the crimes they were accused of. This is evident in the case of George Renwick [254] as found in Appendix A.

While the punishments meted out are best found in

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<sup>44</sup> J. Neild, *State of the Prisons in England, Scotland and Wales, with documents, observations and remarks* (1812).

other sources, such as court minute books, there were some which probably went unrecorded except for such correspondence. Repeat offences are also difficult to trace to the same person without documentation from a single source. There were some repeat offenders among the declarants who discussed their previous encounters with the law. When William Gray's master died, Gray became a packman. He was later banished and had been imprisoned four times. When he was freed on one occasion in May 1815 he went to Glasgow 'to see a younger brother, but learning he had been sent to Kirkintilloch from the Poor house there as a Weaver' he returned to Stirling [228]. Gray's accomplice, James Edgar [226], age 15, had been in jail twice and when freed tried to get onto ships at Dundee and at Leith but with no luck as he was again arrested. He suggested that both his parents, who were Irish, were not deeply involved in his life: 'he believes his father is in this Country just now, but his mother is in Ireland.' This may belie a reluctance similar to that of Gavin Bell above to state the whereabouts of his family but Edgar and Gray are just two examples of many young men who had loose ties with their families, and who had a casual approach to the law.

However, it is not possible within the confines of this study to determine whether there was a strong causal relationship between (1) such loose ties to family and place and (2) the commitment of crime, as

has been suggested in other studies.<sup>45</sup> The evidence from AD14 is often impressionistic but suggests that caution is in order when drawing conclusions about Scotland in this period. This is particularly because the gender division between males who rarely described family ties, and females who often described theirs, was not translated into a division between males who committed crime and females who did not. This is certainly a crude simplification of the problem but it again points to the need for further research on crime, mobility and family relationships.

Imprisonment did not prevent some of the declarants from committing further crimes nor did it seem to do anything to make their lives more stable. As seen above, banishment in particular disrupted the lives of suspects and divided some families. Other 'ordinary' punishments also precipitated family problems. Daniel Rankine's parents had moved from Gorbals in Glasgow to Birdstone, Campsie parish, Stirlingshire, at Whitsunday 1819 [748]. In September Daniel, who was 14 years old, was imprisoned in Kirkintilloch for theft. His parents told him they were going back to Glasgow, 'being ashamed to stay any longer in Birdstone on account of the scrape the Declarant had got into.' This case makes explicit what others have hinted at, namely that family support

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<sup>45</sup> See particularly Sewell, *Structure and Mobility*, as well as Lenman and Parker, 'Crime and control'.

sometimes broke down in the face of extreme potentially shameful difficulties such as crime. There may thus be a case for suggesting that not all suspects had loose family ties before their imprisonments but that the latter may have damaged such ties in the first place.

Other declarants mentioned excessive punishments they had received and some of these added a few details about their families or friends. Those who had been banned faced punishment if they returned. Perth in particular saw the harshest treatment of those who did including Elizabeth McEwan who had been banished from the country in late 1816 at the Circuit Court there. In June 1817 she said she went to Greenock 'in order to go into banishment but afterwards returned to Perth where she was taken up about two weeks ago and whipped thro the streets' [sic] for returning. She may have been released from her punishment as she later stayed nearby at Woodend in Kinnoull parish [442]. William Moon, a chapman from Perth and the son of a labourer there, had been in prison three times between October 1816 and June 1821. At one time he 'was whipped thro' the Town for breaking his banishment' [1245]. Isobel Mitchell and her husband, David Duncan, had just spent 15 months in Perth jail for theft. They were released, whipped through the streets and then banished from the county [1213]. In the case in which this story was found Mitchell was a witness. She and Duncan had lived near her brother in Alyth (near Coupar Angus) and their one

child resided with her father in Dundee. Thus there is again a question mark around the issue of characterizing the declarants based on the little information available. Mitchell and Duncan certainly had a history of crime but their family ties were as strong as most others known through the precognitions. It may be of more interest that the ties were through Mitchell rather than Duncan since the theme of female-linked relationships is strong in AD14.

#### 10.4.2 Crises and hardships

Disasters, losses and bad luck troubled the lives of many declarants. Most had not prepared for events which took family members or work away. Others were left wondering what to do with their lives. Some took to casual work or changed their residence to tide themselves over; others despaired or depended completely on family members to see them through hard times. There is little mention of support from the church. This section examines the circumstances of loss, the responses of the declarants and how they made use of work, family and mobility in such situations.

Few declarants indicated that they were not coping in the midst of their crises. Those who did tended to despair of any solution, to continue on without taking any action, or to commit crimes ineptly. Combinations of circumstances worked to upset the plans of many individuals; for most this usually meant losing work or

family or shelter and having few resources to recover their earlier position. Yet these losses overwhelmed only a few declarants whose responses indicate desperation and show how little they had to fall back on, particularly when they had lost family or family support. Most others experiencing loss or difficult times went into other work or simply endured such periods.

The events which brought trouble to people's lives were usually caused by external, uncontrollable, events, such as the death of a parent or employer, being the victim of a crime, or losing their health or work and going begging. These present a picture of people who were caught out by rapid and unforeseen changes and tried to find the best option available. Others risked trouble from the authorities and their families in order to leave difficult situations or to get quick money. While few did this they need to be accounted for as their actions often led to harsh punishments from the authorities, something for which they may not have been prepared. Some in these two groups broke down under the strain of their situations or punishments. The authorities may have thought they were prepared for such reactions but they themselves seem to have been unconcerned in their correspondence about the treatment of prisoners.

In several cases above it was seen how the loss of a parent brought responsibilities down on to children

much sooner than if both parents survived. The trouble that many children in these situations got into was probably a result not so much of loosening parental control as of being unprepared to support themselves on their own. As also seen in other cases there were many instances in which families were not mentioned, particularly by single male suspects. Their losses of work and health and the problems they found in the midst of crimes, punishments, deserting and begging need to be considered separately. Little is known about the effects such situations had on their lives, their families or how one loss or hazardous action led to another. Sometimes the patterns of their lives are extremely clear, particularly for men in military service. For example, Alexander Shaw committed a theft and was soon put on a man-of-war; he deserted but was caught and then put 'into a Transport' for nine months. He then went to Greenock. Thirteen months later he was caught for theft and 'sent as a deserter to the Receiving Ship' there; he deserted again, stole a boat, and was later arrested for another theft. After being sent to Portsmouth he returned to Greenock again where he was arrested for theft and assault [262].

It is certain that some men were unprepared for the demands and punishments of the military.<sup>46</sup> One example

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<sup>46</sup> See Elder 'Families and lives', p. 193 regarding the importance of the military as a 'recasting experience'.



of the excessive nature of such punishments comes from Henry McGraw who had enlisted with the Royal Scots at Belfast and stayed with them for almost two years. On their way from Belfast to Greenock he received 150 lashes, was keelhauled, and then put 'in confinement in a mad house for about six weeks'. He was then marched to Musselburgh where he stayed in the hospital for about two months. He later deserted, heading for Whitehaven where he is likely to have had a brother [123].

Desertion is likely to have increased the difficulties that men experienced since they had to be ready to leave a place at any moment. John Goldie shows how weak a deserter's ties to a place could be even if he had been there for some time. John Goldie left Dublin in 1817 and, having 'obtained a furlough to visit his friends in Scotland', he went to Lasswade, probably taking his wife. 'When his leave of absence had expired...he deserted the service and came to Kelso' where he worked as a labourer until early 1819. He and a friend went to steal potatoes but were caught. Goldie escaped, afraid of being found out as a deserter. He went to Lasswade for three days and then to Peebles and Dalswinton. He stayed there for six weeks, worked, went to Windywalls near Peebles, where he stayed a few weeks, and then returned to Lasswade. The authorities finally caught him at Eddleston near Peebles [740]. For Goldie deserting did not inevitably lead to stealing potatoes for a friend's family but rather made him much more

vulnerable in any confrontation with the authorities. The number of desertions in the precognitions are few but they reveal men who were pushed to their limits as well as to society's edges.

The mental and emotional problems of some declarants also influenced the course of their lives and were sometimes compounded by other losses. There was, though, only one instance of a declarant who was losing his mental abilities while in prison. William Hutchison, 60 years old and a carter and collier with 16 children, was described by a surgeon and a jailer as becoming increasingly 'deranged' [443].

Others had problems before they came in contact with the law though it was only those who suffered breakdowns whose problems led to their crimes. One of these was John Halliday, a 52 year old tenant suspected of fire-raising. He had been in the Dumfries and Galloway Infirmary as a 'lunatic' and then went to the Glasgow asylum for a few months. He then moved to his father's house in Dumfries and tried to get his wife out of their house. He failed when his friends turned against him but he then tried to burn down another house she was in [525]. In another case James Murray, whose father had died without securing his title to a piece of land in Perthshire, had gone to sea; when he returned he worked as a watchmaker in Blairgowrie. After participating in a riot in 1797 he fled to sea and mostly stayed abroad until 1814, having suffered many

injuries in campaigns and brawls. He stayed with his sister in Edinburgh for six years but received no pension. His brother-in-law pressed him to leave the house though there was no one else to take care of him. With 'no means of support and no prospect of any, he began to give way to despair.' At that point he sent letters to the Duke of Atholl in an attempt to get his family's land back; he was soon charged with demanding money by menaces and attempted extortion [1231]. Both of these are rare instances of people being broken by their circumstances, pushed to their limits and unable to cope with their accumulated losses. It is likely that others in Scotland were in similar situations, particularly those who had no family support; yet there are few records of them as they did not react so strongly.

Others broke down when victimised by suspects, such as Margaret McLean from Luing who went to Oban at Whitsunday 1816 and worked as a domestic servant for a widowed feuar with two sons and a daughter. The feuar wanted to marry her but one of his sons set McClean up as a thief; she was banished and spent a year living with her mother. She got a certificate of good behaviour from the feuar who asked her to come back in January 1819. She did but in early March she set out for her mother's again, afraid to stay because of her banishment and because of the son. The sons assaulted her several times during the night on her way back,

following her from farm to farm. She reached Luing 'seized with a severe and dangerous illness and obliged to take herself to Bed.' Even by June she was said to be having 'fits of derangement'; when trying to get out of her house she was 'seized with panic or alarm'. Her mother of 80 said that for about eight weeks after getting home her daughter 'appeared to be occasionally quite deranged in mind and the declarant was obliged to cause her be [sic] easily disturbed, more especially so on the opening of a door which always makes her start.' McLean had never had such problems before [724].

Evidence for derangement or breaking down is rare, but this case of assault, with the denial of its occurrence by one major witness, suggests that this is because witnesses, suspects and victims were reluctant to discuss it. The precognitions cannot show the extent of any culture of casual violence within families or towards women but do point out the difficulty of uncovering it even in the most violent cases of intra-family crime.

One final way in which some declarants coped with hardship was through begging.<sup>47</sup> This often indicated the loss of family or livelihood or both yet few declarants said they had begged while even fewer said they had received charity. Several who begged were

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<sup>47</sup> For background to this theme see Whyte, 'Population mobility'.

women with children. Their links with their husbands were either cut off through death or involved temporary separations. For example, Agnes Brown [265] was an Irish vagrant with a three year old child. She had come to Scotland first in 1807 and was in Stoneykirk, Wigtownshire, in 1816. Her husband was in Ireland and she rarely saw him though he sometimes went to Ayrshire 'as a Trogger.' In another case, Mary Bunton, a native of Cumberland, was the widow of a sergeant in the Royal Marines who had been a native of Aberdeen. She was questioned at Dumfries in 1819 but had earlier 'travelled the Country about Aberdeen after her husband's death', with a child to support as well. She met a bell-hanger in Aberdeen and married him; they soon went to Dumfries and then to Thornhill nearby [813]. In both cases there are indications that begging could be a stopgap and not a permanent strategy.

This is reinforced by one rare case which shows how families could incorporate begging into their strategies during hard times when little work was available. Whether this was more prevalent among Irish or Scottish itinerants is not possible to say from this one example; it may have been more likely among those who were headed in a particular direction and decided to beg their way to their destination. This case does show how family ties were planned to continue even during such difficult periods. Peter McKinlay and William Donald, who were probably brothers-in-law, came from Ireland and were

itinerant labourers working in the South West. They were both married with 11 children between them. When the two met 'it was agreed that she [the wife of one] should leave them and beg her own way along with her five children until they found work.' The other had last seen his own family at Hamilton just before the last harvest and they were 'now begging thro' the Country.' [831].

Begging was also used to tide over single men between work. Again there are few examples of this, possibly because few declarants admitted to having begged or because few actually had done so. The chance of the second is high because most declarants said they had worked regularly; and also because reports of vagrants, particularly Irish ones, were possibly overstated to inflame opinion, any vagrant being one too many in the eyes of more settled people.

#### 10.5 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the impact which family members had on one another, particularly during times of transition as well as in causing transitions. Leaving home was the most common turning point for many of the declarants while for others it was not complete or irrevocable. For some it was drawn out over several years of farm service while others returned after long periods of absence. In the main, parents did not end their support of their children at any one point; this

was probably in the expectation that their children would support them later in life. The greatest disruption to families was the death of a parent, causing many to move to a large town and pushing the children into casual labour. Yet while these families spread out geographically they kept in contact with one another and with other relatives who often provided shelter and work. For the large majority of those declarants who mentioned their family at all, family ties were retained even during the most trying times. These ties were one of the strongest influences, if not the strongest, on people's decisions about their mobility and work.

## Chapter 11

### *Conclusions*

This thesis set out to discover how people in early nineteenth-century Scotland acted out aspects of their lives, and how they endured and shaped their family relationships and work needs. It also aimed to examine how people used their mobility as a 'safety valve', a strategy or tactic through which they responded to events or made things happen.

In attempting to achieve these goals this study has shown the extent of the precognitions' strengths, arguing that they need to be used critically but also thoroughly. It has explored the precognitions and assessed their value for historical and geographical studies. It has also examined the statements in the series in relation to the themes of patterns of movement, work experiences and family relations. In brief, this study has found that the series is valuable for a number of studies in both historical geography and social history, and that the statements of both suspects



and witnesses are, on the whole, coherent and reliable, particularly for information not relating directly to criminal events.

The precognitions were produced in a legal and judicial context in which reform, mainly in terms of officials' accountability, was high on the agenda. While some reforms were coming into effect at the beginning of the 1810s, such as regarding the ways in which officials at all levels were paid, it is suggested that the production of the precognitions did not suffer from corruption nor from ineptness in information gathering.

The value of AD14 for qualitative and quantitative information about mobility is extremely high because of the complex detail within the statements, as well as the number of issues which they touch on. The people studied above were not wholly unlike those in the rest of Scotland and it is argued here that they, particularly the suspects, represent important sub-groups of different occupational and social groups in the country. The dominant groups were in the labouring classes with concentrations of labourers, hawkers, weavers and agricultural workers; most of these were young males, particularly among the suspects who provided the most detailed information. The precognitions are valuable alone for revealing this group of young males in productive work, a group which was important for its labour power and its flexibility

in finding work. In addition, AD14 reveals much about other groups, such as women, the Irish, and rural and urban natives, for whom there are few sources which describe their lives.

This study has used the information in AD14 to examine the declarants' mobility, occupational changes, and family relationships. The findings regarding mobility reinforce those from previous studies and have shown that most groups were highly mobile, especially suspects, natives of cities and small rural places, and particular occupational groups (i.e., labourers, hawkers, Textiles and sailors). Most groups apparently stayed at places for short periods but this is likely to have had as much to do with their mobility as with the nature of the information in AD14. There were also differences in the distances travelled by males and females, Scots and Irish, age groups, and some occupational and legal groups; these differences varied between sub-groups but there were persistent problems with low numbers, making firm conclusions difficult.

Movement between rural and urban places likewise showed some important differences between social and occupational groups (e.g., young males were more urban focused while females of all age groups were more rural focused). This was exacerbated by the legal sub-groups as all theft suspects were more urban focused than witnesses. Male's and female's mobility differences were also muted within most occupational groups,

especially Agriculture, but not for hawkers or Textiles. Nativity groups also showed complex movement, there being no exclusion of one group from any one sector (i.e., all native groups moved between all types of places). Yet natives of rural places had the most varied forms of movement, being more evenly spread out between all types of places than were urban natives. This is perhaps not too surprising given the urban nature of AD14; it would thus help to examine similar documents from a wide range of rural places to compare such findings.

The declarants' geographical patterns also revealed some differences between these groups. Overall there were strong regional ties between urban places and their surrounding areas. There were some similarities in the patterns of males and females moving to and from Edinburgh and Glasgow, but these were mostly suggestive because of the low numbers. There were also important differences between rural and urban natives, suggesting some form of two societies among the labouring classes based on these groups. Differences between theft suspects and witnesses were also present, with the former being more wide-ranging and more peripatetic, but these differences were not as great as those between rural and urban natives.

Behind the patterns of movement were countless decisions made by individuals and their families who responded to historical changes, and to household or

individual needs. When these two causes coincided, such as during an economic depression, strategies for coping with problems were more likely to surface. It is certain that periods of prosperity saw similar strategies (e.g., family co-operation) and future research on similar sources could illustrate this. Yet extreme circumstances tend to expose more fully the resources which people are able to draw on. The declarants' changes in work illustrate this in the differences between tradesmen and other skilled workers, on the one hand, and the less skilled and the young, on the other. Those who had few skills either depended on falling into periods of casual work, or on the support of family and friends, or the wider community. Casual work was often a stopgap for skilled workers, as seen in the discussion of labourers and hawkers who had varied occupational backgrounds. It was likely to be one option among several over the course of their lives, used in times of hardship and crisis. Yet for the less skilled such work was part and parcel of their lives as they searched for jobs and took anything which resembled an opportunity.

Cutting across these differences within the labouring classes were also distinctions in the types of support available to people, whether they changed work or not, and whether they moved or not. The level of marital and familial support for the declarants varied greatly during their searches for work and in the

midst of their changing circumstances. Chapter nine showed that, while some young single men had family contacts, most failed to mention any, giving the impression of extremely limited family support for most young males. This apparently changed with marriage, and as chapter ten also showed, when men returned home to live with or near their families, support was often forthcoming.

Geographical mobility thus seems to have affected families in different ways. In many cases it appears to have been a support mechanism, a strategy consisting of sending out children for added income and reduced expense. It was also a coping strategy for children and young adults wanting to leave unpleasant circumstances at home or in their community, though the extent to which this was tied to a search for adventure or a desire to strike out on their own is not known. A mixture of these three incentives is certainly present in contemporary autobiographies.<sup>1</sup> Mobility enabled particular events to occur and it is apparent from the statements of these declarants who moved that they used mobility to suit their own purposes, whether to find work, to support their families, or to escape hardships or relationships. There was no one form of movement which dominated here; both short- and long-distance

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<sup>1</sup>For example, see Anon., *The Autobiography of a Soldier. By a native of Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock, 1829).

moves were made for casual and 'permanent' purposes, and while there were important differences between some sub-groups in occupational groups these were certainly not absolute. The statements thus attest to people's flexibility in meeting their needs, whether in the midst of the normal transitions of life, or during excessive hardships and crises.

It is expected that future and more comprehensive studies of the precognitions, and other sources which describe the lives of people in nineteenth-century Scotland, will be able to further distinguish crises from transitions as well as the mobility related to each. This study has shown how many people coped with their unique and historical circumstances by drawing on family support, work opportunities and geographical mobility. At the same time it has explored how people also coped with their family responsibilities, and with the changes produced by their decisions regarding work and mobility. These three aspects thus moulded their lives but were also opportunities in themselves for people to use as best they could. This is most apparent in the discussion of family relationships which were both a burden and a tool for change. The numerous cases in which the declarants had to cope not only with their circumstances but also other family members suggests that no easy division is possible, or desirable, between strategies of support and strategies of endurance.

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that semi-

standardised sources such as the precognitions can provide valuable insights into individuals' and groups' actions and decisions. There is certainly scope for further work on several themes raised here, particularly concerning circulatory mobility, and work and family strategies. As an exploratory study, this work also suggested ways in which themes often considered separately can be linked. In doing so, it essentially calls for a broadening of the ideas and issues which historians and geographers of nineteenth-century Scotland need to consider in future research.





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Proc fiscal  
Ag  
George Renwick  
1814'

(on inside)

'3 Nov. 1814 Unto the Honble (?) the Sheriff of Renfrew  
The petition of John Wylie Writer in Paisley  
procurator fiscal of Court (?) Humbly sheweth

That the petitioner has received information the  
George Renwick designing himself a Sailor was this night  
in the house of George Murray Grocer in Smith hills of  
Paisley in the act of picking from a drawer two three  
shilling pieces, and several shillings, with which he  
made off, but was immediately apprehended and carried to  
the Police Office. That in order to a precognition  
being taken and that warrant may be granted against the  
said George Renwick until liberated in the course of Law  
- the present application is made.

May it therefore please your Lordship to grant  
warrant for committing to the Tolbooth of Paisley the  
person of the said George Renwick until liberated in due  
course of Law. And for citing wherefor to be there  
ajoined. According to  
Justice,

(signed) John Wylie

Paisley 2<sup>d</sup> Nov. 1814

The sheriff Substitute having considered the foregoing  
petition grants warrant as thereby craved. (signed)  
Alan Campbell

W. Alan Campbell S.S.

Paisley 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1814 - Having resumed  
consideration of this petition with the declaration of  
George Renwick complained on Grants warrant for  
imprisoning him within the Tolbooth of Paisley until  
liberated in due course of law.

(signed) Alan Campbell'

Document 3

(on outside)

'Declaration of George Renwick 4th Nov. 1814'

(on inside)

'At Paisley the fourth day of November Eighteen hundred & fourteen. In presence of Alan Campbell Esq. Sheriff Substitute of Renfrewshire.

Compeared George Renwick present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Paisley aged sixteen years who being examined Declares that he was bred a mason with Adam Rutherford Mason in Glasgow - That his father was Serjnt. Major in the fifty second Regiment and latterly held that situation in the first Glasgow Volunteers and he died about nine years ago \_\_\_ That his mother lives on the Calton mouth of Glasgow. That about nine months ago the Declarant went to Sea on a Voyage to Newfoundland from which he returned and then made a voyage to Jamaica on board the Westmoreland Capt. Tweddal. That he returned about three months ago since/

(signed) George Renwick  
Alan Campbell

since which time he has been working chiefly about Greenock \* (from side note: 'lodging in the house of Mrs Mitchell Crawfords dyke') but has been occasionally in Glasgow. Declares that he came from Greenock on Wednesday the second Inst. without any person in company with him having walked. That he arrived in Paisley about eight o'clock at night \_\_\_ That he went into a house which he describes to be upon his left hand as he came up the Town from the Greenock road where he got a gill of whiskey which he paid with a shilling receiving a sixpence from the Landlady in change \_\_\_ That he remained in this house about a quarter of an hour and was then proceeding through the town on his way to Glasgow when he was seized by a woman who accused him of taking some money out/

(signed) George Renwick  
Alan Campbell

out of a drawer in her house. Declares That he was not in this woman's house that night nor was he in company with any man or woman in any house in Paisley that night. That the Declt. has not been in Glasgow since the Execution there upon Wednesday   ?   night and he left the same next day and went to Greenock where he remained until Wednesday last. That when he was apprehended and carried to the Police office there was a sixpence found upon him which he saw sealed up by W<sup>m</sup> Brown superintendant of Police -- and this is the truth \_\_\_ This declaration consisting of this and the two preceeding pages, written by Peter Jackson Depute Sheriff Colerk of Renfrewshire, is freely and voluntarily emitted, and being read over is judicially adhered to and subscribed by the declarant and the Judge Examiner, together with the marginal note on the preceeding page, all place and date first before written In presence of James Brown Superintendant of Police in Paisley and the said Peter Jackson.  
(signed) George Renwick Alan Campbell

James Brown witness  
Peter Jackson witness'

(Another document includes the statements of witnesses and accusers.)

## APPENDIX B

### *All declarants by their identifying numbers*

Note: There are gaps in the numbering since some people were taken out of an original listing. These were not declarants but people who were mentioned by declarants (e.g., family members) as having moved and whose locations were known. They were thought unsuitable for this study which aimed to focus on those with direct contact with officials.

#### Abbreviations:

Id. no. - identifying number

Nat. - nationality:  
1 = Scottish  
2 = Irish  
3 = English

Occpl. group - Occupational group

Ag.(f) = Agriculture (fields)  
Ag.(o) = Agriculture (other)  
Comm. = Commerce  
Dom. = Domestic  
Dress = Dress  
Fm.Svt.= Farm Servant  
Food = Food & Lodging  
G.D.L. = General Dealer or Labourer  
Hwkr. = Hawker  
Lbr. = Labourer  
Mnrl. = Minerals  
Other = Other  
Prof. = Professional  
Slr. = Sailor  
Sldr. = Soldier  
Svt. = Servant  
Txtrl. = Textiles  
Wvr. = Weaver

Legal groups      Fraud = Fraud  
                      Jdcl. = Judicial  
                      M.A.P. = Misc. against person  
                      Pb. pc. = Public peace  
                      Pb. tr. = Public trade  
                      Rlgn. = Religion  
                      Robb. = Property - robbery  
                      State = State  
                      Sexl. = Sexual  
                      Theft = Property - theft  
                      Vlnt. = Violent  
                      Witns. = Witness

Id. no.	Case no. AD14	Name	Age	Nat.	Occpl. group	Legal group
1	12001	Stewart Js	18	1	Prof.	Theft
2	12001	Mills Ts		1	Prof.	Theft
3	12001	Young Geo		3	Food	Witns.
4	12001	Young Eliz		3	Food	Witns.
5	12001	Young Gordon		3	G.D.L.	Witns.
6	12001	Charleton Rt		3	Dom.	Witns.
7	12002	Broadfoot Wm	39	1	Sldr.	Witns.
8	12002	McRoberts Jn	14	1	Dress	Witns.
9	12002	Mitchell Ptr	19	1	Slr.	Theft
10	12003	Drummond Ptr		2	Dress	Witns.
11	12004	Murray Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
12	12006	Graham Jnt		1	Other	Witns.
13	12015	Gilchrist Rt		1	Comm.	Witns.
14	12018	Burnett Jos	40	2	Comm.	Witns.
15	12018	O'Hale Neil		2	Comm.	Witns.
16	12018	McEachem		2	Mnrl.	Witns.
17	12021	Park Jn	23	1	Comm.	Witns.
18	12012	Harford Mary	22	2	Svt.	Vlnt.
20	12028	Neilson Rt		1	Comm.	Jdcl.
21	12029	Gordon Js		1	Slr.	Pb. pc.
22	12031	Lochhead Jn	20	1	Svt.	Vlnt.
23	12033	Macintyre Rt		1	Other	Theft
24	12033	Menzies Js		1	Other	Theft
25	12034	Bridgefurd Sarah		1	Fm.Svt.	Sexl.
26	12036	McFarquhar Js		1	Ag(o)	Theft
27	12011	Sutherland Dv	13	1	Hwkr.	Theft
28	12027	Joyce Forrest Alex		1	Hwkr.	Theft
29	12039	Williamson Ann	18	1		Theft
30	12039	Gray Gilbt	19	1	Dress	Theft
31	12040	Bell Jas		1	Ag(o)	Theft
32	12042	McKeggie Alex	20	1	Txtl.	Theft
33	12043	Gilmour Neil		2	Wvr.	Theft
34	12044	Towall Wm		2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
35	12046	Thompson Wm	15	1	Dom.	Theft
36	12048	Ross Donald	30	1	Svt.	Theft
37	12049	McLeod Wm		1	Lbr.	Theft
38	12055	Anderson Henry	15	1	G.D.L.	Theft
39	12060	Weir Danl (Dv?)	37	1	Lbr.	Theft
40	12061	Ferguson Jn		1	Wvr.	Theft
41	12065	Melville Jn	20	1	Slr.	Theft

42	12067	Scot Suttie Rt		1	Svt.	Vlnt.
43	12070	Webster Js		1	Comm.	Theft
44	12073	Stewart Mary		2		Theft
45	12075	Ferguson Jn	21	1	Lbr.	Theft
46	12075	McGregor	43	1		Theft
47	12077	Dickson Jn		1	Lbr.	Theft
48	12079	Redhead Sarah	32	1		Theft
49	12082	Henderson Js		1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
50	12082	Smith Sarah		1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
51	12082	Orr Agnes		1		Pb. tr.
52	12086	Mill Margt	24	1	Dom.	Theft
54	12089	Gay Wm	31	1	Food	Pb. tr.
55	12089	Stewart Jn	40	1	Ag(o)	Pb. tr.
56	12091	Swanson Isobell		1	Svt.	Theft
57	12094	Campbell Ts		2	Svt.	Vlnt.
58	12096	Grant Jn	60	1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
59	12098	Cragg Jn	27	3	Sldr.	Robb.
60	12098	Duncanson Jn		1	Ag(o)	Robb.
61	12099	Cain O'Kane Alex	40	2	Ag(o)	Robb.
62	12099	King Mary		1		Robb.
63	12099	Kid Geo		1	Other	Robb.
64	12099	Kaine Mary	16	2	Txtl.	Robb.
65	12101	Napier Geo		1	Other	Vlnt.
66	12101	Cairns Matt		1	Slr.	Pb. pc.
67	12101	Allison Geo		1	Dress	Pb. pc.
68	12101	Bradley Js		2	Lbr.	Pb. pc.
69	12101	O'Kain Barney		2	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
70	12107	Boyd Jn		2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
71	12107	Boyd Wm		2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
72	12112	Clark Andw		1	Lbr.	Witns.
73	12114	Ralph Jn		1	Other	Theft
74	12124	Cavan Alex		2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
75	12125	Bailie Agnes Jamima		1	Other	Theft
76	13001	Addie Henry		1	Mnrl.	Robb.
77	13003	Hutchison Geo Davidson	27	3	Comm.	Fraud
78	13004	Mitchell Wm		1	Comm.	Fraud
79	13005	Sloan Merry Js		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
80	13006	McCulloch Edwd		1	Prof.	Fraud
81	13007	Blair Sawers Nath		1	Ag(o)	Fraud
82	13011	Ross Dv		1	Fm.Svt.	Fraud
83	13013	McClellan Js		1	Other	Vlnt.
84	13015	Duff Alex		1	Svt.	Theft
85	13018	Dunsmuir Sarah	18	1		Vlnt.
86	13019	Logan Danl		1	Other	Fraud
87	13024	Gardner Jn		1	Wvr.	Theft
88	13025	Jamieson Jn		1	Mnrl.	Robb.
89	13025	Napier Alex	19	1	Other	Theft
90	13025	Geddes Jn	22	1	Sldr.	Robb.
91	13026	Robson Aitken Margt		1		Sexl.
93	13029	Peddie Ptr		1	Other	Pb. tr.
94	13032	McKenzie Phil	28	1	Wvr.	Theft
95	13036	Lamb Geo		1	Prof.	Pb. tr.
96	13037	Mudie Wm	28	1	Mnrl.	Robb.
97	13037	Muir Crawford Wm	32	1	Mnrl.	Robb.
98	13033	Bowie Alan	18	1	Dress	Vlnt.
99	13041	Gordon Jn		1	Other	Theft

100	13042	Ogilvie Margt	21	1	Svt.	Theft
101	13043	McGurk Patr		2	Ag(o)	Theft
102	13048	Gray Greig Andw	45	1	Ag(o)	Theft
103	13050	Bald Bauld Margt		1		Sexl.
104	13053	Sym Js	22	1	Slr.	Vlnt.
105	13054	Armstrong Miller Ann		1		Theft
106	13054	Bell Agnes		1		Theft
107	13055	Harkins Michael		2	Txtl.	Theft
108	13056	Mackay Mary		1	Dom.	Theft
109	13059	Smith Jn		1	Lbr.	Fraud
110	13060	McMillan Susan		1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
111	13060	Conry Michael	17	2	Wvr.	Pb. tr.
112	13064	Hastings Ts		3	Other	Vlnt.
113	13066	Hendry Js	35	2	Slr.	Vlnt.
114	13068	Grant Cs		1		Fraud
115	13081	Murphie Matt		1	Ag(o)	Vlnt.
116	13084	McMillan Jean		2	Hwkr.	Pb. pc.
117	13084	Dawson Wm	16	1	Dress	Pb. pc.
118	13086	Morrison Anderson Geo		1	Other	Jdcl.
119	13087	Mackenzie Mary	40	1	Txtl.	Theft
120	13088	Stephen Alex	24	1	Slr.	Pb. pc.
121	13089	Muir Moffat Wm	22	1	Ag.(f)	Vlnt.
123	13091	McGraw Henry	21	1	Sldr.	Robb.
124	14004	Dowie Wm		1	Ag.(f)	Pb. tr.
125	14004	Crombie Wm		1	Sldr.	Pb. tr.
126	14005	Cook Betty	40	2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
127	14006	Scott Ts		1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
128	14006	Paterson Eliz		1	Fm.Svt.	Sexl.
129	14007	Findlater Agnes		1		Theft
131	14008	McKay Jean	18	1	Dom.	Vlnt.
132	14009	Horn Jn		1	Food	Pb. tr.
133	14012	Burke Francis		2	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
134	14013	Mackay Jn	19	1	Dom.	Vlnt.
135	14016	Burns Wm		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
136	14016	Macualy Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
137	14016	Sharp Geo		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
138	14016	Lindsay Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
139	14016	Covey Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
140	14016	Gilchrist Dunc	27	1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
141	14016	Shearer Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
142	14016	Craig Wm	33	1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
143	14016	Hall Js		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
144	14016	Moodie Js		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
145	14016	Gibb Js		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
147	14016	Martin Joseph		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
148	14016	Allan Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
149	14016	Walker Andw		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
150	14016	McEwan Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
151	14016	Lou Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
152	14016	Brown Jn		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
153	14017	McGavin Mary		1	Txtl.	Theft
155	14019	Cuthbert Wm		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
156	14020	Staffort Michael	19	2	Lbr.	Robb.
157	14023	Scott Ewing	19	1	Lbr.	Robb.
158	14023	Worthington Jn		1	Hwkr.	Robb.
159	14023	McGowrie Geo		1	Hwkr.	Theft

160	14024	Bean Margt	24	1	Svt.	Vlnt.
164	14027	McCloy Js	40	1	Ag(o)	Sexl.
167	14032	Davis Mary		1		Witns.
168	14032	Joseph Antonio	32	4	Food	Witns.
169	14036	Adam Js		1	Other	Witns.
170	14039	Hunter Jean		2		Pb. tr.
171	14039	Tweedie Wm		2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
172	14041	Ritchie Jn		1	G.D.L.	Sexl.
174	14043	Corn Cornelius		2	Wvr.	Witns.
175	14045	Armstrong Mich		2	Hwkr.	Robb.
176	14045	McCrorry Danl	34	2	G.D.L.	Robb.
177	14045	Charles David		1	Hwkr.	Robb.
178	14045	Gavin Patk	27	2	Wvr.	Robb.
179	14046	Brown Jn		2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
180	14046	Campbell Geo		1	Lbr.	Pb. tr.
181	14048	Campbell Patr		1	Lbr.	Theft
182	14055	Macnicol Lizy	33	1		Vlnt.
183	14073	Keir Jn		1	G.D.L.	Vlnt.
184	14074	Smellie Isabella	20	1	Ag.(f)	Sexl.
185	15001	Lochrin Jn	16	2	Other	Theft
186	15004	Harrison Danl	25	2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
187	15004	Sweeny Cs	18	2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
188	15005	Napier Jean		1		Fraud
189	15005	Davis Js		3	Comm.	Fraud
190	15014	Gibson Wm		1	Comm.	Vlnt.
191	15016	Kerr Joseph		1	Lbr.	Sexl.
194	15018	McBride Cs		2	Dress	Theft
195	15018	Johnstone Jn		2		Witns.
196	15018	Graham Jean		1		Witns.
197	15021	Young Wm	42	1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
198	15023	Munro Henry		1	Sldr.	Vlnt.
199	15024	Smith Jn		2	Slr.	Theft
200	15024	Brown Ann		1		Theft
201	15025	Thomson Dvd		1	Comm.	Theft
202	15025	Disher Eliz		1		Witns.
203	15025	Reid Jn	40	1	Wvr.	Theft
204	15025	Wilson Js		1	Lbr.	Theft
205	15026	Moore Henry	20	2	Txtl.	Witns.
207	15030	Pendrigh Wm		1	G.D.L.	Pb. tr.
208	15034	Vessie Ts		1	Lbr.	Theft
209	15041	Tinny Tilly Sus		1	Dom.	Robb.
210	15041	Gawdie Grace		2	Txtl.	Robb.
212	15041	Carouse Mary		2	Fm.Svt.	Robb.
213	15041	Swiney Neil	20	2	Lbr.	Witns.
214	15041	Haggerty Js		2	Lbr.	Witns.
215	15046	Logan Sarah		1	Other	Witns.
216	15047	Potter Jn	22	3	Slr.	Theft
217	15048	Irving Js		1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
218	15049	Methven Ts		1	Mnrl.	Theft
219	15051	Hall Jn		1	Other	Sexl.
220	15052	Cairns Ptr		2	Hwkr.	Vlnt.
221	15052	Wilson Mary	18	1	Txtl.	Witns.
222	15052	Wilson Sarah	16	1	Txtl.	Witns.
223	15053	Gillespie Dvd	18	1	Dress	Robb.
224	15053	Aikman Js	24	1	Other	Robb.
225	15054	White Rbt	18	1	Txtl.	Theft



226	15054	Edgar Js	15	1	Theft
227	15054	Shanks Wm	50	1 Wvr.	Witns.
228	15054	Gray Wm		1 Hwkr.	Theft
230	15062	Black Js	44	2 Dress	Pb. tr.
231	15062	Kerr Js		1 Lbr.	Witns.
232	15064	Coyle Kyle Wm	47	2 Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
233	15065	Mitchell Agnes		1	Theft
234	15066	Scott Ewin	19	3 Hwkr.	Theft
235	15066	Worthington Nancy	16	2	Theft
236	15076	Graham Jn	20	1 Comm.	Theft
237	15078	Brown Jn	26	2 Other	Vlnt.
238	15079	Macdonald Kath		1 Txtl.	Theft
239	15088	Macleod Aurora	22	1 Svt.	Vlnt.
240	15089	McKay Angus	18	1	Witns.
241	15089	McDonald Dnld	19	1	Witns.
242	15089	McDonald Jn	16	1 Fm.Svt.	Witns.
244	15089	Reid Ralph		1 Ag.(f)	Witns.
245	15089	Mackay Kath		1	Witns.
246	15089	Murdoch Michael	30	1 Ag.(f)	Witns.
247	15089	Mackay Margt		1 Fm.Svt.	Witns.
248	15092	Dunnigen Hugh	38	2 Lbr.	Vlnt.
249	15094	Dugan Barnard		2 Other	Fraud
250	15095	McIsaac Dnld		1 Fm.Svt.	Jdcl.
251	15095	Mason Wm		1 Prof.	Witns.
252	15115	Stewart Js		1 Wvr.	Theft
253	15116	McInnes Sar		1 Svt.	Witns.
254	15119	Renwick Geo		1 Other	Theft
255	15121	Miller Danl	15	1 G.D.L.	Witns.
257	15123	Young Dvd		1 Wvr.	Jdcl.
258	15123	Prentice Jn		1 Lbr.	Jdcl.
259	16001	Scott Mary		1 Dom.	M.A.P.
260	16001	Henry Geo		1 Comm.	Witns.
261	16001	Christie Isaac		1 Wvr.	Witns.
262	16002	Shaw Alex		1 Slr.	Robb.
263	16002	Niven Alex		2 Lbr.	Robb.
264	16004	Shannon Wm		2 Ag.(f)	Theft
265	16008	Brown Agnes		2 Other	Theft
266	16012	Mauchline Rt		1 Ag.(f)	Theft
267	16013	Edmonstone Js		2 Comm.	Witns.
268	16016	Smith Jn	30	1 Other	Jdcl.
269	16016	Martin Matt	15	1 Other	Jdcl.
270	16016	Steel Js	23	1 Other	Jdcl.
271	16016	Turnbull Js	23	1 Other	Jdcl.
272	16021	Henderson Js	22	1 Dress	Pb. tr.
273	16021	Cockfield Jsph	27	1 Dress	Pb. tr.
274	16021	McFredies Hugh		1 Dress	Witns.
275	16021	Love Alex		1 Dress	Pb. tr.
276	16023	Clerk Cath		1 Svt.	Vlnt.
277	16025	Henry Rt	20	1	Fraud
278	16026	Robertson Jn	24	1 Ag(o)	Robb.
279	16030	Douglas Wm		1 G.D.L.	Witns.
281	16031	Black Wm	17	1 Wvr.	Witns.
282	16032	Kermack Jnt		1	Witns.
284	16047	Coulston Jn		1	Theft
286	16052	McDougal Js		1 Slr.	Theft
287	16055	Kean Geo		2 Dress	Pb. tr.

288	16055	Mullen Alice		2		Witns.
289	16055	Hamilton Ptr		1	Sldr.	Pb. tr.
290	16056	Dickson Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Pb. tr.
291	16057	Wilson Jn		1	G.D.L.	Vlnt.
292	16057	McCormick Ts	40	2	Lbr.	Witns.
293	16060	Miller Js		1	Sldr.	Theft
294	16060	Noble Hugh		1	Sldr.	Theft
295	16061	Robertson Jn	21	1	Slr.	Theft
296	16062	Kelly Hector		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
297	16066	Johnston Agnes		1	Other	Sexl.
298	16067	McDonnel Hector	17	2	Lbr.	Theft
299	16067	Comb Lachlan	16	1	Other	Theft
301	16067	Ferguson Angus		1	Comm.	Theft
302	16069	Dunlop Js		1	Dress	Theft
303	16069	McDonald Jean		1		Theft
304	16069	Henderson Hln		1		Theft
305	16069	Hughes Jn		1	Hwkr.	Theft
306	17008	Finlayson Js	21	1	Mnrl.	State
307	17008	Mactear Js	35	2	Prof.	State
308	17008	Gordon Roger		2	Wvr.	State
309	17008	Cochrane Hugh	38	2	Wvr.	State
310	17008	Campbell Jn		1		State
311	17008	Dickson Hugh	34	2	Wvr.	State
312	17008	Robertson Js	50	1	Wvr.	State
313	17008	Robertson Wm	34	1	Wvr.	State
314	17008	McKinlay Andw		2	Wvr.	State
315	17008	Shields Js	47	1	Wvr.	State
316	17008	Stewart Jn	32	1	Wvr.	State
317	17008	Smith Dvd	32	1	Txtl.	State
318	17008	Gillies Hugh		1	Prof.	Witns.
319	17008	Smith Jn	30	1	Dress	Witns.
320	17008	Keith Jn		1	Txtl.	State
321	17008	Edgar Wm	25	1	Prof.	State
322	17008	Buchanan Jn	27	1	Wvr.	State
323	17008	Delaney Jn		1	Wvr.	Witns.
324	17009	Wilson Jn		1	Comm.	Sexl.
325	17009	Forrester Dgls		1		Witns.
327	17011	Sharpe Jane		1	Dom.	Witns.
329	17012	Macdonald Ptr		1		Vlnt.
330	17012	Macdonald Angus		1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
332	17012	MacNaughton Jnt		1		Witns.
333	17012	Blair Eliz	17	1	Other	Witns.
334	17012	McDonald Dnld	46	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
335	17012	McLaren		1	Lbr.	Witns.
336	17013	Dalrymple Js	22	1	Prof.	Vlnt.
337	17015	O'Connor Geo		2	Lbr.	Pb. tr.
338	17018	Carrol Jn	23	2	Sldr.	Vlnt.
340	17018	Bragam Wm	23	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
341	17018	Lewis Margt	81	1		Witns.
342	17019	Robertson Eliz	20	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
343	17023	Archibald Wm		1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
344	17023	Thomson Helen		1		Pb. tr.
345	17025	Manson Wm	10	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
346	17026	Gray Jn		1	Slr.	Theft
347	17026	Robertson Jean		1		Theft
348	17027	Macgrigor Duncan	26	1	Lbr.	Fraud

349	17028	McLeod Margt	24	1	Txtl.	Theft
350	17028	McLeod Jn	21	1	Lbr.	Witns.
351	17029	Nain Christian		1	Food	Witns.
353	17029	Simpson Ts		1	Dress	Witns.
354	17030	Peebles Alex	23	1	Wvr.	Witns.
355	17030	McQuoid Ts	26	2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
356	17030	Oliver Dvd	64	1	Wvr.	Witns.
357	17033	Blair Walter		1	Prof.	Theft
358	17033	Johnston Danl		1	Lbr.	Theft
359	17036	Buchanan Hln	19	1	Svt.	Witns.
360	17036	McIntyre Jn	17	1		Witns.
361	17036	McIntyre Wm		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
362	17036	Cairns Jnt	19	1	Prof.	Witns.
364	17039	Forbes Alex	18	1	Txtl.	Theft
365	17039	Reid Rbt	25	1	Slr.	Theft
366	17039	Gray Alex	55	1	Lbr.	Theft
367	17039	Bowie Margt		1	Svt.	Theft
368	17040	Ross Mary		1	Other	Theft
370	17043	Graham Walter		1	Wvr.	Vlnt.
371	17044	McFarlane Cath	25	1	Txtl.	Theft
372	17045	Gordon Alex	14	1	Slr.	Witns.
373	17048	Middleton Margt	16	1	Svt.	Witns.
374	17050	Graham Js		1	Txtl.	Witns.
375	17050	McLaren Mary		1	Prof.	Witns.
376	17051	McAllister Wm		1	Other	Theft
377	17054	Christie Ts	38	1	G.D.L.	Theft
378	17065	Robertson Wm	35	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
379	17065	Duffus Jn	21	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
380	17072	Henderson Anne		1		Witns.
381	17082	Clark Helen	25	1		Witns.
382	17083	Middlemas Ts	13	1	Svt.	Witns.
383	17083	Middlemas Js	15	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
384	17083	Kirk Adam	18	1	Svt.	Witns.
385	17083	Riddoch Ts		1	Dress	Theft
386	17085	Thomson Rbt	37	2	Wvr.	Fraud
387	17087	Macdonald Jean		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
388	17087	Grierson Jean		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
389	17087	Simpson Geo		1	Other	Witns.
390	17087	Wight Andw		1	Slr.	Robb.
391	17087	Wight Dvd		1	Prof.	Robb.
392	17087	Barclay Js Hope		1	Comm.	Witns.
393	17087	Thomson Js		1	Lbr.	Witns.
394	17087	Wight Alex		1	Prof.	Robb.
395	17088	Wylie Geo	24	1	Slr.	Theft
396	17089	McMillan Geo	17	1	Txtl.	Theft
397	17089	Clark Malcolm	18	1	Lbr.	Theft
398	17089	Archer Alex		1	Ag(o)	Witns.
399	17090	McCarthy Js	24	2	Other	Witns.
400	17092	Farquharson Eliz		1	Other	Theft
401	17092	McGregor Elspeth		1	Svt.	Witns.
402	17094	Smith Ann	48	2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
403	17096	Garrow Rt	21	1		Fraud
404	17098	Milne Isobel	26	1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
405	17098	Reid Jnt	27	1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
406	17098	Duncan Geo		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
407	17101	Bain Margt		1	Dress	Theft

408	17102	Loudon Js		1	Dress	Vlnt.
409	17102	Stein Js		1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
410	17103	Stewart Jn	30	1	Comm.	Theft
411	17103	Topping Cameron	31	1	Other	Theft
412	17104	Stewart Dv	20	1	Svt.	Witns.
413	17105	Anderson Isobel	19	1		Theft
414	17106	Galt Archbd	18	1	Prof.	Pb. pc.
415	17106	Ferguson Ts	26	1	Wvr.	Pb. pc.
416	17108	Ferguson Alex		1	Txtl.	Fraud
417	17109	Rae Js	19	1	Ag.(f)	Theft
418	17110	Crawford Matt	28	1	Comm.	Robb.
419	17111	Lochend Rt	16	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
420	17113	Dougherty Edwd	50	2	Hwkr.	Theft
421	17116	Carnachen Mary	33	1	Txtl.	Theft
422	17117	Stewart Hln	19	1		Theft
423	17120	Kellachan Owen	18	2	Txtl.	Vlnt.
424	17120	Miller Js		1	Wvr.	Witns.
425	17121	Pirrie Wm	15	2	Hwkr.	Theft
426	17121	McQueen Agnes	19	2	Txtl.	Theft
427	17122	Purvis Saml		2	Hwkr.	Theft
428	17124	Petrie Jn	23	1	Lbr.	Theft
429	17125	Allan Ninian		1		Theft
430	17125	Preston Alex		1		Theft
431	17126	McLachlan Christn		1	Dom.	Theft
432	17126	Gordon Alex	15	1		Theft
433	17128	McConnell Dvd		2		Theft
434	17131	Smellie Wm		1	Wvr.	Witns.
435	17131	Miller Anne		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
436	17131	Walker Margt	62	1		Witns.
437	17134	Darroch Duncan		1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
438	17135	McCutcheon Wm	22	2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
439	17139	Urquhart Sarah		1	Dom.	Witns.
440	17139	McPherson Margt		1	Dom.	Witns.
441	17140	Adair Mary		2	Txtl.	Witns.
442	17141	McEwan Eliza		1		Theft
443	17143	Hutchison Wm	60	1	Comm.	Theft
444	17143	Elliot Walt		1	Dress	Witns.
445	17145	Dow Alex		1	Food	Sexl.
448	17148	Baird Wm		1	Food	Robb.
449	17149	Kidd Dvd	19	1	Other	Theft
450	17149	Hay Phillip		1		Witns.
451	17150	Macgee Barbara		1		Witns.
452	17150	Bain Geo		1	Dress	Witns.
454	17155	Little Wm		5	Wvr.	Witns.
455	17156	Duff Leslie	20	1	Fm.Svt.	Sexl.
456	17157	Stevenson Dvd		2	Wvr.	Theft
457	17157	Glass Jsph		2	Wvr.	Theft
458	17157	Dobbie Js		2	Wvr.	Theft
459	17157	Brady Wm	31	3	Prof.	Theft
460	17158	Lamb Nancy	40	1		Witns.
461	17160	Dunlop Js	18	1		Theft
462	17163	Veitch Ts		1	Dress	Witns.
463	17163	Trott Jn	27	3	Sldr.	Sexl.
464	18003	Holmes Benj	21	1	Wvr.	Theft
465	18003	McColgan Hugh	23	2	Wvr.	Theft
466	18004	Stevenson Rt	22	1	Wvr.	Fraud

467	18009	Sutherland Hugh	25	1		Theft
468	18009	Main Js	48	1	Ag(o)	Witns.
469	18010	Brown Mary	16	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
470	18010	McIndoc Jn		1	Comm.	Witns.
472	18014	Ross Jn		2	Wvr.	Theft
473	18018	Fisher Niven	12	1	Hwkr.	Theft
474	18018	Rhodes Geo	10	1	Other	Theft
475	18022	McNeil Angus	16	1	Lbr.	Theft
476	18026	Thorburn Wm		1	Food	Theft
477	18027	Smeaton Dvd		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
478	18028	Buchanan Rt	18	1	Comm.	Theft
479	18028	Roxburgh Jn		1	Comm.	Theft
481	18029	Carrigan Js		2	Wvr.	Witns.
482	18029	Todd Js		1		Witns.
483	18029	Whyte Dvd	45	2	Lbr.	Witns.
484	18029	Devlin Arthur	28	2	Wvr.	Witns.
485	18029	Spence Wm	46	2	Wvr.	Witns.
486	18035	Ritchie Wm		1	Prof.	Vlnt.
487	18038	Edmeston Gray		1	Food	Pb. tr.
488	18038	Sampson Jn	32	1	Mnrl.	Pb. tr.
489	18038	Ferguson Ts	31	1	Mnrl.	Pb. tr.
490	18041	McLauchlan Eliz		1		Witns.
491	18042	Railton Atkinson		1	Comm.	Witns.
492	18043	Miller Jn	20	1	Comm.	Theft
493	18045	Ashcroft Wm	25	1	Txtl.	Robb.
494	18045	Hoey Jsph	30	2	Lbr.	Robb.
495	18045	Tennet Abrhm	28	1	Other	Robb.
497	18046	Baxter Ann	22	1	Txtl.	Robb.
498	18047	Campbell Jn	36	1	Wvr.	Robb.
499	18050	Leitch Rt	20	1	Comm.	Theft
500	18053	Anderson Js		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
501	18053	Galbraith Jn		1	Comm.	Theft
502	18057	Connelly Ptr	41	1	Hwkr.	Theft
503	18058	McLachlane Eliz		2	Dress	Theft
504	18060	Young Jn	18	1	Comm.	Theft
505	18060	Baxter Isobel		1		Theft
507	18061	McMicken Glbrt		1	Other	Witns.
508	18062	Hannah Jnt	40	1	Ag.(f)	Vlnt.
509	18063	Shields Neil	20	1	Mnrl.	Jdcl.
510	18063	Murphy Jn		2		Witns.
511	18066	Little Jean		2	Hwkr.	Theft
512	18066	Johnston Andw	18	2	Mnrl.	Theft
513	18066	Johnston Ts	52	2	Lbr.	Theft
514	18067	Lennachan Jn	39	2	Other	Theft
515	18067	McGlauchlan Eliz	23	2		Witns.
516	18067	Britten Jn	31	2	Other	Theft
517	18067	Banford Sarah	19	2		Witns.
518	18069	Rogan Jn	29	2	Sldr.	Vlnt.
519	18070	Sweeny Michael		2	Lbr.	Theft
520	18070	Harkins Danl		2	Hwkr.	Witns.
521	18071	Rae Jnt	18	1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
522	18071	Rae Betty	13	1	Svt.	Witns.
523	18072	Gibson Jane		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
524	18072	Wallace Isabella		1	Ag(o)	Witns.
525	18073	Halliday Jn	52	1	Ag.(f)	Robb.
527	18074	Chisholm Archbd	20	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.

529	18075	Innes Rt		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
530	18077	Newall Hugh		1	Lbr.	Theft
531	18077	Newall Rt	20	1	Lbr.	Theft
532	18077	Newall Adam		1	Lbr.	Theft
534	18081	Farquharson Cs		1	Prof.	Witns.
539	18084	McLaren Jn		1		Witns.
540	18086	Crack Ts	31	1		Witns.
541	18090	Menzies Jn	27	1	Comm.	Witns.
542	18091	Hogg Js	32	1	Lbr.	Pb. tr.
545	18094	Paterson Jean		1	Food	Theft
546	18094	Gunn Dnld	12	1		Theft
547	18095	Routledge Js		1		Fraud
548	18097	Deeras Anna		1		Witns.
549	18098	Smith John	20	2	Wvr.	Theft
550	18099	Sutherland Mrgt	16	1	Ag.(f)	Fraud
551	18004	Manson Murray		1	Comm.	Fraud
552	18108	Thomson Alex	20	1	Other	Theft
553	18110	Stewart Wm		1	Comm.	Witns.
554	18110	Watson Eliz		1		Witns.
557	18110	McGregor Dvd		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
559	18116	Turnbull Js		1	Other	Theft
561	18117	Livinstone Jean	17	1	Dom.	Witns.
562	18119	Ferguson Dvd	19	1	Comm.	Theft
563	18119	Liddell Jn		1	Mnrl.	Theft
564	18120	Taylor Jn		1		Theft
565	18125	Watson Jn	15	1	Wvr.	Theft
566	18125	McGregor Henry	18	1	Wvr.	Theft
567	18126	Reid Rt	25	1	Ag(o)	Theft
568	18126	Woodness Ralph	22	3	Ag(o)	Theft
569	18128	Cullens Jean		1	Ag.(f)	Vlnt.
571	18130	Thompson Jn	16	1	Fm.Svt.	Theft
572	18134	Paterson Matt		1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
573	18137	Robertson Andw		1	Txtl.	Fraud
574	18141	Ferguson Js		1	Sldr.	Sexl.
575	18141	Dickson Margt		1		Witns.
576	18142	McPhail Dnld		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
577	18142	McPhail Jn	28	1	Ag(o)	Witns.
578	18142	Thorburn Js	26	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
579	18142	McLachlan Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
580	18142	McLachlan Dnld		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
581	18143	McIntosh Alex	43	1	Lbr.	Fraud
582	18147	Freeland Jn		1	Wvr.	Theft
583	18149	Gallacher Mich	20	2	Wvr.	Theft
584	18151	Milwain Ann		1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
585	18155	Smith Js		1	Dress	Fraud
586	18158	McKinna Jsph	20	2	Ag(o)	Theft
587	18158	Davies Js		1	Other	Theft
588	18160	Rute Ts		1	Other	Witns.
589	18163	Robinson Sml	23	1	Lbr.	Theft
590	18164	Blair Wm		1	Slr.	Theft
591	18165	Young Wm		1	Fm.Svt.	Fraud
593	18168	Foster Jn		1		Pb. tr.
594	18169	Murray Jn		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
595	18169	Melrose Adam		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
596	18171	Martin Js		1	Svt.	Theft
597	18172	Story Alex		1	Other	Theft

598	18174	Holyoak Jn	40	3	Sldr.	Vlnt.
599	18177	Watson Christn	25	1	Svt.	Theft
600	18180	Macfadzean Neil	17	1	Txtl.	Theft
601	18184	Turner Jn	18	1	G.D.L.	Robb.
602	18247	Hume Wm		1		Witns.
604	18247	Mackintosh Alex		1	Comm.	Witns.
605	18247	Anderson Js	25	1	Ag(o)	Witns.
606	18247	Middleton Lewis	38	1	Ag(o)	Witns.
608	18248	Smith Margt		1		Witns.
609	18248	Ferguson Js	49	1	Hwkr.	Witns.
610	18250	McCallum Js	30	1	Hwkr.	Witns.
611	18250	Pollock Jn		1	Ag(o)	Fraud
612	18252	Crawford Hugh	15	1	Dom.	Vlnt.
613	18253	McCormick Hugh	44	1		Theft
625	19002	Barr Jnt	25	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
626	19002	McBryde Mrgt	15	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
627	19002	Gray Js		1		Witns.
628	19002	Turner Mry		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
629	19002	Clark Ptr		1	Lbr.	Witns.
630	19002	Barr Mry	17	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
631	19002	Smith Agnes		1	Food	Witns.
632	19002	Currie Ann	30	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
633	19004	Scott Dvd	21	2	G.D.L.	Pb. tr.
634	19004	Coyle Js	24	1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
635	19005	Moir Wm		1	Lbr.	Pb. pc.
636	19006	Dougherty Jn		2	Lbr.	Pb. tr.
637	19007	Morison Mrgt	13	1		Witns.
638	19008	Lawson Eliz		1		Pb. tr.
639	19009	Morison Wm		1	Comm.	Theft
640	19011	Wilson Mry Ann	41	2		Vlnt.
641	19013	Dand Js		1	Comm.	Theft
642	19014	Garden Jn	25	1	Other	Fraud
643	19015	Melville Js	24	2	Wvr.	Theft
644	19018	Galbraith Wm	28	1	Wvr.	Theft
645	19023	Jameson Eliz	16	1	Hwkr.	Theft
646	19023	Jameson Stwrt	12	1	Hwkr.	Theft
647	19023	Winter Mrgt	45	1	Hwkr.	Theft
648	19025	Falconer Wm	40	1	Lbr.	Sexl.
649	19026	Walker Duncan		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
651	19028	Grahame Duncan		1	Ag.(f)	Vlnt.
652	19029	McCallum Duncan		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
653	19029	McCallum Jn		1	Lbr.	Theft
654	19029	McCallum Isobel		1		Witns.
656	19031	Lyall Jn	23	1	Sldr.	Sexl.
657	19032	Hay Jn	30	1	Other	Theft
658	19032	McLachlan Wm		1	Comm.	Witns.
659	19039	Balfour Js		1	Ag(o)	Theft
660	19040	Haries Rt	26	1	Prof.	Theft
661	19041	McLauchlan Jn		1	Other	Theft
662	19043	Kelly Mary	31	2		Theft
664	19048	Walker Jn		1	Other	Fraud
665	19049	Hill Geo	48	1	G.D.L.	Sexl.
666	19049	Wilson Mrgt	46	1		Witns.
667	19049	Skeen Marion	28	1		Sexl.
668	19051	McAllister Archbd		1	Comm.	Witns.
669	19051	Walker Jnt	20	1		Witns.

670	19055	McLean Danl	22	1	Mnrl.	Robb.
671	19057	Coyle Js		2	Mnrl.	Theft
672	19057	Hardie Mary		2		Theft
673	19057	Orr Martha	80	1		Witns.
674	19058	Robertson Alex	14	1	Hwkr.	Theft
675	19061	Leitch Neil		1	Hwkr.	Theft
676	19062	Hoyle Js		1	Food	Witns.
677	19062	Hoyle Barb		1		Witns.
678	19062	Jamieson Rt		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
679	19063	McLean Archbd		1	Svt.	Witns.
680	19064	Elliot Dvd	46	1		Witns.
681	19066	Fraser Wm		1	Txtl.	Theft
682	19068	King Jnt	19	1		Witns.
683	19069	Brown Ptr	21	1	G.D.L.	Jdcl.
684	19069	Wilson Andw		1	Other	Jdcl.
685	19069	Denvie Wm	21	1	Other	Jdcl.
686	19069	Kirkland Wm	30	1		Witns.
687	19069	Johnstone Isobel		1		Witns.
688	19070	Corley Michael	24	2	Mnrl.	Pb. tr.
689	19073	Hart Mary		2	Food	Witns.
690	19076	Yeats Jn	18	1	Dress	Theft
691	19077	Burns Henry	23	2	Dress	Vlnt.
692	19079	Macdonald Alex	15	1	Lbr.	Theft
693	19080	Vaughan Ptr	17	2	Dress	Theft
694	19083	Fairley Hugh	14	1	Hwkr.	Theft
695	19083	Kidstone Wm	15	1	Txtl.	Theft
696	19084	Gardiner Wm		1	G.D.L.	Theft
697	19084	Walker Hugh	24	1	Food	Witns.
698	19087	Little Jn	23	1	Lbr.	Theft
699	19089	Rae Ts		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
702	19091	Martin Js		1	Lbr.	Theft
704	19095	Clunie Jnt		1		Theft
705	19095	Ross Dnld		1	Hwkr.	Theft
708	19099	Kennedy Wm	57	1	Other	Vlnt.
709	19101	Graham Jn		2	Lbr.	Theft
710	19104	Brown Henry		1		Witns.
711	19104	Brown Henry		1	Wvr.	Witns.
712	19104	Robinson Wm	20	2		Theft
713	19112	Cox Ts		2	Dress	Witns.
714	19112	McIntyre Hugh	52	1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
715	19112	McIntyre Sarah		3		Witns.
716	19111	MacGregor Ptr		2	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
717	19111	McGregor Js		2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
718	19111	MacGregor Jn		2	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
720	19115	Ferguson Alex		1	Other	Witns.
721	19117	Cameron Geo	32	1	Mnrl.	Sexl.
722	19115	Taylor Jn		1	Hwkr.	Theft
723	19116	Macdonald Jnt		1		Witns.
724	19116	McLean Mrgt	30	1	Svt.	Witns.
726	19117	Lymmers Balfour		1	Dress	Witns.
727	19117	Begbie Mary		1		Witns.
728	19117	Begbie Christian		1	Dom.	Witns.
730	19118	Boag Jsph	18	1	Txtl.	Theft
731	19118	Boag Jn	21	1	Txtl.	Theft
733	19119	Laidlaw Wm		1		Witns.
734	19120	Strath Susan	33	1	Dress	Theft



735	19120	Wilson Jean	25	1	Theft
736	19120	Brown Cs		1 Mnrl.	Theft
737	19120	Robertson Geo	16	1 Hwkr.	Theft
738	19120	McDougall Js	21	1 Hwkr.	Theft
739	19121	Gunn Mrgt		1 Dress	Vlnt.
740	19122	Goldie Jn		1 Lbr.	Theft
741	19123	Anderson Js	21	1 Fm.Svt.	Theft
742	19125	Livingston Js	42	1 Food	Fraud
743	19126	Templeton Wm	45	2 Wvr.	Theft
744	19127	McArthur Wm	17	1 Other	Theft
745	19128	Connelly Jn	22	2 Hwkr.	Sexl.
746	19128	Anderson Mrgt		1	Witns.
747	19128	Connelly Mrgt		1	Witns.
748	19129	Rankine Danl	14	1	Theft
749	19130	Hauton Geo		3 Lbr.	Theft
750	19130	McGuire Jn	19	2 Lbr.	Theft
751	19130	Park Jsph	26	3 Ag(o)	Theft
752	19140	Cairns Mrgt	14	1	Witns.
753	19140	Cairns Adam		1 Prof.	Witns.
755	19144	McMillan Jnt		1	Witns.
756	19145	Calder Geo		1 Sldr.	Witns.
758	19146	Macdonald Angus	20	1	Theft
759	19146	Macdonald Dnld	40	1	Witns.
760	19147	Johnston Jn		1 Lbr.	Theft
762	19149	Anderson Jnt	50	1	Witns.
764	19150	Leitch Neil		1 Slr.	Theft
765	19150	Steele Jn		1 Comm.	Witns.
766	19156	Reid Alex	26	1 Ag(o)	Theft
768	19157	McLean Dnld		1 Wvr.	Robb.
769	19159	McQueen Geo	17	1 Food	Witns.
770	19159	Ewans Alex		1	Witns.
771	19161	McMenomy Ts		1 Wvr.	Theft
772	19167	Edward Agnes		1 Fm.Svt.	Witns.
773	19168	Duffie Barbara	12	1	Theft
774	19168	Burnett Mrgt	31	1	Theft
775	19169	Ramsay Jn Sr		1 Comm.	Theft
776	19169	Ramsay Jn Jr		1 Lbr.	Theft
777	19171	Hodgeon Mary	29	3	Witns.
779	19174	Brown Jn	44	1 Ag.(f)	Theft
780	19177	Mathew Js		3 Lbr.	Theft
781	19182	Ferguson Duncan		1	Robb.
782	19182	McGregor Mary		1	Witns.
783	19182	Smith Mrgt		1	Witns.
785	19184	Birrel Jn		3 Food	Theft
786	19184	Stewart Cath		1 Dom.	Witns.
787	19184	Pray Jn	23	1 Wvr.	Theft
788	19186	McDonald Duncan		1 Comm.	Theft
789	19186	Fraser Js		1 Dom.	Theft
790	19191	Develin Patrk		2 Lbr.	Theft
791	19191	Develin Francis		2 Lbr.	Theft
792	19195	Hamilton Agnes		1 Dom.	Robb.
793	19198	Gunn Eliz		1	Witns.
795	19200	Murdoch Jn		1 Wvr.	Witns.
796	19202	Young Alex		1 Mnrl.	Vlnt.
797	19202	Young Rt		1 Mnrl.	Vlnt.
798	19202	Young Andw		1 Mnrl.	Vlnt.

799	19202	Young Jn		1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
801	19203	Miller Jean		1	Other	Theft
802	19205	Hay Js	50	1	Other	Theft
804	19206	Ingram Jn		1	Ag(o)	Theft
806	19206	Henderson Jn	39	1		Witns.
807	19207	Haggins Cs	24	1	Wvr.	Pb. tr.
808	19209	McCan Arthur	25	1	Other	Jdcl.
809	19214	Fraser Alex	25	1	Txtl.	Fraud
810	19215	Ferguson Sml	23	1	Other	Robb.
811	19215	Graham Mary		1		Witns.
812	19215	Smith Wm	44	1	Prof.	Witns.
813	19215	Bunton Mary		3		Robb.
814	19217	Wilson Wm		6	Other	Theft
815	19218	Cram Mrgt		1	Svt.	Witns.
816	19225	Strachan Isobel		1		Theft
817	19225	Torlees Wm	38	1	G.D.L.	Witns.
818	19227	Crawford Mrgt		1		Theft
819	19228	Elvan Wm	50	2	Lbr.	Witns.
820	19229	Dick Mary		1	Dress	Witns.
821	19231	Reid Rt		1	Other	Theft
822	19231	Moir Mrgt		1		Theft
823	19234	Macglashan Jn		1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
824	19236	Robertson Ann	28	1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
825	19237	Clerk Eliz		1	Dom.	Witns.
826	19239	Baillie Jn	23	1	Wvr.	Theft
827	19239	Johnston Jnt	30	1		Theft
828	19241	Bennet Dvd		1		Witns.
829	19242	Mathie Wm		1	Prof.	Witns.
830	19243	Donald Wm	39	1	Lbr.	Theft
831	19243	McKinlay Ptr	46	2	Lbr.	Theft
832	19246	Kerr Mrgt	27	1		Theft
833	19249	Galloway Wm	28	1	Mnrl.	Theft
834	19249	Lumsdain Chrstn		1		Theft
835	19249	Lamont Ts	25	1	Mnrl.	Theft
836	19251	Smith Mrgt		1		Witns.
837	19253	McCallum Jn		1	Svt.	Vlnt.
838	19258	Stott Jn	25	2	Wvr.	Robb.
839	19258	McCan Arthur	25	2	Wvr.	Robb.
841	19258	Killan Jn	20	2	Lbr.	Robb.
842	19258	McMillan Alex	21	1	Wvr.	Robb.
844	19258	Stott Js		2	Wvr.	Robb.
845	19259	Hollins Ts	16	1		Theft
846	19260	Wallace Allan		1	Wvr.	Theft
847	19245	Strachan Jean		1		Witns.
848	19245	Webster Ts		1	Prof.	Witns.
849	19262	Wilson Ann	27	1	Svt.	Witns.
850	19262	McGee Mary		1	Dom.	Witns.
851	19263	Armstrong Helen		1		Witns.
852	19264	Morgan Henry	15	2	Other	Theft
854	19269	Clark Js		1	Lbr.	Theft
855	19274	Hunter Jn	19	1	Other	Witns.
856	19274	Currie Dnld	19	1	Dress	Theft
858	19274	Ferres Dorothy	50	2		Witns.
859	19274	Sharpe Jn	21	2	Wvr.	Theft
860	19274	Sharpe Patrk	73	2	Wvr.	Witns.
861	19282	Monroe Rt		1	Dress	Witns.

864	19293	Forbes Wm		1		Witns.
865	19293	Cleghorn Marion		1		Witns.
866	19293	Braid Wm		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
867	19293	Dalziell Js		1	Other	Witns.
868	19293	Buchan Js		1	Other	Witns.
869	19293	Blair Cath Eglantine		1		Witns.
870	19293	Peterson Cath		1		Witns.
872	19293	Ferguson Sarah		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
873	19293	Nicoll Jnt		1		Witns.
874	19293	Duncan Ts		1	Prof.	Witns.
875	19293	Menzies Cath		1		Witns.
876	19293	Grant Mrgt		1		Witns.
877	19293	Alexander Mrgt		1		Witns.
878	19293	Anderson Allan		1	Dress	Witns.
879	19293	Crawford Wm		1	Svt.	Witns.
880	19293	McWhirter Jean		1	Svt.	Witns.
881	19293	McConnel Helen		1		Witns.
882	19293	Boyd Jnt		1		Witns.
883	19293	Graham Mary		1		Witns.
884	19293	Jackson Wm		1	Svt.	Witns.
885	19293	Hall Helen		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
886	19293	Pinkerton Mrgt		1	Svt.	Witns.
887	19293	Davidson Deborah		1		Witns.
888	19293	Armstrong Geo		1	Txtl.	Witns.
889	19293	Baines Wm		1	Food	Witns.
890	19293	Culton Mary		1		Witns.
891	19293	McFarlane Cath		1	Food	Witns.
892	19293	Hamilton Jn		1		Witns.
893	19293	Stewart Rt		1	Hwkr.	Witns.
894	19293	Taylor Js		1	Other	Witns.
895	19294	Johnston Wm	17	1		Witns.
896	19294	Clerk Jn	25	2	Lbr.	Witns.
897	19297	Craig Rt		1	Dress	Witns.
898	19297	McFarlane Js	25	1	G.D.L.	Witns.
899	19297	Cole Jn	20	2	Lbr.	Witns.
900	19297	Thomson Stewart	16	2	Lbr.	Witns.
901	19297	Hamilton Duncan		1		Witns.
902	19297	McPhail Wm	23	1	Dress	Witns.
903	19297	McLeran Jn	37	1	Other	Witns.
904	19297	Marshall Walter	19	1	Other	Witns.
905	19297	White Dvd	18	1	Dress	Witns.
906	19297	McCandlish Ts	17	1	Txtl.	Witns.
907	19297	Kennedy Gilbt	15	1	Dress	Witns.
908	19297	Campbell Dnld	28	1	G.D.L.	Witns.
909	19297	McIntyre Duncan	22	1	Lbr.	Witns.
910	19297	Weir Geo	42	1	Dress	Witns.
911	19297	McKinlay Ptr	18	1	Txtl.	Witns.
912	19297	Lattimore Alex	25	2	Wvr.	Witns.
913	19297	Crone Ptr	40	1	Other	Witns.
914	19300	Macdonald Geo	25	1	Other	Witns.
915	19302	McFarlane Jsph	22	2	Wvr.	Theft
917	19304	Hutchison Jn	50	1	Mnrl.	Theft
918	19305	Cassidy Jn		1	Slr.	Theft
919	19305	Lehsom Eliz		1		Witns.
921	19308	Daviny Js	29	2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
922	19308	Daviny Wm	21	2	Lbr.	Vlnt.

923	19309	McKellar Wm	15	1	Txtl.	Theft
924	19310	Brown Flora	20	1	Svt.	Witns.
925	19310	Mactaggart Malcolm	28	1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
926	19318	Ross Hugh	20	1	Lbr.	Theft
927	19320	Jessiman Ts		1	Food	Theft
928	19320	Drummond Hln		1		Theft
929	19320	Lowrie Ann		1		Witns.
930	19320	Runciman Hln		1		Witns.
931	19323	Miller Agnes		1		Witns.
932	19323	Hamilton Js		1	Mnrl.	Theft
933	20006	McMillan Agnes	26	1		Witns.
934	20006	Sharp Catherine	30	2	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
935	20007	McFarlane Cathn		1	Food	Vlnt.
936	20007	McLean Jn		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
937	20008	Law Helen		1		Vlnt.
938	20009	Paterson Beatrix	18	1	Svt.	Witns.
939	20015	Milne Andw		1	Other	Witns.
940	20015	Carscallon Geo	25	1	Prof.	Vlnt.
941	20016	Craig Jn		1		Witns.
942	20017	Fleming Eliz		1	Mnrl.	Witns.
943	20017	Macdonald Hugh		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
944	20017	Mathewson Duncan	24	1	Lbr.	Witns.
945	20017	Macpherson Cathn		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
946	20017	Branon Barney		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
947	20017	Simpson Jean	45	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
948	20017	Simpson Isobel		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
949	20017	Macpherson Christn	35	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
950	20017	Macpherson Eliz		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
951	20018	Cuthbertson Jn	18	1	Other	Vlnt.
952	20017	Docherty Michael		1	Hwkr.	Fraud
953	20027	Bell Js		1	Lbr.	Theft
954	20030	McKelvie Jn	25	2	Txtl.	Vlnt.
955	20030	Macaulay Wm	18	2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
956	20031	Armstrong Jn	45	1	Mnrl.	Theft
957	20035	Douglas Ts	43	2	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
958	20038	Campbell Jn	28	2	Hwkr.	Theft
959	20038	Coyle Js		1	Wvr.	Theft
960	20038	Scott Mrgt		1	Svt.	Witns.
962	20046	Robertson Alxr	14	1	Hwkr.	Theft
963	20055	Currie Duncan		1	Prof.	Vlnt.
964	20060	Christie Js		1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
965	20060	Smith Jn		1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
966	20062	Rennie Jn	18	1	Txtl.	Theft
968	20067	McIntyre Malcolm	11	1	Txtl.	Witns.
969	20076	McGrigor Ts	14	1		Theft
970	20077	Kerr Quentin	20	1		Theft
971	20078	Henderson Dv		1	Dress	Witns.
972	20082	Andrew Sarah	18	1	Svt.	Witns.
973	20084	McAllister Duncan	21	1	Wvr.	Theft
974	20090	Reid Geo		1	G.D.L.	Theft
975	20090	Richard Robt		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
976	20090	Drever Wm		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
977	20093	Thoirs Ann	63	1		Witns.
978	20093	Collie Jnt	36	1	Svt.	Witns.
979	20095	Robertson Ts	26	1	Other	Theft
980	20095	McGregor Gregor		1	Prof.	Witns.

981	20097	Fordyce Jn		1	G.D.L.	Theft
982	20097	Alves Ann		1		Theft
983	20098	Murray Eliz		1		Witns.
984	20100	Williamson Ann		1		Theft
985	20101	Grieg Ann	30	1		Witns.
988	20101	Grieg Hugh	40	1	Other	Witns.
989	20106	Dalrymple Wm		1	G.D.L.	Theft
990	20107	Dalrymple Wm		1	Comm.	Theft
991	20107	Rennie Rbt		1	Lbr.	Theft
992	20110	Carr Js		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
993	20110	Hardie Rbt		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
994	20111	Moore Wm	24	3	Food	Theft
995	20112	Campbell Jn		1	Fm.Svt.	Theft
996	20112	McBride Dugald	27	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
997	20112	McKinnon Jnt	60	1		Witns.
998	20114	Graham Jn		1	Prof.	Pb. tr.
999	20115	McAlpine Js	19	1	Txtl.	Pb. tr.
1000	20117	Dolin Js	22	2	Dress	Vlnt.
1001	20117	Cameron Mrgt		1	Svt.	Witns.
1002	20117	Ferguson Sarah	18	1		Witns.
1003	20117	Gorman Jn		2	Prof.	Witns.
1004	20119	Johnston Wm		2	Wvr.	M.A.P.
1005	20119	McCormick Jn		1	Wvr.	M.A.P.
1006	20119	McMullen Rose		2		Witns.
1007	20121	Hutchison Js	19	1	Ag(o)	Theft
1008	20122	Haggart Dvd	19	1	Other	Theft
1010	20123	Hutton Andw	14	1	Mnrl.	Theft
1011	20123	Gaillie Chas		1		Witns.
1012	20123	McKay Jnt		1	Comm.	Witns.
1013	20123	Lawson Jn	13	1	Other	Theft
1014	20123	Fairbairn Mrgt		1		Witns.
1015	20123	Rennie Jn	26	3	Lbr.	Theft
1016	20124	Mackay Alexr	16	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1017	20125	Adams Francis		1	Dress	Fraud
1018	20128	Macdonald Jnt		1		Theft
1019	20131	Eddison Mrgt		1		Witns.
1020	20132	McLean Chas		1	Mnrl.	Theft
1021	20132	Campbell Mary		1		Theft
1022	20133	Mitchell Donald		1	Comm.	Witns.
1023	20136	Forsyth Js	48	1	Other	Fraud
1024	20137	Wigton Wm		1	G.D.L.	Fraud
1025	20137	Smith Ts		1	Wvr.	Witns.
1026	20137	Patterson Mary		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
1027	20137	Wardlaw Alex	16	1		Witns.
1028	20140	Moor Henry		1	Hwkr.	Vlnt.
1029	20141	Keir Mrgt		1		Vlnt.
1030	20142	Marshall Mrgt		1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
1031	20144	Donaldson Matthw	13	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1032	20149	Diack Js		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
1033	20150	Mackenzie Jnt	25	1	G.D.L.	Sexl.
1034	20158	Chalmers Andw		1	Other	Vlnt.
1035	20159	Brown Mary	19	1	Dom.	Vlnt.
1036	20161	Yeo Francis	25	3	Other	Robb.
1037	20163	Johnston Js	40	1	Slr.	Theft
1038	20164	Sutherland Js		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1039	20164	McLauchlane Ts		1	Hwkr.	Theft

1040	20167	Pollock Mary		1	Svt.	Witns.
1041	20167	Pollock Grace		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1042	20167	Pollock Jean	25	1	Fm.Svt.	Vlnt.
1043	20167	Rain Eliz		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1044	20168	Dunbar Jn	15	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1045	20168	Laurie Francis	39	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1046	20169	Walker Ann		1		Witns.
1047	20170	Robison Wm	22	1	Other	Theft
1049	20171	Paterson Js		1	Other	Theft
1050	20172	Fleming Jn		1	G.D.L.	Theft
1051	20173	Culbertson Sml	15	1		Theft
1052	20173	Culbertson Jnt	60	1		Theft
1053	20173	White Jnt	25	1		Theft
1054	20173	Culbertson Js	20	1		Theft
1055	20175	Partington Jsph	31	1	Dress	Theft
1056	20179	McMillan Wm		2	Lbr.	Theft
1057	20180	McLory Edwd	27	2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
1058	20180	Gallager Hugh	30	2	Txtl.	Witns.
1059	20180	Gorman Jn		2	Prof.	Witns.
1060	20181	Gladson Cornelius		2	Dress	Theft
1061	20182	Wilkin Agnes		1	Dom.	Witns.
1062	20182	Cavel Jean		1		Witns.
1063	20182	Shortridge Edwd		1	Other	Witns.
1064	20182	McKnight Henrietta		1	Dom.	Witns.
1065	20182	Edgar Js		1	Comm.	Witns.
1066	20182	Kellock Mary		1	Other	Witns.
1067	20183	Foster Jnt	33	1	Svt.	Sexl.
1068	20182	McGuire Barnard		1	Dress	Theft
1069	20182	Adams Jn	11	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1070	20184	McCarter Duncan		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1071	20186	Kelly Wm	18	2	Mnrl.	Pb. tr.
1072	20188	Broadfoot Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
1073	20188	Donnan Alex		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
1074	20189	Dogherty Edwd		2	Lbr.	Theft
1075	20191	Culbertson Sml		2	Svt.	Theft
1076	20194	Law Jn		1	Food	Theft
1077	20196	Thomson Jnt	16	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1078	20196	Crosbie Ptr	22	1	Hwkr.	Vlnt.
1079	20196	Elliot Dvd	46	2	Dress	Witns.
1080	20196	Cassidy Jn	25	2	Wvr.	Witns.
1081	20196	Eglinton Eliz		2		Witns.
1082	20196	Burns Marion		1		Witns.
1083	20197	Bruce Jnt		1		Theft
1084	20198	Bryce Grizel		1		Sexl.
1085	20199	Cameron Carolina		1		Vlnt.
1086	20200	McGuire Barnard	19	2	Hwkr.	Witns.
1087	20203	Campbell Duncan		1	Fm.Svt.	Theft
1088	20205	Gow Jn	15	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1091	20205	McKinnon Dnld	13	1		Theft
1092	20208	Donald Js		1	Wvr.	Theft
1093	20211	Pursal Sml		1	Slr.	Theft
1094	20212	Halliday Jn		1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
1095	20214	Phillips Wm		2	Txtl.	Theft
1097	20216	Scott Geo		1	Prof.	Witns.
1098	20218	Heggins Jn	21	2	Txtl.	Vlnt.
1099	20225	Tomkin Wm	28	1	Sldr.	Pb. pc.

1100	20225	Taylor Jn	22	1	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1101	20225	Shean Js	24	2	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1102	20225	Phealin Michael	40	2	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1103	20225	Clark Js	36	3	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1104	20225	Collins Wm	21	2	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1105	20225	Palmer Ts	26	3	Sldr.	Pb. pc.
1106	20225	McGlouchlan Jn	24	1	Sldr.	Witns.
1107	20225	McDowrach Patrk	26	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1108	20225	Burns Wm	39	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1109	20225	Gilmour Bernard	21	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1110	20225	Elliot Jsph	19	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1111	20225	Kilroy Ts	36	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1112	20225	Tressie Jn	34	2	Sldr.	Witns.
1113	20226	McManus Jn		2	Prof.	Robb.
1114	20226	Crosbie Ptr		1	Hwkr.	Robb.
1115	20226	McManus Edwd		1	Hwkr.	Robb.
1116	20230	Dick Mary	18	1	Dress	Witns.
1117	20230	Buchanan Jn	18	1	Wvr.	Robb.
1118	20231	McEwing Jn	32	1	Slr.	Vlnt.
1119	20231	Walker Mrgt		1		Witns.
1120	20232	Drummond Adam	18	1	Comm.	Vlnt.
1121	20236	Whitelaw Wm	48	1	Mnrl.	Theft
1122	20237	McAnulty Myles		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1123	20238	Macdonald Cs R		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1124	20240	Wilson Isabella		1	Food	Theft
1125	20240	McAllister Rnld		1	Slr.	Theft
1128	20247	McPherson Alexr	15	1	Slr.	Theft
1129	20248	Anderson Js		1	Other	Fraud
1131	20250	McGarety Js		1	Wvr.	Pb. tr.
1132	20250	McGarety Sml		1	G.D.L.	Pb. tr.
1133	20250	McCallum Jn		1	Wvr.	Pb. tr.
1134	20251	Thomson Alexr		1	Hwkr.	Rlgn.
1135	20260	MacCuail Mary	28	1		Witns.
1136	20260	Ferguson Mary	60	1	Food	Witns.
1137	20260	Whyte Geo	57	2	Hwkr.	Theft
1138	20260	Boyd Roderick	21	2	Slr.	Theft
1139	20261	Fleming Rbt	14	1	Txtl.	Theft
1140	20261	McNab Jn	13	1	Wvr.	Theft
1141	20262	Dick Jean		1		Witns.
1142	20265	Donally Js		1	Svt.	Witns.
1143	20265	Broadfoot Maxwell		2	Lbr.	Robb.
1144	20267	McFarlane Walter	14	1	Slr.	Theft
1145	20268	Curr Wm		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1146	20268	Nelson Js		1	Mnrl.	Witns.
1147	20269	McDonald Jn	16	1	Wvr.	Theft
1148	20276	Bowie Malcolm	17	1	Comm.	Theft
1149	20277	Russell Ts	20	1	Slr.	Witns.
1150	20286	Lamont Malcolm	25	1	Ag(o)	Theft
1151	20287	Kerr Geo	28	1	Other	Theft
1152	20296	Mack Alexr		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1153	20000	McWattie Eliz		1		Witns.
1154	20292	Noble Jn		1	Food	Witns.
1155	20293	Earl Jn	22	1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
1156	20299	McDonald Cs	15	1		Theft
1157	20301	Wilson Jn	18	1	Food	Witns.
1158	20301	Smith Js	19	1	Dress	Witns.

1159	20301	O'Haghan Jn	19	2	Other	Pb. pc.
1161	20302	Hart Michael		1	Other	Theft
1162	20303	Halliday Jn		1		Theft
1163	20305	Govan Jean		1		Theft
1164	20306	Dollan Js	20	2	Dress	Vlnt.
1165	20308	Campbell Jn	28	1	Comm.	Fraud
1166	20309	Wilson Isobel		1		Witns.
1167	20310	Arthur Alexr		1	Other	Fraud
1168	21004	McIntosh Js	37	1	Food	Vlnt.
1169	21005	Grieg Mrgt		1		Theft
1170	21005	Ferguson Jn		1	Slr.	Theft
1171	21005	Deuchars Wm		1	Txtl.	Theft
1172	21006	Ward Jn	16	2	Txtl.	Theft
1173	21007	Newsham Rbt	24	3	Other	Theft
1174	21008	Johnstone Wm	35	1	Prof.	Theft
1175	21009	Ross Alexr	15	1	Dress	Robb.
1176	21009	Wilson Wm	14	1	Wvr.	Witns.
1177	21012	Ross Dvd		1	Sldr.	Theft
1178	21012	Munro Hln	26	1	Svt.	Witns.
1179	21013	Mackay Geo	21	1		Vlnt.
1180	21015	Grant Jn		1		Witns.
1181	21015	Macdonald Archbd		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
1182	21018	Cormack Alexr		1	Svt.	Witns.
1183	21018	Macdonald Rbt		1	Ag.(f)	Vlnt.
1184	21018	Manson Cath		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1185	21018	Maccadie Mrgt		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1186	21019	Baillie Js	43	1	Comm.	Vlnt.
1189	21020	Halliday Js	16	1	Other	Theft
1190	21021	Imrie Cs	22	1	Svt.	Pb. tr.
1191	21022	Musgrave Jn		1	Sldr.	Theft
1192	21022	Thom Geo	19	1	Slr.	Theft
1193	21022	Morris Wm		1	Slr.	Theft
1194	21023	Short Isabella		1		Theft
1195	21023	Donaghy Ts	21	2	Lbr.	Theft
1196	21023	Greenshields Jn		1		Witns.
1197	21025	Richardson Eliz		1	Svt.	Witns.
1198	21025	Dobson Jn		1	Other	Witns.
1199	21025	Gordon Js		2	Lbr.	Vlnt.
1200	21026	Anderson Jnt	27	1		Vlnt.
1201	21029	Brown Ebenezeer	28	1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
1202	21030	Short Alex		2	Lbr.	Theft
1203	21030	McGinn Js		2		Witns.
1204	21030	Preston Eliz		1		Witns.
1205	21033	Nicol Wm		1	G.D.L.	Witns.
1206	21033	Home Dvd		1		Witns.
1207	21034	McGeown Ptr	16	2	Hwkr.	Theft
1208	21034	Caven Henry		2	Txtl.	Theft
1209	21035	Horn Alexr		1	Prof.	Witns.
1211	21036	McDonald Euphemia		1	Txtl.	Theft
1212	21036	Cameron Cath	18	1		Theft
1213	21036	Mitchell Isobel		1		Witns.
1214	21036	Duncan Dvd		1	Other	Robb.
1215	21036	Lunan Dvd		1	Prof.	Robb.
1216	21037	Shendan Edwd		1	Food	Theft
1217	21037	Lawson John		1	Other	Theft
1218	21038	Gautier Francois		8	Txtl.	Vlnt.



1219	21038	Heaman Ptr		3	Slr.	Vlnt.
1220	21038	Strachan Dvd	19	1	Slr.	Vlnt.
1221	21038	Smith Ptr		1	Slr.	Vlnt.
1222	21038	Hand Jn		1	Slr.	Vlnt.
1223	21038	Camelier Andw	15	9	Comm.	Vlnt.
1224	21039	Swanston Alison		1		Witns.
1225	21039	Halliburton Jnt		1		Witns.
1226	21010	Buchanan Ann	18	2	Txtl.	Theft
1227	21044	Lees Alexr	24	1	Lbr.	Theft
1228	21053	Ivison Jsph	26	3	Fm.Svt.	Fraud
1229	21055	Lamb Isobel		1		Sexl.
1230	21056	Ralph Geo	16	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1231	21057	Murray Js		1		M.A.P.
1234	21060	McLean Jn		1	G.D.L.	Vlnt.
1235	21062	Campbell Wm		1	Slr.	Theft
1236	21064	O'Donnell Jn		1	Food	Pb. pc.
1237	21067	Brown Js	22	1	Dress	Witns.
1238	21069	Montgomerie Wm		1	Slr.	Vlnt.
1239	21069	McGie Ann		2		Witns.
1241	21071	Galloway Rbt		1	Comm.	Fraud
1242	21072	Croll Euphemia		1		Witns.
1243	21074	Mackady Js		1	Food	Sexl.
1244	21074	Falconer Cath		1		Witns.
1245	21077	Moon Wm		1	Hwkr.	Theft
1246	21081	Joss Js	27	1	Ag(o)	Theft
1247	21084	Ross Elizabeth	21	1	Dom.	Sexl.
1248	21086	Pratt Ts		1		Vlnt.
1250	21087	Muir Mrgt	14	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
1251	21089	Brown Wm Js		1		Witns.
1252	21092	McKie Alexr	19	1	Slr.	Theft
1253	21092	Banks Wm		1	Mnrl.	Theft
1254	21094	Brown Alexr	22	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1255	21094	McDonald Alexr	20	1	Mnrl.	Witns.
1256	21095	Bremner Hln	17	1	Svt.	Vlnt.
1257	21096	Connelly Arthur	17	2	Hwkr.	Theft
1258	21096	Graham Jn		1	G.D.L.	Theft
1259	21096	Graham Wm	16	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1260	21096	Millar Mary		1		Witns.
1261	21097	Davidson Hln	15	1		Jdcl.
1262	21097	Davidson Marjory		1		Jdcl.
1263	21097	Davidson Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Jdcl.
1264	21098	McPherson Jn		1	Sldr.	Theft
1265	21099	Deans Eliz	14	1	Ag(o)	Witns.
1266	21103	Sommerville Ann		1	G.D.L.	Vlnt.
1267	21105	McLachlan Js	15	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1268	21108	Robertson Wm	17	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1269	21112	Hunter Duncan		1	Txtl.	Theft
1270	21115	McIntosh Isobel		1		Vlnt.
1271	21118	O'Hara Jn	40	1	Hwkr.	Witns.
1272	21119	Walker Js		1	Food	Fraud
1273	21120	Hamilton Alexr	19	1	Txtl.	Theft
1274	21121	McGrigor Duncan	26	1	Lbr.	Theft
1275	21123	McNicoll Archbd	23	1	Txtl.	Pb. pc.
1276	21125	Hadson Mary		3		Theft
1277	21128	Miller Mary		1		Sexl.
1278	21131	Cameron Js		1		Witns.

1279	21132	Carswell Allan		1		Fraud
1280	21133	Campbell Dnld	48	1	Comm.	Theft
1281	21133	McGregor Mary		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1282	21134	Clark Agnes	9	1		Witns.
1283	21135	Brown Jn		1	Slr.	Fraud
1284	21136	Woods Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Pb. tr.
1285	21136	Walker Jn		1	Dom.	Witns.
1286	21136	McNicol Duncan		1	Dom.	Witns.
1287	21136	Linn Michael	22	1	Lbr.	Witns.
1288	21138	Thornton Js		1	Lbr.	Theft
1289	21138	Hoare Walter Esq		1		Witns.
1290	21139	Jamieson Stewart		1	Mnrl.	Theft
1291	21140	Beveridge Jn		1	Other	Theft
1292	21140	Wilson Henry		1	Txtl.	Theft
1293	21140	Hamilton Ts		1	Txtl.	Theft
1294	21141	Ewen Jn		1	Ag.(f)	Theft
1295	21142	Martin Andw		1	Lbr.	Theft
1297	21143	Stewart Js		1		Witns.
1298	21144	Blackwood Js		1		Witns.
1299	21144	Cameron Cath	18	1		Theft
1300	21145	McCowan Jnt		1		Witns.
1303	21150	Cameron Dnld		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
1304	21150	Boyd Mrgt		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1305	21150	Rankine Dnld	37	1	Ag.(f)	Robb.
1306	21150	Henderson Eliz		1	Svt.	Vlnt.
1307	21157	Campbell Jn Mason		1	Other	Theft
1308	21159	Wilson Ann		2	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
1309	21162	Benniston Hugh	17	1	Wvr.	Theft
1310	21168	McPherson Wm	50	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1311	21168	Macdonald Mary	50	1		Theft
1312	21168	Gunn Barbara	21	1	Hwkr.	Theft
1313	21168	Sprowl Archbd	27	1	Lbr.	Vlnt.
1314	21169	Cowbrough Malcolm		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
1315	21169	McFarlane Cath		1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1316	21172	Douglas Duncan	17	1	Slr.	Theft
1317	21172	McAllister Wm	19	1	Slr.	Theft
1318	21175	McLean Agnes	20	1		Theft
1319	21179	Monteath Jean		1		Theft
1320	21182	Murray Wm		1	Slr.	Theft
1321	21183	McAnnally Agnes	45	2		Theft
1322	21183	Flannigan Henry		2	Other	Theft
1323	21183	Thomson Jn	16	1		Theft
1324	21185	Moran Geo		1	Ag(o)	Theft
1325	21186	McFee Kath	14	1	Fm.Svt.	Witns.
1326	21186	Hyndman Mary	35	1		Witns.
1327	21187	Russell Js	17	1	Dress	Theft
1328	21188	Kean Barnard	19	2	Txtl.	Vlnt.
1329	21188	Steven Daniel	19	1	Mnrl.	Vlnt.
1330	21189	Brown Jn	20	1	Wvr.	Theft
1331	21193	Collins Dennis	50	2	Wvr.	Vlnt.
1332	21195	McEachern Ann	27	1		Vlnt.
1335	21205	Carmichael Duncan	28	1	Lbr.	Jdcl.
1336	21206	Herd Martha	36	1	Hwkr.	Pb. tr.
1337	21207	Gunn Jn	20	1		Theft
1338	21207	Gunn Alexr		1	Ag.(f)	Witns.
1339	21207	Grant Rbt	20	1	Ag.(f)	Witns.

1340	21207	Henderson Rbt	40	1 Ag.(f)	Witns.
1341	21207	Miller Campbell	28	1 Dress	Witns.
1342	21207	Henderson Benj		1 Svt.	Witns.
1344	21208	Beaton Jn		1 G.D.L.	Witns.
1345	21210	McDonald Js	18	1 Ag(o)	Theft
1346	21211	Youle Jn	23	1 Wvr.	Theft
1347	21211	Marshall Jean		1	Witns.
1349	21213	Potter Dvd	38	1 Other	State
1350	21233	Robieson Jn		1 Lbr.	Theft
1351	21257	Hippisley Sml	15	3 Hwkr.	Theft
1352	21264	Lawson Jn	28	1 Food	Theft
1353	22001	Robertson London	27	1 Other	Witns.
1354	22002	Deans Eliz	14	1 Other	Witns.
1355	22003	Coates Jn	23	1 Food	Theft
1356	22012	Fraser Jn		1 Hwkr.	Witns.
1357	22012	Cairney Jn		1 Lbr.	Witns.
1358	22013	Connor Ts	16	1 Dress	Theft
1359	22013	McPherson Js	15	1 Other	Theft
1360	22015	Thomson Js	22	1 Other	Theft
1361	22015	Thomson Wm	19	1 Lbr.	Theft
1362	22015	Macdonald Wm	18	1 Other	Theft
1363	22018	Goodsir Agnes		1 Food	Witns.
1364	22018	Dickson Agnes		1	Witns.
1365	22020	Donald Archbd		1 Wvr.	Witns.
1366	22020	McDonald Wm		1	Theft
1367	22026	McDonald Jn	18	1 Wvr.	Theft
1368	22026	Young William	15	1 Wvr.	Theft
1369	22028	Fogarty Jn		1 Dress	Theft
1370	22028	Clerk Alexr		1 Prof.	Witns.
1371	22029	Campbell Jn	35	1 Prof.	Fraud
1372	22030	Murray Jn	35	1 Other	Witns.
1373	22032	Conner Jn		1 Hwkr.	Theft
1374	22040	Broomfield Walter	15	1 Comm.	Theft
1376	20127	McGheer Jn		2 Lbr.	Robb.
1377	21122	Fleming Js	28	1 Comm.	Theft
1379	18123	McIntyre Michael	21	2 Food	Robb.
1380	19268	Frazer Isabell		1	Theft

## APPENDIX C

(Paper published in *Historical Social Research* 14 (1987), pp. 42-47.)

Scottish internal migration, 1812-1820:

interfacing database and  
computer graphics packages.

This paper examines the use of the GEOLINK interface between GIMMS and locational data held in the ORACLE RDBMS. The data and the problems they pose for mapping are presented, followed by an explanation of how GIMMS and GEOLINK help to approach and resolve some of these problems.

Suspects and witnesses throughout Scotland gave pre-trial statements to the Scottish High Court of Justiciary and often included details of their past residences and movements. Information from c.900 of these individuals during the 1810's now lies in an ORACLE database and consists of tables for

- 1) the individuals unique number; case number; name; sex; occupation; crime; age; marital status; nationality; and parents occupation;
- 2) the locations frequented by the declarants which includes a unique location number; the location name; x and y grid references; the type of location; and comments which assist in finding it; and
- 3) an occurrences table which unites the previous two through the individual's number and their location numbers which are ordered; when known their activities and time spent at each place are included.

The declarants are mostly men under forty years who worked at manual labour. They include a large minority

of Irish and moved primarily in the Southwest and Lowlands of Scotland.

The aim of this research was to find a quick, simple method of mapping some of the information from the statements. Some complications which the data present for this aim are the sometimes large number of migration stages in a particular individual's path. These are difficult to map with GIMMS if each movement is to remain distinct or if several individual's paths (eg, all shoemakers) are to be mapped together. These can be mapped with GIMMS but require more time to produce than automatic maps. Other complications included mapping an individual's time at a location (which ranges from one day to forty years) or why they went to a location.

Some information can be mapped quite easily and automatically. One example is the immediately previous place of origin for any particular location. This leaves out much information about the paths of migrants but provides an immediate understanding of a location's in-migration field.

Data from the occurrences table (ie, individual's number; location numbers each frequented; also x and y grid references for these locations) can be spooled out to a file. For any particular group of individuals by their characteristics, locations frequented, or activities at a location. To map their immediately previous location the data are run through a Fortran program which 1) dumps information not needed for mapping; 2) produces statistics about the data (eg, mean distance); and 3) counts the number of occurrences of a particular pair of x,y grid references then sends that information to the spool file which GEOLINK will read. (see Fig. 1.)

GIMMS is a geo-cartographic information system which here takes locational data in the form of polygons and combines these with point data for specific locations to produce maps. It stores the polygon file and can produce it instantly on a graphics terminal or plotter. Several levels of mapping are possible with this system though this paper is mostly concerned with drawing points of origin and line between a destination and those points. Because the type of maps produced and the data they use are similar throughout the project the user-friendly interface GEOLINK is needed to save time in map production.

The interface consists of three parts. First, the MASK file specifies how the user is queried, how data are read and how those inputs produce specific output. The MASK file provides a wide range of options which depend on the users answers to questions. For example, the user can be queried about the particular area of the map to show, and the scale and size of the map. The user may also select the particular symbolism for each map, pen colour, title and legend. GEOLINK allows an almost infinite variety of maps with one MASK file.

Second, a spool file provides data to be used by GEOLINK. The data here has been initially taken from the ORACLE database and run through a Fortran program. It is held in rows and columns which allow GEOLINK to access it in the correct order. Third, a target file consists of a source file of commands for a GIMMS run. The MASK file will select only those commands needed to produce the user specified range.

Some examples below from a MASK file show how GIMMS commands (preceded by '\*') are embedded therein and how a particular response by a user produces particular output. GEOLINK commands are preceded by '!' and here are in capitals. The questions are printed on screen as well as anything preceded by !PRINT. The words after a query are substituted into the following GIMMS commands where they are preceded by '!'. 'IF' or 'NOT IF' statements can specify for any value from responses to a query whether or not a GIMMS command will be carried out and put into the source file.

```

$NEWGIMMS
!CM (COMMENT)
!CM
!CM          MASK FILE
!CM  This file spools data from location.dat files
!CM    which contain the origins and their occurrences
!CM    for a particular destination.
!CM
!CM  *FILEPARM 11, 'SCOTLAND.GIM', GIMMS, IN
!CM
!CM  The user is queried for the name of the plot file.
!QU "Name of plot file for output?:" PLOT
!CM
!CM  *FILEPARM 19, '!PLOT.PLT', TEXT, OUT
!CM
!QU "Output to plotter or terminal?:" OUTPUT
!IF OUTPUT plotter PLOTTER p P
!CM  *PLOTPARM PLOTTER
!ENDIF
!CM
!IF OUTPUT terminal TERMINAL t T
!CM  *FILEPARM 6 'GRAPHICS.LIS', TEXT, OUT
!CM  *PLOTPARM T4010 BAUDS 9600
!ENDIF
!QU "Which alphabet for text?:" ALPHA
!CM  *TEXTPARM ALPHABET=!ALPHA
!CM  *PLOTPROG
!CM  *NEWMAP 27 27 FRAME

```

After further questions about text needs and map format the grid reference data and each origin's number of occurrences are spooled through GEOLINK. An example portion of a spool file is as follows:

<u>xloc1</u>	<u>yloc1</u>	<u>xloc2</u>	<u>yloc2</u>	<u>occurrences</u>
2580	6650	2330	6210	2
2580	6650	2270	6760	1
2580	6650	2880	6800	1
2580	6650	2970	6680	3

The data file is then described by its columns. Successive spools draw 1) the point of destination; 2) the points of origin by their particular size; and 3) the lines which connect these.

```
!CM First spool of user specified file (!FILE)
!NEWFILE SPOOL !FILE.DAT
!DESCRIBE XLOC1 YLOC1 XLOC2 YLOC2 OCCURENCES
!READ
  *POINT MAPUNITS !XLOC1 !YLOC1 1
!CM Second spool
!NEWFILE SPOOL !FILE.DAT
!CM The description of the file remains known.
!BEGINLOOP
!READ
  *POINT MAPUNITS !XLOC2 !YLOC2 !OCCURENCES
!ENDLOOP
!CM Third spool
!NEWFILE SPOOL !FILE.DAT
!CM
  *DRAW MAPUNITS
!BEGINLOOP
!READ !XLOC1 !YLOC1 !XLOC2 !YLOC2 /
!ENDLOOP
```

After the user has specified all information needed for the particular map the MASK file can be plotted (if output is not meant for the terminal) and then be restarted for as many maps as are needed. An example of the type of map produced is Figure 2. The maps produced are useful for immediate analysis and give clues to significant patterns of migration. The benefits of GEOLINK as an interface have been touched on briefly here though it has enormous potential for mapping polygon or point data of the same form.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of A.J. Payne and D.A. Gray in this project.

## APPENDIX D

### *Previous and later occupations from each group, organised by economic class*

The information below concerns 129 declarants who changed occupations 153 times altogether, sometimes staying within the same occupational grouping but usually leaving it. There are usually two tables for each occupational group; the first concerns occupations which a person had before they entered that group, while the second concerns those which they had after they left the group. The information is duplicated unless a change occurred within an occupational group, in which case it is recorded in the group's first table. For example, the barnman who became a tenant (table 1.1) stayed within Agriculture and is not repeated in table 1.2; however, the soldier who became a fisherman (table 1.1) is also placed in table 14.2. In addition, 19 declarants had two or more occupational changes; these are found in every table relating to each of their occupations. For example, Alexander Forrest [28] was a soldier, then a sailor, and then a travelling merchant; he can be found in the second table of soldiers, both tables for sailors, and the first table for hawkers. The identification numbers of declarants who stated two or more occupational changes are noted with an asterisk. A list of their occupations is found at the end of this appendix. Declarants who stated two or more occupations as their current ones are grouped according to the one which was likely to be dominant; likelihood was based on their main location.



The order of the groups is as follows:

1. Agriculture
2. Farm servants
3. Labourers
4. Servants
5. Commerce
6. Dress
7. Food and Lodging
8. General Dealers and Labourers
9. Hawkers
10. Minerals
11. Textiles
12. Weavers
13. Sailors
14. Soldiers
15. Professionals
16. Others

AGRICULTURE

Table 1.1

From	to Agriculture	id.
in 'country work'	cowkeeper	1157
barnman	tenant	757
cottar	do.	995*
feuar	overseer	47*
herd	salmon fisher	659*
packman and tinbox maker	harvester	952*
sailor	farm labourer and straw hat maker	1055
salmon fisher	drover	659*
servant	farm overseer	591*
shepherd	cattle dealer	55
do.	tenant	576
soldier	fisherman	1345
tacksman at limework	farm labourer	124
tenant	cottar and labourer	699
do.	herd	995*
topsmen	drover	606

Table 1.2

From Agriculture	to	id.
cottager	cartwright	99
drover	chairman	604
farmer	blacksmith	76
farm labourer	packman	610
farm overseer	servant	591*
farm steward	meal dealer	1355
fisherman	sailor	120
gamekeeper	labourer	58
herd	carter	1044*
do.	packman	1230
do.	sailor	1045*
horsedealer's asst.	packman	234
overseer	road labourer	47*
wright and herring fisher	soldier	36*

FARM SERVANTS

Table 2.1

From	to Farm Service	id.
gentleman's servant	farm servant	1087
labourer	hind	1152
servant	hind	591*
soldier	farm servant	1186*
canal labourer	tenant's servant	36*

Table 2.2

From Farm service	to	id.
farm servant	carter's servant	392
do.	changekeeper's servant	631
do.	labourer (2)	393
		1295
do.	mealseller	445
do.	slater	389
ploughman	labourer	181

LABOURERS

Table 3.1

From	to Labourer	id.
baker's worker	dock labourer	1144*
bleachfield labourer, cabinet maker & soldier	labourer and packman	1350
boatman	labourer	572
collier	labourer	1201*
farm servant	labourer (2)	393
		1295
do. (ploughman)	labourer	181
gamekeeper	labourer	58
house carpenter	labourer and horner	366
labourer at printfield	canal labourer	267
overseer	road labourer	47*
sailor	labourer (5)	204
		263, 298, 1015*, 1045*
do.	quay labourer, fisher and smuggler	301
servant	labourer, carter and collier	443
do.	quarry labourer	932
soldier	labourer (7)	186,
		231, 248*, 648, 740, 780, 831
do.	canal labourer	36*
undertaker's worker	labourer	180

Table 3.2

From Labourer	to	id.
canal labourer	tenant's servant	36*
labourer	hawker	175
do.	hind	1152
do.	pedlar of sweetmeats	502
do.	servant	57
do.	soldier	656
do.	packman	1045*
do.	weaver	248*

SERVANTS

Table 4.1

From	to Servant	id.
labourer	servant	57
farm overseer	do.	591*

Table 4.2

From Servant	to	id.
gentleman's servant	farm servant	1087
servant	farm overseer	591*
do.	hind	591*
do.	miller	207
do.	quarry labourer	932
do.	porter	190
do.	soldier	756
do.	spinner	210

COMMERCE

Table 5.1

From	to Commerce	id.
drover	chairman	604
farm servant	carter's servant	392
herd	carter	1044*
sailor	foreman in rigging yard	1076*
servant	porter	190
soldier	merchant's clerk	1165
vinter's worker	chaise driver	788
weaver	warehouseman	410

Table 5.2

From Commerce	to	id.
boatman	labourer	572
carter	packman	1044*
coachman	publican	994
foreman in rigging yard	whiskey maker	1076*
herd then carter	packman	1044
mail carrier	brewer's servant	1243
mailcoach driver	soldier	1186*
post runner	poulterer	132

DRESS

Table 6.1

From	to Dress	id.
mason's servant	seamstress	739
publican	tailor	1079*
soldier	barber	1017
do.	shoemaker	385

Table 6.2

From Dress	to	id.
old clothes dealer	publican	1079*
shoemaker	dykebuilder	291
do.	packman	1123
do.	soldier	518
tailor	packman	1086

FOOD AND LODGING

Table 7.1

From	to Food and Lodging	id.
bleacher	keeping spirit cellar	146
coachman	publican	994
collier	changekeeper	487
cotton spinner	do.	1236
farm servant	changekeeper's svt.	631
do.	mealseller	445
farm steward	meal dealer	1355
foreman in rigging yard	whiskey maker	1076*
mail carrier	brewer's servant	1243
old clothes dealer	publican	1079*
packman	baker's servant	769
post runner	poulterer	132
soldier	gingerbread seller	1379
waiter at inn	baker's worker	1144*

Table 7.2

From Food and Lodging	to	id.
baker's worker	dock labourer	1144*
grocer and spirit dealer	hawker (books)	1356
publican	tailor	1079*
spirit dealer	bleacher	416
sugar house worker	saddler's servant	1214
vinter's worker	chaise driver	788

GENERAL DEALERS AND LABOURERS

Table 8.1

From	to Gen. Dlrs. Lbrers.	id.
shoemaker	dykebuilder	291
servant	millar	207

Table 8.2

From Gen. Dlrs. & Lbrers.	to	id.
millar	quarrier	1121
shopman	sailor	9

HAWKERS

Table 9.1

From	to Hawkers	id.
carter	packman	1044*
cotton spinner	chapman	965
do.	travelling hawker and smuggler	1373
dyer	packman and tinbox maker	952*
farm labourer	packman	610
grocer and spirit dealer	hawker (books)	1356
herd	packman	1230
horsedealer's asst.	do.	234
labourer	hawker	175
do.	packman	1045*
do.	pedlar of sweetmeats	502
sailcloth maker	travelling bookseller	1134
sailor	chapman	738
do.	hawker	1039
do.	travelling merchant (3)	28*, 427, 675
shoemaker	packman	1123
soldier	hawker	1310
tailor	packman	1086
weaver	pedlar	1268
do.	travelling merchant	220

Table 9.2

From Hawker	to	id.
chapman	weaver	323
packman	baker's servant	769
packman and tin box maker	harvester	952*

MINERALS

Table 10.1

<u>From</u>	<u>to Minerals</u>	<u>id.</u>
apprentice (?)	assistant coalmaster	306
farmer	blacksmith	76
innkeeper's servant	quarry manager's servant	1250
millier	quarrier	1121
soldier	collier	1201*
weaver	collier	489
do.	stonemason	721

Table 10.2

<u>From Minerals</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>id.</u>
collier	changekeeper	487
do.	labourer	1201*

TEXTILES

Table 11.1

<u>From</u>	<u>to Textiles</u>	<u>id.</u>
servant	spinner	210
spirit dealer	bleacher	416
weaver	cotton spinner	966
writer's clerk	lace merchant	573

Table 11.2

<u>From Textiles</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>id.</u>
bleacher	keeping spirit cellar	146
cotton spinner	changekeeper	1236
do.	chapman	965
cotton worker	sailor	1015*
dyer	packman and tinbox maker	952*
sailcloth maker	travelling bookseller	1134
warper	weaver	582

WEAVERS

Table 12.1

<u>From</u>	<u>to Weaver</u>	<u>id.</u>
bird catcher	weaver	959*
chapman	do.	323
labourer at coalworks	do.	248*
sailor	do.	498
soldier	do.	311
warper	do.	582
with 'police'	do.	795*

Table 12.2

<u>From Weaver</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>id.</u>
weaver	collier	489
do.	cotton spinner	966
do.	pedlar	1268
do.	soldier (4)	90, 1106 248 (x2)*
do.	spoonmaker	237
do.	stonemason	721
do.	warehouseman	410
weaver and baker	cork manufacturer	1217

SAILORS

Table 13.1

<u>From</u>	<u>to Sailor</u>	<u>id.</u>
cotton worker	sailor	1015*
fish curer's cooper	do.	1316
fisherman	do.	120
herd	do.	1045*
shopman	do.	9
soldier	do.	28*



Table 13.2

From Sailor	to	id.
sailor	beggar (2)	802, 814
do.	chapman	738
do.	farm labourer and straw hat maker	1055
do.	foreman in rigging yard	1076*
do.	hawker	1039
do.	labourer (5)	204, 263, 298, 1015* 1045*
do.	quay labourer, fisher, smuggler	301
do.	reedmaker	1036
do.	travelling merchant (3)	427, 675, 28*
do.	travels with puppet show	1174
do.	weaver	498

SOLDIERS

Table 14.1

From	to Soldier	id.
joiner	soldier	951
labourer	do.	656
mailcoach driver	do.	1186*
painter	do.	59
servant	do.	756
shoemaker	do.	518
watchmaker	do.	940
weaver	do. (4)	90, 1106 248 (x2)*
wright and herring fisher	do.	36*
writer's clerk	do.	294

Table 14.2

From Soldier	to	id.
soldier	barber	1017
do.	bird catcher	959*
do.	canal labourer	36*
do.	collier	1201*
do.	farm servant	1186*
do.	fisherman	1345
do.	gingerbread seller	1379
do.	hawker	1310
do.	labourer (6)	186, 231, 648, 740, 780, 831
do.	labourer and collier	1201
do.	labourer at coalworks	248*
do.	merchant's clerk	1165
do.	sailor	28*
do.	shoemaker	385
do.	weaver	311
do.	with 'police'	795*

PROFESSIONALS

Table 15.1

From	to Professional	id.
Relief minister	school teacher	998
SPCK school examiner	licensed preacher	1371*
licensed preacher	teacher	1371*
soldier	with 'police'	795*

Table 15.2

From Professional	to	id.
with 'police'	weaver	795*
writer's clerk	lace merchant	573
do.	soldier	294

OTHERS

Table 16.1

From	to 'Others'	id.
cottager	cartwright	99
farm servant	slater	389
innkeeper's servant	tanner's servant	1066
sailor (discharged)	beggar (2)	802, 814
do.	reedmaker	1036
do.	travels with puppet show	1174
soldier	bird catcher	959*
sugar house worker	saddler's servant	1214
weaver	spoonmaker	237
weaver, baker	cork manufacturer	1217

Table 16.2

From 'Others'	to	id.
bird catcher	weaver	959*
fish curer's cooper	sailor	1316
house carpentar	labourer and horner	366
joiner	soldier	951
mason's servant [domestic]	seamstress	739
painter	soldier	59
undertaker's worker	labourer	180
watchmaker	soldier	940

Table 17

Declarants with two or more occupational changes  
(from first to last occupation)

28  
soldier  
sailor  
trav. merchant

36  
wright/herring fisher  
soldier  
canal labourer  
tenant's servant

47  
feuar  
overseer  
road lbr.

248  
weaver  
soldier  
lab. at coalworks  
weaver  
soldier

591  
servant  
farm overseer  
servant  
hind

659  
herd  
fisherman  
drover

795  
soldier  
with 'police'  
weaver

952  
dyer  
packman/tinbox maker  
harvester

959  
soldier  
bird ctchr.  
weaver

995  
cottar  
tenant  
herd

1015  
cotton worker  
sailor  
labourer

1044  
herd  
carter  
packman

1045  
herd  
sailor  
labourer  
packman

1076  
sailor  
foreman in rigging yard  
whiskey maker

1079  
clothes dlr  
publican  
tailor

1144  
waiter at inn  
baker's worker  
dock labourer

1186  
mailcoach driver  
soldier  
farm servant

1201  
soldier  
collier  
labourer

1371  
SPCK school examiner  
teacher  
licensed preacher

APPENDIX E

*Previous and later occupations from each group,  
organised by social class*

See Appendix D and chapter seven for introductory comments. An asterisk (\*) indicates those who had more than one occupational change. There are 153 occupational changes recorded here. The declarants are ordered here by their identification number. The social classes are

- I professional occupations
- II intermediate (most non-manual middle class) occupations
- III skilled occupations
- IV partly skilled occupations
- V unskilled occupations

From II	to II	id.
feuar	overseer	47*
Relief minister	school teacher	998
old clothes dealer	publican	1079*
SPCK school examiner	licensed preacher	1371*
licensed preacher	teacher	1371*

From II	to III	id.
shopman	sailor	9
farmer	blacksmith	76
publican	tailor	1079*
farm steward	meal dealer	1355

From II	to IV	id.
spirit dealer	bleacher	416
farm overseer	servant	591*
tenant	cottar and labourer	699
do.	herd	995*
foreman in rigging yard	whiskey maker	1076*

From II	to V	id.
overseer	road labourer	47*
grocer and spirit dealer	hawker (books)	1356

From III	to II	id.
post runner	poulterer	132
coachman	publican	994
sailor	foreman in rigging yard	1076*
weaver and baker	cork manufacturer	1217
cotton spinner	changekeeper	1236

From III	to III	id.
soldier	sailor	28*
wright and herring fisher	soldier	36*
painter	do.	59
weaver	do.	90
do.	spoonmaker	237
do.	soldier	248 (x2)*
shoemaker	dykebuilder	291
writer's clerk	soldier	294
soldier	weaver	311
do.	shoemaker	385
weaver	warehouseman	410
sailor	weaver	498
shoemaker	soldier	518
writer's clerk	lace merchant	573
warper	weaver	582
weaver	stonemason	721
soldier	with 'police'	795*
with 'police'	weaver	795*
watchmaker	soldier	940
joiner	do.	951
weaver	cotton spinner	966
soldier	barber	1017
sailor	reedmaker	1036
weaver	soldier	1106
waiter at inn	baker's worker	1144*
soldier	merchant's clerk	1165
sailor	travels with puppet show	1174
mailcoach driver	soldier	1186*
fish curer's cooper	sailor	1316
soldier	gingerbread seller	1379

From III	to IV	id.
soldier	canal labourer	36*
tacksman at limework	farm labourer	124
weaver	collier	489
soldier	bird catcher	959*
sailor	farm labourer and straw hat maker	1055
miller	quarrier	1121
soldier	farm servant	1186*
soldier	collier	1201*
mail carrier	brewer's servant	1243
soldier	fisherman	1345

From III	to V	id.
sailor	travelling merchant	28*
gamekeeper	labourer	58
undertaker's worker	do.	180
soldier	do.	186
sailor	do.	204
weaver	travelling merchant	220
soldier	labourer	231
do.	do.	248*
sailor	do.	263
do.	do.	298
do.	quay labourer, fisher and smuggler	301
house carpentar	labourer and horner	366
sailor	travelling merchant	427
soldier	labourer	648
sailor	travelling merchant	675
do.	chapman	738
soldier	labourer	740
do.	do.	780
do.	do.	831
cotton spinner	chapman	965
sailor	labourer	1015*
do.	hawker	1039
do.	labourer	1045*
tailor	packman	1086
shoemaker	packman	1123
baker's worker	dock labourer	1144*
weaver	pedlar	1268
soldier	hawker	1310
cotton spinner	travelling hawker and smuggler	1373

From IV	to II	id.
shepherd	cattle dealer	55
bleacher	keeping spirit cellar	146
collier	changekeeper	487
shepherd	tenant	576
servant	farm overseer	591*
barnman	tenant	757
cottar	do.	995*

From IV	to III	id.
cottager	cartwright	99
fisherman	sailor	120
servant	miller	207
do.	spinner	210
labourer at coalworks	weaver	248*
apprentice (?)	assistant coalmaster	306
farm servant	slater	389
do.	mealseller	445
drover	chairman	604
servant	soldier	756
vinter's worker	chaise driver	788
bird catcher	weaver	959*
cotton worker	sailor	1015*
herd	do.	1045*
innkeeper's servant	tanner's servant	1066

From IV	to IV	id.
canal labourer	tenant's servant	36*
labourer at printfield	canal labourer	267
farm servant	carter's servant	392
servant	labourer, carter and collier	443
do.	hind	591*
topsman	drover	606
farm servant	changekeeper's svt.	631
herd	salmon fisher	659*
salmon fisher	drover	659*
servant	quarry labourer	932
herd	carter	1044*
gentleman's servant	farm servant	1087
in 'country work'	cowkeeper	1157
innkeeper's servant	quarry manager's servant	1250



From IV	to V	id.
farm servant (ploughman)	labourer	181
servant	porter	190
horsedealer's asst.	packman	234
farm servant	labourer	393
boatman	do.	572
farm labourer	packman	610
dyer	packman and tinbox maker	952*
carter	packman	1044*
sailcloth maker	travelling bookseller	1134
collier	labourer	1201*
herd	packman	1230
farm servant	labourer	1295
bleachfield labourer, cabinet maker & soldier	labourer and packman	1350

From V	to III	id.
chapman	weaver	323
labourer	soldier	656
mason's servant	seamstress	739
packman	baker's servant	769
sugar house worker	saddler's servant	1214

From V	to IV	id.
labourer	servant	57
packman and tinbox maker	harvester	952*
labourer	hind	1152

From V	to V	id.
labourer	hawker	175
do.	pedlar of sweetmeats	502
do.	packman	1045*

From III	to X	id.
sailor (discharged)	beggar	802
do.	do.	814

Social classes of declarants with two or more  
occupations (from first to last occupation)

<u>28</u> III soldier III sailor V trav. merchant	<u>36</u> III wright/herring fisher III soldier IV canal labourer IV tenant's servant	<u>47</u> II feuar II overseer V road
<u>248</u> III weaver III soldier IV lab.at coalworks III weaver III soldier	<u>591</u> IV servant II farm overseer IV servant IV hind	<u>659</u> IV herd IV salmon fisher IV drover
<u>795</u> III soldier III with 'police' III weaver	<u>952</u> IV dyer V packman/tinbox maker IV harvester	<u>959</u> III soldier IV bird catcher III weaver
<u>995</u> IV cottar IV tenant IV herd	<u>1015</u> IV cotton worker III sailor V labourer	<u>1044</u> IV herd IV carter V packman
<u>1045</u> IV herd III sailor V labourer V packman	<u>1076</u> IV sailor III foreman in rigging yard IV whiskey maker	<u>1079</u> II old clothes dealer II publican III tailor
<u>1144</u> III waiter at inn III baker's worker V dock labourer	<u>1186</u> III mailcoach driver III soldier IV farm servant	<u>1201</u> III soldier III collier V labourer
<u>1371</u> II SPCK school examiner II teacher II licensed preacher		

APPENDIX F

Part 1

Occupations of all declarants

Occpl. group	1881 class.	Occupation name	No.
<u>Agric.</u>	71	Tenant	10
<u>(fields)</u>	71	Farmer	7
	71	Shepherd	7
	71	Harvester	6
	71	Labourer, Farm	5
	71	Crofter	2
	71	Dairy Maid	2
	71	Shepherd, Fmly	2
	71	Tenant (Farm)	2
	71	Tenant, Fmly Shepherd	2
	71	Working Harvest	2
	71	Casual Worker, Itinerant	1
	71	Cottar	1
	71	Cottar And Drover	1
	71	Cottar And Fisher	1
	71	Cottar And Labourer, Fmly Tenant	1
	71	Farm Worker	1
	71	Farms, Manager Of	1
	71	Labourer, Farm Servant And Roadmaking Labourer	1
	71	Labourer, Farm, Fmly Tacksman At Limework	1
	71	Land Steward, Late	1
	71	Pensioner And Cottar	1
	71	Ploughman	1
	71	Servant To Cowfeeder	1
			<u>59</u>
<u>Agric.</u>	81	Cattle Drover	3
<u>(others)</u>	81	Drover	2
	81	Fisherman	2
	73	Gardner	2
	81	Cattle Dealer	1

81	Cattle Dealer And Driver	1
81	Cattle Dealer And Farmer	1
81	Cattle Dealer, Former Shepherd	1
81	Cattle Driver, Fmly Topsman	1
81	Drover, Fmly Herd And Salmon Fisher	1
81	Fisher, Salmon; 'Had The Charge Of The Fishings'	1
81	Fisherman, Fmly Private In Co. Militia	1
73	Gardener, Fmly Svt	1
81	Groom	1
81	Horsebreaker	1
81	Horsedealer	1
73	Labourer Or Gardner	1
81	Ostler And Serving Horse Dealer	1
72	Servant (Cutting Wood)	1
81	Servant To Cattle Dealer, Publican	1
73	Servant To Gardner	1
73	Servant, Gardener's Wife's	1
81	Servant, Groom, Horsetrainer	1
81	Sheepdrover	1
81	Stabler	1
81	Stabler And Changehouse Keeper And Carrier	1
81	Travelling Pig-Man And Crockery Seller	1
		<u>31</u>

Farm

Servants

71	Servant, Farm	27
71	Servant To Tenant	15
71	Herd Boy	2
71	Herd, Fmly Cottar And Tenant	1
71	Hillherd	1
71	Hind Or Farm Servant, Fmly Labourer	1
71	Hind; Fmly Servant, Overseer Of Farm	1
71	Servant And Farm Worker	1
71	Servant To Ploughman	1
71	Servant To Shepherd	1
71	Servant To Tacksman	1
71	Servant, Country	1
71	Servant, Farm; Fmly Gentleman' Servant	1
		<u>54</u>

Labourers

400	Labourer	58
400	Labourer, Formerly Soldier	5
400	Day Labourer	4
400	Labourer And Fisher	2
400	Labourer And Weaver (Mostly Labourer)	2
400	Labourer And Whiskey Smuggler	2
400	Labourer, Fmly Sailor	2
400	Labourer, Itinerant	2
400	Jobber	1
400	Labourer & Pckmn; Fmly Labourer In Bleach- fields; Fmly Cabinet Maker, Soldier	1
400	Labourer (Ditcher)	1
400	Labourer And Changehousekeeper	1
400	Labourer And Dealer In Illicit Spirits	1
400	Labourer And Dealer In Smuggled Gin	1
191	Labourer And Horner; Fmly House-Carpenter	1

400	Labourer And Illicit Distiller	1
400	Labourer And Shearer	1
400	Labourer And Smuggler	1
400	Labourer And Weaver; Dsrtr Frm 103rd Rgt, Fmly Prisoner	1
400	Labourer, Day; Fmly Carter	1
400	Labourer, Fmly Boatman	1
400	Labourer, Fmly Cotton Worker And Seaman	1
400	Labourer, Fmly Weaver And Soldier	1
400	Labourer, Fmly Feuar, Overseer, Road Worker	1
400	Labourer, Former Gamekeeper	1
400	Labourer, Formerly Servant To Farmer	1
400	Labourer, Seasonal	1
400	Labourer, Hrvst & Rd Wks; 'Occasional Dealer In Beasts'; Fmly Farm Svt	1
400	Labourer; Fmly In Co. Militia As Substi- tute; Worked On Roads	1
400	Labourer; Formerly Ploughman	1
400	Labourer; Formerly Private (Soldier	1
400	Labourer; Formerly Sailor In Naval Service	1
400	Labourer; Formerly Worked With Undertaker	1
		<u>102</u>
<u>Domestics</u>	41 Servant, Domestic	15
	41 Servant To Surgeon	2
	41 Waiter At Inn	2
	42 Washer Woman	2
	41 Chambermaid	1
	41 Gentleman'S Servant	1
	41 Nursery Maid To A Doctor	1
	41 Servant To Writer	1
	41 Servant, Domestic, Formerly	1
		<u>26</u>
<u>Servants</u>	500 Servant	43
	500 Servant To Miller	1
	500 Servant', 'Working Out	1
	500 Servant, Farm, Militiaman, Labourer	1
	500 Servant, Former Labourer	1
	500 Servant, Former Wright, Herring Fisher, Deserter Of 92nd Rgt	1
		<u>48</u>
<u>Commerce</u>	62 Carter	14
	62 Carrier	4
	51 Merchant	3
	62 Carter And Labourer	2
	65 Messenger	2
	51 Servant To Merchant	2
	51 Broker And General Agent, Fmly	1
	63 Cabin Boy, Ship'S	1
	62 Carter And Collier, Fmly Servant	1
	62 Carter And Sawyer	1
	62 Carter'S Svt	1
	62 Carter, Assists Father As	1
	62 Chairbearer	1
	62 Chairman, Fmly Drover	1

62	Chaise-Driver; Fmly Worked For Vinter	1
51	Clerk	1
51	Clerk To Merchant, Fmly; Fmly Soldier	1
53	Insurance Clerk	1
62	Keeper Of The Tollbar	1
63	Labourer, Canal; Formerly At Printfield	1
63	Labourer, Quay, Fisher And Smuggler, Discharged Seaman	1
63	Lighthousekeeper	1
62	Mail Coach Driver, Fmly; Prev Royal Marine, Farm Servant	1
62	Mailpost Rider	1
65	Porter In Leith (Described As Servant to Postmaster In Leith; Fmly Svt	1
64	Salesman To Warehouseman	1
62	Servant To Carter, Fmly To Farmer	1
51	Shopman ('Ruler Of The Books')	1
65	Traveller For Company(ies)	1
64	Warehouseman, Bred Weaver	1
65	Watchman & Labourer; Fmly In Per Fencibles	1
51	Writer (Assume Like Clerk)	1
		<u>53</u>

Dress

189	Shoemaker	19
181	Tailor	9
181	Tailor, Jnyman	4
189	Shoemaker, Journeyman	3
189	Shoemaker, Apprentice	2
181	Straw Hat Maker	2
182	Barber, Out-Pensioner; Fmly Soldier Private	1
181	Clothes Dealer And Lodging Hou	1
181	Hat Manufacturer	1
181	Hosier And Changekeeper	1
181	Itinerant Sellar Of Millenery	1
181	Needle Worker	1
181	Seamstress And Spinner	1
181	Seamstress; Fmly Svt To Mason	1
189	Shoemaker And Packman	1
181	Shoemaker And Sailor, Later Chapman	1
189	Shoemaker, Formerly Soldier	1
181	Stockingmaker	1
181	Straw-Hat Maker; Fmly Seaman And Labourer	1
181	Tailor And Carter	1
181	Tailor And Dealer In Hardware	1
181	Tailor, Works For	1
181	Tailor; Fmly Old Clothes Dealer, Publican	1
181	Travelling Clothes Dealer	1
		<u>57</u>

Food &  
Lodging

161	Lodging House Keeper	3
162	Spirit Dealer	3
161	Changekeeper	2
161	Innkeeper And Changekeeper	2
161	Innkeeper, Fmly	2
161	Servant To Changekeeper, Fmly To Farmer	2

163	Baker	1
161	Changehousekeeper And Bread Seller	1
161	Changekeeper, Fmly Cotton Spinner	1
161	Collier, Bred; Changekeeper	1
163	Cowkeeper, Fmly In 'Country Work'	1
163	Dealer In Eggs	1
163	Gingerbread Seller; Late Soldier In 26th Regt	1
163	Grocer	1
163	Grocer/Spirit Dealer, Fmly	1
163	Meal Dealer; Fmly Farm Steward	1
163	Mealseller, Formerly Farm Servant	1
163	Poulterer; Former Post Runner	1
161	Public And Lodging House Keeper	1
161	Publican	1
161	Publican, Fmly Coachman	1
162	Sells Beer And Porter	1
161	Servant In Lodging House	1
163	Servant To Baker, Fmly Packman	1
162	Servant To Brewer; Fmly Mail Carrier	1
192	Servant To Butcher	1
161	Servant To Innkeeper	1
161	Servant To Publican	1
162	Spirit Dealer, Public House Keeper	1
162	Vinter	1
162	Whiskey Maker; Fmly Seaman, Foreman In Rigging Yard	<u>1</u> 37
<u>Gen. Dlrs.</u>	232 Wright	10
<u>&amp; Lbrs.</u>	232 Wright (Apprentice)	4
	232 Factory Worker	2
	231 Manufacturer	2
	232 Servant To Wright	2
	232 Shearer	2
	231 Dealer	1
	232 Dykebuilder; Formerly Shoemaker	1
	232 Dyker	1
	231 Foreman Of New Town Co., G1	1
	232 Mill Worker	1
	232 Miller And Carrier	1
	232 Miller, Formerly Servant	1
	400 Servant To Coachmaker	1
	231 Servant To Manufacturer	1
	231 Shopkeeper, Apprentice To	1
	232 Spinner And Substitute In Dumfries-shire Militia	1
	232 Wright And Trader, Travelling	1
	232 Wright, Works For	<u>1</u> 35
<u>Hawkers</u>	300 Packman	9
	300 Travelling Merchant	9
	300 Chapman (Book Agent)	8
	300 Hawker, Itinerant Or Travelling	6
	300 Pedlar	5
	300 Hawker	3

300	Travelling Hardware Dealer	3
300	Travelling Hawker	3
300	Hawker Of Stoneware	2
300	Travelling Merchant, Fmly Seaman	2
300	Chapman, Fmly Cotton Spinner	1
300	Chapman, Fmly Sailor	1
300	Chapman; Enlisted In Co. Militia	1
300	Hardware Merchant (Hawker	1
300	Hardware Merchant (Hawker); Regularly Discharged From Navy	1
300	Hawker (Books); Fmly Grocer And Spirit Dealer	1
300	Hawker And Pedlar	1
300	Hawker Of Hardware, Jewellery	1
300	Hawker Or Trogger (Trocquer), Fmly Labourer	1
300	Hawker, Dealer, Packman	1
300	Hawker, Labourer And Rind-Shoemaker	1
300	Hawker; Fmly Soldier	1
300	Packman (Hardware, Books); Fmly Hind	1
300	Packman And Tin Box Maker; Fmly Dyer	1
300	Packman, Dealer In Soft Goods	1
300	Packman, Fmly Farm Labourer	1
300	Packman, Fmly Labourer And Seaman And Herd	1
300	Packman, Fmly Shoemaker	1
300	Packman, Formerly Assistant To Horsedealer	1
300	Packman, Selling Jewellery	1
300	Packman; Bred Tailor	1
300	Packman; Fmly Herd, Carter	1
300	Pedlar Of Sweet-Meats; Fmly Labourer	1
300	Pedlar Or Hawker	1
300	Pedlar; Fmly Weaver	1
300	Sandpaper Seller (Itinerant)	1
300	Seller Of Chapbooks	1
300	Travelling Bookseller	1
300	Travelling Bookseller, Fmly Sailcloth Maker	1
300	Travelling Hawker (Hardware), Smuggler; Fmly Cotton Spinner	1
300	Travelling Merchant, Fmly Weaver	1
300	Travelling Merchant, Former Sailor And Soldier	1
		<u>82</u>

Minerals

212	Collier	5
221	Tinsmith	5
218	Blacksmith	4
221	Muggar (Mug-Selling Tinker)	4
213	Labourer With Roadmaker	2
218	Blacksmith, Apprentice	1
218	Blacksmith; Formerly Farmer; In Royal Artillery (Fmly?)	1
223	Brassfoundry Worker	1
212	Coalmaster, Asst; Formerly App	1
212	Coalworks, At	1
212	Collier And Weaver	1
212	Collier; Bred Weaver	1
219	Copper Smith And Bell-Hanger	1
214	Earthenware Manufacturer, Fmly	1



212	Labourer And Collier; Fmly Soldier	1
213	Labourer At Quarry; Fmly Servant	1
211	Miner	1
218	Nailer	1
218	Prisoner (Pocket Picking); Fmly App Weaver Travelling Hardware Seller	1
213	Prisoner, Former Labourer Or Quarrier	1
213	Quarrier	1
213	Quarrier; Fmly Miller	1
213	Quarrier; Lately Farm Servant	1
213	Road Repairer	1
213	Roadmaster	1
213	Servant To Quarry Manager; Fmly To Inn- keeper	1
217	Servant To Silversmith	1
217	Silversmith	1
223	Smith	1
213	Stonemason And Farm Labourer	1
213	Stonemason, Fmly Weaver	1
221	Tin Box Maker	1
		<u>47</u>

Textiles

173	Calico Printer	14
173	Cotton Spinner	14
173	Calico Printer, Jnyman	3
171	Clothlapper (Cloth Worker)	3
173	Cotton Factory Worker	2
173	Cotton Weaver	2
173	Linen Dealer	2
174	Ropemaker	2
174	Ropespinner	2
175	Working At Bleachfield	2
175	Bleacher, Formerly Spirit Dealer	1
175	Calenderer And Farm Labourer	1
173	Calico Printer, Jnyman; Warehouseman	1
173	Cotton Mill Worker	1
173	Cotton Mill Worker, Formerly	1
173	Cotton Spinner, Fmly Weaver	1
173	Cotton Spinner; Manager Of Mill;	1
173	Cotton Worker And Farm Worker	1
175	Dyer	1
175	Dyer, Jnyman	1
173	Flaxdresser	1
175	Fringemaker, Yarnspinner	1
173	Lace Merchant, Fmly Writers Clerk	1
173	Linen Hawker	1
173	Linen Weaver	1
173	Muslin And Linen Sewer	1
173	Muslin Manufacturer	1
173	Reeler In Cotton Mill	1
174	Ropespinner And Packman	1
173	Servant To Linen Printer	1
175	Servant, Weavers'	1
175	Sewer And Casual Worker	1
173	Sewer Of Muslin	1
172	Silk Weaver	1

	175	Spinner, Day Labourer	1
	175	Spinner, Late Servant	1
	175	Warper	1
	173	Weaver, Gingham, Itinerant	1
	172	Weaver, Silk; Ship's Cook	1
	175	Yarn Winder	1
			<u>76</u>
<u>Weavers</u>	179	Weaver	72
	179	Weaver And Labourer	5
	179	Weaver And Drover	1
	179	Weaver And Fisherman	1
	179	Weaver And Messenger	1
	179	Weaver And Private In Co. Militia	1
	179	Weaver And Private In Volunteers And Militia	1
	179	Weaver And Spirit Dealer	1
	179	Weaver, Dog-Breaker	1
	179	Weaver, Fmly	1
	179	Weaver, Fmly Soldier And In 'Police Estab- lishment'	1
	179	Weaver, Fmly Soldier; Supports Self By Catching Birds	1
	179	Weaver, Fmly Warper	1
	179	Weaver, Formerly Chapman	1
	179	Weaver, Formerly In Dumfrieshire Militia	1
	179	Weaver, Formerly Sailor	1
	179	Weaver, Jnyman	1
			<u>92</u>
<u>Sailors</u>	69	Seaman	16
	69	Sailor	9
	69	Mariner	6
	69	Sailor (Midshipman)	2
	69	Labourer, Dock; Fmly Worked For Baker; Fmly Waiter In Inn	1
	69	Mate, Ship's	1
	69	Sailor (First Mate)	1
	69	Sailor (Royal Marines), Fmly Shopman	1
	69	Seaman And Ropespinner	1
	69	Seaman, Formerly Fisherman	1
	69	Seaman, Formerly; Disabled	1
	69	Seaman, Hawker And Pedlar	1
	69	Seaman; Worked As Cooper To Fish Curer	1
			<u>42</u>
<u>Soldiers</u>	29	Soldier	16
	29	Soldier (Formerly)	5
	29	Soldier (Private)	2
	29	Soldier (Corporal) And Recruiter For Military	1
	29	Soldier (Deserter)	1
	29	Soldier (Deserter); Late Clerk To Writers	1
	29	Soldier (Private), Formerly Painter	1
	29	Soldier (Private); Fmly Labourer	1
	29	Soldier (Private); Fmly Shoemaker	1
	29	Soldier (Private); Formerly Weaver	1

	29	Soldier (Sergeant)	1
	29	Soldier (Sergeant), Discharged	1
	29	Soldier, Bred Weaver	1
	29	Soldier; Fmly Servant	1
			<u>34</u>
<u>Professional</u>	35	Student	4
	33	Medical Student	3
	33	Surgeon	3
	12	Police Officer	2
	21	Chelsea Pensioner	1
	37	Comedian	1
	12	Constable, Special, County Patrol	1
	11	Customs, Collector Of	1
	22	Ensign	1
	34	Governess	1
	22	Gunner And Boatswain Of Excise Cutter	1
	33	Midwife	1
	21	Officer (Lieut.), Formerly	1
	21	Officer'S Servant, In Army As	1
	21	Piper In Regt Of Foot	1
	31	Preacher, Formerly	1
	34	School Teacher, Fmly Relief Minister	1
	34	Schoolmaster	1
	22	Seaman, Discharged (Assum Royal Navy	1
	33	Ship'S Surgeon And Mate, Fmly	1
	21	Soldier (Royal Marine), Discharged; Fmly Watchmaker	1
	33	Surgeon Or Physician	1
	34	Teacher	1
	34	Teacher Of English And Mathematics	1
	34	Teacher, School	1
	34	Teacher; Fmly Licensed To Preach; Fmly Examiner SPCK Schools	1
	12	Travelling Saddler	1
	37	Travels With Puppet Show; Fmly Seaman	1
	12	Watchman, Night	1
			<u>37</u>
<u>Others</u>	261	Prisoner	12
	111	Mason	6
	203	Sawyer	5
	111	Slater	4
	261	Beggar And Vagrant	3
	192	Flesher	3
	261	Beggar, Discharged Seaman	2
	111	Carpenter	2
	203	Cooper	2
	111	Glazier	2
	101	Millwright	2
	111	Plasterer	2
	122	Saddler	2
	102	Spoon Maker	2
	261	Unemployed	2
	103	Watchmaker	2
	202	Basketmaker; Travels To Sell	1

111	Bellhanger	1
91	Bookseller	1
91	Bookseller And Stationer	1
111	Brick Layer	1
191	Candlemaker	1
121	Cartwright; Formerly Cottager	1
241	Chimney Sweep	1
121	Coachmaker Apprentice	1
191	Combmaker	1
91	Compositor In Glasgow Senteniel Office	1
91	Copperplate Printer	1
203	Cork Manufacturer; Fmly Weaver And Baker	1
203	Corkcutter	1
91	Deliverer For Bookseller	1
192	Flesher, Seller Of Cloth, Muslin, Horses At Trysts	1
105	Gunsmith And Hawker Of Snuff	1
191	Hornspoon Maker	1
111	Joiner	1
111	Joiner, Fmly; Enlisted Within Last 2 Mos	1
192	Labourer, Day, And Skinner	1
192	Labourer, Flesher'S; Meat Carrier	1
112	Locksmith And Hawker	1
111	Mason And Seaman	1
111	Mason, Master	1
111	Painter, Jnyman	1
111	Painter/Glazier	1
204	Paper Maker; Itinerant	1
111	Plumber	1
261	Prisoner, Former	1
251	Proprietor (Small)	1
122	Saddle Tree Maker	1
203	Sawyer, Jnyman	1
193	Servant To Brush Manufacturer	1
121	Servant To Coachmaker	1
101	Servant To Millwright	1
122	Servant To Saddler; Fmly Worked In A 'Sugar House'	1
192	Servant To Tanner; Fmly Servant To Inn- keeper	1
204	Service Of Rbt Ferguson, Fmly In, Paper Mill Of Auchterarder	1
131	Shipbuilder	1
111	Slater, Formerly Farm Servant	1
102	Spoonmaker, Formerly Weaver	1
191	Tallow Chandler	1
191	Tallow-Chandler, Jnyman	1
192	Tanner	1
202	Thatcher	1

Part 2

Census groups (1821) attributed to 1881 industria  
classification

census groups: 1 = agriculture  
2 = trade and manufacturing  
3 = others

Census group	1881 class.	Occupational group name
3	11	Government - National
3	12	Government - Local
3	21	Army
3	22	Navy
3	29	Soldiers
3	31	Clerics
3	33	Medical
3	34	Teachers
3	35	Literary
3	37	Artists
3	41	Domestic Servants
3	42	Domestics - Others
2	51	Merchants & Agents
2	52	Money Dealers
2	53	Insurance
2	62	Conveyance - Roads
2	63	Conveyance - Water
2	64	Conveyance - Storage
2	65	Conveyance - Messages
2	69	Seamen
1	71	Agriculture - Fields
1	72	Agriculture - Woods
1	73	Agriculture - Gardens
1	81	Agriculture - Animals
2	91	Books
2	101	Machines
2	102	Tools & Implements
2	103	Watches
2	105	Arms & Ordnance
2	108	Tackle For Sports
2	111	Houses
2	112	Furniture
2	121	Carriages
2	122	Harness
2	131	Ships - Hull
2	161	Board & Lodging
2	162	Spirits
2	163	Food
2	171	Textile - Wool
2	172	Textile - Silk
2	173	Textile - Cotton/Flax

2	174	Textile - Hemp
2	175	Textile - Unspec.
2	179	Weavers
2	181	Dress
2	189	Shoemakers
2	191	Animal Grease, Bone, Horn
2	192	Animal Skins
2	193	Animal Hair, Feathers
2	202	Cane, Rush, Straw
2	203	Wood & Bark
2	204	Paper
2	211	Miners
2	212	Coal
2	213	Stone, Clay, Road-Making
2	214	Earthenware & Glass
2	217	Precious Metals
2	218	Iron & Steel
2	219	Copper
2	221	Tin & Zinc
2	223	Metals - Mixed & Unspec.
3	231	Makers & Dealers (General)
3	232	Mechanics & Labourers (General)
3	241	Refuse
3	251	Propertied, Titled
3	261	Prisoners
2	300	Hawkers, Pedlars, Packmen, Travelling Merchants
3	400	Labourers
3	500	Servants

APPENDIX G

*Legal groups and suspected crimes of all declarants:*

*(taken from index to AD14)*

Abbreviations: Np = no proceedings  
Nc = Not charged

<u>Legal group</u>	<u>No.</u>
<u>State crimes</u>	
Administering Unlawful Oaths	14
Administering Unlawful Oaths Np	1
Sedition (Selling Seditious Publications)	1
	<u>16</u>
<u>Public trade</u>	
Uttering Forged Notes	23
Illegal Combination Nc?	15
Illegal Combination	9
Uttering Base Coin	5
Uttering Counterfeit Coin	3
Celebrating Clandestine Marriages	2
Illegal Combination; Assault & Discharging Firearms	2
Issuing False Guinea Notes, Np Or Nc	2
Manufacturing And Vending Base Coin	2
Uttering Counterfeit Money	2
Uttering False Coin; Np?	2
Celebrating Clandestine Marriages, Np/Nc	1
Coining Base Money	1
Fabricating False Coin Np	1
Importing False Coin	1
Possessing Forged Notes	1
Uttering Forged Notes And Escaping From Jail	1
Uttering Forged Notes Np/Nc	1
	<u>74</u>

<u>Public peace</u>	
Mobbing And Rioting	10
Riot	2
Riot, Assault, Etc.	2
[Riot] Assaulting Officers And Military	2
Discharging A Loaded Pistol	1
Discharging Loaded Firearms Np Or Nc	1
Mobbing; Assault	1
Riot And Prison Breaking	1
Riot, Nc?	<u>1</u>
	21

<u>Judicial</u>	
Jailbreaking/Prison Breaking	11
Deforcement	5
Deforcement Of Excise Cutter Crew	1
Perjury	<u>1</u>
	18

<u>Sexual</u>	
Bigamy	12
Concealment Of Pregnancy	9
Bigamy And Audultery	2
Bigamy Np	2
Concealment Of Pregnancy Np/Nc	2
Attempted Sodomy	<u>1</u>
	28

<u>Violent</u>	
Assault	29
Child Murder	14
Murder	14
Assault And Robbery	8
Culpable Homicide	5
Child Murder, Np Or Nc	4
Homicide, Np Or Nc	4
Murder And Piracy Np Or Nc	4
Rape	4
Assault And Deforcement	3
Concealment Of Pregnancy And Child Murder	3
Homicide	3
Assault And Attempted Rape	2
Attempted Rape	2
Exposing A Child To The Danger Of Its Life	2
Hamesucken And Robbery	2
Murder And Piracy	2
Accidental Poisoning Np	1
Assault And Atempted Robbery	1
Assault And Highway Robbery	1
Assault And Robbery Np Or Nc	1
Assault, Housebreaking, Theft	1
Assault, Stabbing And Wounding	1
Atempted Murder By Poison	1
Child Murder; Absconded	1



Child Stealing	1
Concealment Of Pregnancy And Exposing A Child	1
Culpable Homicide Np	1
Murder And Robbery	1
Murder By Administering Poison	1
Murder Nc?	1
Murder Or Culpable Homicide Np/Nc	1
Plagium Np/Nc	1
Robbery; Assault; Previous Conviction Of Theft [Assault?] Np	1
	<u>123</u>

Misc. agt. person

Sending Threatening Letters, Theft And Ham Stringing, Np	2
Demanding Money By Menaces & Attempted Extortion	1
False Accusation	<u>1</u>
	4

Property - theft

Theft	231
Theft And Housebreaking Or Reset	58
Theft, House-Breaking	40
Sheep Stealing	15
Reset	12
Theft, Shop-Breaking	12
Theft, Np Or Nc	11
Housebreaking	7
Theft And Reset	6
Theft And Willful Fireraising	4
Horse Stealing	3
Sheepstealing, Np	3
Theft And Breach Of Trust	3
Theft Of A Fishing Boat	3
Cattle Stealing	2
Housebreaking Nc	2
Theft And Forgery	2
Theft And Housebreaking Np Or Nc	2
Theft And Jailbreaking	2
Attempted House-Breaking	1
Horse Stealing And Prison Breaking	1
Pocket Picking	1
Reset Nc?	1
Reset Of Theft Nc?	1
Sheep And Cattle Stealing	1
Shopbreaking	1
Theft And Breaking Of Lockfast Places	1
Theft And Cattlestealing	1
Theft And Prison Breaking; Np	1
Theft And Swindling Sedition	1
Theft From A Lockfast Place	1
Theft Of Cattle	1
Theft Of Salmon From Cruives	1
Theft, Habit And Repute, Opinion Only	1

Theft, Habit And Repute; Returning From Banishment	1
Theft, House-Breaking Np Or Nc	1
Theft, Housebreaking, Prison-Breaking	1
Theft; Habit And Repute	1
	<u>437</u>

Property - robbery

Robbery	37
Art And Part Of Robbery	4
Robbery And Theft	4
Violation Of Sepulchres	3
Fire Raising	2
Theft And Assault	2
Attempted Fire Raising	1
Housebreaking And Robbery	1
Robbery And Fraud	1
Robbery And Prison Breaking	1
Robbery And Theft From Stranded Vessel	1
Robbery And Theft Np	1
Robbery Nc	1
Threatening Fire Raising	1
Willful Fire Raising And Theft	1
[Willfull Mischief] Maiming Of Animals	1
	<u>62</u>

Fraud

Forgery	23
Fraud	6
Fraud And Forgery	2
Fraud And Swindling	2
Fraudulent Bankruptcy	2
Aiding&Abetting Fraud(Forged Passes For Soldiers' Wives)	1
Falsehood, Fraud And Willful Opposition	1
Forgery, Imposition And False Pretences	1
Forgery; Voluntary Banishment	1
Fraud And Embezzlement	1
Fraud And Imposition	1
Fraud, Falsehood And Willful Opposition; Forgery And Bigamy	1
	<u>42</u>

Religion

Revilling Established Church; Sale Of 'Blasphemous' Pamphlets	1
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Witnesses

Witness	390
Precognition Into A Death	18
Precognition Into Riots (Glasgow 13/9/1819)	17
Precognition Into Shopbreaking	1
Precognition Into Suicide [Witness]	1
	<u>427</u>

## Mobility from place of birth in early nineteenth-century Scotland

David Tidswell

Geographical mobility was one of the most important aspects of social and economic life during Scotland's industrialising period. Temporary movement sustained families with too many children; permanent migration provided individuals with wider opportunities than they had locally; and mobility in general acted as a 'safety valve' for rural instability (Devine 1989). This paper aims to fill in one area of the picture regarding Scottish internal mobility, namely the differences in the patterns of movement of people who were born, or raised, in urban and rural places. In doing so it draws on two contexts, the first being general patterns of movement in nineteenth-century Scotland, particularly during its pre- and early-industrializing periods; and the second being the mobility of rural and urban migrants in other countries in the nineteenth century, particularly Sweden.

Behind the question of how different the mobility patterns of rural and urban natives were lies a range of other issues. Much work on Scottish migration has taken for granted the division between temporary and permanent movement (Houston and Withers 1990). Rural-to-urban moves are usually seen as permanent and this is supported by the large increases of population in towns and cities in the first half of the century. In addition, movement from peripheral counties to the central belt appears to have dominated net-migration flows which supplied labour for the cities (Gray 1983). In the early nineteenth century this flow of labour was a response to both rural pressures and urban opportunities. Devine (1988) suggests that, while Scotland did experience 'structural unemployment' in the 1810s and 1820s, this was restricted to large towns, some rural industries (especially handloom weaving), and the western Highlands. Since rural and urban employments had much in common, e.g., in textile work, there were, at least potentially, opportunities to transfer skills between rural and urban places. Kinship ties are also likely to have eased the migrations of many people between the rural and urban sectors, though this is usually seen in terms of straightforward rural-to-urban moves. Yet there remain questions about the nature of mobility. Devine argues that towns were becoming the 'dynamic centres of economic change' (p. 31), with the rural economy increasingly focused toward providing for urban needs. But what type of mobility accompanied this urban focus? The ideas above suggest that mobility in this period would have been complicated for both rural and urban natives who had arrived at an urban place in search of work and (often) found they needed to look elsewhere.

Devine's ideas are somewhat opposed to those of Langton and Hoppe (1983, 1990) who suggest that the economies and societies of both urban and rural places were inextricably linked, each effecting change in the other. They suggest that mobility can be seen as a way of uncovering the relative autonomy or integration of the rural and urban spheres, arguing that demographic urbanization did not necessarily lead to cultural or social urbanization (a point supported by Anderson (1982)). There was thus no overwhelming urbanization of the population but rather 'vast and ceaseless circulations of people back and forth between town and country, traditional and modern economic sectors and cultures' (1990, 140). Their findings support the idea of two urban societies, one made up of 'patricians' (e.g., professional and merchants), the other of 'plebians' (e.g., labourers and servants). The former were predominantly urban-born and stayed mostly within the urban system; the latter were made up almost entirely of the rural-born who repeatedly moved between town and country, but retained their rural aspirations because of their mobility.

While this may apply to a 'pre-industrial' town and its rural hinterland in Sweden, the Scottish Lowlands were industrializing rapidly both in the towns and in the countryside. Devine's argument is that towns' economies were far more important than those of countryside areas, but whether this is based simply on population figures (as the context suggests) or on levels of production is unclear. These arguments raise important questions about how change is perceived. Industrial production in both towns and the countryside was often financed by urban merchant capitalists and it may thus be possible to argue that economic change was essentially urban-based. This depends to some extent on seeing the

economy as led by shifts in capital investment, shifts which migrants followed if they were to work, for example, in the new textile sites which were erected throughout the Lowlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Turnock 1982, 55-7). Yet there is the strong point that capital was constrained in its locational decisions, not only by the availability of energy but also by that of labour (whether cheap or skilled), and by housing and other infrastructure (Doherty 1982). Such debates must be carried forward by other research but it is necessary here to point out this unresolved area in the context of the mobility examined below.

The type of sources used by Langton and Hoppe are not available for nineteenth-century Scotland but there are valuable contributions which in-depth studies of the census and the civil registration could provide for the second half of the century. In addition, several sources from the first half can add insight into some of the issues raised by the authors discussed above. One of these is the series of precognitions of the Lord Advocate's Department (AD14 in the Scottish Record Office) which are available for the whole of the century but are found in substantial numbers only after 1812. The precognitions are pre-trial statements of witnesses and suspects (together referred to here as declarants) which were taken down during their interrogations by sheriff's officers and procurators-fiscal. There are problems with using such a source but it is suggested here that the declarants' information is likely to be accurate outwith details concerning their suspected crimes. This is partly because of their repeated interrogations as well as the information networks of officials.

About one in four of the suspects, and one in 25 of the witnesses, provided information regarding their mobility. This allows some comparisons to be made between the social and occupational groups within the source but these are often constrained by the low numbers involved when the declarants are disaggregated. The mobility of a group of c.1250 people from the period 1812-21 forms the basis of this study; almost two-thirds of the records of this group came from Glasgow, Edinburgh and other urban centres with populations of over 5,000. This urban bias has affected the social and occupational divisions in the group with, for example, c.15% being Irish. In addition, 25% were female and 34% were witnesses, with almost half of the latter being female. The reasons behind their movements are sometimes known; these cover a wide range, from searches for work to attempts to live near family members. The length of many of their stays (known for about a quarter of all instances) were short, often lasting less than 6 months. As such, a great deal of the information in the precognitions reflects what is here suspected to be people's more usual movements, those which lie between stereotypical temporary and permanent mobility.

The tables below separate native groups by the population size (calculated for 1821) of their places of birth or upbringing. Urban places include large cities (Edinburgh and Glasgow in Scotland), and towns of over 5,000 people. Large rural places include those with populations of between 1,000 and 5,000 while small rural places are considered to be below 1,000. The rural-urban division is supported by previous studies (e.g., Devine 1988); the categories ignore distinctions between small burghs, villages and farms but these are not essential for the broader purposes here.

A great majority of declarants who stated their places of nativity or upbringing (262 in total) were male (228) and Scottish (211). There are some indications of links between places of upbringing and types of occupation, with rural natives tending to appear more in agricultural and labouring work, while urban natives were in greater proportions in food and lodging, dress and textile work (table 1). Nevertheless, there are other categories which show no clear ties, such as hawkers, weavers and sailors, as these occupations are found in similar proportions in each native group.

TABLE 1 Major occupational groups of native groups (%) [place sizes in thousands]

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>+50</u>	<u>+5</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>-1</u>	All
Agriculture	6	1	6	16	16
Labourers		9	11	11	9
Commerce	2	4	9	7	4
Dress	9	7	7		5
Food and Lodging	4	1		1	3
Hawkers	11	8	4	8	7
Minerals	8	6	5	4	4
Textiles	11	10	7	4	6
Weavers	11	4	16	13	8
Sailors	2	11	9	2	4
Soldiers	6	4	4	4	3
Professional		1	2	7	3
Other	21	17	15	12	9
<u>Unknwn</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>
Pct.	100	99	100	100	101
No.	53	71	55	83	1252

All groups mentioned, on average, two moves, with natives of small rural places being the highest with 2.4 moves per person (table 2). Urban natives tended to move farther (moves within Scotland and northern England alone are measured here) with town natives moving farthest, primarily because of the number of sailors in this group moving between port towns; a great number of the moves of city natives were between Glasgow and Edinburgh. These figures are only slightly affected by Irish declarants moving within Scotland. Irish natives of towns tended to move farther than did their Scottish counterparts; conversely, Irish natives of small rural places moved over shorter distances than did Scots from similar places.

TABLE 2 Average distances (km) travelled by nativity groups (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England)

<u>Native of</u>	<u>Med</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No. of Moves</u>	<u>No. of Indivs.</u>
+50,000	54	52	79	40
+5,000	76	91	110	56
+1,000	40	56	92	48
-1,000	41	64	173	72
Tot.			454	216

The disaggregated distances of all native groups show a less straightforward picture (table 3). (Distances here of 0 km indicate either an intra-urban move or a return move in which the second residence was not found.) Few city natives engaged in long-distance moves of over 100 km; 32% of the moves of town natives were in this category, as were 20% of the moves of rural natives. Rural natives also had a slightly higher proportion of short-distance moves, reflecting intra-rural mobility for agricultural work. Nevertheless, the differences are not great and suggest that each group's ranges of movement were likewise not greatly different.

TABLE 3 Distances (km) travelled by nativity groups (%) (excludes all locations in Ireland and most in England) [no. of moves and individuals as in Table 2]

<u>Native of</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1-9</u>	<u>10-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>51-100</u>	<u>+100</u>	<u>Pct.</u>
+50,000	5	8	22	13	43	8	99
+5,000	2	4	20	16	27	32	101
+1,000	4	9	23	27	18	19	100
-1,000	4	12	19	23	19	22	99

Rural and urban natives were also diverse in the types of places they stayed at though those of rural natives were more varied (table 4). (The category 'areas' here refers to parishes, counties, and countries [e.g., Ireland] which were likely to have been substitutes for rural places.) Urban natives stayed primarily at urban places though, among this group, town natives had a larger proportion of their stays at large rural places than did city natives. Rural natives on the other hand were more evenly divided between rural and urban places, with natives of small rural places having the strongest rural focus.

TABLE 4 Places of stay of native groups (excluding places of nativity) (%)

<u>Native of</u>	<u>+50</u>	<u>+5</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>-1</u>	<u>areas</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	No. of <u>Stays</u>	No. <u>Indivs.</u>
+50,000	49	26	9	13	2	99	106	53
+5,000	39	28	20	12	1	100	152	71
+1,000	30	25	18	23	4	100	111	55
<u>-1,000</u>	24	21	16	33	6	100	<u>211</u>	<u>83</u>
Tot.							580	262

Each group's movement to urban places usually originated in their respective categories of nativity (e.g., 66% of town natives moving to an urban place started from a town). Yet the destinations of many declarants moving from urban places are also known (table 5). These destinations were predominantly urban for all groups; for example, of the 88 moves made by rural natives from urban places 60 were to another urban place. This suggests that once rural natives arrived at an urban place they stayed within the urban network despite the problems of urban-related 'structural unemployment' mentioned above.

TABLE 5 Destinations of native groups moving from urban places (%)

<u>Native of</u>	<u>+50</u>	<u>+5</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>-1</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	No. <u>Moves</u>	No. <u>Indivs.</u>
+50,000	51	28	10	10	99	88	52
+5,000	45	27	16	12	100	124	70
+1,000	23	48	26	3	100	31	15
<u>-1,000</u>	40	26	14	19	99	<u>57</u>	<u>34</u>
Tot.						300	171

This is complicated by the (admittedly few) movements of rural and urban natives to and from Glasgow (Figures 1 and 2). Both groups' places of stay, immediately before moving to Glasgow, were closely tied to their sector of nativity (e.g., rural natives came mostly from rural places). After leaving Glasgow, however, each group shows little clear attachment to its respective sector. Urban natives went to rural and urban places throughout the Lowlands but while rural natives did the same their rural destinations were grouped almost entirely around Glasgow. This suggests that some rural natives may have been circulating between town and country but not to the extent that Langton and Hoppe found for Sweden.

The idea that neither group was particularly attached to their respective sectors is reinforced by the (again admittedly few) cases of declarants who made more than two moves (table 6). While the categories of rural and urban remain crude here, this table goes some way towards cautioning against simple descriptions of often complex movements. There are links here with the findings of Withers and Watson (1991) yet the discussion below does not attempt to test fully the ideas of step-migration; instead it seeks to highlight some of the information which would be lost in such a test. Table 6 groups declarants who made two or more moves between rural (R) and urban (U) places. Two additional figures here concern declarants who stated three or more moves; the first figure (L) refers to those who left a place in their last sector for a place in the other sector; for example, if a person was engaged in U-R-U movement and later went to a rural place they would be counted in this column. The other figure (S) refers to those who, in all further moves, stayed within the last sector; for example,

if a person was involved in R-U-U movement, and their fourth and subsequent places of stay were urban, they would be counted in this column.

**TABLE 6 Movements between rural (R) and urban (U) places made by nativity groups.**

	+50,000			+5,000			+1,000			-1,000			
	No.	L	S	No.	L	S	No.	L	S	No.	L	S	
U-U-U	16	1	6	12	5	1	R-R-R	7	1	3	17	5	6
U-R-U	2			7	4	1	R-U-R	1			16	1	2
U-U-R	3	3		5	1	2	R-R-U	4	2	1	4	2	1
U-R-R	2	1	1	2			R-U-U	7	2	2	14	4	3

Almost all of the moves of city natives were to urban places or involved an eventual return to an urban place. Town natives likewise had a great deal of completely urban movement (U-U-U) but five out of six of these eventually moved to a rural place, as did four out of five town natives engaged in U-R-U movement. The two groups of rural natives also differed in their mobility; those from small rural places were often involved in R-U-R movement suggesting that this group more often than any other moved in a circulatory fashion. Yet several declarants within each group were found in R-U-U and R-R-R movement, and both had similar proportions of members leaving their last sector or staying within it.

The movements of the declarants lie closer to Langton and Hoppe's pre-industrial mobility than to dominant perceptions regarding the straightforwardness of Scottish rural-urban mobility. The people briefly studied here had complex patterns and paths of movement and this has been borne out through the tables and maps above. Circulatory mobility was taking place, not just for rural natives but for town natives as well, indicating that urbanization, and potentially ruralization, were complex events. The findings here, based as they are on a few cases and on one type of information (i.e., nativity without occupation), are clearly limited in their application. Yet at the same time they point toward the need to see mobility not just as physical movement but also as an activity of immense importance for people's strategies and tactics in coping with the social and economic changes going on around them.

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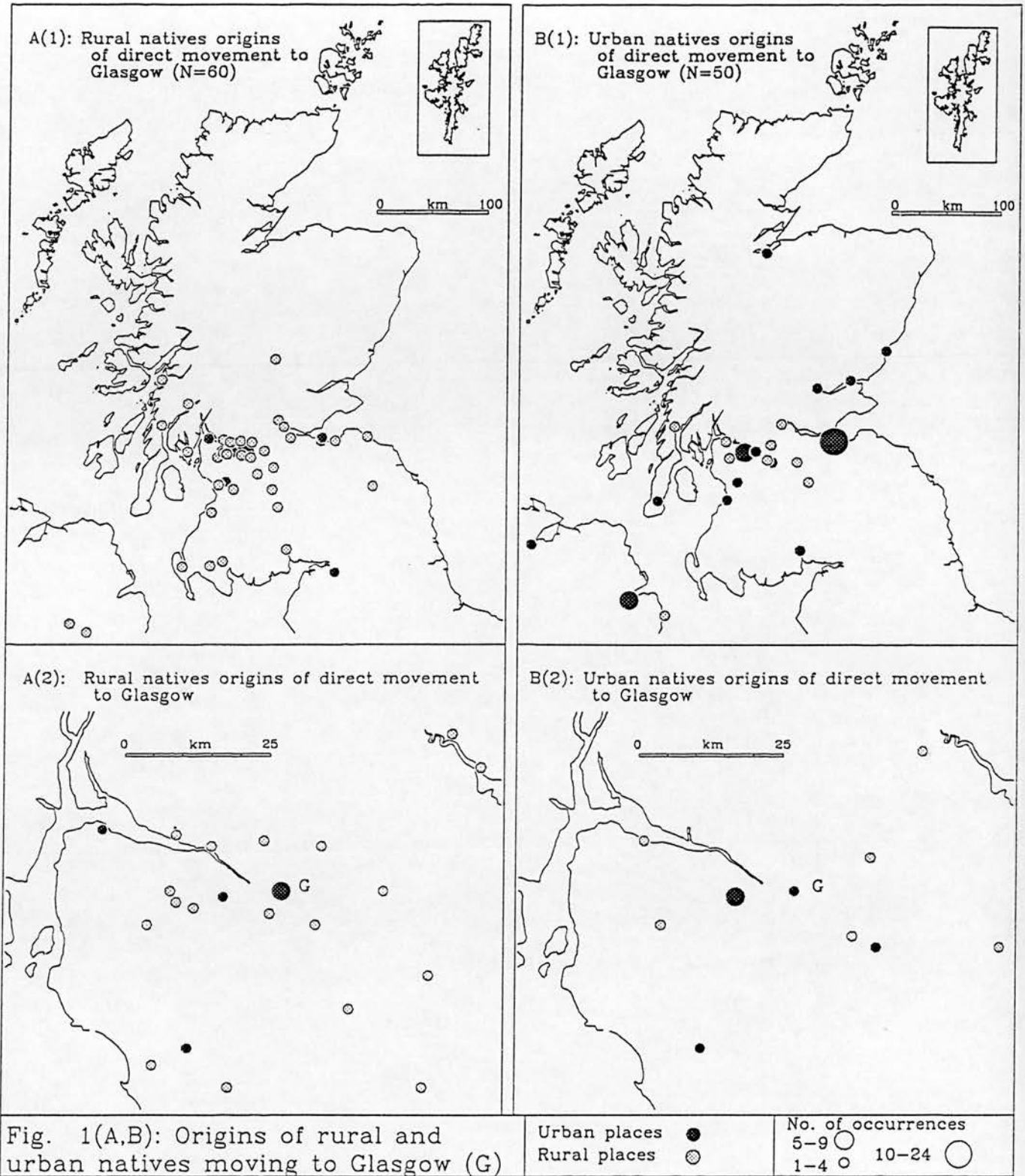
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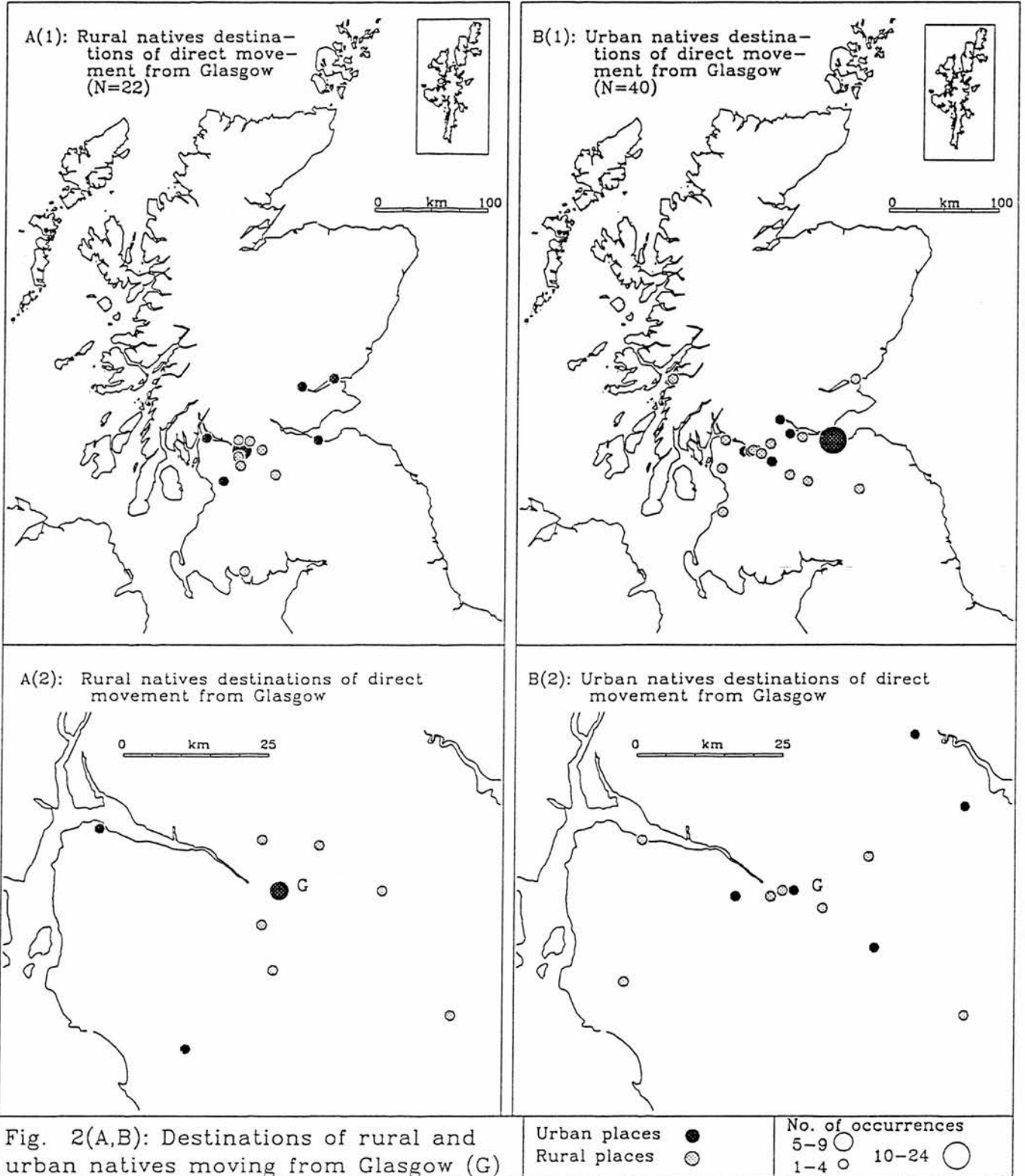
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