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Perceptions of Emigration in Southern Scotland
c1770–c1830

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Abstract

The dissertation examines the personal and public reactions to the emigration taking place in the Border region of Scotland at the turn of the nineteenth century. Separated into four parts—the landed, the church, the press and the families left behind—it explores the perceptions of each group and the motives and rationales behind this varied response.

The assessment of landholder policies and rural population management indicates that a long-held interest in maintaining and expanding the population did not wane among the greater landholders until around 1830 when estate improvements were completed and rural manufacturing declined. Rather, those most likely to advocate population management were the lesser lairds and rate payers. These men and women had less of an attachment to the eighteenth-century paternal relationship and were likely to view population as an economic resource or burden rather than a social asset. Therefore, the importance of landowners as agents of emigration in these counties is likely less than previously believed.

The examination of the Kirk found that its ministers' oft-quoted emotive language against emigration was in fact derived from a long-held belief that numerical depopulation was a sign of economic and moral decay. They felt that the reorganisation of the rural population was detrimental to religious education and social deference. When agricultural rationalisation and urbanisation brought a rise in material wealth and a stricter, rather than more lenient, eye upon working-class behaviour, the objection was to some extent recanted. Their concern was less for the immediate welfare of the emigrants than for the survival of the rural community.

Concerning the provincial press, the extent to which these papers relied on pandering to public opinion in order to survive offers rare insight into demand-side economics in this period. Though all of the editors spoke against emigration, the papers were heavily supported by advertising for emigrant passage and devoted a sizable proportion of their local news to emigrant advice and colonial "intelligence". Their conflicting content indicates that while the editors personally disagreed with emigration, this stance was not commercially viable.

Finally, a comparison of reactions by family and friends remaining in Scotland suggests that most saw the practical benefits of emigration, both to the emigrants and those left behind, but had a very strong emotional reaction against it nonetheless. It further suggests that when present, emotional factors, such a need for communal identity and support, were usually more important than economic issues in dictating long-distance migration.

Overall, this dissertation argues that a re-examination of the role played by sending communities is vital to a more accurate understanding of the emigration process as a whole.

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For John

List of Abbreviations

BCP	Bill Chamber Processes
BFP	Papers of the Montague-Douglas-Scott Family
BM	Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane
CLO	The Carlyle Letters Online
JFP	Jerdone Family Papers
MFP	Papers of the Miller Family
NSA	*The New Statistical Account of Scotland*
OSA	*The Statistical Account of Scotland*
TEL	Thomas Elliot Letters

The incumbent, after very long residence among them, cannot find any truth in the observation of an ingenious, learned, and witty Lord, who said that the natives of the Merse were engendered in mud, brought up in mud, and that their ideas were all muddy.[1]

George Cupples
Minister of Swinton and Simprin, Berwickshire

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[1] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. III: The Eastern Borders (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Swinton and Simprin, 297.

Introduction: Finding a Place for Sending Communities

Emigration history has become a blanket term, encompassing a variety of methodologies and aims. It is therefore important, at the start, to define the aims and intentions of this emigration history. This thesis does not seek to describe the experiences of emigrants from the Borders. Nor does intend to provide a statistical overview of the size or composition of those emigrants. Instead, it seeks to answer three questions. First, how did Border Scots perceive and describe emigration between 1770 and 1830? Was it, for example, considered primarily a destructive or a liberating process? Did they feel it was forced upon them or their loved ones? Did they hope for a better future because of it? Second, to what extent did these perceptions change over the sixty-year period? Rarely does any opinion remain static for several generations. This discussion will therefore track the subtle and dramatic changes in perception that occurred throughout this period. It will also attempt to explain the reasons behind them. Third, which economic, social and emotional forces and considerations influenced these perceptions? Many studies have attempted to create direct links between economic and social trends and emigration. This study will take a more nuanced approach. For example, rather than describe only those economic trends which directly prompted or prevented emigration, it will also explore the evolution of economic philosophy and how changing perceptions of labour and wealth made emigration a more or less desirable endeavour.

Disciplinary Divisions, Popular Notions and the Presentation of Emigration

Before discussing how emigration was perceived by southern Scots, however, it is important to understand how emigration is perceived by academics today. First, specific perceptions of emigration vary considerably across disciplinary divides. For example, migration historians Jan and Leo Luccassen have argued that, despite being ostensibly voluntary, certain variations of economic migration are more rightly characterised as forced migration—such as those resulting from mounting and cyclical debts or the possibility of destitution

through unemployment.[1] Likewise, in *Cargoes of Despair and Hope* (1993), geographer Ian Adams felt that the decision by many Scots to emigrate following agricultural rationalisation was a "Hobson's choice".[2] Conversely, economist Joseph Spengler and sociologist George C. Myers argued that while rationalisation did reduce opportunities in rural areas, it also allowed residents to migrate and pursue non-agricultural employment without the risk of personal and communal food shortage.[3] Micro-history, through the use of a focused narrative, often attempts to reconcile these contradictory interpretations as well as conflicts between monetary benefits and emotional distress. For example, David Gerber's discussion of Ann Woodrow Archibald noted that emigration was "an act of self-abnegation with which she never truly made peace. What acceptance she voiced of her American circumstances was based solely on the ground of economic security and her children's prospects."[4] Yet, while attempting to account for both economic and emotional concerns, Gerber empathised strongly with his subject and gave equal if not more attention to the emotional considerations. Thus, disciplinary divides have led to stark differences in the interpretation of ostensibly similar situations. These contrasting viewpoints, while not wholly incompatible, have greatly clouded the discussion on the relative benefits of emigration, immigration, and internal migration. In extreme cases, the analysis can become almost subjective depending on the methodology of the author.

This is, of course, an unintended and often unavoidable bias. On the one hand, those disciplines which deal primarily with demographic and economic statistics are less likely, and less able, to effectively integrate emotional factors into their discussion of migration. Charlotte Erickson correctly noted, however, that though researchers cannot paint the full picture with limited economic data, they can at least show to what extent material concerns played a part in the

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[1] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Perter Lang AG, 1997), 11-12.

[2] Ian Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America, 1603-1803* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), 34.

[3] Joseph J. and George C. Myers Spengler, "Migration and Socioeconomic Development: Today and Yesterday," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

[4] David A. Gerber, "Ethnic Identification and the Project of Individual Identity: What We Can Learn from the Life of Mary Ann Woodrow Archbald (1768-1840) of Little Cambrae Island, Scotland and Auriesville, New York," *Immigrants and Minorities* 17, no. 2 (July 1998): 8.

emigration process.[5] Furthermore, sociological work on modern migration has counteracted difficulties in integrating qualitative and quantitative data through representative surveys.[6] A variant of this method was used with surprising success by Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull when discussing the nineteenth century.[7] On the other hand, researchers who rely primarily on qualitative works, such as cultural historians, are often victims of their own human nature. They give added weight to the emotional effects of migration, which are, in any case, more likely to have been recorded and preserved in the personal writings that form the basis for such studies. Thus, at the outset, emigration historiography appears to divide sharply between the quantitative and the qualitative.[8] Yet, as the field of migration studies has matured, the struggle to reconcile qualitative and quantitative evidence is perhaps no longer the pressing challenge it once was. Instead, conflicting presentations of emigration may now be the result of the widening definition of 'diaspora', and the popular connotations this has engendered.

In *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen carefully traced the development of the term, from its classical connotations of cataclysm and Jewish, Greek, and Armenian exile to its most recent attachment to many if not most large scale emigrations.[9] He warns, however, that in

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[5] Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: The Trinity Press, 1972), 2.

[6] Peter A. Morrison, "The Functions and Dynamics of the Migration Process," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 64-65.

[7] In their study of modern British migration patterns, Pooley and Turnbull have suggested their "data should be viewed as the historical equivalent of a very large questionnaire survey in which some 17,000 people were interviewed about all the residential moves they made in their lives." They conceded that the family histories they employed were not uniform, but the level of detail obtained by family historians was often impressive as they had access to records that professional historians did not. Colin G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 37.

[8] Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004); Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[9] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 1-14.

> allowing such cases (and many others) to shelter under the increasingly broader circumference of the diasporic umbrella, we need *both* to draw generalized inferences from the Jewish tradition *and* to be sensitive to the inevitable dilutions, changes and expansions of the meaning of the term diaspora as it comes to be more widely applied.[10]

Likewise, Rogers Brubaker noted that "If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so. The term loses its discriminating power   its ability to pick out phenomena, to make distinctions. The universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora."[11] To counter this trend, Cohen, Brubaker and others have suggested specific criteria upon which to judge if a movement can be termed a diaspora with any validity.[12] Nevertheless, the acceptance of emic, or self-identifying, diasporas may have attached feelings of cataclysm and exile to emigrants who held no such feelings themselves. By the 1980s, the term "Scottish Diaspora" had begun to appear in academic works on Scottish emigration.[13] Whether or not the term is academically appropriate for nineteenth-century Scottish emigration depends largely on whether or not the cause of dispersal must necessarily be traumatic, or if it can be "any kind of dispersion in space, provided that the dispersion crosses state borders."[14] In academic discussions, the latter definition has become more acceptable and thus the use of the term diaspora more common. In popular perceptions, however, the cataclysmic cause appears to be assumed, regardless of academic intent.[15]

A further cause of the disconnection between contemporary perceptions and modern classification may lie in the fact that British emigration studies in general, and Scottish emigration studies specifically, have remained largely compartmentalised. This is partly a result of spatial constraints and partly of a continuing trend toward academic specialisation. While most historical subjects

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[10] Ibid., 4.

[11] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (January 2005): 3.

[12] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 16; Brubaker, "Diaspora," 5-7.

[13] It was perhaps first used by Eric Richards as he attempted to create "a preliminary definition of the framework of the Scottish diaspora" in Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," *Australian Historical Studies* 21, no. 85 (1985): 474.

[14] Brubaker, "Diaspora," 5.

[15] This can be seen in the espousal of the "Lowland Clearance" model, which will be discussed at length in chapter one.

are to some extent divided in this manner, the nature of emigration history makes this divide particularly troubling. As migrants move from one location to another, understanding the process requires detailed knowledge of the sending regions, the receiving communities, and of the mechanics of the emigration and immigration processes. Because such knowledge is difficult to obtain without relying on secondary works, for at least one of these three areas, it is vital that multi-layered national histories be approached with a mind to emigration, something rarely done in an integrated fashion. In fact, despite a nascent recognition of the connection between internal migration and international emigration, very few studies have been done on any period or on any region which fully demonstrated their interdependency.[16] Instead, national histories often provide an encapsulated view of emigration and immigration within their geographic boundaries, and emigration studies provide an encapsulated view of the history of the sending regions. In both cases, the contextual information is contained within a separate chapter or subsection with few ties to the body of the work. While abbreviation is to be expected, the difficulty arises from the fact that each side relies on secondary information that was not written with their subject in view. This had led to simplifications beyond the historian's control. To counteract this, studies devoted to the role of emigration in sending communities, rather than simple national histories, are needed.

It is in this spirit that this work was written. Rather than focus on the experiences of a specific wave of migrants, it explores the environment in which emigrants chose to move and the perceived consequences for their movement by the sending community. This endeavour, however, is not without precedent. In an attempt to better place this study within the existing literature, and to demonstrate the methodological advantages and constraints of studying sending communities, the previous work on emigration from the British Isles must first be examined.

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[16] Russell King, Ronald Skeldon, and Julie Vullnetari, "Internal and International Migration: Bridging the Theoretical Divide" (paper presented at the Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change, Oxford, 1st - 3rd July 2008), 2.

Forms of Emigration History

The number of works on British emigration, and on immigration to receiving communities, is immense. Sociological and economic works on migration theory are equally numerous and can differ greatly in methodology from most British emigration histories, primarily because of differences in source material. The number of economic, political and cultural histories of Scotland, let alone Britain, defies enumeration. Yet, an understanding of all three of these fields is crucial to developing a well-rounded view of sending communities. To attempt to detail all the major works in these fields over the past century would provide only an unwieldy list, unusable and imprecise. However, several forms of emigration history have emerged over this period, each with their own strategies for reconciling emigrant experiences with the history of sending and receiving communities. This review will therefore examine the extent to which British emigration narratives have incorporated national histories into their studies and how detailed work on sending communities may provide additional support.

Modern academic discussions of British emigration appeared early in the twentieth century. George Pratt Insh's *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (1922) is a narrative history of emigration policies, focusing primarily on the actions of leading political and aristocratic figures.[17] W. A. Carrothers's *Emigration from the British Isles* (1929), on the other hand, is an economic analysis of British emigration that discussed the financial repercussions of population redistribution.[18] Both these works have serious deficiencies. Carrothers, for example, unabashedly supports the Malthusian theories he is attempting to analyse. Nevertheless, they are early examples of the two main models for emigration history employed in the twentieth century, narrative and statistical. Early discussions of immigration, on the other hand, can be seen in Norman MacDonald's *Canada 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement* (1939) and Rowland Berthoff's *British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950* (1953).[19] These histories helped establish the standard form of settlement narrative,

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[17] W. A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles with Special Reference to the Development of the Overseas Dominions* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1929).

[18] George Pratt Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922).

[19] Rowland Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); Norman MacDonald, *Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations* (London: Longmans, 1939).

focusing principally upon the character of the immigrants and their contributions to the economic, political, and social development of the receiving community. Neither allocates significant space to sending communities or any continuing relationship with those who remained in Britain.

From these early prototypes, and especially with the rise of social history in the late 1960s, emigration studies have thrived. Because of the complex causes of population movement, migration history lends itself to a variety of different approaches, many of them multi-layered. Researchers have examined the process through narratives of emigrant experiences and settlement, through discussions of the international networks and cultural identities and through quantitative analysis of demographics. British emigration has been approached in all these ways over the past fifty years with varying degrees of success. What is of particular concern to this study, however, is not the coverage of the emigrants' experiences, but how well these have been connected to the regions of their birth.

Emigration Narratives

The first method is the most commonly recognised form of migration history, the emigrant narrative. By focusing on a single sending community, whether defined by geography, religion, political affiliation, gender or class, these works trace the path of a group of emigrants from their port of departure, along their migration route and into the receiving community. Although content varies depending upon the goals of the researcher and the quality of the sources, emigrant narratives rarely provide background information on either the sending or receiving communities that is not crucial to understanding the experience of migrants themselves. Instead, most concentrate on a linear progression from the events just prior to departure continuing through to some point in the settlement process. This method of emigration study has particular advantages. Because source work available for all members of a single emigrant community is relatively great, narratives allow for a clear understanding of how individuals were affected by crossing political, cultural, and geographical borders. They also illuminate the coping mechanisms emigrants employed and the physical routes they took.

Furthermore, while emigrant narratives follow general methodologies, they can have highly specific aims. Alan Karras's *Sojourners in the Sun,* for example, described the common trajectories of Scottish sojourners in the Chesapeake and the Caribbean, highlighting their webs of patronage in the colonies and abroad.[20] Hammerton's *Emigrant Gentlewomen,* on the other hand, attempted to dispel generalisations regarding female emigration.[21] Gwyn Williams, meanwhile, commented upon the psychological connections between Welsh nationalism and colonisation in *The Search for Beulah Land*.[22] Thus, these small-scale case studies are often employed to highlight thematic historical trends rather than merely describe individual migratory paths. Substantial space cannot, therefore, be devoted to exploring all aspects of the sending community, as much of this information would distract from the larger goals of study.

Other historians work on a larger scale, attempting to synthesise a common migratory experience from a collection of individual narratives. Notable of this approach are J. M. Bumsted and James Hunter and their discussions of Highland emigration to North America.[23] Because their goal is to describe large-scale migration trends, both historians provided an abbreviated account of the social and economic changes taking place throughout the sending region. However, the scope of their projects, and the number of individual migrations to be covered, reduced the discussion of the pre-emigration Highlands to a single introductory chapter on agricultural rationalisation and, in the case of Hunter, the pull of chain migration on those initially left behind. Conversely, because of the step-nature of their migratory path, discussions of the Ulster-Scots tend to allocate a relatively large portion of their work to sending communities. James Leyburn

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[20] Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[21] A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Femal Emigration, 1830-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1979); A.J. Hammerton, "Without Natural Protectors: Female Immigration to Australia, 1832-36," *Historical Studies* 16 (1975).

[22] Gwyn A. Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980).See also Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Johnathan Cape, 2002); Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*; Lucille H. Campey, *A Very Fine Class of Immigrants: Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers, 1770-1850* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2001); Lucille H. Campey, *After the Hector : The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2004).

[23] J. M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982); James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Socttish Highlands, the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1995).

and Patrick Griffin, for example, included chapters on both seventeenth-century Scotland and eighteenth-century Ulster before diving into the emigrants' experiences.[24] However, the level of depth in each of these chapters is largely comparable to the studies of Highland emigration noted above. Therefore, without citing countless similar studies, it is clear that emigrant narratives have rarely developed a complete and multi-layered picture of the sending community. Instead, it is described only as far as it demonstrates a watershed moment of emigration. Though the cultural identity of the emigrant is often deemed influential, and is therefore discussed, nuanced developments within the sending community are considered irrelevant to the work at hand. In fact, the only discussions that really delve into the emigrant experiences while at home are those detailing emigrant recruitment strategies, such as Dickson's *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* or Gary Howell's work on pauper emigration.[25] While these also confine their scope to the emigrants themselves, they do begin their narratives in the home communities rather than on the quayside.

While very few of these narratives allocated space to the relationship between emigration and developments within the sending region, there is one outstanding exception—Arnold Schrier's *Ireland and the American Emigration* (1958). This early work spent the majority of its pages discussing not the process of emigration, which instead appears only at the conclusion of the work, but instead of the response to and effects of emigration on Ireland itself.[26] Schrier described the reaction of Protestant ministers, Catholic priests and newspaper men, and the economic and social effects of migration on the community at large. Schrier's only real difficulty is that he attempted cover too large a geographic area—all of Ireland—with too little support from other researchers. Attempting to examine the moral, commercial, social and political effects of

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[24] Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

[25] Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003); R. J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigraton to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London: Routeledge & Kegan Paul, 1966); Gary Howells, "For I Was Tired of England Sir: English Pauper Emigrant Strategies, 1834-60," *Social History* 23 (1998).

[26] Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 45-65.

emigration on an entire country required a significant amount of support from specialists in religion, economics and other aspects of Irish history that he was evidently unable to procure.

Therefore, the most common form of emigration history, the study of those exiting, has thus far been unable to fully incorporate the detailed national histories of the sending regions. The difficulty of doing so is highlighted by the efforts of Schrier, whose analysis of the emigrants themselves was greatly circumscribed by his attention to Ireland. If proper attention is to be paid to emigrants themselves, the space allocated to the sending region will necessarily be reduced.

Settlement Narratives

There is of course the other side of the coin, immigrant experience or settlement narrative. Rather than study those departing, these works study those arriving. While technically the same group of people, this change in perspective has a striking effect on how the research is presented. Immigration studies frame their discussion within the geography of the receiving community and usually on the ethnicity of the immigrant rather than a specific sending region. Like emigrant narratives, these works can be separated between micro- and macro-history, but both focus chiefly on the contributions made by the incoming population on the receiving community rather than on the migration experience itself. While many of these studies illuminate the scale of immigration to a receiving country, they are particularly prone to oversimplification and list-like narration. For example, Dobson's *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America* and Jenni Calder's *Scots in Canada* showed a surprisingly wide breadth of research, providing the names and basic biographical details for hundreds of Scottish immigrants over many decades.[27] Yet, that same breadth denied the authors space for depth. Instead, these historians stressed the importance of the Scottish contribution to North America through quantitative weight.

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[27] Jenni Calder, *Scots in Canada* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2003); David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

Like Schrier's study, this is likely the result of geographic scale. By attempting to identify all notable immigrants for a receiving country or continent, little more than a list is possible. Even smaller geographic areas, such as colonial Carolina, can become emigrant directories when attempting to create a single narrative.[28] Only when focusing on a particular settlement is this difficulty mitigated. A relatively recent work on immigration to the Chesapeake by James Horn demonstrated a deep and inclusive view of migration and acculturation.[29] Like Patrick Griffin, Horn discussed the character of the migrants, describing their motivations for emigrating—economic, political, and religious—as well as the importance of their home geographies and cultures to their adaptation to the physical and social realities of the receiving community. Though still primarily a settlement narrative, the level of integration between England and North America is striking.[30]

Despite the role that cultural identities played in these studies, the difficulty that arises with settlement narratives is the over-simplification of the prevailing conditions in the country of origin. Like accounts of emigrant experience, most immigrant narratives devote only a single chapter to the reasons for departure and the background of the home community. Those researching settlement and integration understandably rely upon secondary works written by specialists on British or Scottish history. Because these secondary sources may be outwith the field of the immigration specialist, conclusions may be misunderstood or outdated. This can be seen poignantly in early works such as Duane Meyer's *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, which relied almost entirely upon a few contemporary English commentators.[31] On the other hand, Anthony Parker's *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia* utilised an admirable range of reading, though he still reduces Scotland to a staging area with little connection to the

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[28] Robert W. Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

[29] James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). This method is also apparent in Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[30] See also Iain A. D. Stewart, *From Caledonia to the Pampas : Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000).

[31] Duane Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).

emigrants after their departure.[32] Thus, even when a historian has the space and resources to provide a fuller view of the sending region's history, these sections still appear to rely primarily upon studies less concerned with emigration than other processes, and immigration historians must glean from them what they can.

For example, Devine's *The Scottish Nation,* discussed Victorian emigration only within a single self-contained chapter and only partially linked the process to wider social and economic trends:

> Transatlantic emigration was undoubtedly one alternative to physical protest against the onward progress of agrarian capitalism in the western and central Highlands. But the 'safety valve' of migration worked also very effectively in Lowland Scotland, where the close proximity of 'improving' areas of agriculture, the foundation and extension of planned villages and new towns, and the rapidly expanding cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh facilitated and encouraged temporary and permanent movement of people in large numbers.[33]

The same is evidently true of English histories, as noted by Charlotte Erickson:

> Most writers of general works and textbooks of English history and even agricultural, labor, and social historians continue to pay little attention to this long-term outflow of people as a part of English history. Emigration receives no mention, or but passing reference, in many well-known surveys currently in use.[34]

In truth, Devine's work is particular generous to emigration. Other works, such as Michael Lynch's *Scotland: A New History* only mentions emigration sporadically and rarely integrates it with any other process than agricultural improvement.[35]

Approaches to Integrating Sending Communities

There have, of course, been attempts to create syntheses of national history and emigration. Devine's *Scotland's Empire* offered a rounded view of various waves

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[32] Anthony W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia* (London: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

[33] T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 217-8, 468-485.

[34] Erickson, *Leaving England,* 11-12.

[35] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, [Rev. ed. (London: Pimlico, 1992).

of Scottish emigration and attempted to link them with the wider forces at play.[36] Likewise, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope* and *The Scots Overseas* attempted to survey emigration from Scotland, explicitly connecting migration to the social and economic changes taking place in the various regions.[37] Notwithstanding this intention, these studies suffered from many of the same methodological limitations as emigrant and settlement narratives, namely a compartmentalisation of national history. For example, Devine's chapter on Lowland emigration before 1775 carefully described the scale and composition of the emigrants, but spatial constraints forced his discussion of Scotland to rely on accurate but generalised trends. That is not to say that sending communities are wholly neglected in more recent British migration studies. Works such as Marjory Harper's *Emigration from Northeast Scotland* offered a well-integrated view of sending communities and emigration, if still focusing primarily on emigrant experience.[38] It furthermore utilised one of the most successful methods of linking emigrant narratives and the regions of origin—the recruitment business. By examining how promoters of colonial settlements, commercial and governmental, recruited emigrants, and how the emigrants responded to their options, historians such as Harper, David MacMillan, Robin Haines, Elizabeth Errington and Eric Richards have helped illuminate perceptions of emigration within the sending countries.[39]

One of the most effective methods for connecting emigration to sending communities, however, is through ongoing relationships. Occasionally, this meant political relationships. Ray Boston's work on the British Chartists, for example, not only detailed conditions prior to emigration, but also the effects of that emigration on the remaining members of the Chartist community in

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[36] T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

[37] Adams and Somerville, *Despair and Hope*. Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1966).

[38] Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, vol. I: Willing Exiles (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, vol. II: Beyond the Broad Atlantic (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

[39] Robin F. Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment in Britain and Ireland, 1831-60* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); David S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia 1788-1850* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1967); Eric Richards, "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?," *Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993); Elizabeth Jane Errington, "British Migration and British America, 1783-1867," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* ed. Phillip Buckner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Marjory Harper, "Pressure and Persuasion: Canadian Agents and Scottish Emigration, C.1870-C.1930," *The Historian* 81 (Spring 2004).

Britain.[40] However, because of the relative paucity of two-way communication between most socio-economic groups, this method is usually confined to economic historians in their examinations of the sugar, slave, and tobacco trades.[41] These discussions provided a clear picture of not only how the emigrants engaged in the emigration and settlement processes, but also how they perceived their place in the British Atlantic world. Although some degree of narrative is necessary to understand the development of these enterprises, these studies are able to shift back and forth between Britain and North America in a way that most emigrant and settlement narratives, even Carrothers's economic essay, are unable to do. In the end, however, these works are necessary but insufficient to understand the full impact of the emigration process. Because their status in society demanded such a close link to British ports, and because they did not necessarily intend to settle abroad, these men cannot be regarded in any way representative of the bulk of emigrants, nor can their impact on their home communities. Nonetheless, newer studies of transatlantic networks, such as Douglas Hamilton's examination of Scots in the Caribbean, are moving beyond mercantile relationships and include two-way familial correspondence as well.[42]

The majority of personal correspondence, however, is still generally confined to painstakingly transcribed and annotated volumes or smaller case-studies.[43] These offer relatively little information on the sending communities as they are

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[40] Ray Boston, *British Chartists in America 1839-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

[41] T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords : A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, C.1740-90* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975); R. B. Sheridan, "The Rise of a Colonial Gentry: A Case Study of Antigua, 1730-1775," *Economic History Review* 13, no. 3 (1961); R. A. Cage, *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); David J. Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790-1830s* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1981); Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775* (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1974).

[42] Douglas Hamilton, "Transatlantic Ties: Scottish Migration Networks in the Caribbean, 1750-1800," in *A Global Clan : Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Angela McCarthy (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006).

[43] Alan Conway, *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961); Barbara DeWolfe, *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America During the Revolutionary Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Herbert Gutman, "Five Letters of Immigrant Workers from Scotland to the U.S., 1867-1869," *Labor History* 9 (1968); Kerby A. Miller et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Allan I. Macinnes, Marjory Harper, and Linda G. Fryer, eds., *Scotland and the Americas, C.1650-C.1939: A Documentary Source Book* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2002).

comprised mostly of emigrant writings, though some information can be gleaned from responses. David Fitzpatrick's *Oceans of Consolation*, for one, included several letters from those remaining in Ireland.[44] While his focus is still primarily the emigrants' experiences, these collections do reconnect his emigrants to their communities of origin. They also offer researchers a sample of the evidence that can be gained from studying correspondence from the region of origin. The same is true for family histories, such as *Dunfermline to Down Under* and *The Harvey Family of Hant County*, both of which included letters from Scotland in their appendices.[45] Because these letters are currently attached to emigrant narratives, their full value to historical research is as yet untapped.

Quantitative Works and Political Narratives

Several of these emigrant and settlement narratives integrated quantitative data into their analyses. However, there are several studies in which this data is the primary focus. Unfortunately, Hanoverian Britain does not easily lend itself to this sort of analysis, owing to very poor statistical information being gathered in the eighteenth century. This is one reason why Jeanette Brock, William Vugt and Charlotte Erickson focused their statistical enquiries in the Victorian period.[46] In fact, Bailyn's *Voyagers to the West* is still one of the few large-scale quantitative studies of British emigration in the eighteenth century, albeit often from a settlement perspective. But even this, by his own admission, is limited by available source material to the years just prior to the American Revolution.[47] Conversely, Michael Flinn's *Scottish Population History* used quantitative data to build up a more general image of internal migration, urbanisation, fertility,

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[44] David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994), 280-282.

[45] Robert Adamson and Ben Evans, *Dunfermline to Down Under: James and Elizabeth Adamson and Family: Early Pioneers of South Australia* (Adelaide: R. Adamson, B. Evans & J. Evans, 1994); Leland H. Harvie, *The Harvie / Harvey Family of Hant County Nova Scotia* (Yarmouth, N.S.: Sentinel Printing Ltd., 1984).

[46] Jeanette M. Brock, *The Mobile Scot: A Study of Emigration and Migration 1861-1911* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), 11; Erickson, *Leaving England*, 20-21; William E. Van Vugt, "Running from Ruin?: The Emigration of British Farmers to the U.S.A. In the Wake of the Repeal of the Corn Laws," *Economic History Review* 41, no. 3 (1988): 414.

[47] Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West : A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986), xix. Throughout settlement and colonial historiography, numerous estimates have been put forward as to the scale of immigration by various ethnic groups. These have been compiled and analysed in Aaron S. Fogleman, "Migrations to the Thirteen British North American Colonies 1700-1775: New Estimates," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992).

mortality, emigration, immigration and food pressures in Scotland. However the scope of his study prevented any lengthy discussions on emigration in particular, and like the others, it focused mainly on the period after 1840.[48] Thus, studies based on quantitative data offer pieces of the puzzle, but still generally fail to focus on the specific relationship between emigration and those left behind.

Finally, the efforts of political leaders have also been used to better illuminate the involvement of the sending community in the emigration process. Nicholas Canny and M. Perceval-Maxwell, for example, attempted to identify and illustrate the importance of key political, and literary, figures in the colonisation of Ulster.[49] While it is easy to criticise such efforts as concealing the lives and choices of the emigrants themselves—something which Perceval-Maxwell fully admitted to and attempted to temper throughout—they do provide a clear narrative framework which other social and economic studies can reference and function within. Without this, quantitative fluctuations that are not fully explained by long-term economic trends would be meaningless.[50] By the same token, larger narratives of imperial history and European migration play their part in explaining the bends, twists and turns in the quantitative data, as do those studies primarily concerned with agricultural rationalisation, the Corn Laws, and Poor Law reform.[51]

Thus, while descriptions of the size, method and experience of migration within Britain, Ireland and Scotland have been vigorously pursued, and their impact on receiving communities equally attended to, the perceptions of emigration by the sending community have been virtually ignored. As mentioned previously, only

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[48] Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[49] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

[50] Peter Dunkley, "Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered," *Historical Journal* 23 (1980); Hugh James Morton Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830 'Shovelling out Paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

[51] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (London: Macmillan Education, 1991); Dudley Baines, "European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again," *Economic History Review* 47 (1994); C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989); Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Peter Dunkley, "Whigs and Paupers: The Reform of the English Poor Laws, 1830-1834," *Journal of British Studies* 20 (1981); Gary Howells, "Emigration and the New Poor Law: The Norfolk Emigration Fever of 1836," *Rural History* 11 (2000); Vugt, "Running from Ruin."

Schrier's discussion of Irish sending communities seems to have engaged fully with the idea that they were affected beyond the initial loss of population and that their perceptions played an important role in the ongoing emigration debate.

Research Methods

This dissertation, therefore, attempts to bridge the gap between Scottish history and emigration narratives by challenging the assumptions made by both groups with regard to one specific region—the Scottish Borders. According to the nineteenth-century antiquarian John Veitch

> The Border country of old was, strictly speaking, divided into three districts, known as the East, Middle, and West Marches, each having its warden or wardens. The East March was co-extensive with the sheriffdom of Berwick; the Middle embraced the sheriffdoms of Selkirk, Peebles, and Roxburgh, including the lordship of Liddesdale; the West comprehended, as a rule, the dales of Esk, Ewes, Wauchope, Annan and Nith, and Galloway beneath and above the Cree.[52]

Administratively, the southernmost counties of Scotland have been divided into two regions, the eastern Borders and Dumfries and Galloway. There are several valid reasons for this division, most importantly that the eastern Borders share a land border with England whereas the southwest is separated by the Solway Firth. However, between 1770 and 1830 there was a significant amount of economic and social movement between these two areas. Furthermore, because of their proximity to northern England, these regions shared many common advantages and difficulties. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the term Borders will encompass all seven southernmost counties: Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, Dumfriesshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire (See Map in Appendix A).

Furthermore, despite the oft-mentioned ease of travel between northern England and these counties, this study will limit itself to those parishes administratively defined as Scottish. This is, in many ways, a matter of expediency. The border between England and Scotland had been established

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[52] J. Veitch, *The History and Poetry of the Scottish Border: Their Main Features and Relations* (J. Maclehose, 1878), 4.

through centuries of border warfare and did not, at the time of Union, necessarily reflect cultural or economic divides. In fact, with some exceptions, the end of the nineteenth century was a time of growing British nationalism that overrode many perceptions of a cultural divide between the Scottish Borders and Northumberland and Cumbria. However, to expand this study further southward would risk diluting those few key areas where Scottish identity did play an important role, namely transatlantic correspondence.

Culturally, the southernmost counties have a long and often bloody history. Recent works, such as those by Alistair Moffat and Gwen Neville have highlighted the unique cultural legacy of these regions.[53] In terms of this study, their historical role as bulwark against a southern invasion was a source of immense pride to many commentators, and used as evidence that the parishes were once home to a large, strong and proud population. Furthermore, the forts, abbeys and ancient market towns were important landmarks to which residents and emigrants alike attached great emotional significance. While these will be discussed where appropriate, the main advantage in studying the southern counties of Scotland in this period is not their uniqueness, but rather their representativeness of rural Britain.

First, although containing many regional centres, the seven southernmost counties of Scotland were primarily rural and agricultural. Although numerically more Britons emigrated from the major port cities, the majority of Britons throughout the period under study originally resided in rural-agricultural communities. This makes the Borders, in at least one respect, representative of sending communities throughout Britain and an ideal location for understanding push factors. However, unlike many other parts of rural Britain, these counties were located between six major poles: Glasgow to the northwest, Edinburgh to the northeast, Carlisle and Liverpool to the southwest, Newcastle to the southeast, London to the far south and North America across the Atlantic. This led to an increased level of mobility and a variety of migratory paths to be

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[53] Alistair Moffat, *Kelsae: A History of Kelso from Earliest Times* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985); Alistair Moffat, *The Borders: A History of the Borders from Earliest Times* (Selkirk: Deerpark Press, 2002); Alistair Moffat, *The Reivers: The Story of the Border Reivers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Publishers, 2007); Gwen K. Neville, *The Mother Town: Civic Ritual, Symbol, and Experience in the Borders of Scotland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

followed. This allows for a more detailed examination of emigration's relationship with internal migration and urbanisation. Lastly, although politically (and romantically) aligned with Scotland, contemporary opinion described the Border counties as being blended with northern England, socially and economically. Because of the intermixing of peoples between these two regions—economic migration back and forth across the Border being frequent and unremarkable—this region helps to blur the Scottish-English line that only adds a further divide to migration studies.

In regard to the temporal parameters of this study, they were chosen to encapsulate, with some leeway on either side, the period of agricultural improvement and the initial surge of voluntary emigration from Lowland Scotland. While both these phenomena stretched beyond 1770 and 1830, many fundamental shifts in economic and social policy took place within this period. Landownership was commercialised, Britain reaffirmed its colonial dominance, political and religious dissent raged and, most importantly, emigration surged to levels previously unheard of. Some discrepancies in the source material force this study to look beyond these signposts, but on the whole this period represented a crucial transformation of southern Scotland and one that merits special attention.

In general, this study will utilised qualitative evidence from a variety of domestic sources in order to answer two overarching questions. How was emigration perceived by Border Scots at the turn of the nineteenth century and why did this perception change? The precise movements of these Scots, their methods, triumphs and disappointment, will not be discussed here. As the above review has shown, this sort of work has been and continues to be well documented by emigration historians. Instead, it will primarily focus on the emotional and economic responses of those who were still contemplating emigration and those who had been left behind. Moreover, it will not only present the opinions of these men and women but explore the reasons behind them and to what extent emigration itself, rather than its causes or effects, were actually being commented upon. By fully illuminating the domestic discourse on emigration from this period, it is hoped that future studies of

emigration will be able to more fully integrate sending communities into their analyses.

In the first chapter, the wide-reaching historiography of agriculture and economic change in Britain is reviewed and set against local records from the seven southernmost Scottish counties. Beginning with the accepted theory that land reform and the cyclical industrial unemployment prompted landowners to "clear" their land of redundant population, this chapter describes to what extent these wider trends are applicable to the rural south and to what extent local lairds sympathised with Malthusian principles. Simple narratives of an agricultural population being unilaterally pushed into emigration cannot be justified, without fully articulating the changing opinions of these men and their contemporaries.

The second chapter engages with the most prominent source of qualitative evidence for the speed, scale, and dire effects of rural depopulation: the ministers of the Established Church. By providing a comprehensive survey of the original and new *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* compiled in the 1790s and the 1830s, as well as other published works by these ministers, the evidence often employed as proof of depopulation and emigrant despondency can be put in a more complete context. Furthermore, studying the reactions of these men provides a greater understanding of the moral and social implications of economic emigration.

Chapter three discusses the other main source of qualitative evidence on emigration: the popular press. Scottish provincial newspapers have been understudied as a medium. Unlike major London papers, the commercial aspect of the Hanoverian Scottish press, especially the provincial press, had been virtually ignored by economists, sociologists, and historians alike. Without a proper understanding of the printing business, and the wider intentions of its editorial staff, any conclusions drawn from its editorials should immediately be suspect. Therefore, this chapter explores the commercial and social philosophies of the southern presses and how they engaged with the process of emigration. It also examines the relationships between the printers, the advertisers and the readers, and what compromises and understandings were reached between them.

The fourth and final chapter deals with the most personal level of interaction, the friends and families left behind. While much has been done with emigrant correspondence, there has been little focus on the other half of the conversation. In an attempt to retain ties to their ancestral homes, many families in North America and Australia have preserved letters from those left behind in Scotland. This, in addition to domestic correspondence written between Scots, provides a strong base for understanding the emotional and economic impact made by the departure of family members. It also illuminates the transfer of capital between sending and receiving communities in the form of initial outlays and remittances home. Like newspapers, domestic correspondence has often been used to illustrate the process of emigration. Here it will be used to examine the perception of emigration.

Although this work is only the first step to fully understanding the part sending communities played in the evolution of the emigration debate, it is hoped that it will provide the basis for a greater collaboration between the many fields in which migration plays so crucial a part.

Chapter 1: The Border Landowners in Scottish Historiography

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Scottish agriculture and landholding practices underwent dramatic changes. The reorganisation of tenancies, the implementation of new or imported agricultural techniques, the rising demand for crops and stock and the increasing competition from manufacturers and the military for labour all affected the relative power and composition of the landholding class. As the majority of Scotland's population relied directly on agriculture for their livelihood, changes in landholding policies had far-reaching effects on the lives of men and women throughout the economic spectrum. One commonly mentioned effect of these changes was a significant rise in out-migration.[1]

The purpose of this chapter, however, is not merely to describe this shift in migration patterns or the actions taken by specific landowners. Rather, it seeks to fundamentally re-examine the role of landowners in the emigration process and to examine the extent to which they had the power and intention to reorganise the population. Many emigration studies have cited landowner policies as preventers or instigators of migration, as detailed in the introduction. Some have characterised the process as being wholly dependent upon these policy changes. However, the lack of integration between national economic and social histories and emigrant narratives has led to over-generalisations of landowner intentions and misinterpretations of their views on overpopulation.

A particular difficulty with these generalisations is the manner in which they are applied to the southernmost counties. Because of proximity, Berwickshire, and occasionally the rest of the eastern Borders, are often grouped with East Lothians, despite some significant differences in agricultural techniques and land management.[2] Likewise, Galloway is often grouped with Ayrshire by virtue of its

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[1] D. G. Lockhart, "Migration to Planned Villages in Scotland between 1725 and 1850," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 102, no. 3 (December 1986): 170.

[2] Malcolm Gray, "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands," in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. 1, 1760-1830,* ed. T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland 1988), 53, 59; Malcolm Gray, "Scottish Emigration: The in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875," *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973): 157-158; Eric John Hobsbawm, "Scottish Reformers of the Eighteenth Century and Capitalist Agriculture," in *Peasants in History,* ed. E.J. Hobsbawm et al. (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1980), 19; T. M. Devine, "Social Stability and Agrarian

livestock production and dairy farming despite the fact that these practices only apply to certain areas of the southwest and the comparison obscures the importance of the Solway Firth.[3] In both cases, existing models have been applied to the Borders rather than specific examinations of the regions themselves.

In fact, the post-Union Scottish Borders have been relatively untouched by historians. This appears to have been the result of the relatively unobtrusive role these counties played in nineteenth-century politics and economics. Though by no means unimportant in their contributions, they received little notice from military recruiters, who tended to focus on areas further north, nor by large-scale capital investors, who concentrated on the more densely populated central belt.[4] Consequently, the southern counties have attracted little direct attention apart from R. H. Dodgshon's works on Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, Edward J Cowan's work on Dumfries and Galloway, and local antiquarian enquiries.[5] Yet, because of their emotive entries in the *Statistical Accounts*, and contemporary concerns with rural depopulation, these counties are often cited as examples of the negative aspects of agricultural change and rural depopulation.[6] They have even been characterised as archetypes of improved Scottish agriculture and rural

Change in the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840," *Social History* 3 (1978): 336.. Occasionally, however, a clear separation is made between them owing to the eastern Border's proximity to English labour. William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), 172-3.

[3] Gray, "Social Impact of Agrarian Change (1988)," 60; R. H. Campbell, "Agricultural Labour in the South-West," in *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914,* ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984).

[4] T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History, 1700-2000,* 1st American ed. (New York: Viking, 1999), 107-108; T. M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 41.

[5] Robert A. Dodgshon, "The Removal of Runrig in Roxburgh and Berwickshire 1680-1766," *Scottish Studies* 16, no. 1 (1972); Robert A. Dodgshon, "Farming in Roxburghshire and Berwickshire on the Eve of Improvement," *Scottish Historical Review* 54, no. 2 (1975); Edward J. Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement and the Formation of Early Agricultural Societies in Dumfries and Galloway," *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LIII (1977-8); Edward J. Cowan, "From the Southern Uplands to Southern Ontario: Nineteenth-Century Emigration from the Scottish Borders," in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1990-91,* ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992); Alistair Moffat, *Kelsae: A History of Kelso from Earliest Times* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985).

[6] T. M. Devine, *Clearance and Improvement* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), 5; Peter Aitchison and Andrew Cassell, *The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution, 1760-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003). Although Devine makes frequent use of qualitative information from the *OSA,* he does acknowledge the danger in doing so. Devine, *Rural Scotland,* 111.

depopulation.[7] Furthermore, partly owing to news editor Peter Aitchison's familial connection to Eyemouth in Berwickshire, they figured prominently in the BBC Radio Scotland series and book *The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution.*[8]

The Use and Misuse of the Term 'Clearance'

'Clearance' has become a popular model for describing the socio-economic changes taking place in the Borders at the turn of the nineteenth century and is frequently employed in emigration narratives. At its simplest, clearance implies the extensive depopulation of a region. However, because of considerable variation in the word's use, describing both forced and voluntary migrations, many conclusions and parallels have been mistakenly drawn. In Scotland, the most pressing and obvious is the comparison between the Highlands and Lowlands.

While the removal of inhabitants from the Scottish Highlands has been characterised as a clearance since the nineteenth century, the concept of the Lowland clearances is more recent in origin. It was first fully embraced by Devine in his essay "The Highland and Lowland Clearances" in Houston and Whyte's *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (1989). In it he argued that late eighteenth-century Lowland landowners enacted sweeping changes to seventeenth-century Scottish agriculture that favoured a more productive, efficient, and deserted landscape and that it was in the eastern Borders that "the theories of the agronomists were applied vigorously and wholly successfully."[9] The term has since appeared in many of Devine's works on Scotland's rural economy, but has not been widely used by others to describe the changes in the Border population and economy. Furthermore, the term and the idea it encompasses seem to have received mixed reviews from others in the field.

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[7] Gray, "Social Impact of Agrarian Change (1988)," 60; Devine, *Clearance and Improvement*, 50, 98.
[8] Dodgshon, "Farming in Roxburghshire."; Dodgshon, "Runrig in Roxburgh and Berwickshire."; Cowan, "Southern Uplands."; Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement."; Michael Robson, "The Border Farm Worker," in *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984); Aitchison and Cassell, *Lowland Clearances*.
[9] T. M. Devine, "Social Responses to Agrarian Improvement: The Highland and Lowland Clearances in Scotland, 1500-1850," in *Scottish Society, 1500-1800,* ed. R. A. Houston and Ian Whyte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 149.

Although depopulation can be a gradual process whereby population departs from a region by choice or force, most understand the term clearance as "a policy on the part of the large landed proprietors of Scotland wilfully to displace people with grazing animals, especially sheep."[10] According to Christopher Harvie, the attempt to create direct parallels between the two halves of Scotland leaves this specialised meaning of the word "overstretched."[11] Graeme Morton, meanwhile, felt that using the clearance model to analyse Lowland agriculture fills an important gap in Scottish historiography, but emotive evidence might overshadow other important aspects of the period.[12] Finally, Neil Davidson has argued against the idea that "No peasant willingly gives up land, be it only half a furrow," asserting instead that this was only true when "the land is worth defending, or if no other alternatives are available. The life of a farm servant was no idyll, but even this [...] was in many cases more secure, more remunerative, than attempting to maintain a tiny, unproductive holding from which one could be evicted at will by the lord."[13]

Despite this modest entrance into academia, the idea of the Lowland clearances has taken a much stronger hold in popular history. In the spring and early summer of 2003, BBC Radio Scotland produced a series of programmes, the last being "Highland Improvement, Lowland Clearance". This, in turn, engendered a book that employs much of the same evidence.[14] Utilising interviews with historians T. C. Smout, Christopher Whatley, and Marjory Harper, and emotional quotations from emigrant letters and the *Statistical Accounts*, this short book is effective in presenting the social and emotional consequences of agricultural improvement beyond the Highland line. This programme, along with the efforts of the James McCowan Memorial Social History Society—a Canadian organisation that provides information on Scottish and Scots-Canadian heritage—has given rise

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[10] J. M. Bumsted, "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," *Acadiensis* X, no. 2 (1981): 65-66. Even in the Highlands, historian J. M. Bumsted is careful to qualify this term as being most applicable to the period after 1815.

[11] Christopher Harvie, "Review of Scottish Society, 1500-1800," http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=94361162825781

[12] Graeme Morton, "Review of the Lowland Clearances," http://www.scottishaffairs.org/onlinepub/sa/reviews/rev_morton_sa51_spr05.html.

[13] Neil Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2: The Capitalist Offensive (1747-1815)," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4, no. 4 (October 2004): 446-447.

[14] Aitchison and Cassell, *Lowland Clearances*.

to a growing handful of personal websites on the Lowland clearances.[15] It has also appeared in the open-source encyclopaedia Wikipedia, which is increasingly becoming the first stop of general historical enquiry.[16]

Because the clearance model has gained popular acceptance despite academic qualifications of its use, and has begun to regularly appear in emigrant and settlement narratives, it is important to re-examine the social and economic situation in the southern counties as well as how it is currently being portrayed by the academic community. In order to better recognise the extent to which the term is correctly or incorrectly applied, a definite definition is required. Although cases can be made for more nuanced applications, in Scottish historiography the term 'clearance' implies a consciously-driven, widespread and rapid removal of population from a region. In the Scottish Borders, it asserts that the landowners, whose consent was a necessary if insufficient prerequisite to agricultural reorganisation, favoured out-migration, usually emigration, and promoted it actively. It is this definition that will be employed in this study.

Despite some pitfalls with the term's connotations, the key characteristics of the 'clearance' concept—the reduction of tenancies, the replacement of cottars by labourers and the widespread migration into villages and towns—are generally accepted tenets of agricultural change throughout the Lowlands. While many, including Devine, qualify this change as piecemeal, no major work since the 1960s contradicts the basic principles at play. Thus, the argument for classifying agricultural improvement in the Lowlands as a clearance relies not on the existence of change, which has been thoroughly established, but rather on its speed and scale and the use of direct or indirect force.[17] Evidence for these can be found in the emotive language of emigrant poetry, letters and the *Statistical Accounts*, in the rise in antagonism toward the "labouring poor" and in the

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[15] Lorna J. Philip, "The Creation of Settlements in Rural Scotland: Planned Villages in Dumfries and Galloway, 1730-1850," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 119, no. 2 (2003).

[16] The University College London (UCL) CIBER Group, "Student Information-Seeking Behavior in Context," http://www.jisc.ac.uk/media/documents/programmes/reppres/ggworkpackageiv.pdf.

[17] The term 'forced migration' itself has become muddled. Originally it referred to those who were literally forcibly removed from their homes through slavery or eviction. However, Jan and Leo Lucassen have argued that certain powerful individuals, such as landowners, can manipulate the local economy to such an extent that seemingly voluntary economic migration is actually forced upon denizens by mounting, cyclical debts. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Perter Lang AG, 1997), 11-12.

ingrained belief that reasonable men and women would not leave traditional subsistence farming in their ancestral communities unless forced. To better understand how effectively the term clearance can be applied, and thus to what extent landowners were supporters of emigration, a close examination of land and population policies is necessary.

Although a top-down approach is not always appropriate in discussions of social change, and has been scorned by those advocating a more populist treatment, most Scottish historians agree that nowhere in eighteenth-century Europe were the landed aristocracy more powerful and their intentions more directly achieved than in Scotland. Thus, if a conscious clearance of population did take place, the landowners must have played a critical role, even if they acted with the support of the tenants. Yet, views about the precise role of the landowners in Scotland's agricultural revolution have fluctuated with each generation of historians. This is especially true of local studies, which tend to acknowledge the general truth of landowner power but qualify the applicability to their own particular study.[18] This contradiction between local and national studies can lead to misconceptions about the role of various social classes in the migration process.

More importantly, in order to understand the roles of the church, the press, and the general population, a re-examination of the influence and power of the landed classes in specific regard to emigration is needed. Devine's assertion that the depopulation of southern Scotland was the result of a top-down clearance, of the desire of the landed elite to thin excess population, allocates a passive stance not only to the emigrants themselves, but to the other social groups in the region as well. These would have merely reacted to their situation rather than have played an active part in the reorganisation of the Scottish and imperial population. On the other hand, if the power and will of the southern landowners does not follow the general trend, the term clearance is improperly applied. Instead, a more cooperative approach to rural change, and the out-migration it engendered, may have been adopted.

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[18] Devine, "Social Responses," 154; R. H. Campbell, "The Landed Classes," in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. 1, 1760-1830*, ed. T. M. and Mitchison Devine, Rosalind (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland Society, 1988), 92.

Of course, to discover which of these is the case would be a simple matter if the qualitative evidence was as clear-cut for the Border region as it is for the Highlands. However, it is difficult to know precisely what the Dukes of Buccleuch or the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun or Sir William Douglas of Galloway thought about the social disruptions of farm amalgamation, depopulation, and emigration, because they wrote little about them directly. In contrast, contemporary landowners and scholars in the central and Highland counties spoke at length about emigration and how to prevent it. Likewise, their own heirs took pen to paper in the decades immediately beyond the scope of this study, implying some crucial change in the social and economic situation. Although these commentaries are from regions and decades outwith the scope of this study, the arguments put forth provide a model for the role of the landlord in out-migration. By examining these arguments, and the social and economic context in which they took place, the motives and powers of the Border landowners between 1790 and 1840 may to some extent be inferred.

Although the relationships between society, the economy, and migration patterns are complex, the theory that the landed of southern Scotland wished to reduce the population of their estates, and thus would have been supportive if not proactive in the cause of emigration, appears to rest on two main assertions. First, the greater landowners believed that a large, subsistence farming population hindered the development of commercial farming, which they found desirable, by inefficiently distributing land among tenants, subtenants, and cottars.[19] Second, that they feared the cost of maintaining a large population during a time of frequent economic downturn, and that this expenditure outweighed the advantage of increased production from a large workforce.[20] While these assertions are not without evidence, they may be misapplied to the greater landowners of this time and region. These economic theories may in fact more accurately describe other segments of society, many of which had little or no power to directly affect sweeping changes in traditional migration patterns.

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[19] Aitchison and Cassell, *Lowland Clearances*, 7.
[20] Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Emigration Scotland, ed., *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration. Scotland: Together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Etc. A Facsimile of the Editions of 1841.*, vol. 3, Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1968), 52.

Thus, the connections between agricultural rationalisation, poor aid and emigration warrant further enquiry and will be discussed at length below.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of eighteenth century population theories, how they broadly apply to Scottish landowners and the extent to which they were outwardly espoused by those in the Border region. It will then examine how the role of the greater landowner changed during the period in terms of both economic and social power and to what extent the Border experience can be compared with other Scottish regions. From this, it will attempt to assess how influential the general population theories were to the various layers of Border society, and the connection between these beliefs and changes to migration patterns.

Population Theories and the Landed Classes

It is perhaps appropriate, before asking to what extent agricultural improvement and the poor rate affected emigration from the Scottish Borders, to explain why these factors would be so prominent in migration analysis. Although many of the changes wrought by the Scottish agricultural revolution affected migration patterns, what is of particular concern here is the composition of the Border population and how it was or was not actively managed.[21] Up to the modern period, a large and expanding population was considered throughout Europe to be beneficial to the community and to the state as a whole. Part of this was cultural. According to the French demographer Alfred Sauvy, in all religions the 'cult of fertility' occupies an important place. Whether it concerned the "harvest, domestic animals or the people, increase is always regarded as favourable, it is a victory of man" over nature.[22] Despite the fact that population rose and fell, and that societies often, if not generally, became

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[21] Some key texts used in the preparation of this chapter include Ian Adams, "The Agents of Agricultural Change," in *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*, ed. M. L. Parry and T. R. Slater (London: Croom Helm, 1980); T. M. Devine, *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment*, 9th Scottish Historical Conference, Hosted at the University of Edinburgh 1978 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1979); Devine, *Rural Scotland*; Robert A. Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); James Edmund. Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953); Hobsbawm, "Scottish Reformers."; Ian Whyte and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1991); Ian Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, C1050-C1750* (London: Longman, 1995).

[22] Alfred Sauvy, "Public Opinion and the Population Problems," in *World Views of Population Problems*, ed. Egon Szabady (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), 311.

overpopulated, most European societies—with the possible exception of Greece—had no concept of overpopulation until the beginning of the modern period and took no precautions against it.

On the contrary, public opinion up to this period agreed with the traditional wisdom that a large and growing population was an important if not vital prerequisite for a successful community or nation. Wealth and power were measured by the quantity of people and the productivity (whether agricultural or mineral) of lands. Up until the eighteenth century, however, these notions of demographic and mineral wealth had been rather vague. Population size, especially in the military, and fiscal resources were "indices of its potential, while success had been measured in terms of battles won and territories conquered."[23] Thus, while raw population numbers, which were only vague estimates, were important as a source of military recruits and agricultural labourers, their particular quality as producers was not paramount so long as needs were met. Nonetheless, public opinion was that a growing population was a sign that the community was successful. Depopulation, on the other hand, was consistently associated with war, famine and disease, regardless of its actual cause.

Sauvy is careful to note that public opinion about population was only the "opinion expressed by those with the right to express their opinion". This, in general, meant the wealthy and landed.[24] He further asserted that while domestic animals were seen as a commodity to be cultivated, parcelled off and sold, and were therefore carefully quantified to ensure healthy products, the labour force was not seen in the same way. A landowner who derived his livelihood from the work of his peasant farmers, and whose dominion over them was absolute, would desire to increase the number of "free" workers he possessed, encouraging high birth rates and the subdivision of farmland. As marginal (or worse) farmland was not precisely classified, it was difficult for the pre-modern landowner to manage an optimally-sized workforce. Instead, having a large reserve or surplus workforce ensured the maximum possible rents, regardless of subsequent malnutrition or even famine. He went on to suggest

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[23] H. M. Scott and Derek McKay, *The Birth of a Great Power System, 1740-1815* (Harlow, England: Pearson/Longman, 2006), 117-118.
[24] Sauvy, "Population Problems," 312.

that losses in the workforce were not ameliorated by improved working conditions but instead by the encouragement of higher birth rates.[25]

While this is a rather dismal view of human nature, there are several characteristics that Sauvy's model shares with the region in this period. First, the fact that demography and statistics in any accurate sense were absent from seventeenth-century Scotland makes it very likely that miscalculations about population size were frequent. For example, in 1698, Andrew Fletcher estimated that there were nearly two hundred thousand beggars currently roaming Scotland in search of aid. With an estimated total population of around one million, it is unlikely Fletcher's approximation was accurate. Nonetheless, this approximation seemed reasonable to Fletcher and his readers in a time of economic and subsistence crises and was seen as a suitable fact to put forth to support his case. In a time of dearth it was logical that a sizable proportion of Scots would be reduced to vagrancy.[26] According to Rosalind Mitchison, population statistics were ambiguous at best and often handpicked to prove a predetermined point.[27] It was not until Webster's estimate of the population in 1755, and more definitely with the nineteenth-century censuses, that Scottish population enquiries received generally accurate answers.

In terms of absolute dominion, a case for the Scottish landowners can certainly be made. In this period, in no other country in Europe did landowners have more direct and absolute control over the lives and livelihoods of their tenant farmers than is Scotland. Unlike their English counterparts, Scottish tenants had no hereditary right to their plots of land and could be removed at will; and, unlike Denmark, landowners in Scotland were not restricted as to the level of subdivision that took place on their farms.[28] Furthermore, with poor centralised civic administration in the counties, enforcement of the law was the province of the local heritable jurisdictions and the local Kirk, whose minister was often, though by no means consistently, obliged to agree with the landowner who

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Neil Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 1: From the Crisis of Feudalism to the Origins of Agrarian Transformation (1688-1746)," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4, no. 3 (July 2004): 247-8.

[27] Rosalind Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 161.

[28] T.C. Smout, "Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 9, no. 8 (November 1962): 218; Devine, *Clearance and Improvement*, 96.

patronized him. This was especially true among the clergy of the Established Church in the rural, agricultural areas of the southern counties.[29]

Sauvy's idea of "free workers", however, is more difficult to reconcile with Scottish historiography. Surely these workers could not have been seen as free without limit. Scientific observation dictates that even a poor manager would eventually notice that subdivision and movement into unimproved wastelands were taking a toll on the health and productivity of his workforce. Yet, as late as 1800, Scottish agriculture was not universally seen as an infallible science. Many experiments were taken up and abandoned, regardless of success, because of the whim, fancy, and financial resources of the owners and occupiers.[30] Crop failure was also seen as being periodic, or, occasionally, the result of divine retribution, rather than as a result of any particular land policy.[31] Furthermore, with the right of hypothec compelling tenants to pay their rents before any other obligation, even their own domestic needs, landowners would be greatly insulated from fluctuating crop yields.[32]

Nonetheless, while many Scottish landowners may have been ignorant of the actual population fluctuations in their communities, and may have lacked the proper insight to manage their labour to the mutual benefit of tenant and owner, to cast them as heartless or cruel would be to misunderstand profoundly the relationship that had developed. T. C. Smout discourages this view of Scottish landowners, noting that while they were within their powers to be

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[29] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 19-20.

[30] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 129. Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement," 160-161.

[31] Robert Douglas, *General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with Observations on the Means of Their Improvement* (London: Printed for Richard Philips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, 1798), xv; Bryce Johnstone, *The Cause of God's Judgments Upon Britain, and the Way to Remove Them, Considered, in Two Sermons, on Amos. I. 6. Delivered in the Church of Holywood, on the 12th of February, 1801, Being a Fast-Day Appointed by the King* (Dumfries: Printed By R. Jackson, 1801), 17; Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 248. Although both Douglas and Johnstone were ministers of the Established Church, both had taken up a keen interest in agriculture, Johnstone having been recognised by the Board of Agriculture for his efforts. Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, X vols., vol. II (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1917), 276.

[32] Davidson notes that by the middle of the eighteenth century hypothec was much abused and stretched beyond the law's original intentions. Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 423. For an example of southern complaints against hypothec, see *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. IV: Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Tinwald and Trailflat, 51-52.

indifferent to poverty and to rejoice in their relative wealth, they did not.[33] To abuse subsistence farmers was considered morally reprehensible and by the end of the eighteenth century would have been described as unpatriotic. Yet, even if these landowners did not exploit their tenants to the extent that Sauvy describes, they still maintained significant power over them and may have reacted to changes in their society in accordance with his model.

To Sauvy, the key turning point in population management occurs when dominion is no longer absolute. When the costs of the rights being demanded by the tenants begin to outstrip the productive and military value of a large population, workers are no longer "free" and landowners can and will become promoters of emigration.[34] In England, the beginning of this process was the enactment of the English Poor Law in 1601 and the creation of the Speenhamland System in the eighteenth century. These systems, which required provision for those unable to work and the supplementation of those in work, were also present in early modern Scotland; the latter variant was experimented with at the turn of the nineteenth century in East Lothian, Berwickshire and Stirlingshire.[35] As the cost of maintaining the poor rose without taking into account the fortunes of the rich, Sauvy argues, the English elite became anxious about their rising populations.[36]

The answer to the "problem" of relative dominion was to disassemble, or at least neutralise, the Poor Law by a change to voluntary, charitable donations and the replacement of lazy tenants with thrifty and productive servants. This absolute reduction of the population would ease the burdens on the poor rate, and the landowners' wallets, while the introduction of labour saving techniques would compensate for the reduction in manpower. Sauvy supports his assertion that poor laws led to a shift in population management by the fact that in Ancien Régime France there had been no poor rates and consequently a rise in begging had not led to a call for the reduction of the population.[37]

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[33] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 229. Smout argued that even Sunderland was driven by a 'fanatical' belief in the value of improvement rather than a desire to exploit the peasantry.
[34] Sauvy, "Population Problems," 313.
[35] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 129.
[36] Sauvy, "Population Problems," 313.
[37] Ibid.

On the surface, the Scottish landowners did in fact follow this model. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Scots became aware of, and in some cases enchanted by, the ideas of the Rev. Thomas Malthus, the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, and Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton. Each man had his own point of view about the excess population but they were united in some respect by their desire to remove it, one way or another. By the 1810s, there was an attempt in Britain to "shovel out the paupers", either into poorhouses or into the colonies, and, for Chalmers, to dismantle the supposed "give-me" culture that had been developing in Scotland by using hunger and religious instruction as motivators of a good work-ethic.[38] Furthermore, between 1750 and 1850, rural Scotland moved from largely subsistence, small-holding tenant farming toward large-scale commercial farming with a waged agricultural workforce. A new class of young wage-labourers were encouraged to save their earnings in newly-founded friendly societies and savings banks rather than sticking out their hand to the landed classes.[39] Finally, according to the clearance model, those who could not or refused to find a position in this new structure were shoved into towns or 'assisted' to the colonies.

Therefore, there is the potential, in a socio-economic setting such as late-eighteenth-century Scotland, for Sauvy's theories about dominion and migration to explain the behaviour of these tight-lipped lairds. If during this period of agricultural rationalisation, rural industrialisation and centralised urbanisation, the landowners behaved in a manner consistent with Sauvy's narrative on the local level, we will be able to show not only how they felt about emigration, but why they did so.

Agricultural Improvement and the New Social Hierarchy

The relationship between agricultural improvement and out-migration cannot be considered simply causal in nature. Many contemporary observers throughout the Borders noted that out-migration was often slowed if not halted by the introduction of new farming techniques.[40] Furthermore, changes to agricultural

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[38] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 143-148.

[39] Ibid., 124-125; George John C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., Minister of Ruthwell, Founder of Savings Banks, Author of Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons, &C., &C.* (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant London Hamilton, Adams 1848), 145-146.

[40] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799,* vol. V: Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and

practice had been continual throughout the early modern period, rather than having been an anomaly of the latter eighteenth century, and thus cannot account for upsurges of emigration by themselves.[41] Instead, it was the social and economic framework where these techniques were employed that determined the level of out-migration. The uptake of a particular technique might have little or no effect on the labour pool unless its introduction coincided with other migratory forces, such as an increased availability of land, a rising demand for agricultural produce or a decrease in the mortality rate. Indeed, when discussing agricultural improvement, understanding the continuity of the social hierarchy, materially and culturally, and the necessity of population management by the upper classes, is crucial to understanding the landowners' role in migration patterns.

The Consolidation and Control of Land

A key aspect of Sauvy's model is that the landowning class will prevent, or at least not promote, emigration so long as they maintain absolute dominion over their tenants and workers. There are several measures of dominion, but clearly one of the most important was dominion over the resources and means of production, namely land. Therefore, to what extent did Scottish landowners have legal control over the livelihood of the still largely agricultural population and to what extent did the Borders follow or precede the generally accepted timeline?

In 1976, Loretta Timperley produced the *Directory of Landownership in Scotland c1770*, a guide whose temporal scope, though limited, has not yet been overtaken. It remains the standard reference for any discussion of landholding in

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Wigtonshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1983), Balmaghie, 25-26; *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. II: Linlithgow, Haddington, Berwick (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Channelkirk, 89. et al.

[41] Dodgshon, "Runrig in Roxburgh and Berwickshire."; Dodgshon, "Farming in Roxburghshire."; Dodgshon, *Land and Society*. In Smout and Fenton's 1965 article, which Dodgshon acknowledges, serious deficiencies in seventeenth century agricultural practice are discussed but are never attributed to a Scottish inability to improve specific techniques, but rather to social and economic considerations outweighing the costs of agricultural reorganisation. T. C. Smout and Alexander Fenton, "Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers: An Exploration," *American Historical Review* 13 (1965).

the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.[42] In 1988, R. H. Campbell used Timperley's numbers to support his assertions that there was a consolidation, albeit a slow one, of landholdings in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[43] More recently, Lee Soltow uses her assessment, and tax records for later periods, in order to analyse not only the concentration of landholding in 1770, but to discuss its continuation into the nineteenth century. Other works, such as Devine's *Land and Power in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (1998) and Whatley's *Scottish Society* (2000) rely on landholding estimates from the *Statistical Accounts*. Regardless of their source material, historians agree that landholding was heavily restricted, with under 3 percent of adult males claiming ownership. This, Soltow has pointed out, is in sharp contrast to the 20 percent of Sweden and 12 percent of England.[44] The tight grasp of a landholding class was reinforced by the fact that a third of this land was in estates worth more than £20,000, held by just 1.2 percent of the landowning class itself.[45]

Soltow's calculations show that in the southern counties about half the estates were held by the top ten percent of wealth holders in 1770. Dumfriesshire was by far the most unequal with 64 percent of the land held by the top 1 percent of wealth holders and 34 percent being held by the 3rd Duke of Queensberry alone. The 3rd Duke of Buccleuch held a similar share of Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire. In the rest of the counties, the principal landholder held roughly 5-15 percent of the land, and only in Berwickshire did the top 10 percent of wealth holders own less than half the land. Soltow further asserts that the number of landowners and their inequality coefficients (the mathematical representation of the

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[42] Loretta R. Timperley, *A Directory of Landownership in Scotland C1770* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1976).

[43] R. H. Campbell, "Continuity and Challenge: The Perpetuation of the Landed Interest," in *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700 - 1850: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1988-89*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990).

[44] Lee Soltow, "Inequality of Wealth in Land in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century," *Scottish Economic and Social History* 10 (1990): 41. Whatley allows for up to five percent, but considers just over 2 percent the most likely. Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 145.

[45] T. M. Devine, "The Great Landlords of Lowland Scotland and Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century," in *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sally M. Foster, Alan I Macinnes, and Ranald MacInnes (Glasgow: 1998), 147; Soltow, "Inequality of Wealth," 43.

consolidation of lands among these landowners) remained roughly the same from 1775 until 1854.[46]

In fact, Timperley's *Directory* points to a further consolidation of land in Scotland, shown by an increase in landowners valued at over £2,000 from 244 in 1770 to 296 in 1814. While this is not a large increase, Campbell argues that it shows "movement toward concentration rather than the reverse".[47] This trend was particularly true of the southern counties. The inheritance of the 3rd Duke of Queensberry's lands by the 3rd Earl of March, the principal landholder in Peeblesshire, and the inheritance of most of these lands by the 4th Duke of Buccleuch, meant that land not only began in the hands of a few men, the grip around it was only getting tighter.[48] Thus, while many historians focus on the stratification of the classes during the agricultural revolution, Campbell argues that this concentration on class conflict unfairly overshadows the extent to which the landowners remained in positions of power, perhaps near-absolute dominion, even up to the twentieth century.[49]

Qualitative evidence from *The General View of Agriculture* for these counties seems to confirm these general trends. In discussing Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire, Robert Douglas noted that while several estates had been sold at high prices between 1770 and 1800, the fundamental distribution of property had not undergone any significant change. He noted, for example, that of the 42 estates held by non-peers, only 14 had recently been on the market, while only two estates belonging to peers had been so. Furthermore, one large estate had been purchased from a commoner by a peer, further cementing traditional landholding families.[50] The account of Peeblesshire also noted the continuity of landownership, but did so with a more regretful tone. The practices of entail and primogeniture had, the minister explained, kept it "abstracted, in great degree, from commerce; and large masses of landed property have been made to stagnate, for generations, in single undivided possession."[51] Likewise, the

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[46] Soltow, "Inequality of Wealth," 50.
[47] Campbell, "Continuity and Challenge," 126-127.
[48] While the 4th Duke of Buccleuch inherited the title and lands of the Duke of Queensberry, the title of Earl of March and the associated lands were inherited by the 8th Earl of Wemyss.
[49] Campbell, "Continuity and Challenge," 122.
[50] Douglas, *General View*, 15-17.
[51] Charles Findlater, *General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Peebles, with Various*

account of Galloway noted that at least half of the estates in Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire were under entail and if "the same spirit shall continue among proprietors, there is reason to apprehend that the whole lands will be locked up from exchange or alienation, and the country deprived of all the advantages which the free circulation of landed property is calculated to produce."[52] Thus, whether they viewed the situations favourably or not, the general trend was acknowledged throughout.

The Changing Terms of Social Prestige

Confronted with the appearance of this sort of consolidated power, there have been several theories on why exactly those at the top of the social pyramid would take part in the social upheaval of land rationalisation. A.J.G. Cummings, in his discussion of Sir Grant of Monymusk, asserts that part of the reason some were so involved in agricultural improvement and population management was that the definition of landholding elite, and of gentry, was not as clear cut in Scotland as it was in England.[53] Although there were great family seats in the southern counties—men with the personal resources to undertake large-scale improvements, such as the 3rd Duke of Queensberry or the 3th Duke of Buccleuch—the relatively low incomes from early eighteenth-century estates meant that both "upper class and lesser landowners needed to supplement their

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Suggestions as to the Means Both of the Local and General Improvement of Agriculture. (Edinburgh: Printed by D. Willison, For Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, And T.N. Longman & O. Rees, London, 1802), xix-xx. On of Campbell's indicators of continuity and consolidation in the landholder tier was the process of entail; it profoundly affected how they proceed with improvement, sometime impeding it and at other times making it possible. He argues that there was an "upsurge" in entailing after 1760, despite the provision for it being made nearly one-hundred years earlier, making it an important and novel part of the rural social structure. Entail had many critics, their numbers increasing in the nineteenth century, who suggested that keeping land off the commercial market was against Scotland's (eighteenth century) nature as it strove to improve its economy through the commercialisation of its products and means of production. Others approved of the practice as it kept creditors at bay and "ensured the perpetuation of a particular family", in other words, reaffirming the dominion of the landed. Campbell, "Continuity and Challenge," 125-126.

[52] Samuel Smith, *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway; Comprehending Two Counties, Viz. The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and Wigtonshire, with Observations on the Means of Their Improvement* (London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1810), 37.

[53] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 233, 253. Soltow, "Inequality of Wealth," 42. A. J. G. Cummings, "The Business Affairs of an Eighteenth Century Lowland Laird: Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, 1696-1778," in *Scottish Elites: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1991-1992*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994), 43-44.

incomes by gainful employment".[54] They sought out careers in law or investments in manufacturing, trading, or banking schemes.

While Cummings described a blurring of social distinctions between the greater landowners and the gentry through the shared experience of professional work, a more important indicator of social mobility for this study was the increasing acreage possessed by the lesser landowners and the rise of its relative worth through improvement projects. Although the improvement movement has been associated with some of the greater landowners, such as the Dukes of Argyll, Smout noted that the majority of active improvers were below the rank of peer—men such as the nouveau riche Sir William Douglas, who had made his fortune in colonial trade and purchased estates in the Galloway.[55] Throughout the west of Scotland, and in the southwest especially, turnover of lands into new, enterprising hands was common. Devine noted that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, many Kirkcudbright and Dumfriesshire landowners were suffering economic hardships and in 1782 alone, seven estates were put up for sale, three of them valued at over £72,000.[56] These were taken up by both great landowners and the nouveaux riches, but it is to the latter men that we should pay special attention. The laws of entail prevented them from obtaining enough land to become peers, but unlike the great landowners, who were largely absentee and concerned with affairs in London or Edinburgh, these entrepreneurs lived most of the year either on or near their estates and were much more active in the management of land and population alike.[57] According to the minister of Dornock in Dumfriesshire,

> smaller proprietors, living and residing on the spot, would lay out their rents at home, and uniting their stock and influence with men of activity in business, in promoting manufactories, commerce, and improvements of every kind, would soon prove of essential service both to the district itself, and to the kingdom in general.[58]

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[54] Cummings, "Grant of Monymusk," 43-44.

[55] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 219. P. H. McKerlie, *History of the Lands and Their Owners in Galloway*, vol. I (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1870), 305.

[56] T. M. Devine, "The Making of a Farming Elite? Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850?," in *Scottish Elites: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1991-1992*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994), 73.

[57] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 219; Cummings, "Grant of Monymusk," 44-5.

[58] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. IV: Dumfriesshire (Wakefield: EP

Engaging in these projects with outside entrepreneurs, as the minister noted, allowed them to take part in projects normally associated with a higher social and economic position.[59]

It perhaps easy to see why men like Sir William Douglas engaged in rural manufacture and commercial development. As purchasing land was a means to social aggrandisement, it was important to beautify and in some cases utterly transform the purchased property. Douglas, for example renamed Carlinwark as Castle-Douglas and Newton Stewart as Newton Douglas, although the latter never stuck, in an attempt to cultivate social prominence in the rural southwest. Their active role in the management of their estates and labour force had many practical implications in regard to migration. Douglas himself oversaw the creation of a cotton factory in Castle-Douglas that, in part, encouraged migration to the village, increasing its population from 20 to 700 within a quarter century.[60] Likewise, James Murray of Broughton encouraged two men from Yorkshire to erect cotton mills in Gatehouse in Kirkcudbright which employed over 200 individuals, many of them English immigrants to the region.[61] While employment in factories shifted south-western migration patterns, the lesser landowners of the east, such as Mr Robertson of Ladykirk, offered "employment to numerous labourers, in improving and beautifying his property" as did Sir William Montgomery of Stanhope.[62] Upon competition, the population of the parishes sharply declined as the employees left in search of new opportunities.

These examples certainly demonstrate that the efforts of lesser landowners to raise their social status did have some effect on the migration patterns of Border Scots in this period. However, it has previously been established that these men did not control the majority of the land and livelihoods of the southern counties. For emigration to have been primarily the result of landowner policies, a similar trend toward active population management must have been present on the estates of the greater landowners. Yet, in theory, it would be illogical for men

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Publishing, 1979), 91.

[59] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 227.

[60] *OSA*, Kelton, 166.

[61] *NSA IV*, 304.

[62] *NSA II*, Ladykirk, 183; *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. III: The Eastern Borders (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Linton, 806.

like Queensberry or Buccleuch, men with the power to influence region-wide change but also with a large stake in the status quo, to engage in a process so likely to alter the social order.[63]

A series of articles by the Scottish Marxist historian Neil Davidson suggests an intriguing theory.[64] Although landholding did provide an income to the Scottish landowners, rent was not originally the only or even the primary benefit of holding a large estate. Instead, an important benefit of landholding was the paternalistic relationship between tenant and landowner and the national political power that came with a large population available for military recruitment. While these issues have been particularly well-researched on Highland estates, both these benefits were important in the Lowlands, though arguably the former more than the latter.[65] Social prominence signified the dominance a landlord had over the behaviour, economic and moral, of those under his paternal care. Davidson argues that this was usually maintained via heritable jurisdictions, which allowed civil and moral offences to be tried by the local laird or his representative.[66] This tool of dominion was protected by Article XX of the Treaty of Union, which allowed for the preservation, in their current form, of heritable offices and jurisdictions. After the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, these jurisdictions were deemed inimical to the unity of the British state, and they were official abolished in 1747.[67]

According to Davidson, the loss of heritable jurisdictions in 1747 was a fatal blow to the rural social hierarchy.[68] Up through the 1740s, the social relationships in rural counties had still relied on personal *favours*; labour and goods in exchange for land, protection in return for social obedience to local courts. When the social privileges of the greater landowners were clipped in 1747, they shifted their interest to the other main indicator of social prominence, raw monetary

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[63] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 233.
[64] Ibid; Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2."
[65] While the vast majority of recruits from Scotland were from the Lowland counties, recruitment was particularly important for Highland magnates hoping to gain patronage and other rewards from London for their military resources. J. E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 131. For a recent study on Highland recruitment and its relationship to land tenure, see Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000).
[66] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 234.
[67] Ibid.: 253.
[68] Davidson, "Capitalist Agiculture 2," 418.

wealth. As this required radical change in the way social "favours" were delivered, they had to improve their holdings, converting rents in kind to cash and commuting days of service into additional rents. If Davidson is correct, after mid-century the greater landowners of the Border region should have realigned their economic strategies and behaved in a manner similar to Murray or Robertson, and this would have had far reaching effects on migratory patterns.

According to Eric Hobsbawm's study of Scottish agricultural capitalism, the old Scottish social hierarchy was dismantled not by legislative fiat, as it was later in central and Eastern Europe, but through evolutionary transformation of legal and customary rights into monetary units.[69] The first sign of this, in the view of Devine, was the appearance of the written lease after 1670, which formally re-characterised land as an exploitable asset rather than a provider of a large, militarily and politically loyal population.[70] This arguably commercialised the land but not the workers themselves, the focus of this discussion. Instead, it was the Tenures Abolition Act of 1746, as asserted by Davidson, that began the change of perception of population and population management. It abolished wardholding and the exchange of personal and military service for tracts of land, theoretically removing the service component of rent.[71]

This commercialisation of labour fundamentally altered the variables of Sauvy's dominion equation. While substituting cash for services in tenure agreements increased the liquid capital that could be put toward improvements and personal use, it also upset the equation of increased population with increased production. Only a certain amount of labour or service could be obtained from a single man. But if services were commuted to cash payments, the number of inhabitants did not necessarily correspond to the landowner's income or an ability to produce. It was as this point that emigration became a possibility, if only a faint one.

In the southern counties, sources indicate that the traditional social relationship was reduced in many, though not all, places during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Rev. Robert Douglas, commentator on Roxburghshire

[69] Hobsbawm, "Scottish Reformers," 7.
[70] Devine, "Social Responses," 102.
[71] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 417-418.

and Selkirkshire in 1798, discussed the conversion of rents-in-kind into money (in his opinion, at an overly-inflated rate) and said that the exaction of personal service was "on the eve of abolition". He did qualify this with a rumour that "one very considerable proprietor" refused commutation of service into money payments or to consent to the exchange of lands lying in runrig with other landowners. This was considered an absurd practice to the commentator and he did not comment further less he be "accused of credulity, for believing that they exist at the close of the eighteenth century."[72] That he was afraid of appearing gullible indicates that in the eastern Borders the commercialisation of labour was near universal, *de facto* as well as *de iure* commercialisation of the labour relationship. In nearby Peeblesshire, Charles Findlater noted that Scotland, since 1748, had been gradually relieved of "the oppression of feudal aristocracy":

> In former times, the Scots tenant possessed the sentiments and habits of the subject of an Asiatic despot, rather than those of a free man: destitute of the manly confidence, inspired by the consciousness of security in the equal protection of law, he relied more upon the resources of his own dexterity and cunning; and the dread of being plundered, made him cautious of displaying such wealth as he possessed, either in improvement upon his farm, or in purchasing such comforts as accommodations as its profits might afford.[73]

In his dedication for the *General View of the Agriculture of Peeblesshire*, he also noted that Montgomery of Stanhope had been active not only in the improvement of the county but also in Parliament, arguing for alterations to the laws of entail and the commutation of personal service (referred to by Findlater as "Personal Slavery") as part of a tenant's rent.[74] The reaction of these two ministers is particularly interesting in that it seems to contradict reasonable expectations; the major landowners were described as being forces of continuity rather than the driving forces of commercialisation that top-down commentators have painted them.

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[72] Douglas, *General View*, 15, 35. Although not mentioned by name, it is likely that the rumour was about the 4th Duke of Queensberry. Throughout the agricultural report, Douglas makes direct comments about Queensberry and his lack of interest in improving or modernising his estates. Whether or not all the accusations were true, Douglas obviously felt Queensberry was living in the past.

[73] Findlater, *General View*, 36-37. That Findlater quote 1748 specifically adds additional weight to Davidson's argument.

[74] Ibid., Dedication.

There is a mixed truth in painting the greater landowners as resistant to change. Queensberry, restrained by the entailment of his lands, had little reason to pour money into his estates. Others, however, were making subtle changes to their practices. For example, by the 1770s, there was no requirement in the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch's leases for any of his Border estates relating to personal service in addition to rent, and certain feudal practices, such as thirlage, were given a monetary opt-out, though the practice was still a option. Furthermore, tenants were explicitly told to vacate the tenancy upon the conclusion of the lease, denying any implied hereditary or other claim a tenant might make to retain a particular farm.[75] While these are small changes, and did not directly affect population flows, local qualifications are nonetheless important when casting the landowners, great or small, as forces of stability or forces of change, retainers of population or promoters of its reduction. Though they were not generally identified by their contemporaries as being the most active in restructuring southern agriculture, the greater landowners were not wholly resistant to the commercialisation of labour relationships, and had taken steps toward this early on.

Yet, if at least some of greater landowners were becoming more like the smaller improvers in their methods, this should have been mentioned by contemporary commentators, notably in the *Statistical Accounts*. Instead, these commentators dutifully recorded the new mentality of the lesser landowners, but noted the resistance of the greater ones. The 4th Duke of Queensberry was described as utterly opposed to the idea of costly improvements despite high demand for agricultural produce.[76] Because 150,000 acres of his land was entailed to the Duke of Buccleuch, the majority of it was "very low rented" and utilised grassums, or entry fees. This method of renting guaranteed a steady income to the Duke but discouraged costly improvements by the tenants, who could still obtain high prices for their produce. Other sedentary landowners could be found in other parts of the southwest as well. The minister of Borgue, noted that

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[75] National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Montague-Douglas-Scott Family, Dukes of Buccleuch (Hereafter BFP) GD224/522/3/13: Printed conditions of lease on the Buccleuch estates in Roxburgh, Selkirk and Dumfries, 4 September 1778.

[76] William Singer, *General View of the Agriculture, State of Property, and Improvements, in the County of Dumfries* (Edinburgh: 1812), 58.

> there are many landlords, and among these some of the most considerable in the district, who lay out no money on their farms, and whose management consists wholly in receiving their termly rents; leaving their tenants to carry on improvements by their own capital, or otherwise to provide themselves as they best can.[77]

Thus, even if some tenants and cottars were removed from their farms by other landowners, some of the most significant landholdings offered a more traditional agricultural situation in a familiar setting.

The level and appearance of conservatism also varied as the years passed. Queensberry's successor, the 4th Duke of Buccleuch, felt that manufactures had "been pushed too far in Great Britain" and found little benefit to his rent rolls from the factory at Langholm, which had come under his patronage in the late 1790s.[78] In fact, manufactures seemed only to increase competition for capital and labourers that should have been used in his agricultural pursuits. Carrying on from this philosophy, the 5th Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, owning 80 percent of the neighbourhood surrounding Hawick, refused to lease any mill sites on his waterways, effectively preventing industrial development despite the accumulating population in the town. Rather than applaud this maintenance of the traditional rural order, one citizen wrote in 1841 that "The dread of the loss of feudal domination seems too strong even for the influence of Mammon. An alarm appears to be entertained by the landowners that they are about to lose caste by the change that is gradually taking place in the rise of the middle-classes into political notice and influence in the state."[79]

While their personal motives for doing so varied, landowners throughout southern Scotland were free to manage their estates as they saw fit. There was no state regulation of what took place within a single holding—even the oft-quoted Act Anent Lands Lying Runrig (1695), enacted to encourage farm amalgamation, only affected conflicts between landowners and not the composition within it. On the other hand, there was no central legislation demanding direct recompense for dispossessed tenants or to prevent

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[77] Smith, *General View*, 37.

[78] BFP GD224/522/3/90: William Cuthill to Mr Maxwell, 4 January 1809; *OSA IV*, Langholm, 351, 370.

[79] Robert Wilson, *The History of Hawick: Including Some Account of the Inhabitants; with Occasional Observations. To Which Is Appended a Short Memoir of the Author* (Hawick: Printed and Sold by Robert Armstrong, 1841), 295.

rationalisation or subdivision at the landowner's whim.[80] But if the loss of heritable jurisdictions did nudge them toward full-scale commercialisation, as the changes to leases and obligation suggest, why is there so little evidence of it in these accounts?

Partly, it was that the lesser landowners and improving tenants seemed to represent the future of rural Britain to the commentators of the *Statistical Accounts*. The Rev. Charles Findlater, for example, applauded the *de iure* dismantling of the local aristocratic power in his account of agricultural practices in Peeblesshire. He associated the change of legal dominion with a flowering of positive relationships between the landed, the tenants, and "the lower orders in society".[81] "The firm establishment of the monarch, and the dissolution of aristocracy" had raised the standards of living for all ranks of society. He gave particular note to the efforts of Sir James Montgomery of Stanhope, to whom the *View* was dedicated, Sir James Nasmyth of New Posso, and Burnet of Barns, all non-aristocratic landowners in the region.[82] Similar praise was given to the upper rank of the tenants. According to Alexander Lowle, a commentator on Berwickshire's agriculture, the "greatest part of the county is now occupied by such farmers as, at an earlier period, or, in several other counties in Scotland, would be termed great farmers." [83] Though the farms were generally moderate in size, several of these were held by a single tenant, allowing them to effect significant improvements on their land and reap impressive profits. As expected, the eastern accounts focus mainly on agricultural improvement. The western accounts are more varied, praising some agriculturalists like Sir William Grierson, of Lag, whom micromanaged the cultivation of his farms, but also burgeoning industrialists, like Major-General Dirom of Mount-Annan and Sir William Douglas of Galloway.[84] Throughout the southern counties, however, these farmers and lesser landowners were seen to be reorganising the economy and social hierarchy of the Borders.

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[80] Devine, "Social Responses," 96.
[81] Findlater, *General View*, 37.
[82] Ibid., 37-38.
[83] Alexander Lowle, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Berwick, with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement* (London: Printed by M. Millan, 1794), 11-13.
[84] *OSA IV*, Thorthorwald, 500; Singer, *General View*, Appendix No. XVII, 636-638; *OSA*, Kelton, 166.

Therefore, in simple terms of social prestige and power, it is clear that there was a sharp divide between the lesser and greater landowners throughout the southern counties. Which activities they were praised or condemned for varied depending on the local economy, but a general trend is evident. Residency and active involvement in the community, hallmarks of the lesser landowners, were lauded and non-residence and economic apathy, generally attached to the greater landowners, condemned. Yet, while the terms of social prestige were slowly changing, the sheer amount of land under the direct and unhindered control of the greater landowners meant the much-praised efforts of Murray or Douglas could not fundamentally reshape the lifestyle of the Borderers.

The Social Cost of Demographic Change

Yet, despite their reluctance to fully embrace the new commercialised social hierarchy, most of the landowners in southern Scotland had made some movement toward commercialised wage labour. If labour had been at least partly commercialised, and the number of inhabitants no longer directly corresponded to the level of income derived from the land, what about the reverse? Did the number of inhabitants adversely affect the level of expense and how was the expense measured and justified?

While landowning no longer carried the level of innate prestige it once did, it continued to allow for prominence through benevolence and generosity to the poor and infirm. It would be naive to consider the landowner's motivations to be wholly altruistic, understanding the concept of the obligation or duty is crucial to understanding how landowners would react to the changing economic conditions, not only for their own security but that of their tenants and dependents. According to Sauvy it is only when the economic costs outweighed the social benefit of a large, grateful population that emigration would be encouraged. Therefore, understanding the relative importance of economic and social power to Scottish landowners is necessary to understanding their role in migratory patterns.

Smout has argued that between 1650 and 1850, Scottish landowners remained powerful because of the "sense of paternal lordships valued above every other

aspect of the landed position."[85] While they were legally amongst the most absolute landowners in Europe, controlling poor relief, parish education, church patronage, the regulation of wages, the appropriation of labour for communication works and the enforcement of the law through barony courts, they also held certain ideals. "The relation of master and tenant," wrote Lord Gardenstone in 1779, "like prince and people, implies a reciprocal duty and mutual affection...beneficence to tenants is the best privilege of landed property."[86] Toward the end of the period, this ideal of social obligation still resonated with commentators on the social hierarchy. On 9 June 1830, Malthus wrote to Wilmot-Horton regarding his scheme for assisted emigration. "I think" he wrote, "you have not dwelt sufficiently on the *duty* of the higher classes to make every exertion that is likely to be effectual to improve the physical condition and moral habits of the labouring classes."[87] It would not be enough to demand that the wealthy assist the poor by handing over payments to the poor roll. Instead a genuine appeal to their morality was required so that the response was not only generous but effective in improving the character of the working class through feelings of gratitude.

Of course, those like John Maxwell of Broomholm, a lesser landowner in Dumfriesshire, noted that "voluntary support to the poor, naturally bonded the members of the community together", inclined "charity in those who can afford it" and earned "the gratitude of the poor labourers to their benefactors and to their country in general, and thus becomes a subject of no small importance in a political view."[88] Likewise, Christopher Whatley described the social hierarchy in terms of social control. He noted that a "Paternalism and the preparedness of many landowners to intervene in the market [...] and their '*willingness*' [emphasis in original] to be rated for poor relief, are judged to have been critical factors in maintaining the old rural social order."[89] He did not deny there were genuine acts of benevolence on the part of the landowners, but felt Scottish historiography has confused the actual laird-tenant relationship with the

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[85] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 218.
[86] Quoted in ibid.
[87] R. B. Ghosh, "Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton," Economia 30, no. 117 (1963): 53.
[88] BFP, GD224/522/3/46: John Maxwell to the Duke of Buccleuch, 1801.
[89] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 145.

ideal espoused by Lord Gardenstone.[90] Despite the fact that acts of benevolence, such as rent abatements, were sometimes considered indicators of poor management,[91] the landowners of the southern counties were often praised for their acts of charity, in the form of voluntary contributions of money or fuel, in the local press. "Lord Douglas" for example, "has ordered his annual donation of coals to the poor of the parish of Douglas. [...] The tenantry, much to their honour, drove them, free of expense, with an alacrity which indicated their gratification in co-operating with the beneficence of their noble landlord."[92] Other notices, such as one in the journal regarding the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry's birthday celebration, noted that "twenty-seven of his Grace's tenants in the district of Liddesdale, met in the Crown Inn here, to celebrate the same, and sat down to an excellent dinner" drinking to His Grace's health and their fortune at being British citizens.[93] This overt praise helped to reinforce the social hierarchy and to keep the spirit of paternalism alive in the community.[94]

Of course, personal economic pressures also encouraged conspicuous benevolence. Many believed that the only way to stave off statutory poor rate assessment, one of the most pressing burdens resulting from local overpopulation, was to give voluntarily, where the amount and timing could be controlled. In 1798, the Rev. Douglas was in little doubt that poor rates would continue to rise in Roxburghshire, as the needs of the poor rose with inflation and the amount of voluntary contributions dropped sharply. He therefore suggested that the landowners' best hope was to lead by example by regularly appearing at church and giving generously to the voluntary funds; "Such a conduct might have the double effect of lowering the assessments, and of acquiring such a kindly influence over the poor, as would foster their natural shame to apply for charity, except in the most urgent necessity, and quicken their efforts to provide against it."[95]

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[90] Ibid., 150.

[91] David Low, *On Landed Property and the Economy of Estates: Comprehending the Relation of Landlord and Tenant and the Principles and Forms of Leases, Farm Buildings, Enclosures, Drains, Embankments, Roads, and Other Rural Works, Minerals, and Woods* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844), 14. cited in Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement," 164.

[92] *The Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette*, 12 February 1829.

[93] Ibid.4 December 1829.

[94] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 120.

[95] Douglas, *General View*, 37-38.

As this advice indicates, absentee-landlordism was one the biggest challenges in maintaining a strict social order in the rural communities; marriages between landed families had created a patchwork of holdings in several parishes or even in several counties. While the parish of residency would benefit from employment in estate works and conspicuous benevolence, the poor funds of other parishes suffered. The primary landholder might rarely if ever attend the local church and often felt little obligation towards the inhabitants. Instead, the local minister was forced to write to the absentee landlord for assistance in maintaining and educating the poor. More crucially, the lack of conspicuous benevolence from a large landholder meant that assessment would be enforced among the smaller landholders in the parish, which bred resentment and discouraged voluntary charity. Why should they give to the church when the state took the poor aid forcefully?[96]

This absentee situation was especially prevalent in the eastern Borders. In Selkirk and Roxburgh, of the 48 greater landowners, only 18 resided constantly on their lands, with 18 listed as being occasionally on the land or within "the immediate neighbourhood." This left 12 as absentee landowners, most of whom, Douglas noted, had factors to manage the commercial aspects of their estates but not to provide for the social obligations of landownership.[97] Despite the differing economic environment, non-resident landowners were equally problematic in the western counties.[98] The minister of Hollywood, Dumfriesshire noted that "In all, there are 37 heritors, 17 of whom are non-resident,--a circumstance decidedly disadvantageous to land improvement, and to the interests of the parochial poor."[99]

 The responsibility of poor aid became an increasingly distant concern to some of the most important rate payers and social ties in the region weakened. Many parish ministers noted that the "non-residence of heritors may be mentioned as another disadvantage" and even those who firmly believed in the superiority of charity over assessment believed that "legal assessment ought on no account to

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[96] R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law: 1745-1845* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), 26; Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 168-9.
[97] Douglas, *General View*, 20-21.
[98] *NSA IV*, Kells, 116, Ruthwell, 239, Langholm, 594, Sorbie 252.
[99] Ibid., Hollywood, 557.

be abolished, [...] because it enables parishes to derive aid from the non-resident proprietors."[100] Thus, while paternalism was alive and well in these counties, arising from both a sincere sense of duty and from more cynical economic concerns, the system was on the verge of breaking down.

The Redirection of Migration Flows

The undercurrent of discontent surrounding poor relief might well have led to greater turmoil and clearance in the last decades of the eighteenth century were it not for the economic patronage that had begun to take root along the Scottish border. Direct poor relief was not the only way landowners in southern Scotland could fulfil their social obligations. Rural industry could cement paternal standing by offering local employment and material security. It could also increase social prominence among peers as feu payments greatly increased the rent rolls of the estate.[101] Through planned villages landowners could integrate the social benefit of a growing population and the economic benefit of rural manufacture in an industrialising economy.

The concept of the planned village had its roots in the fifteenth century, but its height in the Borders was in the decades surrounding 1800.[102] While Smout and Douglas Lockhart have thoroughly discussed the economic benefits these villages offered landowners,[103] Devine has noted that "perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to the crucial role of these settlements in defusing the social discontent" caused by land rationalisation.[104] In order to explore the impact they may have had, he expanded Smout's definition to include all the new and expanding villages in his area of study (the central counties of Fife, Ayrshire, Angus and Lanarkshire) and found that 35 percent to 50 percent of the parishes had such settlements. From the qualitative information in the *Statistical*

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[100] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. III: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Melrose, 73-4, Yetholm, 176.

[101] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 231-232.

[102] T. C. Smout, "The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland, 1730-1830," in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 73.

[103] See D. G. Lockhart, "Patterns of Migration and Movement of Labor to the Planned Villages of Northeast Scotland," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 98, no. 1 (1982); Lockhart, "Migration to Planned Villages."; Smout, "Planned Village."

[104] Devine, *Rural Scotland*, 144-145.

Accounts in the southern counties, about one in four parishes had a significantly sized village or town. In 1790, about 12 percent of parishes had the majority of their population in villages or towns and about 12 percent had an even mix of country and village residents. In the 1830s, this shifted to 21 percent and 8 percent respectively, though rural parishes were still in the majority. Although this is a smaller ratio than in Devine's study, the villages still seem to have had a significant effect on migration flows. Interestingly, percentages were notably higher in the eastern Borders than the southwest counties, despite there being a strong tendency for planned villages to be founded in the latter.[105] This suggests that although planned villages were more common in the west, which had better access to food and markets, the demographic importance of local centres was greater in the east, the area more generally characterised as "cleared" and depopulated.

Planned villages had both economic and social functions. Economically, villages could "retain a large and industrious population on the estate, thus providing a local market for agriculture" and increase income by allowing the landholders to lease out small feus at a relatively high rent per acre.[106] Furthermore, a local demand for crops reduced transportation expenses and encouraged tenant-driven improvements on leased land, raising rents in the next leasing cycle.[107] They also provided labour for any rural industry the landholder developed near the villages, such as cotton mills in Kirkpatrick-Durham or linen and woollen weaving in Brydekirk and New Langholm.[108] This last benefit was perhaps the most important, as Major-General Dirom of Mount-Annan, the superior of Brydekirk, noted: "The rent would of itself be no object when the waste of ground, in streets and inclosures, is considered; but the great advantage to be derived from such an establishment is the increasing value that lands acquire from having a number of industrious people settled in the heart of an estate."[109]

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[105] Smout's study places the most planned villages, by far, in the southwest region of Southern Scotland. Smout, "Planned Village," 83-85.

[106] Ibid., 75-76; Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 31-36. David Turnock, "Stages of Agricultural Improvement in the Uplands of Scotland's Grampian Region," *Journal of Historical Geography* 3, no. 4 (1977): 335-336.

[107] Smout, "Scottish Landowners," 232.

[108] Smout, "Planned Village," 85.

[109] Singer, *General View*, Appendix No. xIV, 595.

In areas where these villages existed, and where they were succeeding, they encouraged landowners to manage the population not reduce it.

Whatley tempered this positive view of planned villages with examples from the Highlands. He argued that the small size of the feus and an inability to obtain larger tenant holdings, forced people to take up the nearby industry in order to survive. Davidson concurs, noting that in addition to legislation restricting emigration abroad, these villages were meant to keep population numbers high despite a general tendency for agriculturalists to migrate during agricultural rationalisation. The same was likely true of those taking up feus in southern Scotland in the eighteenth century, where the early mills, agricultural improvements and seasonal shortages required a steady pool of wage labour. By setting aside land and actively encouraging in-migration to these villages, landowners were altering natural migration patterns and forestalling emigration. Yet, was this a conscious effort to prevent out-migration or a fascination with the economic possibilities of rural industry? Although southern landowners left little commentary on population management, many of their Highland contemporaries did. By comparing their efforts in establishing planned villages, the motives and concerns of the Border landowners may become clearer.

In the early 1790s, the Earl of Breadalbane supported the formation of a society to create a planned village in his Inverness-shire holdings. The purpose of this town was explicitly "to prevent as far as possible that evil Emigration." However, the Earl was having difficulty putting his desires into effect. In a 1791 letter, his factor noted that the outside agents were incurring great expenses but making no real progress. Instead, he suggested that they employ "a sky[e] man of respect who was knowen [sic] to the common people & [of] their genious […] such a man would be the means [of] getting settlers that stranger could not." The agricultural inhabitants were wary of taking up village lots and needed active encouragement from the landowner to do so. Furthermore, while it was Breadalbane's clear purpose "to retain men", he would have to begin infrastructure improvements, such as a pier, to prevent the new town from being "at the mercy of country merchants" and one that will only attract

"miserable beggars".[110] A subsequent letter happily informed the Earl that several settlers, mostly tradesmen, had taken up lots in the village but confessed that there was no real way of gauging how many would still emigrate; the village society would "prevent many tho' not all".[111]

These letters support Smout and Dodgshon's arguments on the purpose of the southern planned villages and the need for compromise between tenants and landowner to make them successful.[112] They also mirror the efforts of landowners along the Solway Firth in establishing employment and attracting residents. Dr Rogerson of Wamphray for example, had "held out good encouragement to labourers, and thus induced a number to settle in the parish."[113] Likewise, in the parish of Middlebie, "an enterprising gentleman has attracted the employment of a great proportion of the surrounding population, and in particular deals in wool more extensively than any individual in the county."[114] In fact, it was seen by some of the commentators of the *Statistical Accounts* to have been a general trend among the landowners:

> It was formerly thought by many proprietors of land, that the great desideratum was to get plenty of people to build and settle upon their estates. But experience has taught them, that collecting a multitude of people, when there is not sufficient employment for them, instead of being any advantage, has no better effect than to bring a heavy burden upon themselves, and upon the neighbourhood, and is the sure way to increase the number of paupers, and to introduce parochial assessments for the maintenance of the poor, with all their concomitant evils.[115]

Yet, while outside observers commented on encouragements from proprietors to retain population, the estate records of the greater Border landowners themselves contain no discussions of population retention, let alone emigration, until the end of the period. Only a few smaller landholders, such as Major-

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[110] National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Hereafter BM) GD112/7/19/11: Alexander MacLeod to Lord Breadalbane, 3 October 1791.
[111] Ibid. GD112/7/19/10: Alexander MacLeod to Lord Breadalbane, 3 October 1791.
[112] Dodgshon, *Land and Society*, 269.
[113] *NSA IV*, Wamphray, 142-143; Singer, *General View*. 595-96
[114] *NSA IV*, Middlebie, 366.
[115] Ibid., Torthorwald, 32.

General Dirom of Mount-Annan, made specific reference to increasing population though village employment, and only whilst in the planning stages.[116]

Despite this paucity, there were some commentaries on villages and population management from the south. Some of these are to be found in the *OSA*. Several ministers saw the benefits of the creation of a bulwark against out-migration. In providing farm labourers with feued holdings, which were often leased in 99-year terms, they "are fixed upon the spot, and their posterity will not migrate from it."[117] Others saw villages working in concert with emigration, such Walter Johnstone of Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire.[118] In his 1822 emigrant guidebook, he discussed the social consequences of agricultural improvement. Of "those great land proprietors who are intending to break up their small farms in order to form large ones" there were two socially responsible paths to take. To those tenants that were young and industrious enough to immigrate to Canada, their former landowners should assist in their relocation. For those "whom it would be imprudent to emigrate, I would advise in this case the grant of small lots of land, in suitable corners, at reasonable rents, where they might keep a cow, and with a little assistance erect themselves neat and comfortable houses to dwell in", that is to say, to create a class of rural village feuers. In writing a guidebook, Johnstone was clearly not attacking those who emigrated from the area. Instead, he seemed concerned with the urbanisation, "where their children will be much exposed to a school of vice, which may cause them at a future period, to become the pests of society."[119] Nonetheless, both the ministers and Johnstone felt that improvement would naturally cause out-migration, whether to cities or abroad, and the landowners had a moral obligation to maintain the population that they could. As to who took up this advice, the evidence is not clear-cut. Generally speaking, planned communities and rural manufactures were patronised by lesser and non-aristocratic landowners such as Sir William Douglass at Castle-Douglas, Major-General Dirom at Bridekirk, Sir Robert Grierson at Collin, George Home at Eyemouth and James

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[116] Singer, *General View*, Appendix XIV.
[117] *OSA III*, Chirnside, 59-60.
[118] D. C. Harvey, *Journeys to the Island of St. John or Prince Edward Island: 1755-1832* (Toronto: The Macmillian Company of Canada Limited, 1955).
[119] Ibid., 149-151.

Murray at Gatehouse of Fleet.[120] Yet, there is some evidence of greater landowner involvement. The manufacture at Langholm was resurrected owing to the aid given it by the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch in the 1790—though his heir later rued his involvement in the works.[121]

From their language, both the ministers and Johnstone appear to be selling the moral rationales behind planned villages. This suggests that the maintenance of population was not the stated purpose behind them in southern Scotland. This is also hinted at by Buccleuch's distaste for his predecessor's establishment of manufactures in Langholm. Unlike Breadalbane, who attempted to create employment in order to maintain a large population for recruitment, the previous Duke appears to have seen planned villages from the opposite point of view. In order to establish a rural manufacture, a profitable employment during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a large population was needed and readily available from the slowly consolidating countryside. Several population pools had formed naturally as a result of land rationalisation, and these were developed by landowners into manufacturing centres. However, once industry was established, they found that the agricultural labourers were reluctant to move into an industrial setting. Consequently, landowners had to offer superior wages and leases to attract workers from agricultural employment.[122] Major-General Dirom of Mount-Annan, for example offered leases "at a moderate rent, compared with what they would pay in the neighbourhood of large towns."[123] While inexpensive leases were generally applauded, high industrial wages concerned agricultural employers. According to Walter Anderson of Chirnside:

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[120] *OSA*, Kelton, 166; Singer, *General View*, Appendix No. XIV; *NSA IV*, Thorthorwald, 32; *Mail*, 4 June 1818.

[121] *OSA IV*, Langholm, 370; BFP GD224/522/3/901809: William Cuthill to Mr Maxwell of Broomholm, 4 January 1809.

[122] Smout, "Planned Village," 87.

[123] Singer, *General View*, Appendix No. XIV, 595-596.

> If, for the sake of working up a multiplicity of materials for the purposes of the [manufacturing], the bulk of our common people be drawn into the cities and manufacturing towns, so that the country villages, whence must come food and provisions for the whole community, are left with a scarcity of labourers in husbandry, the farmers must then either pay such extravagant wages as the defective number of them will insist upon, and consequently raise the prices of their corn and cattle, or else be induced to diminish the land culture, and look for their profit to their live stock, which can be managed with the fewest hands.[124]

Border landowners also had to compete with their English counterparts. Several ministers complained that labourers demanded high English wages, lest they migrate southward to find employment.[125] Nor were these idle threats as several advertisements could be found for Northumberland and Cumbria factories. One such appeared in the Kelso mail in 1804: "EMPLOYMENT FOR WEAVERS. IN the WOOLEN [sic] MANUFACTORY at AIKLINGTON PARK, in Northumberland. Such as have Families will be preferred, and accommodated with comfortable Cottages."[126] Passages from *Statistical Accounts* indicate that the labourers did indeed receive their demanded wages and this demonstrates a conscious desire to retain population on economic grounds rather than as a social or military base.[127]

As rural industry declined, and better roads opened up agricultural markets further afield, a large, local population was no longer necessary and there were no apparent efforts to create employment to maintain them. Instead, migration was then seen as a natural outlet for the dammed up population. In the village of Castletown, for example, the feuers "breed up their families to no useful [purpose?], and the place itself affords them no employment".[128] The Duke of Buccluech, was therefore advised by this factor, to encourage the emigration of the surplus population to North America. Thus, while there is no qualitative evidence that southern planned villages were created explicitly to halt emigration, they nonetheless did redirect population away from the major towns and ports for several decades.

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[124] *OSA III*, Chirnside, 56.
[125] Ibid., xxvi-xxvii.
[126] *Mail*, 14 May 1804.
[127] *OSA III*, Edlestown, 746.
[128] BFP GD224/511/20/5: W. Ogilvie to the Duke of Buccleuch`, 8 Nov 1842; *NSA III*, Castletown, 446.

Although the primary rationale behind planned villages may have been economic, that does not negate the very real social benefits landowners obtained. Socially, rural villages were seen as protective environments, taking in surplus population but shielding it from the vices of the city.[129] This role as protector and arbiter was actively taken up by the Duke of Buccleuch; both in his village and country holdings. "Anyone in New Town of Langholm" for example, "convicted of disobeying any rules [...] or subletting to anyone who is known to be guilty of such disorderliness, will be removed at the next Whitsunday."[130] Likewise, "In all the new leases, a clause of nullity is inserted, in case of moral delinquencies therein specified; and tenants, even of a suspicious character, are in danger of losing their farms at the expiry of the lease."[131] Like many other aspects of rural life in this period, the new commercial villages were framed within a social context by the landowners and the community.

The integration of commercialised labour and paternal population management indicates that, on the whole, the social hierarchy was characterised more by continuity than radical change. Although there was an inflow of lesser landowners from merchant and law backgrounds, most of the land was retained or obtained by the large landholding families. While there is some evidence of social reorganisation—an increase of absenteeism and a reliance on rent rolls rather than muster lists—the value of a large, deferent population is evident in many of their actions. There were certainly significant strains on eighteenth century rural society, but those on top maintained their hold on power and showed little desire to support out-migration.

So, from where then do the perceptions of clearance come? Why is the outmigration of so many Border Scots seen as a result of agricultural rationalisation and rising poor rates? Are they simply a misplaced parallel with the Highland clearances? On the contrary, throughout the period there are many accounts of the rising economic burden of Scotland's poor as a direct result of

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[129] Whatley, *Scottish Society*; Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 436.
[130] BFP GD224/522/3/31: Printed notice to the inhabitants of the village of the Newtown of Langholm by the Duke of Buccleuch as to penalties to be inflicted on disorderly tenants.
[131] *OSA IV*, Canonbie 50-51.

improvements and of emigration as a curative measure. The question is, who was advocating population reduction and why?

Social Fluidity and Class Tensions

According to Sauvy's model, rising poor rates will eventually outweigh the social and economic benefits discussed above and induce landowners to remove—or promote the voluntary exodus of—the surplus population. Therefore, understanding how welfare crises developed in these counties should help illuminate the landowners' role in emigration. Before presuming the landowners to be the centre of the debate, however, it should be determined who was most negatively affected by the rates. This is not difficult to ascertain as the poor rate was a pressing and actively debated problem in the years surrounding 1800.

Population and old Scottish Poor Law

In the earlier social hierarchy those who owned the land were expected to shoulder the majority of the burden, either through assessment or voluntary donations to the Kirk. As social expectations changed, a new set of rules began to develop. First, the landed were again included in both legal assessment as well as voluntary contributions. The middle class of farmers, tradesmen, and merchants was also generally included in assessment and the expectation of charity. The working classes however, were only asked to contribute to the poor through charitable donation. Not possessing enough land to be assessed, it was still hoped that they would "contribute their mites" at the church door.[132]

Just as legal obligation varied, so too did motives for contributing to the poor rate. Although the Rev. Douglas of Roxburghshire felt voluntary contribution had moral advantages, he recognised that assessment had the very clear benefit of "subjecting all men equally, according to their possessions, to the necessary burden of supporting the indigent" despite the division of the population into different sects or out of religious observance altogether.[133] Landowners might also have wanted to spread the burden. Some contemporary commentators had complained that Scotland's poor were attempting to impose the more supposedly more liberal English Poor Law on Scottish landowners. Historian R.A.

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[132] Douglas, *General View*, 37-38.
[133] Ibid.

Cage, however, muses that it may have been the larger landowners who were imitating the English in an attempt to shift the weight of poor relief off their own shoulders and onto the general population.[134] After all, during the war years, the tenant farmers had generally risen in material wealth and prosperity, giving them the means to contribute more significantly to the maintenance of the parish poor. This may have been the case in Langholm, where the Duke of Buccleuch passed on half of the poor rate burden not only to his farming tenants but also to the feuers in the town. In 1791, "twenty eight persons, inhabitants of the town, all of them of the lowest classes, refused to pay their quotas, amounting together to £1:3:9 [...] This when known, prompted others to follow the example and the [illegible] soon became numerous, and made it necessary to apply to Your Grace's Baron Baillie for judgement."[135] Many in the Borders chafed at the idea of universal legal assessment. This frustration only grew after the conclusion of the hostilities with France. As the economy depressed, the demands on the assessed became greater and the economic fortunes of the middle class halted if not reversed. With a rising Dissenting population preventing universal church collections, legal assessment was needed in order to maintain the poor of a parish effectively. Thus, discontent increased.[136]

According to Mitchison, there were several arguments put forth against implementing the English Poor Law in Scotland.[137] First, it was considered an unfair burden on farmers, who were forced to contribute based on the land they leased. Second, it was thought to promote idleness and only increase pauperism by encouraging early marriage and procreation. Last, many argued that a guaranteed poor allowance by way of assessment engendered an influx of pauper migrants whom, after three years' residency, could claim aid even if they were fundamentally strangers to the parish. This anti-poor rate sentiment was supported by a new evangelical work ethic that was taking hold in moral discourse. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, for example, argued against the idea of a "right to a living", claiming that not only did no such right exist presently, it was against Scottish tradition. This view was so popular among some of the

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[134] Cage, *Poor Law*, 37.
[135] BFP, GD224/522/3/46: Memorial of John Maxwell to the Duke of Buccleuch, 1797.
[136] Brown, *Religion and Society*, 20-21, 101.
[137] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 137-138.

gentry that they attempted to ignore earlier precedents if not completely remove them from history.

The appeal of this work ethic among the gentry stemmed not so much from a selfish desire to beat down wage labourers, but from a misunderstanding of economics. This was in part caused by those landed proprietors who derived their income from the legal profession as well as their rents. Many of these considered themselves "working men" despite their holdings. Because of this, they felt confident in asserting that if they did not need to rely on parochial aid, no other working men should either. Mitchison points out the seemingly obvious fallacy that legal work, unlike linen manufacture, was not as susceptible to economic cycles.[138] Nonetheless, this sentiment resonated strongly with those able to keep their heads above water.

Of particular umbrage to working rate payers—tradesmen and farmers as well as lawyers— was the Speenhamland system, which was experimented with in rural Scotland around 1800. In this system, those in employment had their wages supplemented by the parish, sometimes by special subscription, in order to bring them up to a subsistence level. In the southern counties it was most frequently used in Berwickshire. However, the system proved particularly unpopular among middle-class rate payers and in 1804 *Pollock v. Darling* brought the issue before a judge.[139] Pollock felt that, as he was little better off than those he was meant to support, the parish had no right to rate him. The court found for the defendant. Interestingly, though the economic situation in 1816 was similar to 1801-2, the Speenhamland system ceased to be employed and was instead replaced by soup kitchens and voluntary subscriptions; a triumph of the new views on poor relief. Furthermore, the system had been specifically referred to by Sauvy as an example of diminishing dominion. Its removal suggests that poor relief had become a tangible threat.

Further west, attempts were made to remove assessment entirely. In the Dumfriesshire village of Langholm, between 1791 and 1805, the lesser rate payers made repeated attempts to disavow their obligation to the parish poor

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[138] Ibid., 148-152.
[139] National Archives of Scotland, Bill Chamber Processes, Old Series (Hereafter BCP) CS271/22797: John Darling v Adam Pollock. Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 129.

fund, claiming that poor aid had never been legally compulsory in the past and no Briton could be taxed without a legislative act. In contrast, the Duke of Buccleuch, who was responsible for almost the entirety of the contribution, paid without recorded complaint and the poor rate collector, an employee of the Duke, presented those who refused to pay with an outline of the history of Poor Law legislation in Scotland to convince them of their historical obligation.[140]

There are many reasons why the Duke, despite being the primary contributor in several counties, chose not to challenge the assessed rate at this stage. The most likely is the important role conspicuous benevolence played in maintaining social order. In his discussion of the English Poor Law, Peter Dunkley notes that

> For a government notoriously lacking in coercive powers, particularly a trained police force, popular belief in the reality of an interdependent, organic society resting upon the obedience of the poor and the paternal benevolence of the rulers seemed, at least for the moment, well worth preserving.[141]

Those who did not benefit from the maintenance of the system, or for whom the social advantages were outweighed by the financial costs, were at the forefront of the movement to abolish the assessed rate.

There were also those with strictly moral objections to assessment. For them, attaching behavioural prerequisites to receiving aid was a suitable solution. This method was evident in the efforts to remove the Sheriff court, a secular ruling body, as a place of appeal against parish aid denials. Mitchison argued that this attempt was thwarted despite support from the middle class because, in general, the landed class supported the right of appeal. They did so partly on moral grounds, because they agreed that provision of aid was desirable, and partly on practical ones, because they feared popular unrest if traditional forms of appeal were removed. Therefore, while those with moral arguments for or against assessment may not have been directly concerned with population numbers, those who benefited socially or suffered economically from a large population sought the support of the moral arguments supplied by these

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[140] BFP, GD224/522/3/46: Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the Maintenance of the Poor in Langholm, 1791-1805.

[141] Peter Dunkley, "Whigs and Paupers: The Reform of the English Poor Laws, 1830-1834," *Journal of British Studies* 20 (1981): 126.

ministers. In the end, those supporting moral prerequisites triumphed; in *Richmond and others v. The Heritors and Kirk Session of the Abbey Parish of Paisley* the right to appeal to secular Sherriff courts was removed.[142]

All of this suggests that, while a range of rate payers was feeling the pinch of harder economic times, those at the top of the social scale still had non-economic reasons to maintain the poor rate system and fought to maintain it. Because they regarded a pool of surplus labour as desirable, as demonstrated by their support of planned villages, and accepted the economic costs of maintaining that surplus labour, demonstrated by their maintenance of the old Scottish Poor Law, the greater landowners were not likely to be supportive of emigration, at least not at this stage. On the hand, the debate surrounding the Poor Laws indicated that views on population were beginning to shift. One of the main arguments put forth against the Poor Laws was that they had allowed but never compelled parishes to impose legal assessment, and where assessment had occurred it had been temporary in nature. Although this is also the view taken up by Cage, Mitchison has painstakingly refuted both these claims, arguing that assessment had been a requirement of the sixteenth-century Poor Law, not merely a voluntary and temporary occurrence in Scotland.[143] Therefore, the demographic theories of the late eighteenth century were in fact novel and their widespread acceptance foreshadowed a shifting opinion on population management.

While lesser rate payers had some success reducing assessment, the problem of maintaining the poor was still a pressing a one. Even at this stage, however, the most popular solution was not emigration. Instead it was one offered by a southwest minister, Dr Henry Duncan of Ruthwell—the savings bank.[144] Unlike friendly societies, wherein any member in poor fortunes could claim aid regardless of past contributions, members of savings banks could only claim money they had had the foresight to save themselves. This call for personal responsibility endeared the programme to both moral and economic opponents of assessment. Savings banks gained significant patronage in the second decade of the nineteenth century with 31 parishes possessing them in Lowland Scotland

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[142] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 149-164.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Duncan, *Henry Duncan*.

in 1815. By 1818 the number of banks had risen to 130 outside Glasgow and Edinburgh.[145] Their impact goes beyond simple numbers, however, as residents of other parishes patronised neighbouring banks. Yet, the effectiveness of savings bank in supporting a large, semi-industrial population is debateable. These institutions were only really useful to single men and women, such as young farm servants, as the cost of taking care of a family would prevent any surplus money from accumulating.[146]

The significance of the savings banks, like the protests against assessment, is their demonstration of changing views on population. Despite a long history of statutory poor relief, as Mitichson has shown, the rate payers were becoming more individualistic and the demands of self-sufficiency more severe; though the middle class was becoming increasingly important in terms of poor aid collection, they felt less socially obliged to do so than landowners of the previous century. Most importantly, these two solutions were not generally advocated by the greater landowners, such as Buccleuch, but by those who could not directly effect a significant numerical reduction of the population. These solutions appear, instead, to be alternatives to emigration. This is further suggested by the fact that, as the economy depressed and Britain's population became an even greater strain on its financial resources, the greater landowners were bypassed and the government itself began to encourage voluntary emigration abroad.

Class Tensions and Migratory Paths

Although the creation of savings banks and the weakening of assessment were expressions of the rising class tension, the changing demographic composition had a more direct impact on emigration from the southern counties. As the landowners reorganised their holdings, the ratio of the landed to the landless shifted and created an environment amenable to mass emigration.

Despite the relative stability of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, southern Scotland had undergone important changes. It was not only that the proportion of wage labourers had greatly increased; it was the fact that

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[145] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 135; Cage, *Poor Law*, 70-71.
[146] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 123.

they had become socially fragmented in contrast to the upper and middle classes. In *Scottish Society*, Whatley argued that the nineteenth century middle class was extremely united in its religious and social views, making them a "stronger force than the working class, which was divided amongst occupation, religion, and gender".[147] Callum Brown noticed a similar trend; skilled labourers attempted to fit in with the evangelical middle class while many unskilled labourers turned from Kirk.[148]

Michael Robson's work on Border farm labour showed how this social stratification affected the rural communities of the southern counties. Although the transition to full-time wage labour began in the eighteenth century, this change in social relations was initially offset by an increase in real-wages. With heavy internal demand, those in agricultural sectors found steady employment, as did the rural manufacturing centres that supplied the war-effort. Rev. Douglas enthusiastically noted in 1798 that of the 42 non-aristocratic greater landowners in Selkirk and Roxburgh, 8 were "actual farmers, who, by their industry and skill, have purchased estates."[149] He likewise noted that many small proprietors had "acquired handsome fortunes".[150] When economic depression followed the conclusion of the fighting, Robson argued, many tenant farmers were bankrupted and others had to drastically reduce their expenditure, namely labour costs, in order to survive. This came as a shock to a class of labourers used to high wages and the hope of social mobility—both the result of ambitious improvement projects and war-time profits. Now labourers were faced with monetary reduction and social stratification.[151] In Peeblesshire, "Wages are not now so high in proportion to the mode of living, as they were during that war; employment is not so steady."[152] Likewise in Hutton and Corrie, the "profits from farms and the wages of labour have greatly decreased since the reestablishment of peace, there appears now a good deal of pecuniary

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[147] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 301.
[148] Brown, *Religion and Society*, 121.
[149] Douglas, *General View*, 15-17.
[150] Ibid., 20-21.
[151] Robson, "Border Farm Worker," 90.
[152] *NSA IV*, Traquair, 46-47.

distress."[153] The minister here then noted the link between socio-economic decline and out-migration:

> The consequence has been emigration to the British North American possessions and the United States. Dr Smith observes in his Wealth of Nations, that man is, of all luggage, the most difficult to be transported; and that such is his attachment to the place of his birth, and where he has spent his early years, that he will cling to naked rocks, and pestilential swamps, to a land of storms and tempests. This attachment, however, appears to be losing strength with many.[154]

While this situation was not wholly the direct result of agricultural rationalisation—the conclusion of the war severely shocked the economy—the commercialisation of labour by landowners had made a larger proportion of Scots vulnerable to economic downturn. Furthermore, the post-war depression was the culmination of several other downturns—in 1792, 1794, 1810 and 1811—which had already begun the process of regional specialisation in Britain. By 1820, most of the rural industry in the southern counties had evaporated, and much of Britain's capital had concentrated in English industrial towns and the west of Scotland. The cotton works established in Castle-Douglas enjoyed several years of success, and rapidly increased the size of the village. "The introduction of the power-loom, however, rendered it impossible to carry on with advantage such a trade in places like Castle-Douglas, where there is neither coal nor a sufficient power of water, and it has consequently been abandoned."[155] Labour turnover in rural areas became severe and the small plots of land that had served labourers during high wages could not support families in times of unemployment.[156] As a result, economic status hardened and the working class became cultural separated from the skilled hinds and tenants with whom they had previously shared their meals.

As likelihood of obtaining a tenancy, and therefore social ascendency, decreased, more farm labourers sought cottage accommodation and employment wherever they could obtain it. This increasing mobility within the region raised the spectre of vagrancy.[157] As the decades progressed, the idea of a rowdy and

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[153] Ibid., Hutton and Corrie, 539.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid., Kelton, 167-168.
[156] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 227; McKerlie, *Galloway I*, 305.
[157] Devine, *Rural Scotland*, 135.

squandering labourer emerged. The Rev. Robertson of Selkirk saw nothing but debauchery among the working class and felt that they were not socially responsible enough to enjoy luxuries such as cotton or tea. The misuse of tea was also considered a problem by the minister of Coldingham. He noted, "The only extravagance they are guilty of is their breakfasting upon tea, in place of pottage [porridge], the constant morning diet of their more athletic ancestors, which debilitates them".[158] Yet, as Mitchison argued, it is unlikely most farm servants were financially capable of much luxury or debauchery, living on one shilling a day.[159] This fear of a mobile and immoral population prompted further objections to assessment. Yet, even if the rate payers had wanted to support the unemployed and underemployed, the economic changes wrought by improvement were dismantling the mechanisms of the old relief system.

In the 1770s, the Scottish Poor Law had become an important and generally effective safety net in most parishes, with almost all the parishes in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire assessed on at least on a temporary basis.[160] In the final decades of the eighteenth century, however, changing economic conditions shook its effectiveness. On the one hand, a change to a cash economy made it easier to collect and distribute funds, and rising fortunes meant there were more residents able to support a poor rate. On the other hand, there was a change from year-round agricultural cycles, where a particular job might be seasonal but there was the possibility of work throughout the year, to manufacturing cycles, where entire segments of the workforce could be thrown out of work at once. Furthermore, rising population densities made it increasingly difficult for the minister to know and review the economic conditions of all their parishioners.[161] These changes led to the abandonment of certain social services on economic grounds. The system of conspicuous benevolence and Kirk door donations could only work when the majority of people were in work on a regular basis. If a large segment of the community was thrown out of work at once, a very real possibility with local manufacture, a more efficient system of collection and distribution was needed—namely

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[158] *OSA III*, Coldingham, 98-99.
[159] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 123.
[160] Ibid., 116-117. Cage, *Poor Law*, 27.
[161] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 114. Cage, *Poor Law*, 153.

assessment. This was generally taken on in the last decades of the eighteenth century, even if there were complaints, but the depression after 1815 tipped the balance in favour of abolition. The post-war Berwickshire county report, for example, made it clear that "there was no wish to extend the right to relief to the unemployed, even though half the parishes recognised that there was a shortage of work in winter."[162] Without effective, systematic poor relief in place, the costs of a large population became clear and the possibility of reducing that population through emigration became more appealing.

Of course, rural stratification did not simple push the rural working class to emigration. Economic changes to the region affected migration patterns of Border Scots in all classes. First, the ability to implement improvements at all came from the gradual separation of the agricultural population into two distinct classes. According to Davidson, "without the existence of a relatively prosperous class of rich peasants it is difficult to see where the lords would have found a sufficient number of tenants, or how these tenants could have afforded the investment which the landowners demanded."[163] Thus, improvement not only encouraged but actually required a consolidation of wealth by a relatively few successful farmers and the economic stagnation or decline of many others.

The precise social hierarchy of the Border region is difficult to define because of the ambiguity of the terminology used. Even beyond the first phase of improvement, below the status of tenant were varying ranks of men and women referred to as cottagers, cottars, cotlanders, cot-men, bondagers, labourers, and servants. While semantically these have been given separate definitions by way of their obligations to the tenant or landowner, contemporary sources often confuse or lump together populations under terms that vary from parish to parish. Robson noted that cotlanders and cotmen, terms which indicate some degrees of small-holding, could include not only men who received a small patch of land in return for services, but also widows with children who had been allowed to stay on their former holdings or women whose husbands or sons were employed elsewhere.[164] On the side of the greater tenants, there were also the Bonnet lairds, those who owned and worked their own lands held directly from

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[162] Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 180-1.
[163] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 417.
[164] Robson, "Border Farm Worker," 75-76.

the crown. Though relatively few across Scotland as a whole, they were well represented in the southwest where they formed a distinct social and political class.[165]

Despite the variations present, there were some clear signs of class tensions and loss of social mobility. This was, in part, the result of a contemporary desire to classify the population in simplistic terms of tenant and servant. Relations were strained, for example, by the perception of unwarranted liberty among employees. In the so-called kitchen systems, it was perhaps idealistically believed that a paternalistic relationship between the farmer and his workers would encourage good behaviour and mutual loyalty between the social classes. However, as agriculture commercialised and the division between tenant and farm labourer became more pronounced, the social contract between them apparently dissolved.[166] Rather than direct discipline at the hands of the "gudeman", good behaviour, Robson argues, was now enforced by third-parties, notably the Justices of the Peace. In Kelso, Roxburghshire, one JP ruled that

> It was a mistake in servants, hired by the year or half year to suppose that, after their ordinary work hours, they are at liberty to dispose of or absent themselves as they please without their master's leave; that, on the contrary, all such servants are bound to be at their master's call, at all times during their service, by day or night, when occasion requires.[167]

A desire for clear class separation seems to have put the working class under the social control of those above them in a highly impersonal way. Although these restraints on labourer mobility were aimed at re-instilling social deference in the labouring class, there were other reasons to curb their migration. While wage labourers were the most likely to migrate in economic depression, having no

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[165] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 236.

[166] Whatley partly attributes this to a rise in consumerism among the middle classes. While contemporary authors generally espoused the opinion that the working classes were just as guilty of conspicuous consumption as their middle-class counterparts, Mitchison supports the distinction between the two classes by arguing that the wages of agricultural servants precluded most consumer products and indulgences. Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 153; Mitchison, *Poor Law*, 123.

[167] Royal Commission on Labour. The Agriculture Labourer. Parliamentary Papers, 1893, vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 45, para. 31 (Clackmannan). Quoted in Orr, 1984 #336@46-7; Robson, 1984 #337@89-90;}

immovable assets, the landowners were careful in allowing too great a freedom of movement.

In one of the first greater-landowners commentaries on population, the Duke of Buccleuch wrote to his factor in the autumn of 1842, noting his observations about emigration. Though the letter itself has not survived, the reply indicates that he was concerned as to the quality of those leaving his Border estates. He was assured, however, that "they were mostly carpenters or artificers of some description, who had [illegible] together then some little means, and those who went from this, were of a kind we could very well spare, being mostly discontented radicals."[168] On some holdings, however, caution had to be exercised. Many of those wishing to emigrate from Castletown, for example, were from "the better class of Labourers".[169] While it would not necessarily harm the estate to lose a portion of them, no "effectual means could be adopted to prevent their places [being] supplied by an immigration from neighbouring districts", particularly the English. These likely immigrants were "of a much worse description of people" and it was feared they would take up the cottages vacated by Border emigrants and, after three years residency, make a claim on the poor funds. While the Duke was willing to thin the ranks of the skilled labourers during economic downturn, he could not allow an immigration that would further increase the proportion of the unskilled and infirm. In fact, the factor recommended first obtaining unanimous consent from the tenants and feuers not to lease out their houses to outsiders without a guarantee against becoming a burden on the poor rolls.

Moreover, overpopulation in an industrialising region could be just as beneficial to the landed interest as overpopulation in a subsistence agricultural one.[170] Although emigration was seen as a solution to the mounting costs of poor relief, Malthus criticized Wilmot-Horton's emigration advices because they did not account the rise of wages for the remaining population. Depopulation could possibly have an adverse effect on the rate payers, who were often the region's principal employers.[171] When skilled labour was in short supply, as was often

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[168] BFP GD224/511/20/5: William Ogilvie to the Duke of Buccleuch, 8 November 1842.
[169] Ibid. GD224/511/20/8: A.H. Maxwell to the Duke of Buccleuch, 25 Feb 1843
[170] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 272.
[171] Ghosh, "Malthus on Emigration," 53.

complained in the *NSA*, workers were able to demand inflated wage packets. This raises a very interesting dilemma on the part of the landholders. Depending on the type of labourer who chose to take advantage of the scheme, skilled or unskilled, the landholder might be reducing his burden of assessment but significantly raising his annual outlay for labour.

The reactions of the greater tenants and landowners show a significant change in the way labourers were viewed. In the second half of the eighteenth century, when employment had been largely subsistence agriculture, population was directly linked to productivity. This was similarly true during the early stages of rural industrialisation as the market was largely elastic. By the 1830s and 1840s, however, neither agriculture nor rural industry demanded a rapidly expanding workforce. These men and women were now a resource to be quantified and controlled. They had moved away from paternal free-labourers to figures in a cost-benefit analysis. As a result, their migration was a matter to be weighed and measured against possible future costs.

That is not to say all traces of paternalism were dead. In March 1832, the 5th Duke received a letter from a Scottish emigrant asking for assistance to provide for his family in Canada. Having left Dundee for Halifax in 1817, "as the times seemed to wear a gloomy aspect", under the impression that he would be provided for by the Earl of Dalhousie (then Governor of Nova Scotia), he found that times were gloomier still in North America than at home, especially when Dalhousie was replaced by the Duke of Richmond. As his family had been tenants of Buccleuch "as far back as Registry reaches" he requested "some pecuniary assistance of his deep distress".[172] Once they had left the shores of Scotland, emigrants might still call on their former landowners for paternal aid and protection.

This evocation of paternalism was present on the home shores as well. In 1842, another of Buccleuch's factors enquired, seemingly at the Duke's request,

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[172] BFP GD224/588/3/16: George Scott to the Duke of Buccleuch, 13 June 1833. Other requests had been made of Scottish landlords and communities on far more flimsy pretexts. One group of the Dutch merchants, for example, had, in times of fiscal hardship, applied to Scotland for aid on the basis of their Scottish ancestry. Steve Murdoch, "Children of the Diaspora: The 'Homecoming' of Second-Generation Scot in the Seventeenth Century," in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

whether or not the labouring population of Liddesdale, along the English Border, would be willing to volunteer for emigration should he sponsor their relocation. Although many of them were wary of travelling under private speculators, they seemed reassured and encouraged by the idea of travelling under the protection of the Duke. Most of those he described were "young and deserving weavers, well fitted for labour", likely suffering or liable to suffer under changing economic conditions.[173] Thus, when removing economic burdens, there was a hint of the old social relationships, even if paternalism was no longer necessarily at its root.

Social relationships are also suggested by the fact that emigration assistance was sometimes requested by the prospective emigrants themselves. On some occasions, the Duke received individual requests for patronage, such as one by David Home. Being 81 years old, and having "great difficulty in procuring employment for my young men for want of patronage, especially in times like the present", he asked Buccleuch for £5 in order to equip his son who was shortly sailing for New York "to try his fate in the western world".[174] On other occasions, the requests were collective. In the spring of 1843, "Two parties of Emigrants have presented themselves with a view to being assisted by the Duke of Buccleuch to emigrate to Canada", one from Castletown with 182 persons and another from Langholm with 127 persons.

Including £1 landing money for each adult, this emigration project was estimated to cost the Duke £1057.10.[175] In both parishes the annual poor assessment ran to nearly £400, with around 60 individuals on the poor rolls, and much of the burden fell on the Duke as the principal landholder.[176] The emigration costs, therefore, represented less than a year's support should these weavers and labourers fall into poverty in the coming years. The arrangement, therefore, provided economic benefits to both parties while still referencing remaining social bonds, at least theoretically.

Meanwhile, despite close attention on the movement of labourers, the migration of the greater tenants was apparently unencumbered and often encouraged.

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[173] BFP GD224/511/20/6: A.H. Maxwell to the Duke of Buccleuch, 11 Nov 1842.
[174] Ibid. GD224/585/8/12: David Home to the Duke of Buccleuch, 30 March 1832.
[175] Ibid. GD224/511/20/7: Memorandum, 29 March 1843.
[176] *NSA IV*, Langholm, 428; *NSA III*, Castletown, 446.

Although the consolidation of holdings meant a reduction of tenancies on many southern estates, the Border famers had a distinct advantage over most other regions of Scotland, with the possible exception of the Lothians; they were in high demand. Whatley, Gray and James Hunter all noted that Highland landowners, in an attempt to turn a quick profit, created large sheep farms managed by men recruited from the uplands of southern Scotland. As this was the most "cleared" region of the Borders, it was invaluable to have this sort of employment opportunity for those who wanted a large-scale farm but were unable to obtain one in their home counties.[177] Likewise the minister in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire noted that it was good husbandry to recruit "two or three substantial farmers from the Lothians […] who would soon convince their neighbours by their example, of the great improvements that may be made in this parish".[178] Though the minister here points to the Lothians, recruitment calls came to most of the "improved areas" in due course.[179] There were also calls closer to home. On 20 October 1823, a Northumberland landowner advertised in the *Kelso Mail* for "TWO respectable TENANTS, from the Counties of Roxburgh or Berwick, to occupy two FARMS situated in the county of Northumberland." In Dumfriesshire, the 7th Marquis of Queensberry also "sought out and accommodated several eminent farmers".[180] For those with a mind to emigrate further afield, newspaper advertisements from the 1820s requested Border know-how in the West Indies and other British colonies.[181]

Of course, just because the tenants were likely to find employment outside the south does not mean that the landowners were satisfied to see them depart. The fundamental problem with allowing voluntary emigration was that those who could afford the passages and settlement costs on their own were precisely those who were needed at home, as was noted by the Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland in 1841.[182] As they left, the proportion of unskilled or

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[177] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 241; Malcolm Gray, *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 89-94; James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 15-16; Robson, "Border Farm Worker," 88-89.

[178] Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 442.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Singer, *General View*, 60-61.

[181] *Mail*, 20 October 1823, 25 March 1822, 18 October 1824

[182] Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Emigration Scotland, ed., *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration. Scotland: Together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Etc. A Facsimile of the Editions of 1841.*, 49.

unemployable Scots increased and put an even heavier burden on the rate payers who remained behind.[183] Like the purpose of planned villages, this fear was made explicit by the Highland Earl of Breadalbane.

In 1785, his factor informed the earl that one tenant was quickly disposing of his movable property and giving up his lease "suddenly, and at so late a period" in order to secure the funds to emigrate the following year.[184] Because he was "one of the dearest and most substantial tenants on the estate" he attempted to dissuade him from migrating, but with no effect. Although his removal meant an increase in rent from £25 to £32, it was understood that losing an industrious tenant was not fully compensated for by an increase on the rent rolls. In 1807, on another of Breadalbane's estates, his factor complained of further emigrations and the effect it would have. While acknowledging that he would be able to obtain new tenants for the land vacated by emigrants, they would be inferior to those exiting. He particularly noted that the emigrant families had been on the estate for a century previous and were therefore trusted members of the community. As the main complaint was the rising level of the rents, the factor wrote to Breadalbane, suggesting that it would be worth lowering the rents in order to maintain the industrious population.[185] Also that year, a land transaction taking place between two tenants was raising concern. The seller in question was planning on emigrating and it was feared that it would cause a chain reaction amongst the other tenants on the estate. "If this gets a beginning among them there is no saying where it will stop as the one leads away the other and I know from what happened in other districts that once it begins it will be very difficult to slow it."[186] This emigrant was of particular concern because he "has a good subject and has some turn for improving his possessions."

Yet, there was no such discussion in Buccleuch's or Queensberry's estate papers for the same period. The steady, if piecemeal, consolidation of arable landholdings meant that, in general, fewer "improving" tenants were needed at each leasing cycle. Furthermore, there were plenty of Borderers and Northern

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[183] D.V. Glass and P. Taylor., *Population & Emigration: Government and Society in 19th Century Britain, Commentaries on British Parliamentary Papers* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1976), 59.

[184] BM GD112/16/4/1/2: John Campbell of Achallader to Lord Breadalbane, 20 May 1785.

[185] Ibid. GD112/16/4/6/50: Alexander MacDougall to Lord Breadalbane, 9 December 1807.

[186] Ibid. GD112/16/4/6/10: John Campbell to Lord Breadalbane, 4 March 1807.

English farmers, all well equipped to handle stringent leases, vigorously bidding for leases.[187] Thus, the migration of tenants was not spoken of with the same disdain as that of the labourers and there were clear benefits to both sending and receiving communities. There was a thinning of competition for the decreasing number of farms, preventing unrest over escalating rents, and there was a spreading of agricultural knowledge to other regions of the country. Therefore, the hardening of the rural classes had a profound effect on migratory patterns; the prosperous were allowed and even encouraged to emigrate while the poor, those most in need of freedom of movement, were pinned down.

The causes of tension and cooperation between the landowners, the tenants, and the growing wage labour force were numerous and conflicting. The changes to Scotland economy and social framework affect migration through the provision (and refusal) of poor aid and the opportunities for employment. Yet, these were only indirect consequences of the actions of the greater landowners. Yes, they were partly responsible for shifts in landholding and the availability of work, but neither the loss of feudal prominence nor the rising spectre of poor relief, the two most touted causes of Lowland clearance, prompted them into reducing the population. Thus, Sauvy's formula of absolute dominion cannot fully explain the relationship between the greater landowners and Border migration, and the conception of agricultural improvement leading directly to emigration cannot be supported in this case.

Conclusion: The Highlands and Lowlands in Emigration Historiography

It has been generally accepted that the social repercussions of Lowland agricultural change were less severe, or at least more quietly accepted, in the Lowland parishes than in the Highlands. Davidson argued that it was the timescales involved. Though both Lowland and Highland agriculture underwent

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[187] At the beginning of our period, the Duke of Buccleuch's lease demanded the use of several improved agricultural techniques including a particular crop rotation and mandates to create and maintain fences between neighbours. By 1802, in addition to rotation mandates, which if not followed resulted in a supplementary rent of 40s per acre, particular sections of the farm were designated by the Duke as arable, meadow and pasture and were to be enclosed with stone-dykes by the tenants at his own expense, and maintained, also at his own expense, while any black cattle or horses grazed on "sheep" pasture resulted in a £4 rent per animal. BFP, GD224/522/3/13: Printed conditions of lease on the Buccleuch estates in Roxburgh, Selkirk and Dumfries, 4 September 1778; GD224/522/3/4: Statement of the Farms to be Let from Whitsunday, 8 May 1802. These leases appear to be standard for those in the eastern Borders. Lowle, *General View*, 64-65.

commercialisation after 1746, the latter "was always going to take longer to complete" owing to its more backward starting position. In the decades following the end of the wars with France, Highland landowners decided the timescale was too long, and they would make more money with less effort by simply switching to large scale pasture. Furthermore, unlike southern Scotland, rural manufacturing was in decline during the push for improvement, decreasing the value of a large, concentrated population and making forcible eviction more common.[188] In a similar vein, Whatley chalks the tranquillity of the Lowlands up to its "relatively slow population growth, rapid economic expansion, the existence of a buoyant labour market and ample opportunities for both agrarian and non agrarian employment".[189] In the Lowlands, which developed a domestic outlet for its surplus labour, sweeping population changes were not as necessary.

Convinced of the reality of widespread out-migration, Devine suggested that a reason that the Lowland agricultural rationalisation was seen as less destructive, and thus not properly characterised as a clearance, was because the Highland removals occurred in an age of new sensibilities in which the social repercussions of improvement were seen as deplorable.[190] Yet, if anything, the decades of agricultural improvement in the southern counties were saturated by social awareness and social obligations in which many of the major players wished to retain population in its current structure rather than unilaterally clear it away in favour of monetary compensation. Furthermore, improved agriculture, for all its social repercussions, still provided material benefits to large swathes of the rural and urban population of Scotland. Those who were able to succeed at large-scale farming were rewarded by higher yields and an increased standard of living. Those who remained or "fell" into wage labour generally secured more consistent employment as estates required not only agricultural labourers but also skilled workers to improve internal communication and upgrade existing buildings. Increased productivity also had the effect of stabilising food supplies, not only to the rural communities, but to the urban centres that could now

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[188]Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 1," 229; Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 437-438.

[189] Christopher A. Whatley, "How Tame Were the Scottish Lowlanders During the Eighteenth Century?," in *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700 - 1850: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1988-89*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 21.

[190] Devine, "Social Responses," 107.

devote their resources to manufacturing and other investments rather than to securing foreign grain to feed their populations. The eighteenth-century Scottish landowners, like their contemporaries in Scandinavia, were conscious of the effect their land policies were having on the lives of the parish residents and the "best and most responsible among them" took positive steps to mitigate the turmoil through the creation and social management of rural centres.[191] Their efforts to maintain a world of population and paternalism in a burgeoning commercial environment greatly explains why the Lowlands were not thrown into the social disarray seen in the post-war Highlands.

Lastly, explaining the gradual change and depopulation of the Borders as a clearance, or even more dramatically as a foreshadowing of twentieth century totalitarian regimes, relies on the double fallacy that the improving landowners were united in their strategies and unanimously successful in bringing these strategies to fruition.[192] On the contrary, this discussion has already highlighted the inconsistent approach southern landowners took toward commercialisation. There were also many ways in which grand schemes for improvement and land redistribution were slowed or halted. One was social opposition, though southern Scotland witnessed few uprisings outside the 1720s Levellers Revolt.[193] The other was the sheer cost of improvement. Improvements required an enormous outlay of money—not all of which guaranteed a return, even in the long run—in order to hire workers and purchase materials.[194] Moreover, rent levels were often dictated by the availability of improving tenants; that is, tenants willing to undertake sometimes rigidly enforced lease conditions. Rent might need to be lowered to attract or retain such tenants, and if they could not be found, the land might be taken into personal possession, removing rental payment for the years it was under wage-labour improvement.[195] This is all in contrast to the

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[191] Smout, "Planned Village," 77.

[192] James D. Young, "The Highland Clearings, Karl Marx, and 'Stalinist Modernization'," *Scottish Labour History* 37 (2002): 45. Davidson, "Capitalist Agriculture 2," 438.

[193] John Leopold, "The Leveller's Revolt in Galloway in 1724," *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* 14 (1980).

[194] Devine, "The Great Landlords of Lowland Scotland and Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century," passim.

[195] Malcolm Gray, "The Processes of Agricultural Change in the North-East, 1790-1870," in *Perspectives in Scottish Social History*, ed. L. Leneman (Aberdeen: Mercat Press, 1988), 133; *OSA*, Anwoth, 4.

relatively low maintenance required for the large scale pasture farms and deer parks that dominated the Highland landscape.

There were clear and obvious movements by the greater landowners toward commercialised agriculture, such as the monetisation of lease obligations and a movement away from small-scale subsistence agriculture to large-scale farming and rural industry. Nonetheless, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, agricultural rationalisation and technological improvement were slow, piecemeal, and contradictory. While certain smaller landowners such as Dirom of Mount-Annan and Montgomery of Stanhope worked tirelessly to modernise their estates and communities and actively manage migration flows, the greater landowners were relatively slow to change their views of wealth and social prominence. Small movements notwithstanding, there was a sedentary quality to the men who held the largest tracts of land and thus controlled the economic fate of the largest proportion of the population.

Nor should it be ignored that the main legal effort to quantify men as producers and burdens, the abolition of the poor rate and the enforcement of moralistic parochial relief, did not come from Buccleuch, who appears to have paid his contribution with little ceremony, but from the newer and less affluent rate payers. This should not, of course, be interpreted as the heartless middle-classes overthrowing the kindly and paternalistic landowners. Rather, it suggests the survival of the connection between paternalism and population. The landowners' slow and piecemeal movement toward fully rationalised agriculture was accompanied by a slow and piecemeal movement toward a Malthusian mentality but rural life was too complicated to assign simple cost-benefit values to a rising population. A snap embracement of "Progress!" would likely have resulted, as it did in certain Highland districts, with a quick and painful jump to Malthusian population management. However, having already progressed down the path toward English agriculture by mid-century, the greater landowners of southern Scotland evidently felt they could improve at their leisure and maintain the benefits of their social relationship into the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, though the tenant farmers were the most likely to face harsh competition for continued residence, they were also the most able and willing to emigrate. Voluntary emigration and internal migration were therefore sufficient

to prevent serious unrest. Likewise, the unsystematic improvement of farms and estates meant that cottars, agricultural workers and labourers, already highly mobile in the mid-eighteenth century, did not have to travel far to find sub-tenancies on as-yet-unimproved farms or employment as workers on current improvement projects.

The greater landowners certainly had an important role in the social and economic lives of the Borders. In terms of employment and social welfare, their actions and inactions had a profound impact on how the region developed and changed. They also unquestionably helped set the stage for post-war emigrations through the development of wage labour and the encouragement of short-distance migration to regional centres. Nevertheless, assumptions of intentional clearance or active prevention of emigration in the Border region cannot be supported. Despite the burdens of the assessment and loss of prestige from heritable jurisdiction, the greater landowners consistently interwove novel commercial opportunities with traditional social obligation through this period. No matter how loudly lesser landowners and middle-class rate payers spoke at the burden of poor relief and their fear of vagrancy, it made little impact on landowner policies until the 1830s. Even then, the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry was being approached for assistance and protection, not condemned for dispossession and clearance. Yet, there was a group of Border Scots who did condemn the landowners, great and small, for their part in the depopulation and decline of the rural southern parishes, the ministers of the Established Church.

Chapter 2: The Kirk, Improvement and Migration

A great deal of work has been done using the first two *Statistical Accounts* of Scotland in the field of social history before and especially since the republication of the original accounts in the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the 50-year gap between accounts, they provide keen insights into the state of Scotland at the turn of the nineteenth century. Yet, while its modern editors and careful reading make it clear that many of these ministers had a personal axe to grind, their opinions are sometimes taken as fact, or at least as illustrative evidence of a widespread, and dreaded, depopulation of the regions. However, claims of Lowland clearances, both contemporary and historical, are not always easily reconciled with the demographic, economic, and social evidence, as seen in chapter one.

Yet, there exists in these accounts a strong emotional resistance to rural depopulation. The loss of this rural culture is, for reasons that will be discussed below, particularly abhorrent. Those viewed as responsible for its destruction, namely landowners, may have been perceived as selfish and avaricious in their actions. Yet, to assume that all, or even the majority, of landowners intended to fundamentally alter cultural as well as economic structures in these areas is to misunderstand the process of industrialisation. Rural areas, in general, are characterised as having a dispersed population. This is usually because their economy relies on agriculture, which requires a relatively high land to labour ratio.[1] As agricultural methods modernise, proportionally fewer farm labourers are necessary and a decreasing number will find regular employment. This will prompt migration to urban centres or, if possible, to other rural areas that still require their labour. Moreover, because rural migrants were primarily those seeking employment, rural locations that offered opportunities in expanding industries, such as manufacture, were more likely to maintain their population numbers. Therefore, depopulation in southern Scotland, to the extent that it did occur, was not intended to be a departure from "rural life", by force or choice. Instead, it was the result of the diminishing need to spread individuals over large

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[1] Kingsley Davis, "The Effect of Outmigration on Regions of Origin," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 151.

rural areas and the increasing opportunities for employment in urban centres. Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century migration was a logical, if unprecedented, economic progression and should therefore not be seen as comparable to traditional calamities such as war, famine, and disease.

If rural depopulation in these areas had been the result of a sudden misfortune, an unexpected inability to support its population, those remaining would have been only marginally better off. The community would have removed the burden of an excess population, but would have also lost valuable labour resources. Without these means of production, it would have been relatively worse off than other regions in Scotland. Instead, as sociologist Kingston Davis explained, rural depopulation in southern Scotland was prompted by increasing efficiency in agriculture.[2] As fewer labourers were needed to feed the population, more individuals could take up employments outside agriculture without fear of their families or communities starving. In fact, the out-migration of farmers and skilled labourers to urban centres and the emigration of agriculturalists to the colonies allowed Great Britain to become the first industrial nation and an imperial power.[3] However, this is not how the parish ministers of the Borders saw it.

To discard most of their insights as erroneous, however, would be as irresponsible as accepting them at face value. The opinions of the ministers of the Old and New *Statistical Accounts* may not provide an infallible snapshot of Scotland in the 1790s and 1830s, but they do help illustrate the social position of these ministers, and how the widespread changes affected their worldview. Between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the churchmen of Scotland underwent massive theological and philosophical changes, and changing population patterns had a significant part to play in their lives.

While qualitative data is more important in discerning the mood and perspective of the ministers, this information can only be understood in relation to the 'hard facts' of the situation, as best as historians can discern them, as well as the facts as the ministers perceived them. Throughout history these two sets of data

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[2] Ibid., 163.

[3] Pieter C. Emmer, "Was Migration Beneficial?," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1997), 113.

have rarely been identical, and in most cases are merely distant relations. In some cases, a minister wrote a pitiable account of his community after looking at untrustworthy information, while another wrote a pitiable account despite information to the contrary.[4] In both these cases, the reader's first instinct is to picture a desolate countryside, a parish un-peopled. Yet, in most of these communities the population was in fact still growing, sometimes significantly so.[5] These statements did not necessarily reflect the world as it existed, but the world as perceived by the ministers. Thus, rather than use the *Statistical Accounts* to recreate life in these Border counties, this chapter will use them, along with other writings, to illustrate the extent to which perceptions of emigration were wrapped up in perceptions of social and economic change. To do this, however, it must first explain, as fully as possible, the ministers' explicit stance on emigration.

Emigration

There is no indication that the birth-rate of the Border region decreased at the end of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, the increased use of inoculation and rising standards of living in rural districts decreased the mortality rate, especially that of children, and rising wages were encouraging early marriage and consequently larger families. However, the net population of southern Scotland was not exploding at an unfathomable rate, and the ministers of these parishes noticed this.[6] The inference is obvious, and similar to most countries experiencing a revolution in agricultural production. The population was not dying but leaving. While there were several options open to these now unfettered Borderers, the most drastic, and therefore the most prominent in historical accounts, was emigration.

The widespread movement of Scottish families and communities has so thoroughly captured the imagination of their descendents that historians have spent over a century attempting to account for it. Because the *Statistical*

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[4] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. III: The Eastern Borders (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Merton, 255-256, Makerston, 553-554; *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. IV: Dumfriesshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Tinwald, 489.

[5] For a compilation population numbers from this period, see *OSA III*; *OSA IV*; *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. V: Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1983).

[6] *OSA*, Colvend and Southwick, 88.

Accounts were written in the years between major surges of emigration, it is natural to assume that the ministers of the southern counties would have pondered the effects of and concerns surrounding the emigration of their neighbours.[7] This is not the case.

In other areas of Scotland the ministers expounded for pages on the movement of their residents southward and across the Atlantic. "Britannia," wrote John Robertson of Callander, "sits already on a solitary rock, hangs down her head, and, with her eyes bent toward America, she deplores the departure of her sons. Ere long, she shall shed a flood of tears, and her cries of distress will be heard in vain; when her lion is trodden in the mire, by his foes, and none to afford relief."[8] Lament-filled diatribes, these accounts are invaluable in illuminating how the Highland ministers perceived the increased mobility of their parishioners. The same cannot be said of their southern counterparts.

In the strip of land from Berwickshire to Wigtownshire, most ministers failed to mention any sizable emigration from their parishes, or discounted it as being in the past and not a current trend. While Dumfriesshire ministers were slightly more open in their discussion of emigration than their neighbours, even their contributions are scant and conflicting. Some applauded the movement of young men to the West Indies who brought renown and wealth back to their home parishes.[9] Others saw men emigrating to avoid justice for their crimes.[10] Still others referred only indirectly to local emigration, focusing instead on poor Highland migrants or the "transmarine strangers" from Ireland who had come to take up the homes and jobs of the exiting Scots.[11] Though emigration was taking place throughout the period between 1790 and 1840, the ministers seemed "loath to admit loss of their parishioners in this way."[12]

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[7] Emigration from Britain had several peaks and troughs in eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but three notable surges were in the 1770s, the 1810s, and the 1850s.

[8] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. XII: North and West Perthshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Callander, 627.

[9] *OSA*, Kells, 148; *OSA IV*, Torthorwald, 507.

[10] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. IV: Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Hutton and Corrie, 552.

[11] *OSA IV*, Kirkconnel, 275n.

[12] *OSA III*, xxxvi.

Scant as the commentary is, emigration was not completely ignored in either *Statistical Account*. Of the 173 parishes examined, 40, or just less than one quarter, at least mentioned emigration trends. In the eastern Border counties, these were almost completely relegated to the *NSA*, written in the 1840s on the rising tide of mid-century emigration. In Galloway, however, most accounts referring to the emigration of the 1770s and 1780s. Only the three parishes on Wigton Bay noted emigration in the 1840s, and two of these saw emigration in earlier accounts as well. Having both the large farming districts of the eastern Borders and the Atlantic ports of Galloway, Dumfriesshire was a fairly even middle-ground. Migration trends were noticed first along the Solway Firth and, later, up the middle parishes toward Selkirk and Roxburghshire. The logical assumption that port towns would notice emigration first, therefore, appears true throughout the southern counties.

Yet, saying that it was not completely ignored is not saying much. The majority of references rarely exceeded two sentences or a simple enumeration of those who had left. Furthermore, these numbers were far too low. Hornsby's analysis of Scottish emigration has identified the emigration of over 800 Borderers to Canada alone.[13] Since Whyte's directory—the primary source used by Hornsby—covers only about 5 percent of immigrants from the period, the number of Border Scots that actually migrated to Canada is likely in the thousands and well beyond the handful directly mentioned by the ministers.

Though a great many more individuals left Dumfriesshire for North America than the ministers admitted, there was probably a good reason for them to understate the extent to which it was occurring. Comparative studies of migration by Kingsley Davis, Peter Morrison, George Meyers and Joseph Spengler, suggested that emigration was often demonised because of the environment in

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[13] S.J.N Hornsby, "The Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (October 1992): 400. Although Whyte's directory includes emigrants up to 1871, the list of individuals from this period does support the idea that many thousands emigrated during the period under discussion. Moreover, as the directory only covers emigration to Canada rather than the United States, South Africa or Australia, even a generous estimate on Canadian immigration would still only be a fraction of the total number of individuals. This is further supported by departure figures listed in the regional newspapers, which indicated at least 3000 Borders left from Dumfries in the decade following Waterloo. For more details, see chapter three.

which it generally occurred.[14] In traditional rural societies, decline in population signified an unsuccessful community, one suffering from famine, disease or other socio-economic flaws, which caused otherwise content residents to leave. Because the ministers did not, or perhaps could not, understand the changing economic environment around them, one in which out-migration signalled a rise in agricultural efficiency and productivity rather than the reverse, emigration caused them to fear that their society and economy were in decline. No minister would want to admit that the region under his care was undergoing decline, and certainly not in print. To do so would undermine his moral and social authority. It is probably for this reason that one minister boasted that the people of this parish were very content and that only a only a few families "—not more than four or five,—have, in recent times, emigrated from the land of their fathers."[15] Others juxtaposed sojourning, which was seen as acceptable, and emigration, which was not. The minister of Mouswald in Dumfriesshire stated that "None have emigrated, though a good many young men go from hence to England and the West India Islands, in different lines of life; and several men, and some few women, pass over to England, where they are employed as servants."[16]

Yet, with such distaste for emigration, there should be long, abstract discourses such as the one the minister of Callendar had chosen to write. Undoubtedly, there are many more disparaging remarks than positive ones in the southern accounts. But, in truth, the ministers seem remarkably uninterested in the entire process. In the east, only the minister of Jedburgh spoke directly against it and his remarks were hardly inflammatory. The changes in his parish, he felt, had "deprived the community of many of its most valuable members, by reducing them to the necessity of emigration."[17] The minister of Whithorn in Wigtownshire echoed this sentiment, though he was more concerned about the

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[14] Davis, "Effect of Outmigration."; Peter A. Morrison, "The Functions and Dynamics of the Migration Process," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977); Joseph J. and George C. Myers Spengler, "Migration and Socioeconomic Development: Today and Yesterday," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

[15] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. II: Linlithgow, Haddington, Berwick (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Lauder, 7.

[16] *OSA IV*, Mouswald, 436-437.

[17] *NSA II*, Jedburgh, 14-15.

sloth entering the parish than the productivity leaving it.[18] The others, mostly in Dumfriesshire, focused on the emigration that had been avoided through the founding of local mills, rather than any actual departures abroad.

There are other reasons that certain Scots had a distaste for or even a hatred of the "spirit of emigration."[19] One of the main objections can be traced back to the role of the Presbyterian minister. As a moral leader of his community, he was expected to keep a watchful eye on his parishioners, enforcing moral laws and meting out moral punishments. Once a parishioner was out of his view, he or she was liable to get up to all sorts of debauchery.[20] Added to this, according to Jan and Leo Lucassen, was a "very long history of stigmatisation" of those outside the clearly defined administration, namely vagrants. If they were allowed to remain, they might become a burden on the poor rate or lower the respectability of the entire parish.[21] While chapter one has detailed the economic arguments against assessment, what these ministers were mainly concerned with were the social and moral implications of vagrancy.

Migration disrupted the orderly world that ministers, with their personal knowledge of parishioners, maintained. Slipping between parish boundaries, the good could be led astray or the wicked might escape their rightful punishment. The regular timber-trade between the port of Dumfries and North America, for example, allowed local criminals to disappear into the Canadian wilderness "with their ill gotten gains."[22] The Rev. Jacob Wright of Hutton and Corrie complained of at least 20 such lawbreakers having fled his ministry alone and begged the attention of local proprietors to redress the grievance quickly.

Concern regarding the moral character of prospective emigrants reached well beyond the manse; the general public sometimes became involved in judging

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[18]Ibid., Whitorn, 60.

[19] Interestingly, the use of the term "spirit" was a relatively new one in regard to emigration. At the turn of the eighteenth century, those speaking of emigration to and from Ulster had employed the word "humour", implying the desire to emigrate was a sort of illness or imbalance. John Sherry, "The Scottish Diaspora in Ulster and the Consolidation of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, 1692-1714" (paper presented at the Irish and Scottish Migration and Settlement: Political Frontiers Conference, University of Aberdeen, 3 May 2008).

[20] Elizabeth Hellen Wans MacKinnon, "Church of Scotland Ministers' Views on Social and Economic Change in Early Nineteenth Century Scotland, with Particular Reference to the Old and New Statistical Accounts" (MA, University of Western Australia, 2003), 66.

[21] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Perter Lang AG, 1997), 20.

[22] *NSA IV*, Hutton and Corrie, 552.

fugitive emigration. In 1823 both the *Berwick Advertiser* and *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* reported on an incident aboard an emigrant ship.[23] As it was pulling out of the port of Dumfries, men with several warrants for arrest boarded and searched for a young man. When found, he was arrested and taken off the ship. However, as he was "a handsome young fellow," the women aboard pulled him back with "the most indomitable courage, tugging, pulling, and scratching, until the bailiffs were at least fairly obliged to desist".[24] Conversely, another man was found in hiding who had been accused of abandoning his wife and children to the parish. Though the officers had no warrant for him, the women threw him off the boat, demanding that he return to his family. Regardless of whether or not these stories are entirely factual, they do show that the concept of the lawless emigrant was rife in the public imagination, not merely in the ministry. This may also have been a particularly local obsession of the ports—the story did not appear in the landlocked *Kelso Mail*.

The lawless were not the only ones ministers feared would disappear from their borders. At the time of the *OSA*'s publication, several Dumfriesshire parishes were diversifying with small-scale manufactories, usually in the textile industry. Greater access to English coal, by sea and river, encouraged many southern landowners and entrepreneurs to set up industry in rural villages. However, despite a growing demand for British manufactured goods at home and abroad, these businesses failed as often as they succeeded. In 1772, a financial crash and widespread unemployment sent a whole community of Renfrewshire Scots to the colony of New York.[25] A similar economic downturn threatened the town of New Langholm in the late 1780s. Fortunately, the minister Thomas Martin explained, the weavers had been hired just across the border in Carlisle by two English manufacturers.[26] The economy having since stabilised, Martin believed the workers would be able to return easily to their old jobs near their former homes and families. Had they been forced to emigrate further away, a return to economic prosperity would not likely have brought them home again. These

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[23] *The Dumfries & Galloway Courier*, 15 April 1823; *The British Gazetteer or Berwick Advertiser*, 3 May 1823.
[24] *Courier*, 15 April 1823.
[25] Melodee Beals, "Caledonian Canaan: Scottish Cultural Identity in Colonial New England as Demonstrated by the Scotch-American Company of Farmers,," *International Review of Scottish Studies* 30 (2005).
[26] *OSA IV*, Langholm, 370.

were valued members of the community, and only ill fortune had forced them to depart. The growing ease of overseas travel now threatened to change short-term economic migration into permanent departure. By the end of the period, feelings of loss were present throughout the south. The minister of Whithorn saw that the "native labourers and artisans, with their little property and many virtues, are drifting across the Atlantic" while the minister of Foulden felt that "the robust, the enterprising, and the provident" had left, and through their letters, enticed others to follow.[27]

Throughout these descriptions, it is clear that the ministers felt that emigration was a reaction to a negative environment. The population was plentiful, healthy, and. in their opinions, wished to remain in the villages and parishes of their forefathers. Only a little investment in manufacture and internal communication was needed in order to retain them. Lack of employment, sufficient wages, and simple necessities such as fuel, had driven their neighbours from their homes.[28] Despite this strong focus on the push factors regarding migration, a few snide comments were made toward the tempting pull factors at work in the last decade of the eighteenth century. William Wright of New Abbey, Dumfriesshire wrote that "There has been little or no emigration from the parish within the last 20 years, excepting a very few ill-advised people, both married and single, who went to St. John's in North America, and, in the issue, had abundant reason to repent leaving their native country."[29] Speaking of the same group of emigrants, the author of the Cummertrees entry was no less negative in his assessment. "The emigrants, upon their arrival, were miserably deceived and disappointed, and those of them who had money enough to pay for their passage home, returned, bewailing their credulity." [30] Isaac Davidson of Whithorn likewise chided his former neighbours.

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[27] *NSA IV*, Whithorn, 60; *NSA II*, Foulden, 263.

[28] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. III: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Maxton, 125-126; *OSA IV*, Moffat, 408, Johnston, 255; *NSA IV*, Hutton and Corrie, 539; *OSA*, Urr, 377.

[29] *OSA*, New Abbey, 290-291. The ill-fated migration of these individuals have been discussed length in Lucille H. Campey, *A Very Fine Class of Immigrants: Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers, 1770-1850* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2001).

[30] *OSA IV*, Cummertrees, 69.

> In the year 1774, a few people emigrated to America. They left their native country, their relatives, and abounding means of enjoyment, to settle in woods, among savages and wild beasts. Many of these deluded creatures were rich, and left very profitable leases, to bemoan their folly in uncultivated deserts.[31]

Although eighteenth century comments about emigration were rarer in the accounts of the eastern parishes than those of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, the few that did appear were much more dramatic in tone. Walter Anderson of Chirnside, a student of political history and philosophy as well as theology, waxed poetic on the wealth of a nation being in the farms and pastures. He claimed that it was through the cultivation of these, and not on journeys to foreign lands, that men flourished and nations were strengthened. Colonies, he argued, either drained life from their mother country or, in a jab at the United States, "throw altogether off their connexion with them."[32] The enthusiasm for these ventures, therefore, was an unhealthy obsession of the British people and should not be tolerated.

The discussion might end here. While the above shows a surprising variety of condemnation, the commentary itself is notably shallow in comparison to other topics covered by the *Statistical Accounts*. The ministers simply did not care enough about emigration, or did not feel comfortable enough talking about it, to include it in their discussions of their respective parishes. It may, therefore, never be known how these ministers really felt about the process. Then again, perhaps focusing too narrowly on emigration obscures the depth of concern these ministers had over the changes taking place in their parishes.

Patterns of Decline and Deprivation in the 1790s

One way of understanding the ministers' perceptions of emigration, in the absence of direct commentary, is to seek out their appraisal of its known effects, namely depopulation and the loss of labour. Unlike emigration, these topics were frequently discussed by ministers in all seven counties, often at great length. Because none of these counties suffered from famine or increased mortality from disease in this period, any significant depopulation must have

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[31] *OSA*, Whithorn, 547.
[32] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, X vols., vol. II (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1917), 34. *OSA III*, Chirnside, 56.

been the result of out-migration. While it would be difficult to differentiate between perceptions of out-migration and perceptions of emigration from these commentaries alone, analysing them is an important first step to understanding how the minister perceived demographic change in their communities.

Unlike the discussion of landholding policies, which usually found a natural divide between the greater and lesser landowners and presented a slow, uneven progression throughout the period, a study of the ministry relies on definite spatial and temporal divisions. Temporally, perceptions of depopulation appear to have changed around the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. This is evident not only from changes between the two *Statistical Accounts*, but because the other writings of the ministers during the war years were similar to those of the *OSA*, while those written after 1815 were closer in tone to the entries of the *NSA*.

Although not completely representative of the entire period in question, the *Statistical Accounts* do reference the majority of years under discussion. The *OSA*, on the one hand, generally described the years between 1770 and 1790. On the other, the *NSA* offered commentary on the 1830s and 1840s and made an explicit effort to describe the changes in the parish since the previous account. As the *NSA* can only offer a retrospective view of the first three decades of the nineteenth century, during which many beliefs and perceptions changed, this chapter will also utilise publications by southern ministers between 1790 and 1830, namely printed sermons and moral guidebooks. Those few accounts whose authors cannot be identified have been excluded. The geographic divide is surprising. As the ministers were specifically asked to describe the population, all the accounts provide some sort of record as to the composition and state of the parishioners. The content of these commentaries unexpectedly places the ministers of Dumfriesshire, normally considered part of the southwest, alongside those in the eastern Borders—Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire. Galloway, encompassing Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, described the population in a noticeably different manner.

The Dispersal of Conflicting Accounts

In the *OSA,* commentary about population changes can be separated into four groups: no commentary, minimal numerical statements, commentary that concurs with these numbers and commentary that disagrees with these numbers. Of the "eastern" accounts, those with no commentary on population change made up almost one third of the parish reports, excepting Selkirkshire where only one of the five failed to discuss the changes. The sample size, however, easily excuses this outlier. While some of these were very short parish accounts in general, others had included long discussions of the onomatology and ecclesiastical history of the parish. Why these ministers spent so little time on the population is unclear, especially considering the nature of their work. Nevertheless, the amount of material available on rural demography is considerably reduced. Of the remaining accounts, about 15 to 25 percent puzzled over or completely disagreed with the population numbers they were presenting.[33] Rather than accept the demographics which they themselves had collected, the ministers instead based their analysis of population trends on their subjective perceptions of the births, deaths, and migrations in their parish. In all these cases, depopulation was assumed.

Although these five eastern counties shared many geographic features, there were several distinct regions within them and these did not always align with political boundaries. Nevertheless, while these geographic differences did play a large part in the actual percentages of population growth, decline, and stagnation, they do not suggest any pattern among the erroneous commentaries. While two neighbouring parishes, such as Earlston and Merton in Berwickshire, may have both perceived a decline in population despite a rise in actual numbers, the majority of these conflicted accounts were scattered randomly throughout these counties. There are no regions, geographic or political, that are united in contradicting the census numbers.

On a socio-economic level, the spread of this sort of commentary is directly proportional to the region as a whole. In Berwickshire, the majority of parishes

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[33] Berwickshire was 21 percent or 4 of the 19 commentaries; Roxburghshire was 14 percent or 3 of 21, Peeblesshire 28 percent or 3 of 11, and Selkirkshire 40 percent or 2 out of 5. This discrepancy is again likely because of sample size. The Dumfries accounts contained 5 dissenting commentaries out of 28, placing it between Roxburgh and Berwick at 18 percent.

were rural with more than half the population characterised as living outside towns or villages and taking part in both pasture and tillage farming. As two thirds of the parishes can be described this way, it is not surprising that two thirds of the conflicting commentaries came from rural parishes with mixed farming. The same was true for the other four counties; the ratio of urban to rural and pasture to tillage was proportional. The only group not properly represented was the large towns, likely because the numbers were so clear as to prevent any ambiguity. Whether or not the majority of Borderers lived in villages or on farms, however, did not seem to affect the frequency of these conflicting passages.

The Use of Logical Deduction

This is not to say, of course, that there are not important patterns to be found. In all seventeen cases, the commentators were puzzled or disagreed with the numbers because "logically" the numbers simply could not be so. The reasoning is not outlandish, even to those with the benefit of hindsight. In theory, the increased level of agricultural improvement and internal communication meant that fewer tenants and cottagers were needed in farming communities. This was especially the case in areas that had capitalised on the war-time demand for stock by lengthening pasture rotations or on those estates that required less supervision owing to better fencing.[34] It thus seems logical to conclude that where agricultural improvement took place the population would fall. That the ministers throughout the region consistently put forth this argument despite any actual numerical variations, suggests that they may have relied more on logical deduction than direct observation in their analysis. Robert Douglas of Galashiels admitted that he had done exactly that on at least one subject:

> Not being myself an actual farmer, and thinking it rather indelicate to trouble those friends, for information on this subject, to whose liberal communications I am so much indebted in other respects, I can only give a general sketch, from conjecture, of the expense and profits of an arable [sic] and pasture farm, at the average rent of the country.[35]

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[34] Stuart MacDonald, "Agricultural Response to a Changing Market During the Napoleonic Wars," *Economic History Review* 33, no. 1 (1980): 63.

[35] Robert Douglas, *General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with Observations on the Means of Their Improvement* (London: Printed for Richard Philips, Bridge

While intimate knowledge of agriculture was not required to obtain population figures, this passage indicates that, in the 1790s, the eastern ministers were willing to rely on theoretical deductions to support their analyses.

Of course, not every account gave the exact argument above; several variants were employed to justify their perception of depopulation. The first variant relied on the loss of villages. James Duncan of Merton concluded that the population was "considerably diminished" over the past sixty years, citing the local opinion that there used to be more villages in the parish and that the remaining villages used to contain more families.[36] This was evidenced, he suggested, by a number of ruined vestiges of homes. Nothing was mentioned of new houses being built to replace these or at what time they were abandoned, leaving his theory open to question. Others drew their conclusions from the numerical reduction of tenant farmers. James Richardson of Makerston supported his theory that the population had been reduced by the fact that there used to be about twenty-four farmers in the parish but in 1790 they could "reckon only nine."[37] Traditionally, a single tenant would support a certain number of family members, of cottager families, of unmarried servants, and of casual or harvest-time labourers. If the tenant left the parish, theoretically, the entire pyramid of workers below him must also have been removed.[38] The fact of the matter, which was recognised by some ministers of this county, was that incoming farm servants and the conversion of cottagers into wage labourers usually counteracted these losses.

Nonetheless, this form of logical deduction was extremely prevalent in the *Accounts*. Parishes that showed an actual numerical decrease embraced this line of reasoning as well and suggested that the decline was even greater than the numbers suggested. The minister of Kirkconnel, on the other hand, simply gave up trying to show numerical decline, stating that "Whether the inhabitants of this parish were formerly (perhaps 90 or 100 years ago) more numerous, than at present, cannot now be well ascertained; though the affirmative may fairly enough be presumed, from the general annexation of 2, 3, or 4, farms into

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Street, Blackfriars, 1798), 41.
[36] *OSA III*, Merton, 255-6.
[37] Ibid., Makerston, 553-4.
[38] Ibid., Linton, 550.

one".[39] From their point of view, if villages or farms had been lost in living memory, it was logical to conclude the population had decreased, despite census numbers to the contrary. Whether these families moved to villages in nearby parishes, or scattered as labourers on existing farms or emigrated to other countries seemed largely immaterial. It was the origin rather than the destination that concerned these ministers, the cause of departure rather than the migration process itself.

Tellingly, few of these reports seem to engage actively with the raw numbers at all; recognition of any discrepancy appeared as a hastily appended note at the end of the discussion. Furthermore, the wording of these final comments is often so abrupt that they seem to have been added after the original composition. Such was the case in Merton, where the author wrote a lengthy explanation of the decline of the population but quickly added that "At the same time, it is certain, that the return to Do. Webster in 1755 is stated only at 502 souls, consequently there is a difference of 55 in favour of the population at present."[40] Meanwhile, others actively defied the earlier enumeration. The minister of Yarrow, for example, simply disregarded Webster's enumeration as "far too low" and in Cummertrees it was suggested that it "was inaccurately made."[41]

Of course, none of this proves that these ministers were wrong or that Webster's numbers were infallible. On the contrary, using only the 1755 and 1790s population figures can be very misleading. In Channelkirk and Gordon in Berwickshire, for example, the numbers show a rise between 1755 and 1790 but completely miss the dramatic rise and subsequent fall surrounding the 1760s and 1770s—only noted in the qualitative evidence. In fact, this dip after the Seven Years' War likely contributed greatly to the "decline" mindset of Border ministers, having occurred within most of their lifetimes and occasionally within their tenure. Yet, even if there is some truth to their perceptions of decline, these examples do show that the ministers tended to use logic to justify their feelings rather than demographic surveys or quantitative evidence. Thus, we are

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[39] *OSA IV*, Kirkconnel, 278.
[40] *OSA III*, Merton, 255-6, Crailing, 416, Lilliesleaf, 542, Etterick. *OSA IV*, Tinwald and Trailflat, 489.
[41] *NSA III*, Yarrow, 48; *OSA IV*, Cummertrees, 69.

left with a handful of ministers who felt the population had decreased, or stagnated, despite an overall numerical increase, occasionally above the national average. The difficulty in reconciling these perceptions with reality is compounded by the fact that other parishes existed in similar situations but did not draft reports based on perception rather than the numerical reality.[42]

A further anomaly must also be accounted for. The above analysis only refers to the five easternmost counties. The commentary on population was remarkably different in Galloway. In the western counties of Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbright, none of the ministers presented any real divergence in their commentary from the population numbers provided by Dr Webster. If the growth rate had been entirely consistent or overwhelmingly obvious, as it was in the larger eastern towns, perhaps such a discrepancy between east and west would be less peculiar. Likewise, had they shared no common agricultural and social similarities with Dumfriesshire it would be a simple matter to excuse their divergence. Yet, neither of these explanations is sufficient. In both counties, a variety of parishes grew, stagnated and decreased but none of the ministers felt that their logical deduction was more convincing than the numbers they had gathered. Nor did the political boundaries reflect definite geographic and social differences.

If discussions on Border emigration would rely on the information presented by the ministers of the *OSA* these variations and anomalies ought to be accounted for. Because simplistic regional variations cannot explain why some ministers refused to accept local enumerations or why there exists a philosophical divide between Dumfriesshire and Galloway, a deeper analysis of the ministers' opinion of the changing Border landscape is warranted.

Whether or not the commentators agreed with raw population numbers, and whether or not their own parish was considered depopulated, there was a common thread to all the accounts of southern Scotland—the relationship between improvement and migration. In parishes where population had quantitatively declined, the ministers attributed it to farm improvement and collectivisation, using the same logic as those who disagreed with their census

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[42] For example, Abbey St. Bathans and Mordington exhibited remarkably low rates of increase, but recognised that the parish communities were growing.

numbers. Moreover, in parishes where population increases were acknowledged, the ministers were still very concerned with the overall population trends. Despite variations in the pace of improvement and demographic change, a general opinion had grown up among these men: the Borders were being depopulated and the cause of this depopulation was the phenomenon of improvement.

Improvement

The parish ministers who wrote the *Statistical Accounts* painted a vivid picture of the rural economy of the Borders in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland. Yet, unlike the commentary trends presented above, discussions of improvement did not divide the counties along east-west lines. Instead four main groups of parishes presented themselves: the large-scale improvers of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, the slow-speed improvers and pasture lands of northern Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire, the varied lands of Dumfriesshire, and the subdivided land and cottage industries of Galloway. Because the economies of these areas were so distinct, the commentaries fell into different patterns. The connection between them lies at the heart of the dispute surrounding emigration; it was not the method or direction of change that occupied them, but the concept of change itself.

While economic data and details of the improvement of various regions can be gleaned from land rentals, produce prices, and labour wages, the emotional response of parish denizens is more difficult to gather. The *Statistical Accounts* provide at least some commentary on the smaller or less-documented parishes in southern Scotland. Yet, despite this detail, the accounts must be examined with certain caveats in mind. First, though some of these ministers were originally from nearby parishes, or even from local tenant families, others had come from outwith the Borders. Others were second or third-generation ministers and did not rely on selling their own produce, though they did possess small glebes for home production.[43] Furthermore, their relationship with their patron, the source of their livelihood, differed from parish to parish and their loyalties and agendas

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[43] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 68.

varied accordingly.[44] Although the editors of the *OSA* have shed significant light on the men behind the earlier accounts, they admit that many of these men never published any other works and their views and background are in the main unknown. It would therefore be extremely difficult, and a significant project in and of itself, to untangle completely the various points of view these men held. Many ministers, however, had lived in their communities for decades, and others admitted to relying on parishioners for their information on the changing landscape. Therefore, trends in their use of language and their basic arguments may shed some light on the community discourse on "improvement" and more specifically the role the ministers played in that discussion.

Large Scale Farming and Out-migration in the Southeast

According to Malcolm Gray, "the victory of the large farm was most complete" in the southeast counties of Scotland.[45] East Lothian, and to some extent Berwickshire and southern Roxburghshire, were 'dominated' by large farms where wage-earning farm servants were a high proportion of the population. Furthermore, although classed with the counties of Peebles and Selkirk by the editors of the original *Statistical Account*, the scope of this study makes it clear that Roxburghshire and Berwickshire deserve separate attention from the others. Here, enclosure and the modernisation of agricultural techniques were well on their way by the last decade of the eighteenth century—the basic groundwork having begun twenty to thirty years previously.[46] Yet, it is also clear from the *New Statistical Account* that improvement was not wholly complete even in the 1840s.[47] This seems in line with Gray's assessment. Though improvement had undeniably begun, he noted that "as late as the end of the eighteenth century,

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[44] Charles Findlater, *General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Peebles, with Various Suggestions as to the Means Both of the Local and General Improvement of Agriculture.* (Edinburgh: Printed by D. Willison, For Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, And T.N. Longman & O. Rees, London, 1802), Dedication.

[45] Malcolm Gray, "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands," in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. 1, 1760-1830*, ed. T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland 1988), 60. Although Gray notes a high proportion of wage-labourers in these areas, Alistair Orr has argued that by 1831, East Lothian and Berwickshire actually had the lowest proportion of "servants" of anywhere in Lowland Scotland. The continuation of roles such as bondager, in which the labourers' wives or daughters provided agricultural services but were not actually the hired servants, may account for part of the discrepancy between Gray's and Orr's assessment.

[46] *OSA III*, xvii.

[47] *NSA II*, Channelkirk, 92.

even in such areas, the changes implicit in modernisation had some way to go."
As chapter one has shown, remnants of the older cot-touns remained intact in
some parishes, and, away from the improved areas, the new and old social
orders intermingled.[48]

So, in one of the most improved regions of Scotland, how did the ministers feel
about the process and its effects upon the movement of their flocks? First, there
was an almost unwavering connection seen between improvement and declining
population. While several reasons were given to account for missing families, the
most prevalent by far was enlargement, the consolidation of many single-family
farms into a large-scale economic unit. The argument was presented variously by
the ministers, but generally followed the same pattern:

> This decrease is easily accounted for, by several farms, formerly let to
> different tenants, being now possessed by one, and not a few by
> persons, who do not reside in, or belong to the parish at all.[49]

> The number of tenants has of late years diminished by the union of
> several small possessions into one.[50]

> The decrease since that period, may be chiefly ascribed to non-
> residence, emigration, rasing of cottar houses, the resorting of the
> poor and of operatives to towns, where they meet with more
> employment, and to the too general system adopted by landowners,
> of uniting a number of small farms into one.[51]

In the third example, a more lengthy explanation was offered but it was capped
by the ever-present mention of enlargement. The formulaic language may have
resulted from editorial involvement, but its consistent presence (unlike
emigration, non-residence, and urbanisation) indicates that the ministers of
Berwickshire and Roxburghshire agreed that farm amalgamation was the leading
cause.

How they actually "felt" about enlargement is less apparent. Certain phrases,
such as "too general", "too extensive", "lost", "thrown down", "the greatest of
calamities", and "the bane of the comfort, happiness, and independence of the

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[48] Gray, "Social Impact of Agrarian Change (1988)," 59.
[49] *OSA III*, Castletown, 387-8.
[50] Ibid., Eckford, 429.
[51] *NSA III*, Hounam, 198-199.

lower classes" more than suggest that they were unhappy about the process.[52] As a shrinking population was considered an indicator of crisis, and as the vast majority of ministers agreed that enlargement was the leading cause of depopulation, a negative feeling toward improvement is to be expected.[53] Not all the ministers were so alarmist however. Some of the accounts even questioned the connection and postulated that enlargement may not have "had so much influence in the depopulating of the parish as might have been expected."[54] When mapped, it becomes clear that the vehement accounts from the south-eastern counties all came from communities surrounding the town of Jedburgh. This community had suffered a particularly dramatic population loss between 1750 and 1800.[55] It is therefore likely that the anger expressed in these parishes was a localided community sentiment rather than a general reaction throughout Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.

The other ministers described the process matter-of-factly. They cited the correlation between improvement and population loss but used very little emotive language. In most cases it is difficult to discern whether the author intended any at all. For example, the description of Fogo, which is among the most emotive outside the Jedburgh Presbytery, states that several villages had been "demolished" and converted into fields, and that five or six farms, each previously "considered as sufficiently large for one person to occupy", were now combined into one.[56] Unlike "the greatest of calamities", these phrases can express either resentment or simple description, depending upon the reader's preconceptions. Even if there was a hint of regret in the minister's mind when writing the report, he did little to convey it to his reader. In these counties, there was only one minister who clearly states that there was a general feeling of disquiet over these changes, and he did so only to rebut the opinion. George Drummond of Mordington stated "if a full investigation were made of the matter, there would be less cause than is general supposed, for regretting that union of farms, which now so generally prevails in this and many other parts of

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[52] *OSA III*, Hounam, 467-8, 475-476, Eccles, 158; *NSA III*, Hounam,198-199, 206-207, Kelso, 321-323.
[53] Davis, "Effect of Outmigration."
[54] *OSA III*, Eckford, 429.
[55] Ibid., Jedburgh, 489.
[56] Ibid., Fogo, 179.

Scotland."[57] Drummond went on to state that, though it would be unfortunate if agricultural improvement did decrease the population, his enquiries led him to believe that enlargement merely shifted the population into new, and much needed, manufacturing jobs. The population was therefore not lost, but put to productive use. Even the emotive Roxburghshire commentators concurred that population was not simply disappearing but instead undertaking short-distance migration into the growing Border villages.[58]

This is in striking contrast to contemporary reports in the local press. In 1788, the editor of the *British Chronicle* had heard of a bill in Parliament to prevent farm rationalisation in England and Wales, where it was found to be "greatly detrimental". In response he exclaimed, "Why should not Scotland be comprehended in the bill, where the same practice but too much prevails?"[59] Fourteen years later, in 1802, another Roxburghshire paper printed a letter from an unnamed correspondent.

> The farm which we possessed last year, and which gave bread to seven or eight families, is now let to one gentleman, because he could give more rent—and we, in common with many others, whose fate has been the same, are under the necessity of leaving our native country, because it is impossible for us with our families to subsist in it. I have not wherewith to stock a large farm—but indeed I cannot obtain one of any kind—since Whitsunday I have been obliged to live in an out-house which I built some years ago. [60]

Although the emigrant in question was from Argyllshire, the editor of the *Kelso Mail* likely felt the story would resonate with local sentiment. These men, clearly saw not only the connection between amalgamation and out-migration, but were far more emotive as to its deleterious effects. Why is it that, despite clear negative feelings toward emigration, and a clear connection between improvement and out-migration, the majority of ministers from these parishes failed to condemn the improvement process?

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[57] Ibid., Mordington, 270-272.. William Redpath of Edrom also spoke positively of agricultural improvement, but only briefly, making his precise view on farm amalgamation difficult to discern.

[58] Ibid., Hounam, 476-477, Jedburgh, 491.

[59] *The British Chronicle: Or, Union Gazette*, 11 January 1788.

[60] *The Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette*, 16 August 1802.

Perhaps it was because depopulation was not the only consequence of agricultural improvement. Economically, larger, more efficient farms and labour forces promised rising levels of output for markets, allowing higher profits, and by extension, higher rents, higher wages and a rising standard of living for those in the towns as well as the rural districts. Interestingly, while few of the ministers denied that improvement had important material benefits, several of the *OSA* commentaries suggested that the economic gain was outweighed by its social cost. In Eccles, a Berwickshire parish lying along the English border, Adam Murray felt this same increased wealth was damaging the traditional social order. "As many of our farmers have got a very narrow education, riches have often the unhappy effect of making them proud, and leading them to treat their superiors with insolence and contempt."[61] This line of thought was also present in the 1798 agricultural survey by the Rev. Douglas. Agriculture, in his mind, had the largest "scope for displaying abilities; and no country can boast of a more ingenious and respectable body of farmers." Yet, while some tenants were well educated, overcoming rural prejudices, and had improved their dress and homes, others had obtained great wealth but remained "ignorant, vulgar, and unambitious of being distinguished, in point of dress, fare, and habits, from their own servants."[62] Rising fortunes, in his opinion, should serve to strengthen the social hierarchy and reinforce class distinctions. The minister of Hounam also lamented the social changes that came with improvement, but his stated concern was more for the health and wellbeing of the rural children:

> Country places, too, are more favourable than towns, to the rearing of young children: here they are healthier, and thrive better.—Besides, hinds and shepherds, driven from their native abodes and manner of life, will be disheartened, and discouraged from marrying: it will be with difficulty they can afterwards find the means of subsistence.[63]

Children raised in the country, he alleged, bred to be hinds and farmers themselves, could not easily adapt to the rising manufactures and could not grow and flourish as rural farmers could. Here again the minister was careful to

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[61] *OSA III*, Eccles, 158.
[62] Douglas, *General View*, 32.
[63] *OSA III*, Hounam, 476-477.

link social concerns to economic ones. He stated that, in England, where "monopoly of farms is little known", the population was greater and the inhabitants were wealthier. The purpose of the *Statistical Accounts*, from its editor's point of view, was to describe and encourage agricultural improvement in late eighteenth-century Scotland. While some of the ministers had grave concerns over the social and moral implications of these changes, they obviously understood the intended audience of these accounts. If they were to convince landowners to temper their efforts, they would have to offer both social and economic justification for doing so.

By the 1830s, when improvement was in a much more progressed state, only a few parishes noted the social losses. Most focused on the increased productivities of the farmland and the benefits these brought. Many acknowledged that modern agricultural techniques had created jobs in the communities, that land reclamation had opened up more land to tenant farmers, and that the most needed improvements could only realistically be done by these large scale farmers.[64] The Rev. James Wright of Oxnam even admitted to an earlier misconception of social decline, stating that "The effect of this system has been, not so much, indeed, to deteriorate the condition, as to reduce the number of inhabitants."[65] Even Jedburgh's minister, still lamenting population loss, acknowledged the immense material progress that had resulted from improvement: "all classes" he wrote "seem to enjoy a large share of the comforts of civilized society."[66] Meanwhile, Robert Douglas of Galashiels saw not only economic benefits, but also a stabilisation of the social order. He noted approvingly that the rise of economic prosperity had led to his parishioners no longer indulging excessively in liquor, either at the alehouse or at home.[67] The parish of Melrose, which boasted the most consistent population growth in the county, clearly traced the change of opinion:

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[64] *NSA II*, Lauder, 6, Channelkirk, 89, Whitsome and Hilton, 172, . *NSA III*, Melrose, 75, Ancrum, 245, Hawick, 418. Douglas, *General View*, 124-125.
[65] *NSA III*, Oxnam, 262.
[66] Ibid., Jedburgh, 23.
[67] Douglas, *General View*, 3.

> That an entire barony should be committed to one man, was exclaimed against as a public grievance. But the introduction of a better and more spirited style of agriculture which immediately followed [...] seems to show that it was a change for the better. [...] the tenants, men of capital and high intelligence, are enabled to give the best effect to the virtues of the soil; and the great body of the people live quietly under them as farm-servants and hired labourers, having no care but to do their work and receive their wages. [...] The great farms, the valuable men at the head of them, and a resident proprietary, may be regarded as among the chief causes of the prosperity and tranquillity for which this part of the country is so greatly distinguished.[68]

Thus, despite earlier misgivings, many of the *NSA* ministers saw a positive connection between economic wealth and moral behaviour.

Other writings by the ministers in the nineteenth century reflected this growing acceptance of the altered hierarchy. In his *Pastoral Hints*, John Cormack spoke specifically to the new waged farm labourers, who were "obliged" to leave their familial homes and thus their spiritual guidance.[69] He offered them simple, plain-spoken advice on how to maintain their spiritual purity in the changing economic landscape and even formed an association for their improvement. The extent to which Cormack felt that the hearts of these young men and women were malleable shows that he had confidence that the rural parish ideal would continue.

The parish ministers who disagreed with these views were generally not those in rural parishes but, like the aforementioned newspaper editors, were in the growing towns. The influx of migrants, both from Ireland and other parts of Britain, stirred strong xenophobic discourse from the minister of Kelso, J. M. MacCulloch. "Though a few Border-names keep their ground, from generation to generation, and thereby indicate that the mass is not without a few stationary particles, the great majority of the inhabitants may be regarded as 'strangers in the land.'" In his mind, fewer men were remaining in their native parishes, a trend which threatened, "if not speedily arrested, to lower and deteriorate, to an extent frightful to contemplate, the character and manners of the populace

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[68] *NSA III*, Melrose, 75.
[69] John Cormack, *Pastoral Hints to His Parishioners* (Edinburgh: Printed by A. Balfour & Co., 1835); Scott, *Fasti II*, 534.

of this island."[70] According to MacCulloch, those coming in were polluting the community. This fear of immigration, specifically replacement immigration, will be discussed below. First, however, reference to the improvement in the other counties ought to be made.

Improvement and Migration in the Eastern Uplands

To the northwest of these improved regions lay the northern parishes of Roxburghshire and the counties of Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire. Here, fewer improvements had been undertaken by the proprietors or the tenants. Partly as a result of this, *The General View of Agriculture* for Peeblesshire, written by the Rev. Charles Findlater, begins rather dauntingly to modern eyes. "Although," he began, "agriculture has been practised as an art, from the remotest antiquity, it can, as yet, hardly be considered as ranking among the sciences, established upon fixed and determined principles." He continued that the variation of weather and other factors prevented farmers from knowing the precise effect of their improvements on their lands, or whether they were the cause of any effect at all: "There is no possibility of determining how far the effect is to be ascribed to human means, or merely to the season, unless every agricultural experiment were to be conducted in a comparative manner."[71]

This weight of defeat is present in several of the upland accounts. The higher, rougher geography of these parishes was better suited to the expansion of pastoral farms than the enlargement of arable ones. With war-time stock prices making large pasture grounds profitable, there was little natural encouragement to reclaim wastelands or outlay capital to fence, lime, or otherwise reorganise the land.[72] The ministers knew of the improvements to their east and, seeing the promised economic benefit, they "longed for them to become effective in their own parishes."[73] Nonetheless, many of these northern Border estates merely seemed to shift population and land use around. The minister of Newlands noted

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[70] *NSA III*, Kelso, 321-323.
[71] Findlater, *General View*, xv.
[72] MacDonald, "Changing Market." Macdonald made it clear that the changing markets of the Napoleonic wars led to a shuffling of particular crop rotations, possibly extending for a year the time in pasture or on a particular crop, but not to the large scale transformation of the farm. Continuity was more common than change and high prices did not encourage improvement projects on their own.
[73] *OSA III*, xxi-xxii.

that some grazing land had been re-leased for tillage farming and some had been taken into the landowner's possession for improvement projects. Both of these changes led to an increase in population. At the same time, other tillage farms had been joined together into large sheep pastures, which removed families from the land and counteracted population growth.[74] Overall, the ministers noticed little change.

Because of this slow rate of improvement, many of the ministers spoke in the same tempered tone as their south-eastern counterparts, recognising a general change but having little cause to strongly condemn or praise it.[75] Nonetheless, as there had been in Jedburgh, there was a undercurrent of discontent in the last decades of the century. While many may have wished for the improved fertilizers and infrastructure that were revolutionising other parochial economies, those few who experienced the redistribution of land had distaste for it, again because of its tendency to depopulation the region. The minister of Selkirk, for one, wrote that:

> It is painful to see (as in this parish) one person rent a property, on which one hundred inhabitants were reared to the state, and found a comfortable subsistence. It adds to the bleakness of the scene, to see a few shepherds strolling over the face of a country, which formerly, was the nurse of heroes, who were justly accounted the bulwark of their native soil, being ever ready to brave danger and death in its defence.[76]

This minister romanticised the martial days of Flodden and the mythically large population the Borders had supposedly contained. However, in the eighteenth century, this sort of condemnation was rare.

While these earlier accounts seem to offer migration historians little evidence of either dispossession or voluntary exodus, the uplands of Peeblesshire do contain two rare insights into how migration was perceived. The first is a unique disconnection of improvement and out-migration. The parish of Manor noticed the same the loss of population its neighbours had but could not ascribe it "to

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[74] Ibid., Newlands, 839-40.
[75] Ibid., Traquair, 902, Tweedsmuir, 913, Yarrow, 725., et al.
[76] Ibid., Selkirk, 707-8.

the junction of many small farms, like that of some other parishes."[77] As the numerical decline was significant, nearly one-third between 1755 and 1791, his inability to use the catch-all of land rationalisation must have been unsettling. Curiously, the Rev. Marshall failed to offer the obvious explanations of the growth of nearby Edinburgh or emigration abroad. Instead, he continued to focus on the fact that they were leaving rather than to describe their migration path in full.

The second insight was penned by the minister of Linton, the northern-most parish of Peeblesshire. His commentary is unique not only for its length but its practical and laissez-faire mentality. He suggested that when land was far from manure and other articles of improvements, and where the soil could not be readily brought under tillage, there was every reason to create large sheep farms. If they had the means to produce good crops, however, the farms should be kept small so that many people could work them. He conceded that it would damage the country if farmers were denied land and given no other occupation, but countered that when manufacturing jobs were available, and their wages were high, shifting the population would benefit both the people and the nation. He seemed convinced that, in time, population and employment would balance, with farms growing to optimal size, factories expanding to take advantage of increased labour and wages in both rising to prevent labour from leaving the country. His voice was one of the few that fully recognised the turmoil of the period, but at the same time remained fully optimistic that it would work itself out on its own: "When Government is so wise as not to interfere in these matters, it will find its advantage in the increasing prosperity of the whole state."[78] His was the only account in the *OSA* that seemed to encourage a free movement of people throughout southern Scotland. Linton, which relied mainly on pasture farming and had no significant manufacturing capabilities, may have been particularly well situated to see the benefit in letting population densities equalise naturally.

The 1830s accounts from these counties did describe some subtle changes to the hilly landscape, mostly in terms of improving roads and rising textile

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[77] Ibid., Manor, 826-7.
[78] Ibid., Linton, 818-20.

manufacturers.[79] The bulk of the improvement appears to have occurred in the first decade of the nineteenth century—during the height of the Napoleonic Wars, when agricultural prices were high—and was credited to the hard work of both landlord and tenant. However, having begun much later than their south-eastern neighbours, they had little time to benefit before the post-war depression set in. When the prices fell suddenly, the heavy expenditure reaped few rewards and many parishioners were put on the poor roll or "sent to clear the wastes in Canada."[80] The difficulties stretched across the social spectrum, supposedly, and the owners were characterised as having fared little better, being forced "to be content with a diminished rental."[81] Understanding the content of these northern accounts is crucial to understanding the perceptions of the southern ministers as a whole. Although they never fully engaged with the improvement projects of the 1790s and 1800s they nonetheless perceived the same connection between improvement and out-migration as the ministers in the southeast. This suggests that there was a general perception of rural change and migration that was at least partially divorced from local circumstances. Furthermore, the later accounts were noticeably more pessimistic in the uplands. However, this does not seem to be solely the result of perceived population loss. Instead, it appears they were more concerned about the state of rural change than those closer to the border because the population lost was not being compensated for by the economic benefits of improvement.

Migratory Variety in Dumfriesshire

In many ways, agricultural improvement in the southwest of Scotland had originally progressed along very similar lines as in the east. Partly in response to the Union of 1707 and the increasing availability of English markets, Dumfriesshire landowners began to alter land management on their estates. These improvements included the end of run-rig, enclosure (sometimes referred to by commentators as division), sown grasses for pasture, the amalgamation of farms and the consequent redistribution of population.

[79] *NSA III*, Selkirk, 5, Linton,158 n.
[80] Ibid., Maxton, 125-126.
[81] Ibid.

Around 1770, however, landowners began to reverse the processes of farm enlargement.[82] Most accounts from the *OSA* noted that "farms being formerly large, have, by the respective proprietors, been divided into two, three, and some even into more; and some farms have also been taken in from moors and commons, which were lately" enclosed.[83] Unlike the expanding tracts in Berwickshire and southern Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire ministers commented on a return to smaller holdings, the reclamation of new farmland, a movement away from sprawling pasture farms and an increasing population. Improved transportation links to urban centres to the north and south meant there was now a cheaper supply of the implements of improvement, namely manure and coal, and better access to markets where they could sell their increased produce.

This volte-face was not universal. Not all landowners chose to sub-divide their estates, and the ministers of Dornock, Cummertrees, and others mirrored the language of the southeast; a reduction in population growth resulting from an increase in farm size.[84] Yet here too there was little emotional discourse and no sign of the impassioned treatises of Jedburgh presbytery. One minister explicitly waived the "the discussion of the advantages or disadvantages resulting from a monopoly of farms."[85] Meanwhile, the minister of Kirkmichael was less concerned with the original farm rationalisation than the recent practice of one tenant holding several of these enlarged leases. In doing so, they became a non-resident tenant and a social outsider to the community, much like the absentee landowners described in chapter one.[86]

Yet, regardless of the level of subdivision, most of the eighteenth-century Dumfriesshire accounts focused on the material advances rather than the perceived losses. There was a general enthusiasm for improvement and recognition of increasing productivity and demand for labour.[87] That the new

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[82] *OSA IV*, Johnston, 248, Penpont, 442-443; Gray, "Social Impact of Agrarian Change (1988)," 60.
[83] *OSA IV*, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, 224.
[84] Ibid., Dornock, 93, Glencairn, 173-4, Cummertrees, 303, Kirkmichael, 301, Langholm, 372, Tinwald, 489.
[85] Ibid., Langholm, 372.
[86] Ibid., Cummertrees, 303.The ministers of Tinwald and Glencairn also complained of non-residence as well as the loss of arable land, which could support several families, to pasture which only requires a shepherd. *OSA IV*, Glencairn, 173-4.
[87] *OSA IV*, Johnston, 255, Morton , 421n.

subdivisions were, on average, twice the size of the seventeenth-century tenancies likely contributed to this more explicit approval of improvement; such farms were able to benefit from modern farming techniques while still retaining a relatively large number of tenant families.[88] There was also a vocal sense of gratitude to the landowners themselves for actively promoting improvement on the estates. In Torthorwald, for example, the 4th Duke of Queensberry helped to build farm houses throughout the parish and to enclose the fields "with stone dikes and thorn hedges".[89] His neighbour, Sir William Grierson, micromanaged his estates, fining farmers "on whose [sic] growing crop three heads or upwards of that weed were found." The landowners were not wholly absent from the eastern accounts, as shown in chapter one, but the level of perceived involvement was much higher in Dumfriesshire. The constant changes taking place, often in new or contradictory directions, kept the practices of the landowners fresh in the ministers' minds. That the population was growing meant they usually received hearty praise for their actions.

Their approval of improvement continued into the nineteenth century. Scientific agriculture as well as local and regional transportation had been vastly improved while heavily amalgamated parishes, such as Tinwald and Trailflat, had been sub-divided to a *proper* combination of small and large farms.[90] Of course, not everyone was pleased. A few felt that subdivision had gone too far. Andrew Jameson of St. Mungo, for example, argued that it prevented the pooling of capital, which could be used for further improvements.[91] In his particular parish, however, land was rapidly changing hands, bringing in the fresh capital he desired and effectively negating one of the few unhappy accounts. Moreover, in those parishes where rationalisation and enlargement were commonplace, there was not a sense of sadness when rural population numbers dipped.[92] Instead, considerable space was optimistically dedicated to precisely how much the rent

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[88] Based on the fact that amalgamated farms previously held 7-8 leases and the new divisions created 2-3 farms. Ibid., Langholm, 372, Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, 224.

[89] Ibid., Thorthorwald, 500.

[90] *NSA IV*, Tinwald and Trailflat, 51-52.

[91] Ibid., Saint Mungo, 213.

[92] An exception lies with Kirkpatrick-Fleming, which referred to enlargement as the "bane" of the lower classes, but did not elaborate and instead continued by praising men of wealth for their financial and moral effect upon their tenants and servants. He perhaps acknowledged the loss of independence of some but felt it was for the greater good of the community. Ibid., Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, 288.

(and therefore the value) of land had risen since the 1790s.[93] At first glance, it appears that the west had fared much better economically than the late-improving lands of Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire, despite the population of these counties rising on a scale beyond Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.

A brief note here may be in order. While the ministers' commentary was generally positive, in many cases equating material progress to the rise of civilisation and morality, this commentary was very much focused on the perceived social benefits of the improvement and its general economic effects. It was not always based upon a close analysis of wages and rents in their own parishes. Studies such as Cowan's "Agricultural Improvement", which focus on the quantitative data provided by the *NSA,* give readers a much clearer view of the post-war depression—the rising rents, surplus labour, and shrinking markets.[94] The minister of Applegarth and Sibbaldbie, for one, did recognise this depressed state of agriculture. But there was still the optimism of his colleagues, looking to the landowners to choose wisely in their tenants and assist through the abatement of rents and the continuation of improvement.[95]

On a purely social level, the ministers of Dumfriesshire seemed to agree whole-heartedly with their Berwickshire and Roxburghshire brethren that the material fortune of agricultural improvement had brought about a positive change in rural society.[96] Many ministers wrote with pleasure that their parishioners' character had grown in line with their wealth and saw "signs of a growing amelioration in religion and morality."[97] Furthermore, because of the range of farm sizes, "The servant, by frugality and care, raises himself to a small tenant, and the small tenant is, by the same means, raised to a greater".[98] With the possibility of social mobility, hard work was encouraged and the social hierarchy preserved. Therefore, analysis of these western accounts, like those of northern

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[93] Ibid., Cummertrees, 250, Graitney, 272, Drysedale¸459`. Parishes such as Hutton and Corrie noted that the high rentals were no longer feasible because of the post-war depression, but seemed to view it as a temporary problem to be overcome through continued effort and improvement.

[94] Edward J. Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement and the Formation of Early Agricultural Societies in Dumfries and Galloway," *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LIII (1977-8): 162-163.

[95] *NSA IV*, Applegarth and Sibbaldbie, 190.

[96] Ibid., Kirkmahoe, 66.

[97] Ibid., Graitney, 272.

[98] Ibid., Tinwald and Trailflat, 51-52.

Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire, and Selkirkshire, suggests that the discussion of migration and improvement was at least partially based on general or theoretical perceptions rather than precise local conditions. This, however, does not invalidate them. Rather it makes them particularly useful in determining how minsters *perceived* the relationship between migration, morality, and the social order beyond local variations in agricultural practice.

The difference in opinion between the south-eastern and Dumfriesshire ministers, between implicit and explicit acceptance of improvement and migration, can be traced back to the perceived role of the landowners. The *NSA* accounts of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire present a continual, if uneven, trend of improvement and rationalisation. The process in Dumfriesshire, on the other hand, can be seen as a series of shorter, often contradictory movements. The Union of 1707 had prompted the enclosure and amalgamation of farmland, but after mid-century, farm union was reversed and the land was subdivided to accommodate more tenants and to bring more land into arable production. War-time prices for agriculture and manufactured goods kept rent, wages, and profits rising and money could be invested into improvements and labour expended on aesthetic and practical building projects. After the cessation of hostilities in 1815, however, agriculture fell into recession and landowners began to redistribute their land once again in an effort to consolidate their holdings. One example of this can be seen in the Queensberry estates. By the 1790s, the 4th Duke of Queensberry had heavily subdivided his land and kept leases relatively short in order to maximise annual revenue without any expenditure on improvement. In the 1810s, the 5th Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry reversed this policy and took much of his land out of cultivation in order to improve it. Afterwards, he leased farms which had "considerably increased in size."[99] Any cottages that had fallen into disrepair over the past decades were not rebuilt, and the population was steadily moved into villages, decreasing the number of inhabitants of the country through out-migration. Not only did these two approaches make economic sense in their respective situations, they also appeared to be direct responses to the changing needs of the parish. Rather than

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[99] Ibid., Penpont, 508, Tynron, 476-477. *OSA IV*, Torthorwald, 500.

a long, slow process, the western ministers described estate management as almost reactionary.

Conspicuous activity was also noted in Penpont, where the same Duke had built substantial and comfortable housing, an active, and socially responsible, direction of migration flows. The Rev. George Smith felt that by raising farmers from the "status of serfs, or labourers, or middlemen" so that they could enjoy some of the comforts or luxuries of civilised life, they would become attached to the current social hierarchy and would be less likely to let it be upset by rebellious behaviour.[100] The standard of living was also increasing in Johnstone. Its minister proclaimed that no other rural parish without any connection to manufacture, had grown as quickly as his. The reason was the assistance of the landowner in building "comfortable" rural housing for labourers, "with an adjacent piece of ground for keeping a cow, and growing potatoes for their families, at a moderate rent".[101] Likewise, Sir Robert Grierson had encouraged the establishment of a village on his land along the road between Dumfries and Carlisle, providing a home for those displaced by the re-amalgamation of farmland.[102] As landowners were meant to be active leaders of the community, such visible responses to the economic downturn must have encouraged them greatly.

Their positive response to seemingly contradictory situations seems to indicate that whether migration did or did not take place was not the only consideration. The continuation of social roles and obligations was also critical. Callum Brown has argued that the men of religious influence at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Moderates, were less concerned with the demonstrative faith of their parishioners than their adherences to the social hierarchy and church and civil law.[103] To these ministers, their flock was being led by the greater men of the country, rather than being pushed away from their proper roles or abandoned to their fate. There was also recognition that while population growth was important, there were situations when it should be managed and directed.

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[100] *NSA IV*, Penpont, 511-512.
[101] Ibid., Johnstone, 168.
[102] Ibid., Torthorwald, 32.
[103] Brown, *Religion and Society*, 68-76.

The Galloway Exception

As in the rest of the Border region, agricultural improvement in Galloway also meant the comparatively early enclosure of land and the uniting of small leases. According to William Learmont of Old Luce, Wigtownshire, the main thrust of improvement came about the time of Webster's census in 1755—though perhaps this was just a convenient date for the minister, who had the population statistics at his fingertips.[104] The historian William Ferguson places the rise of Galloway's improvement fifty years earlier, alongside the rest of the Borders, with the Union of 1707 and the opening of the English market for black cattle.[105] However, farm union was vocally unpopular with the Galloway farming population early on; sheep and cattle farms provided only a fraction of the employment of tillage with small pasture rights. Furthermore, the enclosure of pastures prevented them from exercising their traditional right to common grazing. The 'Galloway Levellers' published a manifesto at Kirkcudbright, condemning the landowners and their attempts at enclosure, as well as dismantling the enclosure dykes and barriers themselves. The protest became an armed conflict and the parish of Irongray raised fifty armed horsemen to aid the peasant farmers. The military was brought in and eventually put down the Levellers. Despite the transportation of many, other instances of violence broke out in the first half of the century. This rebellion is the most oft-cited violent reaction against rationalisation in southern Scotland. From the somewhat mild response of the ministers later on, perhaps its prominence in historiography is not without good reason.

After the conclusion of the Levellers' revolt, most of Galloway was let in large pastoral farms, reducing the agricultural population in the far southwest. Then, as in Dumfriesshire, the final decades brought increased connections with supplies and markets and many of these farms were converted to tillage and villages were erected for manufacture. The population began to grow—in some areas, spectacularly so. Part of this was attributed to the fact that these parishes were now better able to support their own natural growth. Enclosure and manures vastly increased the productive output of rural parishes such as

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[104] *OSA*, Old Luce, 458-459n.

[105] William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), 166-168.

Kirkmabreck, which in the 1760s could barely feed its own people, sometimes having to import corn. By the time of the first *Statistical Account,* it could export "significant" amounts of grain despite having almost doubled in population.[106] In fact, many of Galloway's rural areas saw an increase in population and attributed it to "general improvement and extended resources."[107] Here, improvement was seen as a precursor to the population growth, rather than a preventer of it. Crucially, the rise of planned villages, more common in Galloway than any other southern region, meant that this growing population could remain in the local community.

As in Dumfriesshire, the Galloway ministers saw this march of progress as bringing the better, civilised, things in life to their parishioners. This was not only happening in farming and rural industrial communities. Expanding port towns brought to neighbouring parishes all the "comforts of life." However, a few of its accounts provide either rants against rationalisation or praises of subdivision. Though a few Galloway ministers presented the oft-touted criticism of union, that it was the "total disuse of cottagers and subtenants", most spent a great deal of their space on the other side of the coin: urbanisation.[108]

Agricultural improvement had changed the rural landscape, but most of the ministers had adapted. They attributed declining morality to the rising standard of living and approved of the watchful eye of the employer-farmer replacing that of the cottager patriarch. In a primarily rural landscape, these adaptations kept their world in many ways intact. Urban life, on the other hand, seemed truly alien. Moreover, towns were often described in the same way as foreign settlements—politically unstable, irreligious, and detached from the family structure. The ministerial view of urbanisation, and its origins, may therefore provide a deeper insight into why they feared the exodus of their parishioners.

Urbanisation

As agricultural improvement took its course in the Lowlands, the rural population began to consolidate into new villages, existing towns, and developing urban centres. Part of this process can be seen in the *Statistical*

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[106] *OSA*, Kirkmabreck, 226.
[107] *NSA IV,* Kirkpatrick-Durham, 259.
[108] *OSA*, Anwoth, 4, Kells, 148, Tongland, 326-327`.

Accounts, which typically offered readers a breakdown of the "country" and village populations within each parish, and local histories. However, the social consequences of this reshuffling are less precisely defined.

While chapter one has examined the economic benefits and consequence of planned villages, and their value to the landowners, the ministers of the Established Church used different criteria to judge their success and therefore should be discussed separately. These men were primarily concerned with the effect an urban environment, or even that of a rural village, would have on the moral character of their parishioners. This included the social deference the landowners sought to cultivate, but also their adherence to other social norms and values. Although villages and burghs were not new to the southern counties, the rapid consolidation of population in the 1790s and early 1800s had the potential to fundamentally alter the nature of these parishes. This change, unlike the slow adaption of agricultural technique, seemed worthy of close attention.

The Historiography of the Lowland Village in Rural Society

In 1968, William Ferguson argued that the effects of urbanisation were "difficult to summarise mainly because of wide local variations."[109] He did, however, ascribe similar roles to Glasgow and Edinburgh in their respective regions; the growing wealth of these towns allowed and demanded the reorganisation of agriculture. The consolidation of wealth and the growth of industry meant a larger, specialised workforce could be employed. This segment of the population, removed from the land, required an efficient agricultural system to feed it. To increase efficiency, land was redistributed, displacing a portion of the rural population. The growing urban centres would then absorb this population, channelling it into specialised industry, beginning the cycle anew. Ferguson argued that because of the reticence or inability of many of the landowners to invest in improvement, the redistribution of land proceeded slowly and naturally, allowing newly created industrial villages and existing towns to absorb the population as it trickled in. This steady evolution and the possibility of short-distance migration prevented the social upheaval and "bitter

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[109] Ferguson, *1689 to the Present*, 173.

lamentations" so commonly associated with the Highland clearances of the nineteenth century.[110]

Malcolm Gray's article, written five years later, detailed the intricate push and pull of rural and urban employment in Lowland Scotland.[111] He argued that although the redistribution of land has been accepted as a cause of out-migration and dwindling rural populations, it actually had the opposite effect. According to his model, even if the land distribution had remained static, an increasing demand for industrial labour and settlers abroad, both of which could offer greater financial remuneration than traditional farm labour, would have drained population from these areas. In order to implement modern agricultural techniques, which required large numbers of specialized labourers, large-scale tenant farmers were forced to offer higher wages and create local employment to maintain a pool of labour. This balanced the otherwise forceful temptation of out-migration and increased the income of those who stayed. In a later article, Gray also reinforced Ferguson's earlier point that growing towns worked in conjunction with the modernising of Lowland farms, pulling excess population away, preventing a life of temporary or casual agricultural employment.[112] Also in the 1970s, Michael Flinn's *Scottish Population History* described the compound effects of disease and infant mortality on the rural population. In the 1820s and 1830s, he argued, higher average mortality rates appeared in Scotland, raised primarily by the growing towns:

> We have no reason to exempt the towns of Scotland from the common feature of urban life before the public health movement achieved its late nineteenth-century success, that mortality was usually higher there than in the country. The migration of young adults to the towns might further increase this mortality by a high rate of childbearing and consequently an enlarged share of infant mortality in the totals of death.[113]

Thus, the urban pull was in some ways insatiable. Poor living conditions meant that the town could not maintain itself on natural growth alone. This allowed it

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[110] Ibid., 170, 173.

[111] Malcolm Gray, "Scottish Emigration: The in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875," *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973): 153-154.

[112] Gray, "Social Impact of Agrarian Change (1988)," 61-62.

[113] Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 238.

to absorb a continual flow of migration even if its physical and economic expansion slowed, as it did during times of economic recession in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In general, these studies described a migration pattern in which Lowland farming families exited rural communities for larger urban centres and temporary farm labour, from the Highlands and Ireland, entered. If this were the entire picture, it would have caused significant social tensions between the declining *native* population and the incoming migrants. While this did take place, and will be discussed fully below, there was an intermediate step in both labour flows, one that the ministers of the Borders praised and condemned to varying degrees—the rural village.

According to Douglas Lockhart, these villages were founded or cultivated for differing reasons, including increasing rents from feu duties, housing displaced agricultural families, and diversifying local employment.[114] More important than their founding, however, is why rural villages grew in this period. Although they were very small centres in comparison with Edinburgh and Glasgow, the southern burghs and market towns had an existing concentration of population and the infrastructure to support it. While many wholly new towns were founded as the Scottish economy developed, it was primarily these existing centres that expanded. Men of capital, seeking labour, naturally focused on those areas with a ready labour supply. In response, those seeking employment moved to areas where new employment was being created, at which point the cycle perpetuated itself.[115] This concentration did not, however, rely solely on the local population. In almost all cases, migration flowed into the village from both within the local area and from without, offering new trades to local families and providing opportunities for investors and merchants from further away.[116] While local farmers settled in the villages to remain near family, the non-native villagers were usually drawn in by newspaper advertisements in Edinburgh

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[114] D. G. Lockhart, "Migration to Planned Villages in Scotland between 1725 and 1850," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 102, no. 3 (December 1986): 169.

[115] Spengler, "Migration," 23.

[116] Lockhart, "Migration to Planned Villages," 169; D. G. Lockhart, "Patterns of Migration and Movement of Labor to the Planned Villages of Northeast Scotland," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 98, no. 1 (1982): 38. Lockhart defines the local – distant migration line at 25 miles.

papers.[117] These papers were read by investors and merchants in the city itself, but were also seen in other parts of the country when they were posted to subscribers or when the local press reprinted the advertisements. Therefore, even smaller villages outside the central belt attracted long-distance migration, albeit on a small-scale, rarely exceeding five or ten percent of the village population. This mixed population within the boundaries of rural southern parishes was an important factor in how ministers viewed the growing centres.

Perception of Village Life

From the existing historiography, it is clear that improvement, urbanisation, and migration were closely linked. Yet, even if there were a simple equation to calculate migration from the extent of improvement, the levels of urbanisation and out-migration cannot be generalised in the seven southern counties, or even within each one. As seen in chapter one, the variety of geography and landholding meant that the needs and desires of landowners and labourers differed from estate to estate. Nevertheless, as with their assessment of improvement, there were prevalent trends in the responses of the ministers. Contrasting how the ministers spoke about local tendencies to consolidate or disperse population helps illuminate how they felt about population change. With this information, a clearer idea about why they perceived emigration to be a threat can be formed.

First, there was a feeling of de-urbanisation, or perhaps more accurately de-villiaging, in several parts the south. In these areas, the rural populations had reorganised themselves or had been reorganized by their landowners into diffused farming communities with fewer town and village centres.[118] Previously, villages had often consisted of several tenant or cottager households neighbouring each other and their fields or pasture grounds.[119] As farms were enlarged, the number of tenants was reduced and farm labour was redistributed geographically. By the 1790s, the farms appeared more discrete, with tenants having resident, "on their land, and under their roof, the requisite number of

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[117] Lockhart, "Migration and Movement," 37.
[118] *OSA IV*, Torthorwald, 500.
[119] T. C. Smout, "The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland, 1730-1830," in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 75.

farm-servants".[120] They no longer relied on a group of cottager families to provide harvest-time labour. The seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century villages were gradually depopulated as improvement progressed and the cottages fell into disrepair or were demolished. Older villages such as Lessudden, Hoselaw, and Linton diminished or disappeared and the population of these parishes was "spread over a rural tract among the various farms or hamlets, and was almost exclusively confined to agricultural employments."[121] Those that had not been moved onto the farms generally joined the larger migration flows to towns and cities, described by Lockhart, Devine, and others.[122] It is in these descriptions of de-villaging that the aforementioned feelings of decline and depopulation often appeared. Despite the fact the much of the population had merely moved onto large farms or into regional centres in other parts of the county, the *OSA* ministers almost always presented the decay and diminution of ancestral villages as proof of the depopulation of the Border region and equated the process with social loss. This perception is important because it indicates that not all concentrations of population were deemed negative environments. They could even be mourned if lost.

Along the English border, the ministers of Hounan and Jedburgh noticed a similar dilution of population, and were again more vocal in their complaints than their neighbours. At first glance, their position is rather pitiful. Scores of families had departed their rural districts to "disperse annually in all directions."[123] There was an understanding in both parishes that "the towns and villages will increase as the country parishes diminish;" but to them, the increase in Jedburgh town did not account for amount lost in the country areas.[124] This is because the population changes here were not only the result of agricultural improvement. In their case, depopulation was more directly a consequence of the Union of 1707 and loss of Jedburgh's political and commercial prominence.[125] Before the Union, its minister claimed, Jedburgh had enjoyed a privileged geographical

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[120] *NSA III*, Yetholm, 175-176; *OSA III*, Merton, 255-6. William Singer, *General View of the Agriculture, State of Property, and Improvements, in the County of Dumfries* (Edinburgh: 1812), 396-396.
[121] *NSA III*, Linton, 153.
[122] *OSA III*, Foulden, 179, 185, Merton, 255-6, Smallholm, 638-9; , 1845 #180.
[123] Ibid., Hounam, 475.
[124] Ibid., Hounam, 476-477, Jedburgh, 489.
[125] Ibid., Jedburgh, 489.

position and commercial status, taking advantage of the different customs and tax rates in the two kingdoms. While the Union had opened a significant cattle market and aided internal communication and transportation, it had also dismantled the local town economy. Now, men and women searching for employment and accommodation travelled to Yetholm or Kelso further north.[126] Upon close inspection, the Jedburgh protests against improvement and out-migration appear to be more related to loss of status than the loss of population itself. Many of the residents had neither disappeared nor moved to some far off place, but rather migrated to other established towns within Roxburghshire. Had the reorganisation favoured them over their northern counterparts, these ministers might not have despaired at the movement from family farms to concentrated settings. They might also have refrained from equating improvement with emigration and the negative connotations they attached to it.

While some ministers focused on the dispersal of local communities, other areas witnessed the emergence of new villages to house displaced cottagers, tenants, and young people. In these parishes, the greater landowners built new houses to create a "holding area" for agricultural workers.[127] Certain times of the year, especially the harvest, still required large numbers of labourers, significantly more than were usually housed by tenants. Establishing these sorts of villages removed cottagers from arable land but maintained a local pool of seasonal labour. Of the population concentration taking place in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, these villages were noted with a minimum of commentary. The notable exceptions were Walter Anderson of Chirnside and John Robertson of Kirkconnel, who discursively justified their formation.[128] Believing agriculture to be of paramount importance to the Scottish economy, they argued that having a ready supply of agricultural labour in rural villages was vital; the loss of these men and women to urban centres and manufacturing villages must be prevented. If it were not, farm-labour wages would rise, elevating the price of food for the manufacturing towns, whose own labour would in turn demand

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[126] Ibid., Hounam, 476-477.
[127] Peter Aitchison and Andrew Cassell, *The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution, 1760-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003), 7-8.
[128] *OSA III*, Chirnside, 56; *OSA IV*, Kirkconnel, 271-272n.

higher wages.[129] "Agriculture must fall into decay, how far no one can tell, [and] the country will turn wild and barren, will be desolated and depopulated; grain will become scarce, and rise in price beyond the reach of those who cannot work, or are not employed; and the kingdom at large be reduced to want and distress."[130] Moreover, it was insulting that farmers were expected to pay taxes for the creation of public roads, which encouraged out-migration. Likewise, John Graham of Kirkinner felt that Scotland had grown too fond of manufacturing towns. In his opinion they had forgotten the true importance of the agricultural Border region,

> So that we are manifestly a nursery, as I suppose all other country parishes are, for cities and great towns, whose industry hath hitherto been so much cherished, even at the expence [sic], sometimes, of our radical and more valuable industry on the soil, and the first care of its productions, so little understood or valued by the luxurious citizens who live by them.[131]

The minister of Borgue took this reasoning even further. He felt that agricultural employments were not only important to the health of the nation; they were "favourable to the health and morals of mankind."[132] His parish boasted farms of moderate extent, was near enough to market towns to produce a favourable balance of trade and supported no villages or manufacture. "The politician," he noted, would "consider the want of villages and manufactures as an evil because it is unfriendly to population, and increase of national revenue."[133] He, however, felt that the preservation of morality and health counteracted this claim. Even if all the parish ministers did not take up the view that agriculture was the surest path to health and morality, the shared belief that the reduction of the agricultural labour pool was a social disaster may explain why urbanisation and emigration were both described with similar distrust. Regardless of where the population went, the eventual depopulation and destruction were the same.

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[129] That these higher wages would attract farm labours back to the region failed to occur to the minister.
[130] *OSA IV*, Kirkconnel, 271-272n.
[131] *OSA*, Kirkinner, 418.
[132] Ibid., Brogue, 46-47.
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Although these smaller villages were important to the local community, socially and economically, the majority of the population concentration in the southeast was taking place in the larger centres. An analysis of net population growth makes it clear that, while agricultural villages made modest gains in population, towns such as Hawick, Melrose, Kelso and, to a lesser extent, Coldstream grew rapidly between 1770 and 1840. However, the reasons for their growth were not identical. Hawick attracted workers to its growing woollen manufacture and market towns such as Melrose grew in response to the increased productivity of nearby farms. Kelso and Yetholm, conversely, saw large population increases throughout the period that were unrelated to economic growth. Instead, their ministers attributed in-migration to the loss of tenancies and cottages in adjacent parishes and the originally healthy poor funds of the burgh and village.[134] It is in these towns that criticism of change and migration is most apparent.

In Yetholm, population concentration was criticised because of a significant sex-ratio imbalance. Single women who were unfit for full-time farm labour had taken up residence in the town and earned their livelihood by spinning and occasional harvest work. The single men, on the other hand, hired themselves out as hinds and servants and were housed on the farms or in other parishes. By the time of the *OSA*, this sex-imbalance had led to a long list of women on the poor rolls.[135] The minister argued that maintenance of agricultural family units and the conspicuous benevolence of rural landowners would have better provided for these women than he was able to do now. As early waves of emigration tended to involve the fittest of a community, especially young men, the process would have left an equally imbalanced population behind. The poverty of Yetholm, and the reason its fittest inhabitants migrated away, stemmed from its supposed inability to support a growing population. According to its minister John Baird, it was surrounded on two sides by "uninhabited and uncultivated mountains, and on the other side by a country more than one-half of which remain[ed] in permanent pasture. There are no trade, commerce, or

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[134] *OSA III*, Yetholm, 667; *NSA III*, Yetholm, 176.

[135] *OSA III*, Yetholm, 668-9. The gender imbalance of towns was noticed by ministers throughout southern Scotland. *OSA IV*, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, 225.

manufactures carried on in the parish."[136] Furthermore, as the nearby farms maintained all their needed servants upon their own land, the minister found it impossible to find employment for half the residents of the town.

Though there was some rural industry in the burgh of Kelso, the situation there was in many ways similar to Yetholm. The Rev. MacCulloch noted that the supply of labour far outweighed demand and many of the young men had left "in search of employment, to places where the market for labour is less limited."[137] Like Baird, MacCulloch claimed that the population had grown from an "influx of aged labourers and others, who are either driven from the rural parishes when they cease to be fit for work, or attracted to Kelso by the hope of participating in its ample charities."[138] Unlike Baird, however, he directly blamed the local landowners and their pursuit of improvement for the poverty of the village. He believed that they removed any unnecessary cottages from their land to prevent the "aged and infirm" from becoming burdens. Moreover, they were no longer resident in the neighbourhood and had thus removed employment opportunities for labourers and patronage for local retailers. Having failed in their social obligations to the community, these landowners were upsetting the balance of the parish.

Even though the level of farm amalgamation was less in the western counties than in the southeast, the ministers in Dumfries and Galloway were equally concerned that a large pool of unemployed labourers might form in the existing burghs. John Yorstoun of Torthorwald, for example, cautioned against allowing population to concentrate too greatly in any one place:

> Collecting a multitude of people, when there is not sufficient employment for them, instead of being any advantage, has no better effect than to bring a heavy burden upon themselves, and upon the neighbourhood, and is the sure way to increase the number of paupers, and to introduce parochial assessments for the maintenance of the poor, with all their concomitant evils.[139]

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[136] *NSA III*, Yetholm, 176.
[137] Ibid., Kelso, 321-323.
[138] MacCulloch explains at length his choice of the word "driven", lamenting farm amalgamation and the loss of cottager families Ibid., Kelso, 322, 322n.
[139] *NSA IV*, Torthorwald, 32.

Thus, while the laments like those of Baird and MacCulloch appeared predominately in the south-eastern parish accounts, there was a general awareness of the difficulties that changing demographics would bring throughout the rural south. Moreover, although MacCulloch made the connection between improvement, migration and urbanisation explicit, the commonality of arguments against certain aspects of town life, emigration, and rural depopulation throughout the region and in both *Statistical Accounts* indicates that this connection was implicitly understood throughout the ministerial community.

These commentaries also demonstrate a connection between the ministers in the rural southern parishes and the changing social philosophies of the Established Church as a whole, best characterised by Thomas Chalmers. According to Chalmers, by reorganising large urban parishes into small ones based on rural models, in which a strong sense of community bound the parishioners to the minister and to each other, morals would remain strong and traditional values prevail despite the anonymity of the city.[140] In the large urban parishes the problems expressed by the ministers of Kelso and Yetholm were magnified and, unlike the rural communities, urban centres could not hope to rely upon Sunday collections to provide for an imbalanced and often economically-depressed population.[141] Instead they required an institutionalised poor rate to provide for the destitute, something many evangelical ministers despised. By giving a poor parishioner the "right" to aid, assessment was deconstructing important hierarchies, held together by charity and gratitude. It also dismantled the important social position of the minister, who divided the poor roll monies among those he considered worthy of aid. While Baird and MacCulloch were responding to the immediate concerns of their parish, the rural parish minsters who echoed their views were mostly responding to a general fear that Scotland was moving away from the rural ideal Chalmers lauded to the pits of moral destitution that they felt were forming along the river Clyde. Moreover,

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[141] Brown, *Religion and Society*, Chapter 5; Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1973), passim; George John C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., Minister of Ruthwell, Founder of Savings Banks, Author of Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons, &C., &C.* (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant London Hamilton, Adams 1848), passim. R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law: 1745-1845* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), 152.

the concerns of country parishes, rural burghs, and the Rev. Thomas Chalmers all stemmed from an inability to reconcile changing demographic conditions with traditional mechanisms of social order.

Perhaps the best and most vivid characterisation of this inability to cope with the changing environment was a tract written by the Rev. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell. "This little volume" his introduction noted "was written at the time when *radicalism,* as it is barbarously called, was at its height; and was intended to form one of a series of Tracts which a loyal society in Edinburgh proposed to publish, with the view of fighting Disaffection with her own weapons."[142] In this short story, a young man leaves the rural south to live with his uncle and cousin in Glasgow in order to enter into the textile trade. In a very short time, he is exposed not only to radicalism, but also atheism, drunkenness, sloth, an utter lack of social deference and murder. Having escaped the events of the story unharmed, the main character returns to his family in the south to live a quiet, Christian life in the rural countryside. While the man's short stay did have a positive effect on his uncle (who eventually repented for his sins and crimes) it is clear that Duncan had a true contempt for the urban environment and saw a physical return to the country as the best cure for urban societal ills.

While the sex and age imbalances caused by out-migration and the dissolution of farming villages were extremely troubling to the southern ministers, and the vice and corruption that awaited migrants to the city were beyond contemplation, there was another important connection between urbanisation and emigration—replacement immigration. As seen in chapter one, much of the assessment debate centred around the argument that legal assessment and the right to poor aid had never been the legal or social tradition in Scotland. This theory had evolved alongside increasing romantic, and somewhat xenophobic, ideas of a proud, native Border population. Kelso's MacCulloch had commented on a decreasing proportion of Border names among the tenants, but other ministers went further in describing the social consequences of replacement immigration.[143] In Yetholm, the "sudden" demand of legal assessment was attributed to the bad influence of English immigrants. It was thought that they

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[142] Henry Duncan, *The Young South Country Weaver; or, a Journey to Glasgow: A Tale for the Radicals* (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes, 1821), iii.

[143] *NSA III*, Kelso, 322.

could "procure a room or lodging, of any dimensions, in the villages of Yetholm, where they contrive to subsist, by their own labour, for a certain number of years; and finally, when unable to work, get enrolled on the permanent list of poor."[144] The Irish, too, were accused of abusing the Scottish Poor Law. Flooding into the rural towns, they used "every method that cunning can devise to get a parish settlement" and thereafter enrol on the parish funds.[145] Native Borderers, the ministers claimed, were a proud people, who would rather suffer in want than ask for parochial aid. The Irish, thought to have no such qualms, were therefore parasites on the rural parish, destroying it from within. The belief that this sort of behaviour had been imported from England and Ireland re-enforced the notion that the native population should be maintained and insulated from negative outside influences. Even migratory Scots could be seen as a threat to the community's solvency. The minister of Buittle noted that "vagabond beggars, the scum of cities, who beg half-a-crown a day to drink it at night, are pretty numerous, and often troublesome".[146] These immigrants were a strain on the entire parish, contributing nothing while demanding aid from the poor funds.

Of course, the majority of Irish migrants had come to the Border region in search of employment rather than parochial aid. Early changes to Border agriculture had reduced the number of tenants needed by landowners, but farms, however improved, would always require a certain amount of seasonal labour. In the south-western parishes, and to some extent in the eastern Borders, this meant Irish labour—an unpalatable option to the ministers. "Great numbers of poor people also come over" the minister of Hutton and Corrie noted, "and if labourers from Ireland happen to be employed, they commonly leave improper burdens, or an immoral taint behind them."[147] The Irish were also seen as foreign, culturally and religiously, and were therefore the butt of racist jokes by men such the Rev. Henry Duncan.[148] They were generally accused of vagrancy, sloth, filth, and driving down the wage of labourers to the point that no honest

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[144] Ibid., Yetholm, 175-176.
[145] *OSA IV*, Kirkconnel, 275n; *OSA*, Crossmichael, 104; *NSA III*, Kelso, 321-323; *Mail*, No. 2756; *NSA IV*, Cummertrees, 255, Tinwald and Trailflat, 52, Kirkpatrick-Juxta,573, Minnigaff, 143, Stonykirk, 164` Stranraer, 96-97, Penningham, 179, Sorbie, 30, Whithom, 60.
[146] *OSA*, Buittle, 65. For more on the trend to moralize vagrancy see Peter Clark and David Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London: Hutchinson Education, 1987).
[147] *NSA IV,* Hutton and Corrie, 573.
[148] Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, 173.

Scotsman could support his family. Moreover, the minsters believed that the depression of wages would cause more Borderers to depart and prompt the immigration of more foreigners to dilute and corrupt the community. The minister of Whithorn explained:

> The greatest grievance that is felt in this parish at present, [...] is the extent of emigration, and the description of people that emigrate. Our native labourers and artisans, with their little property and many virtues, are drifting across the Atlantic, and Ireland, from her exhaustless store, is supplying their place. The number of Irish families that every year take up their abode in this place is almost incredible. These are possessed of nothing but a number of naked, starving children. The supply of labourers usually exceeds the demand, and wages are thereby reduced so low, that Scottish labourers who wish to feed, clothe, and educate their children, have it not in their power, and are compelled to seek in a foreign country what is denied them in their own.[149]

The only solution, according to one minister, was "the good government and general improvement of Ireland", which would halt the yearly "swarms" of Irish labourers and allow the Borderers to earn a sufficient living.[150]

Thus, urbanisation and improvement both ran the risk of destroying the social order of the region by encouraging immigration, which they believed would prompt emigration and further replacement immigration. The three processes were all interconnected and, to the ministers, could all lead to the ruin of their society. Only when improvement and population concentration were carefully managed by the landowners and greater tenants could they be pursued without taint.

Conclusion

Perceptions of emigration among the clergy are difficult to discern. In the late eighteenth century, many ministers suggested that emigration was abhorrent, something to discourage and deny. It was associated with social calamities—famine, war, disease—and with the removal of the orderly administration of the population by the Established Church. Yet, these were, in the main, abstract fears and loathing. Very few accounts actually described local emigration.

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[149] *NSA IV*, Whithorn, 60.
[150] Ibid., Tinwald and Trailflat, 52

Instead, they were preoccupied with what they perceived to be the primary effect of emigration: depopulation.

It is through the lens of depopulation that many of these ministers viewed agricultural improvement, urbanisation, and social change. Moreover, emigration was seen as only one of many causes of population decline. This does not imply that emigration was not a great concern. Instead, it illustrates that their perception of emigration, like their perception of urbanisation and rationalisation, was focused on how it affected the composition of their community. Even positive accounts of emigration, few that there were, framed the discussion entirely within the context of the home parish: "since employment has become more difficult to be procured," wrote the Rev. Jacob Wright in 1836, "it is fortunate there is such a vent for the superfluous population."[151]

The effects of depopulation and migration were described in detail by ministers throughout the seven southernmost counties; the loss of social cohesion to the community, the difficulties in providing adequate support to the poor and infirm, and the influx of immorality. While ministers acknowledged both the positive and negative consequences of agricultural improvement and rural manufacture, the Rev. Wright's commentary is the only one to admit that any positive effect arose directly from migration, and even he did so grudgingly. From their point of view, mills in the villages counteracted the negative effects of in-migration by providing steady employment. Migration into villages was never simply perceived as a positive process which allowed for the creation of profitable mills. Through their discussions of rural change, it is clear that migration was seen almost without exception as a negative force in Border society. Moreover, migration was understood to be the direct consequence of landowner action or inaction, with very little agency given to those who departed except for a few "deluded" individuals. Men and women were protected in villages or accommodated on farms by social-minded landowners. They were driven from their homes by rationalisation or kept in the community by subdivision and patronage.

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[151] Ibid., Hutton and Corrie, 539.

So what does this analysis of the Border ministers offer? It does not illuminate patterns of emigration from these parishes, nor should it, as these have already been better described through shipping and settlement records. Neither does it provide direct accounts of church activity in the promotion or prevention of emigration in this period. The ministers' writings make it very clear that they did not think themselves the best suited for this role; this was the province of the landowners. Instead, this study demonstrates the deeply ingrained psychological connections between all forms of migration, morality, and social order. Studies of vagrancy have long made this connection with domestic migration. Studies of emigration, however, have often failed to see the semantic parallels and interconnections described above. Within this region at least, historians simply cannot assume that descriptions of emigration are genuine portrayals of how it was affecting their local communities. Instead their perceptions of emigration are excellent examples of how the Established Church adapted itself to the changing British landscape. If migration was controlled and a paternal eye was closely maintained, Scottish morality could survive economic upheaval.

Chapter 3: Newspapers, Ship Owners and Emigration

In February 1816, on the rising tide of post-war emigration, the *Kelso Mail* published a short poem entitled "The Emigrant's Farewell." Billed as being written by a young man from Eskdale regarding his departure to America, its pessimistic lines lament the curse of emigration:

> Thou land of my forefathers! why did I leave thee?
> Why suffer ambition to tempt me to roam?
> In yon distant land shall affection receive me?
> Or there shall I find what I leave—a sweet home?
> A no! for misfortune my steps still attending,
> Shall doom my lone bosom to anguish and woe;
> Not a sigh, not a tear, on my ashes descending,
> Not a bosom to beat with affection's warm glow.[1]

In the aftermath of Waterloo, with the threat of depression looming and the fear of destitution spreading, the idea of emigrating was saturated with intense, negative emotion. But the 1810s did not usher in the first discussions of emigration by the press. Nor was the emotion expressed here characteristic of the entire period under study. No. To understand the relationship between the press and emigration, one must look further back, before the economic downturn of the 1810s, before the wars with France. One must look back to the very beginnings of the Border newspapers to see why, perhaps, this poem was published at all.

The popular press, the home of many such poems, was, and arguably still is, a strange animal: it relied on advertising revenue, needed to be entertaining and informative enough to attract a wide and consistent readership, and had to espouse the political and economic sentiments of its readership in order to stave off competition. When any of these failed, the paper was in serious risk of collapse. Unfortunately, these aspects often clashed and conflicted. The skills of a successful printer, especially of a country printer who lacked the journalistic resources available to Londoners, should therefore be greatly admired.

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[1] *The Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette*, 19 February 1816.

Yet, despite the complexity of these sources, the use of such newspapers in Scottish emigration studies is not new. Quotations from major papers were readily used by Allan Macinnes, Marjory Harper and Linda Fryer in their source book *Scotland and the Americas*.[2] Aberdeen newspapers also offered Harper's study of north-eastern emigration a better understanding of the direction of migrant departure.[3] Krisztina Fenyö used a broad base of newspapers in her study of public sentiment regarding the Highland Clearances.[4] In fact, along with the *Statistical Accounts*, Scottish newspapers are some of the most oft-used sources for those delving into Scottish emigration. But while a well-chosen quotation can clinch a historian's argument, these papers offer historians a much greater tool, if they are examined not only as a means to an end but as a form of expression themselves. Historians have often used editors as gauges of popular sentiment, aligning them with particular classes or regions; Fenyö was particularly successful in doing this. However, this method concentrates on editorial content as a personal voice rather than a commercial enterprise, as this study intends to do. Others have discussed the private enterprises which used newspapers, but do not delve into the editorial-advertising relationship.

This relationship took on several forms. Outside the greater cities of Britain, country printers in the eighteenth century had two obvious options available to them, neither particularly palatable. The first was to continue the staple of scissors-and-paste journalism, taking sometimes word-for-word the news from a wide variety of London (and occasionally foreign) papers and presenting the best possible selection to local audiences. The second was to concentrate heavily on local news and society, news that printers could obtain themselves or through a local correspondent. This, however, was strenuously avoided because any news worthy of being printed would have run around town by word-of-mouth long before the printer could set the type.[5] Instead, a third way was employed to

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[2] Allan I. Macinnes, Marjory Harper, and Linda G. Fryer, eds., *Scotland and the Americas, C.1650-C.1939: A Documentary Source Book* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2002).

[3] Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, vol. I: Willing Exiles (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, vol. II: Beyond the Broad Atlantic (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

[4] Krisztina Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances During the Famine Years, 1845-1855* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

[5] Geoffrey Alan Cranfield, *The Press and Society from Caxton to Northcliffe*, Themes in British Social History (London: Longman, 1978), 180.

varying degrees by all the papers of southern Scotland. The printers included diligent relays of London papers and foreign news, added a dash of local intrigue, notably unnatural crimes or accidents, provided a healthy coverage of trade news, commented on and analysed the above three, and sported at least a full page of advertisements. With a variety of offerings, they were able to appeal to a range of interests. These sections were not entirely disconnected, however. Each of the papers had its own voice, its own way of selecting metropolitan and foreign news and commenting on it, its own level of interest in the local stories of its parish, and its own methods for dealing with trade news. To some extent, a single personality was evident in all the sections.

Because of this combination of variety and consistency, newspapers lend themselves superbly to an analysis of the commercial and social aspects of emigration, though this opportunity has in many ways been neglected. Despite the extensive use of newspapers in Harper's study of the emigrant business from the northeast, which is laudable in its scope and level of detail, it often employed newspapers as tools for understanding other businesses rather than as sources in themselves. Perhaps this is because the level of anti-emigration sentiment had been reduced significantly by the second half of the nineteenth century and was less present in the editorial content. Without this dual presentation of emigration, it would be difficult to tease out the relationship between business and commentary within newspaper. Around 1800, however, the negative rhetoric was still widespread.

In fact, throughout the period under study, editorial content regarding emigration was negative if not outright hostile. Yet, at the same time Borderers were developing a ravenous appetite for emigration advice and services, and these were most effectively advertised in the local press. These two strains of thought do not, at first, seem reconcilable. How then did these small operations weigh the ardent demand for emigration information, the promise of advertising revenue from ships, and the distaste for the process by many of the landowners and ministers? That is what this chapter hopes to illuminate.

Like the *Statistical Accounts*, these newspapers all offer invaluable statistical information on sailings, emigrant numbers, and migration paths. Their value can

be seen, for example, in Lucille Campey's study of Aberdeen emigrant ships.[6] Nevertheless, an accurate large-scale view of how emigration was portrayed in the Scottish press is not, at this stage, possible. While a collection of similar quotations and editorial stances may be gathered, correctly analysing the qualitative information relies on understanding the specific context of the region and the editorial staff. Like the ministers, the editors and contributors of these papers were often commenting on complex situations and their assessments of emigration cannot be taken as specific or isolated commentaries. Moreover, the perceptions of the editors and how they presented them were dependent upon the health of the newspaper as a business and its prominence as a voice of the community.

This chapter, therefore, will explore the complex relationship that Border newspaper editors had with the 'spirit of emigration'—how they shaped it and how it shaped them. It will first discuss how the provincial press, in general, was influenced by commercial considerations and organised as a business. It will then illustrate the character and frequency of emigrant-focused advertising throughout the region. From there, it will attempt to reconcile these trends in advertising with apparent fluctuations in editorial content throughout the period. Lastly, it will focus on emigration editorials—those not directly influenced by subscriber demands—in order to better illustrate the editor's personal perceptions of the emigration process. From these discussions, a fuller, more nuanced view of emigration in the Border press will emerge.

Scottish Newspapers

In his 2006 introduction to a special issue of *Journalism Studies* on the provincial press, Andrew Walker lamented that the historiography on early modern British papers relies far too heavily on a London-centric point of view, and that even newer works rely heavily upon 1960s groundwork.[7] Despite this qualified criticism of newer works, the amount of scholarly research about the English provincial press is actually quite staggering, though the obligatory discussion of

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[6] Lucille H. Campey, *Fast Sailing and Copper-Bottomed: Aberdeen Sailing Ships and the Emigrant Scots They Carried to Canada 1774-1855* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2002).

[7] Andrew Walker, "The Development of the Provincial Press in England C. 1780-1914," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006). Recent works on the history of journalism, such as Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: SAGE, 2004). provide only the briefest outline to the pre-Victorian press in Britain, again relying on 1960s historiography of the English press.

scissor-and-paste journalism can make reading several studies in succession tedious. In terms of this study, the problem appears not to be that the historiography is London-centric, but rather England-centric, at least in terms of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Although many Scottish social, political, and economic histories used and sometimes even relied upon newspapers for their source material, there exists very little information on the practices and development of the Scottish press itself, especially of country papers. Reading Cowan's 1946 study of *The Newspaper in Scotland* is a quick primer to some of the names and dates. However, it does not offer the sort of detailed insight needed to appreciate fully the content and reader divisions between the smaller country newspapers and their larger Edinburgh and Glasgow counterparts, nor the full web of connections between them. Fortunately, local histories from the Borders, as well as biographies of the editors, have shed considerable light on the subject and allowed this study to place the source material in a more concrete landscape.[8] Furthermore, the foundation, style, and management of English provincial newspapers appears to have been similar to those north of the border, allowing a cautious use of Barker and Cranfield's models.[9] This method, and the singular use of Cowan, seems a consistent pattern among historians. It is hoped that this subject will merit further attention in the future.

Despite the lack of historiography, the southern counties of Scotland were well represented by newsmen by the turn of the nineteenth century. Although England had over 40 provincial papers in operation in 1782, Scotland patronages

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[8] See, for example, Alistair Moffat, *Kelsae: A History of Kelso from Earliest Times* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985)., George John C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., Minister of Ruthwell, Founder of Savings Banks, Author of Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons, &C., &C.* (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant London Hamilton, Adams 1848)., and *The Ballantyne Press and Its Founders: 1796-1908,* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1909).

[9] The similarities between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century presses were also recognised in Hamish Mathison, "Tropes of Promotion and Wellbeing: Advertisement and the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Periodical Press," in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. John Raymond (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999). Because the focus of this discussion is the period 1770-1830, and because most of the literature on English periodical suggests that a fundamental change in British journalism took place in the later post-war years and at mid-century, I have relied primarily on discussion of eighteenth century journalism to compare these papers with the field as a whole. I have found very few discrepancies. For more on the historiography of the provincial press see especially Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Geoffrey Alan Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)..

less than twenty in the 1780, and many had runs of less than two year. Among these were the *British Chronicle* in Kelso, Roxburghshire, and the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*.[10] With the foundation of the *Kelso Mail*, the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, and the *Berwick Advertiser* before 1809, the Borders were home to five local newspapers. Though their towns of residence do not all coincide with major centres, and their creation relied at least partly on the serendipity of a willing printer, their readership stretched throughout the region to all the counties of southern Scotland, as well as into the north of England, establishing a firm base for the conclusions of this discussion.[11] To understand better the varied origins of these newspapers, however, a brief history of them is necessary.

Border papers, 1770-1840

The British Chronicle: Or, Union Gazette, credited by Kelso's the Rev. J. M. MacCulloch as being the first newspaper in the south of Scotland, was founded in the spring of 1783 with its original run lasting until 1803. Its editor, James Palmer, was considered by contemporaries to be a radical and was at least once incarcerated in the Jedburgh prison.[12] Though his paper enjoyed wide circulation in the Borders, it was understandably not well-liked by the local nobility and gentry. In response to Palmer's political leanings, the "Tweedside Tories", as Cowan refers to them, invited James Ballantyne, an Edinburgh University law graduate and native of Kelso, to start a country paper of a more conservative political stance—a paper that far outlasted its cross-street rival.[13] Ballantyne, like many printers of provincial newspapers, also engaged in book and pamphlet printing in between issues of the *Mail*, and utilized his own advertising space to promote them. Eventually, he left his youngest brother to manage the *Mail* and moved to Edinburgh to engage in a larger printing operation, and a larger

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[10] Many small papers rose and fell throughout the eighteenth century, but the Caledonian Mercury, Edinburgh Evening Courant, Edinburgh Advertiser, Aberdeen Journal, Dumfries Weekly Journal, Dundee Register Glasgow Herald, Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury, Glasgow Journal, Glasgow Mercury, Scots Magazine, Weekly Magazine, North British Magazine or Caledonian Miscellany and the British Chronicle were offered in the early 1780s. Mary Elizabeth Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1931), 89.

[11] Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 179. Barker, *Public Opinion*, 110-112.

[12] Moffat, *Kelsae*, 144.

[13] Ibid., 145.

Edinburgh newspaper.[14] Not long after the *Chronicle* ceased publication, another radical paper appeared in the eastern Borders, this time more removed from the *Mail* in Berwick. The *British Gazette and Berwick Advertiser* began its run in 1808 under Henry Richardson and "steadily fought the landed interest—'the county gentlemen, flint taskmasters of the Government'".[15] It was taken over by his widow Catherine in 1823, but maintained its editorial stances. A handful of other short-lived radical papers appeared throughout the 1820s and 1830s, but the *Mail* and the *Advertiser* boasted the longest runs of the early nineteenth century.[16]

Along the Solway Firth, the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* was founded in 1770 (thirteen years before the *Chronicle*) and published unimaginative clippings and summaries of the London newspapers for the first years of its existence, though it did mature editorially before it disappeared in 1833.[17] Unlike the Kelso and Berwick papers, which were sometimes quite unabashed in professing their political bias, the *Journal,* according to its rival, "had no literary merit, and was an organ of public opinion, possessing neither weight nor authority."[18] Its lack of journalistic flair and moral probity during the war with France led the Rev. Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell, to found the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* in the winter of 1809. He acted as editor until 1816. Intended to offer "weekly lessons of politics and morals", the *Courier* engaged its readers with a larger proportion of editorials and direct journalism than its eastern rivals, and though his editorials demonstrated paternal affection for the working classes, "he invariably gave his hearty support to all that was valuable in the institutions of the country, to which he was, by principle and feeling, as well as by obvious interest, strongly attached."[19] Apparently as much a personal passion as a

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[14] For further details on the Kelso papers, see *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. III: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), 343-344; R.M.W. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland: A Study of Its First Expansion 1815-1860* (Glasgow: George Outram & Co. Ltd, 1946), 11. and Moffat, *Kelsae*, 145-6.. The Kelso *Mail* is available in bound copies at the National Library of Scotland.

[15] Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, 47-48.

[16] Ibid. The Berwick *Advertiser* is available at the British Newspaper Library in Colindale, London.

[17] For one of many scathing reviews of eighteenth-century provincial press standards, see Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 179.

[18] Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, 77.

[19] Ibid., 78.

business, it was only after much deliberation that he chose a partner and successor to the editorship of the *Courier*, a man named MacDiarmid. Duncan had chosen the young man in the hopes that he would continue in the same editorial vein, and could not have been disappointed. The discussions engaged in and the sentiments expressed by both men were so similar that it is unlikely readers noticed any discontinuity in the handover.[20]

These men were not the only voices heard by Border Scots in the early nineteenth century. Many had access to papers from London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other towns by use of new, extensive reading rooms, shared subscriptions, and by papers being read aloud by their purchaser.[21] But a local paper, for all its reprinted material, was part of the shared culture of a county and something to be valued by locals beyond the empirical worth of its news reporting. It was an important part of the local conversation and, beyond numbers of emigrants and advertisements, beyond useful quotations, and beyond hints at the world outside the paper, the newspaper is valuable as being part of that world, as being caught up in the same needs, desires, and limitations of that world. Because this study aims to uncover the relationship between commerce and belief in these Border newspapers, it is proper that it first consider the somewhat neglected art of advertising.

Advertising Revenue

Although newspapers were an important vehicle of political and religious thought, by the late eighteenth century the press was in many respects a commercial entity. Whatever its political beliefs, whatever its stance on the morality of its neighbours, it needed advertising revenue, and it needed the readers that a full advertising section attracted. So, as the Scottish press matured, so too did the advertisements. According to Hamish Mathison, between 1720 and 1780, Scottish newspaper advertisements became more numerous, frequent and sophisticated.[22] The products offered in them became more varied, more often targeted at consumers rather than tradesmen, and advertising

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[20] For further details on the Dumfries papers, see Ibid., 77-78. and Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, 46-47. Both *The Journal* and *The Courier* are available on microfiche at the Ewart Library in Dumfries.

[21] Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 46.

[22] Mathison, "Tropes of Promotion," 207.

language and techniques evolved, utilising tricks such as the faux open-letters to engage the readers' attention. As their importance grew, they crept from the back page further inward, eventually finding their place on the front.[23] And the advertisements were not just a supplementary source of income. They were in many respects the key to a paper's success. Advertisements, especially those directed at consumers, attracted readers to a paper, increasing its circulation, and the higher circulation numbers attracted more advertisers willing to pay for space, the cycle spiralling, hopefully, to financial success.[24]

Emigrant-focused advertising, however, was particularly lacking for the Border papers in this period. There were none of the notices for settlement supplies and few for the guidebooks that Harper found in Aberdeen newspapers in later decades. Nor were there more than a handful of notices for foreign land or employment. These were just emerging in the 1820s, near the end of our period of discussion. Yet, Scots were emigrating and private enterprise was not as apathetic as it may first appear. There was one aspect of the emigration trade that thriving at the turn of the nineteenth century; emigrant passage. By examining the evolution of these advertisements, so numerous and focused in the rural Border market, this study hopes to discover the relationship between supply and demand in this burgeoning trade and how fluctuations in this business affected the editorial content of the press.

Because the backgrounds of the early southern papers are so varied, the study is particularly fortunate. Not only are there issues available from throughout the entire period, their readership covers the entire geographic area and much of the socio-economic spectrum. The advertisements displayed in these papers were therefore likely to have reached a broad and representative base of Border Scots, either by subscription, reading room, or by word of mouth and communal reading. Barker argued that these provincial newspapers were able to command the loyalty of readers over larger ones in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow because readers based their subscription upon the town with which they most closely identified economically and geographically, making these papers useful

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[23] Ibid., 207-209, 222; Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 185. Walker, "Provincial Press."

[24] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855*, Themes in British Social History (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), 97. Barker, *Public Opinion*, 159.

for gauging local demands.[25] These advertisements will therefore help illuminate the changing tastes, needs, and demands for emigrant passage in the rural Borders and southwest regions of Scotland. Furthermore, by comparing these with changes in editorial content, the relationship between commerce and opinion will be better understood.

Considered as a whole, the remarkable thing about the passage adverts between 1770 and 1830 is not their variety, though creativity was not lacking, but rather their curiously strict conformity. In the four regional newspapers which we shall discuss here, the *Courier, Advertiser, Mail,* and *Journal,* the editors all employed the same format in their passage adverts.[26] This is curious because, first, the adverts for land, consumer goods and employment never followed such a strict pattern, even within a single issue, and second, those purchasing the advertisement space varied considerably in location, purpose, and financial standing. Yet, with only minor differences, advertisements of this sort were presented in much the same way as in Victorian newspapers from Aberdeen.[27] Clearly, it was a formula that worked. This pattern is an enormous benefit to the historian for the same reason it had been one to the original readership. Because of their uniformity, they are easily spotted on the often cluttered advertisement pages and information such as destination, location and agent are formulaically displayed, simplifying data analysis considerably. In every issue of all four newspapers, the reader can easily scan the available options and compare them with his or her particular needs.

The disadvantage of using advertisements, especially such brief and uniform ones, is that the data they provide can become trivial and unrepresentative of the social trends they are meant to illustrate. Their use obscures those providers who relied on word-of-mouth or other means of advertising, thus limiting the usefulness in gauging the effectiveness of various advertising techniques. It also focuses our attention on data that in some ways is highly generic and perhaps only supplemental to outside information. Nonetheless, Stephen Lovell, in his

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[25] Barker, *Public Opinion*, 134.

[26] The *British Gazette* lacked enough surviving issues to show any patterns in its advertisements, especially considering its run ceased before the significant push of 1816-1822.

[27] For examples, see Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*; Campey, *Aberdeen Sailing Ships.*

discussion of marriage adverts, offers two counterarguments that apply as well here as they do in his own study. First, though newspaper adverts can be unrepresentative of the entire marketplace, all other means of obtaining these data are equally unrepresentative, relying on the preservation of personal records such as diaries, accounts book, memoirs and letters, which are piecemeal at best and often biased toward the middle and upper classes. Second, the advantage that lies in these adverts, as opposed to relying on editorial pieces, is that despite their uniformity of structure they were at least partially written by individuals independent of the editorial staff, and traits particular to individual brokers and ship-owners do become apparent upon close inspection.[28]

In order to proceed better with this study, a sketch must first be drawn of the archetypal passage advertisement to provide a constant point of reference. The regularity of the format throughout the period promises that this outline will bear at least general resemblance to all the adverts that will be discussed. A passage advertisement contained six basic, invaluable components:

The Image – A small engraving of a sailing vessel, which appeared in most of the advertisements with some exception toward the beginning or end of the period; this aspect of the advert was iconic but in no way representative of the actual vessel or ship-owner. A single engraving was used for all shipping advertisements within a newspaper and the standardisation of this image in both the *Mail* and the *Courier* further homogenised the source material.

The Headline – The headline of the advert fell into two overlapping categories. Always in capitals and generally bolded or italicized, it was framed as either "For Passengers to [a continent]" or as a listing of the ports of call, or both.

The Hard Facts – The first (or in some cases the only) paragraph detailed the sailing port, the destination, the name of the ship usually along with its captain, and the intended date of sailing.

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[28] Stephen Lovell, "Finding a Mate in Late Tsarist Russia: The Evidence from Marriage Advertisements," *Cultural & Social History* 4, no. 1 (March 2007): 53.

The Marketing – The second half of the advertisement usually included marketable details such as reputation, amenities, or cross-advertisements with previous or forthcoming sailings.

The Agent – The advertisement closed with directions on where to obtain further information and the name and premises of the ship's agent.

The Date – The last piece of information was a tagline with the origin and date of composition of the advertisement. This is particularly important as it allowed the reader to recognise re-advertisements as well as amendments and updates.

Yet, the standardisation of these six components affords more assistance than merely the quick identification of the quantifiable details. The relative size and content of these six sections often changed subtly, sometimes dramatically, and these are indications of changes in marketing strategy by the ship owners, and thus an indication of changes in the demands of the emigrating population.

Although the *Kelso Mail,* the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier,* the *Berwick Advertiser,* and the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* were each examined in regard to advertisement frequency and content, statistical data presented in this discussion will be limited to the *Mail* and the *Courier*. Had the *Advertiser* and the *Journal* been included, the data would have been skewed to the detriment of historical enquiry. This is for two reasons. First, with a very few exceptions, which will be noted later, neither the *Advertiser* nor the *Journal* carried any advertisements that were not identically and simultaneously carried by their regional rival. Second, the gross number of advertisements carried by these two papers was year to year less than their rivals, in some years significantly so. In general, only the largest concerns chose to advertise in both newspapers, and even they did so irregularly.[29] Therefore, their inclusion would present two problems. It would give the occasional and mistaken appearance that a wider variety of advertisements was available to the region than was actually the case. Also, because the number of regional journals was so small, the lightly-

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[29] The fact that the regional rivals shared a significant number of readers, as well as the fact that they printed on different days, suggests that local residents may have browsed both papers in order to keep with the latest London news. If this were the case, there would be little sense in publishing in both papers on a regular basis as this would result in as many as 3 adverts a week to a single audience. Barker, *Public Opinion*, 125.

advertised newspapers would skew any numerical averages taken, vastly under representing the marketing material presented to these audiences.

Most works on Scottish emigration from any period will preface their discussion with the idea that the Scots, as a people, have always tended toward emigration. They generally note that it had been a strong and consistent element of Scotland's culture centuries before the infamous Highland clearances and the mass migration of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Studies of specific migrations in the latter half of the eighteenth century only confirm this general trend. Census and genealogical sources present an ever-present, if fluctuating, flow of Scots abroad. The purpose of this discussion, however, is not to trace the actual numbers and paths of individual Scots during this period, which has been illustrated by historians in increasing detail over the past forty years, but instead to trace the demand of the Border Scots for commercial emigrant passage, and the response of private enterprise to that demand.

Emigrant passage advertisements, here defined as notices offering passage to non-European ports, appeared in these four newspapers in a very predictable pattern.[30] the *Journal*, whose run began in 1770, offers us our only clear look at eighteenth-century marketing for this region. The *Mail*'s run does not begin until the final three years of the century, and a representative sampling of the *British Chronicle*, a predecessor and rival to the *Mail*, no longer exists. The information to be gleaned from the *Journal*, however, is minute. Its early format is highly compressed; its national, local, and trade news is run together with little stylistic distinction. In the first decades of its publication it provided no shipping advertisements for passage outside the British Isles. Although it has been often noted that emigration from the Lowlands of Scotland reached a peak in the early 1770s, most notably by Bailyn's *Voyagers to the West*, those who sent ships to North America did not feel the need or desire to advertise in the newly formed *Journal*.[31] Most of those who took on passengers were merchants and ship owners, using the emigrants as incidental ballast on the return trips for tobacco,

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[30] Many of the advertisements, especially in the 1810s, advertised up to four ships from a single agent or ship owner. Because they were sailing at different times for different ports, and for the sake of clarity and consistency, each of these has been counted as a separate advertisement for statistical purposes.

[31] Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986), xix

timber or sugar, and relied more on personal enquiries and word-of-mouth to obtain them.[32] Furthermore, after the moratorium on immigration to the rebel colonies was imposed in 1775, there would be little need for such local advertisements.[33] Yet, no evidence of a boom in the emigration business appeared on the broadsheets on cessation of hostilities in the 1780s. For the remainder of the eighteenth century the *Journal,* as well as the *Mail* when it was founded in 1797, remained largely mute on the subject. On the back pages of both, diligent mention is made of the ships leaving nearby harbours, but these are invariably listed as carrying trade goods or ballast rather than passengers.[34]

It is not until 1802 that we get our first real taste of the emigrant passage business. Suddenly, talk of emigration was in the air and by the summer of 1803, several American ships were listed in the *Mail* as taking passengers from Glasgow to New York and Boston. But, just as suddenly, the advertisements disappeared, the last running in February of 1804.[35] Resumption of war with France and the danger of sea travel, which inflated insurance rates, once again deflated the market.[36] This small burst in advertising, however, does signify something rather important. Hardly had the ink dried on the Treaty of Amiens before ships were prepared for commercial passage, setting sail at the next permissible season. In the decade of war with France, demand for travel had evidently built up enough to require rapid attention from shipping concerns. A web of ship-owners, agents, and sub-agents sprang up across Scotland and northern England to capture this valuable market. That they chose to advertise in local as well as national papers and hire local agents indicates that the supply was decentralized and rural demand was high, warranting the additional expenditure to capture this prospective market.[37]

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[32] Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003), 113.

[33] Furthermore, notice of shipping had become increasingly hazardous for these merchants, and during wars with France, shippers asked that their movements no longer be traced in the papers as it was leading to their attack at sea. Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 181.

[34] This does not exclude the possibility of passengers, however, as the *North Star* was listed as ballast though it did take a few passengers out in the summer of 1817 *The Dumfries & Galloway Courier*, 26 `August 1817.

[35] *Mail*, 16 May 1803, 14 June 1803, 5 September 1803. *Mail,* 16 February 1804.

[36] Melodee Beals, "Thinning Acquaintances: National, Familial, and Commercial Identity in the British Atlantic World, 1740-1840" (M.A., Clark University, 2005), 81.

[37] Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, 121-122.

Throughout the rest of the war years there were sporadic notices of passage in the *Advertiser* and the *Journal*. These, however, were not akin to the commercial passage offered from London or Glasgow in the latter decades of the century. Instead, these ships, only a handful in number, sailed from Berwick and Dumfries to New Brunswick and the St Lawrence to purchase timber. Upon their return to Scotland, and having discharged their North American timber via advertisements earlier that winter, they offered to take on a few passengers as well-paying ballast for their return trip to Canada.[38] These adverts were extremely brief, containing only basic information on when and where the ship would sail. For example, the following advertisement appeared in the 3 June 1809 issue of the *Advertiser*:

> FOR PICTOU IN NOVA SCOTIA,
> THE Brig ORIANA, JOHN CROW, Master, now
> lying at Berwick, will Sail in Ten or Twelve
> Days.
> —For Passage apply to the Master on board.
>
> *Berwick, June 2d, 1809*[39]

The most important fact to note from the above is that the date of sailing was less than a fortnight from the composition of the advertisement, giving prospective passengers no time to plan their journey. Notices such as this could only have appealed to those going on business or non-settlement journeys or single travellers able to quickly move their assets.

This brings us to 1815 and the real emergence of an emigrant passage market in the Borders. Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo brought a swift cease-fire on 4 July 1815 and an end to decades of war with France. At the next suitable season, the spring of 1816, the Border papers were littered with advertisements for passage across the Atlantic to both British North America and the United States. Ship owners wasted little time testing the waters for demand. In that year, six adverts appeared in the spring issues of the *Kelso Mail* and eight in the *Courier* for a total of six individual voyages to North America. Though this number appears small, it represents advertising nearly equal to that of the previous

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[38] *The British Gazetteer or Berwick Advertiser*, 31 March 1810, 14 April 1810.
[39] Ibid.15 April 1809, 3 June 1809.

decade. By 1817 the number of advertised sailings had increased to over 20 and the marketing to a towering 80 advertisements, the highest number for the remainder of this period. Until 1821, and with the exception of 1820, the newspapers consistently ran about 50 advertisements a year (see Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 in Appendix B) before reducing to a trickle of roughly ten a year for the rest of the decade. There was one last jump in 1825-26, but only in the *Mail*, and only for ships departing from London. It appears that the initial post-war surge of local, self-financed emigrant travel had run its course in just over five years.

This sudden burst of activity was the result of the demand for westward passage that had been bubbling in Scotland during the wars with France and the United States. When the latter came to a close in 1814, the 3rd Earl of Bathurst, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was well aware of these rumblings and was concerned that once passage became available, Britons would flock to New York and Boston.[40] The Secretary had no desire to increase a potential enemy's ranks with British expatriates. Instead, a plan for assisted immigration to British North America was formulated. Utilising ships being sent to Canada to retrieve soldiers, the British government planned to assist 2000 Scottish emigrants (as well as 2000 Irish and 400 English settlers) with passage and land. Though the plan had to be delayed until the peace treaty was ratified by the United States Congress, and the appointment of a Scottish agent had not been finalised until the first week of March, advertisements for the scheme began to appear in the Scottish press by February of 1815.[41]

It was a thoroughly conservative attempt at government-sponsored migration; the £16 deposit against jumping the border to the United States meant that only those that did not require such assistance would be able to obtain it. Nonetheless, there were several hundred Scottish applicants waiting for passage. When Napoleon returned to Paris in March of that year, the immediate need for Canadian troops meant that the ships could not wait to approve more applicants

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[40] Hugh James Morton Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830 'Shovelling out Paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 17; Michael E. Vance, "The Politics of Emigration: Scotland and Assisted Emigration to Upper Canada, 1815-26," in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1990-91*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 38.

[41] Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830 'Shovelling out Paupers'*, 20.

or to board those already approved. Obligated to those who had already secured assistance, and still concerned about the flow of Britons to the United States, Bathurst made sure the emigrants were given alternative passage that fall. Yet, because they arrived so late in the year, the settlers could not hope to make adequate preparations for the winter or the following spring. Hoping to secure praise from those writing home, Bathurst made arrangements with the military authorities at Rideau to temporarily lodge the settlers in a vacated military barracks and provided them with food and financial aid until they could establish themselves. Some received aid well into 1819. Bathurst's plan worked and many letters of praise were sent to Scottish families, encouraging them to join them in Canada. According to lists of assisted migrants, many of those writing home were from the Borders, especially the southwest.[42]

Because most of the advertisements in the *Mail* were for Leith rather than nearby Berwick or Eyemouth, its local reporting sheds little light on how many Border Scots actually took up the offers of passage and information gleaned from Edinburgh papers does not differentiate between the origins of those sailing. The editor of the *Courier*, however, was particularly interested in the spirit of emigration, and took great care in counting the number of passengers leaving aboard local ships, often detailing the home districts of the emigrants. His *Shipping Intelligence* asserts that nearly 300 passengers sailed aboard John Thomson's ships in 1817 (nearly 400 if one believes Thomson's own advertising) and several dozen others aboard Adam Rankine's vessels. Furthermore, the Dumfries shipping companies continued to take roughly 350 settlers to Canada every year through the 1810s and into the early 1820s. According to the editor, most of those boarding the Dumfries vessels were from Dumfriesshire, though some had come over from English Border towns in Cumbria.[43] Taking this into account, but also acknowledging that emigrants from the Borders also travelled to Leith, Glasgow or Dublin to obtain international passage, it is likely that at least 3000 Scots emigrated from the Borders in the decade after Waterloo.

With such a high demand, and with the government deciding not to repeat its assistance package, it is not surprising that in the spring of 1816, private

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[42] Ibid., 18-19. Terry McDonald, "Come to Canada While You Have a Chance: A Cautionary Tale of English Emigrant Letters in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* XCI, no. 2 (1999): 113.

[43] *Courier*, 18 April 1820.

enterprise picked up the government's slack and provided private transport for those denied assistance. The conservative nature of the government scheme meant that it had roused the interest of middling farmers and tradesmen, rather than the poor. Despite the termination of the programme, these men and women still had the means to purchase private transportation. It is even less surprising that in the following years, when letters of praise began to arrive back home and the government again held out encouragement in the form of land, that the demand surged.

But what sort of ships catered to this demand? In the nineteenth century, the demand was most robustly met by ships primarily engaged in the North American timber trade. These merchants had enjoyed rather generous trade protection against Baltic competitors during the Napoleonic wars, but because of the high volume-to-value proportion of timber, they needed a high paying return cargo to make the trade viable.[44] Passengers to the North American colonies were ideal for a variety of reasons. First, and most obviously, the ships were going to North America regardless. Second, because of the relatively open cargo space needed to accommodate the timber, these ships were easily converted into passenger accommodation. They needed only to lay down beams at about five and a half feet below the upper deck to create a lower deck in which to lay two tiers of wooden berths along each side, and possibly another down the middle. On a 400-ton vessel, this gave 200 passengers a very modest personal space of just six feet by six feet (a modern prison cell is roughly eight by twelve) with no portholes or ventilation except the hatchways, which would be closed during rough weather.[45]

From this description it is not surprising that one emigrant, the Rev. John Sprott, later of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, remarked that it "resembled the slave trade" and spoke disparagingly of the "Thomsons of Dumfries [who] owned a little fleet of timber vessels which were all employed in carrying passengers to America."[46] On the other hand, Walter Johnstone, an amateur emigrant advisor from Kirkmahoe, noted that "I may say with truth that a more comfortable

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[44] Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 86.

[45] Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 144-6.

[46] Rev. George W. Sprott, *Memorials of the Rev. John Sprott* (Edinburgh: 1906), 101.

passage was never made across the Atlantic. [...] I could not recommend to them a more clean, healthy, and comfortable ship, than the *Diana* of Dumfries, nor a more kind and obliging Captain than Captain Martin."[47] It should be noted, however, that the *Diana*, John Walker and Son's only passenger vessel, only ever advertised two sailings and perhaps offered roomier accommodation to compete with Thomson's six regular conveyances. Though individual ships and passages obviously varied, in general, timber merchants had only to perform a simple conversion to their vessels in order to be rewarded with a windfall of extra revenue just as the post-war depression took hold of Britain.[48] Even if, as Harper contends, "Passengers were seen as a bonus, rather than the sole justification for providing a vessel," the ease of transition into this trade must have made it tempting to many ship owners.[49]

This is partly confirmed by the rise in active marketing in the trade. The notices from the initial post-war boom are very different from those in the previous decade. In addition to the vital information of ship name, captain, and sailing port, more marketable details began to appear. Simple phrases such as "Very fine" ship and "roomy" accommodation were the first additions, but within months the marketing sections of passage advertisements began to equal if not exceed the space allotted to the hard facts. A representative notice from the *Mail* for passage to New York demonstrates:

[47] D. C. Harvey, *Journeys to the Island of St. John or Prince Edward Island: 1755-1832* (Toronto: The Macmillian Company of Canada Limited, 1955), 88-90.
[48] Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 88.
[49] Ibid.

AT LEITH, FOR NEW YORK,
(To succeed the SKEEN,)

THE very fine coppered ship TRAVELLER, 400 tons burthen, THOMAS BELL, Master, will clear out on Monday the 1st of July.

This Vessel having been for some time in Government service, for the conveyance of Troops, is admirably calculated for Passengers, having very high twixt decks, and well aired. Her Cabin is also fitted up in a superior style, and has every accommodation.
Passengers will require to be in Leith by Friday first or Saturday at furthest.
There is still room for a few more Passengers.
Apply to WILLAM ALLAN, Broker,
Leith, June 22, 1816.[50]

Here Allan attempted to establish not only that his client had comfortable accommodation, but also his experience in the passenger trade, thus making him superior to others bidding for the readers' attention. Different providers also began to compete by making direct reference to their rivals; twice Allan had to defend the Leith passage against ship owners from Workington who had declared it "dangerous". He noted spitefully "that there can be no motive in making such representation, but to mislead the ignorant."[51] Unlike the Highlands, where gentlemanly agreements over emigrant territory had been established, the Lowlands were fair game and fought over with great vigour.[52] By the late 1810s, the number of shipping advertisements appearing in each issue of the *Courier* was so large that the editor opted to use two different ship engravings, likely in an attempt to break up the monotony of the front page.[53]

The universal use of such techniques shows a growing understanding of the need to appeal to customers' needs and consumer sensibilities. On the other hand, though the length and details of these advertisements grew significantly in the early decades of the century, they were still short and direct compared to those seen during the emigration rushes of Victorian Scotland. While contemporaneous

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[50] *Mail*, No 2004, 24 June 1816.
[51] Ibid. 29 April 1819.
[52] Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, 122.
[53] *Courier*, 20 May 1817.

products, such as patent medicines and poetry collections, used sophisticated techniques such as testimonial letters, this was not a feature of passage advertisements until a generation later.[54] Because these passengers were seen only as high-paying ballast, a supplement to their regular trade, advanced marketing techniques had not yet been fully applied. Nonetheless, the clear difference between the advertisements of the late 1810s and those a decade earlier shows that while emigrants might have be seen as a bonus, they were a bonus worth fighting for.

In addition to more aggressive marketing, the ship owners began to allow more time for passengers to obtain information and passage. Rather than a single advert less than a fortnight before departure, the eastern Borders' newspapers averaged four adverts over as many weeks, the first usually being nearly a month before departure. In Dumfries they usually appeared for two or three weekly advertisements, although some had as many as six or seven, and the first usually appeared about twenty days before departure. Some advertised even further in advance: a Lothian agent gave notice that ships would sail from Leith for North America every 14 days in the summer of 1818, Dumfries advertisements reassured intending migrants who had missed their last ship that another would sail shortly, and a Kirkcudbright company informed readers that it would arrive the next month, remain in port for a fortnight, and then continue on to America.[55]

Of course, "passengers intending for North America" did not necessarily need the ship owners to inform them when passage would be available. In the post-war period, ships were advertised and sailed at regular times each year, adverts beginning in late winter and continuing through the spring. Ships then departed in late spring or summer with April being by far the most popular month. (See Figures 2.3 & 2.4 in Appendix B) The most aggressive advertiser in the *Courier* tried to take full advantage of the "spirit of emigration" in 1817 and 1818 by rushing back for a second emigrant run in late summer. The spring-summer timetable was employed by most of the timber-emigrant ships throughout the first half of the century and coincided with the advice given in most guidebooks

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[54] Mathison, "Tropes of Promotion," 215-217; Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 104-105.

[55] *Mail*, 24 February 1818. *Courier*, 6 May 1817, 24 February 1818.

on which season to depart.[56] Prospective emigrants could therefore make their plans well in advance of the sailing season and pursue the various opportunities each spring. Therefore, the decision of whom they would sail with was to some extent a matter of whose ship had the best reputation, location or fare, rather than the most convenient timetable.

In fact, location, from which harbour it set sail, is particularly important in reflecting the relationship between supply and demand. From the numerous published works on Scottish emigration, this study may take for granted that a sizable number of Border Scots immigrated to North America, Australia, and Africa throughout the period studied here.[57] These works, however, are unable to give a clear indication about the path most took to arrive at their final, recorded destination because of unavoidable flaws in their source material. Passenger lists and port records at either end do not always clearly indicate the precise origin of the traveller. Many list the last place of residence, which may hide those who travelled first to larger cities before deciding to emigrate. Others list the port of departure rather than their original residence.[58] Although Donald Whyte's *A Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to Canada before Confederation* does contain correlated information, such as place of origin, passenger vessel, and place of settlement, the data are inconsistently available. Furthermore as the entire work represents only 7 percent of all immigration to Canada before 1870, it cannot possibly provide conclusive answers to questions about the demand for local emigrant passage.[59] Passage advertisements therefore offer some much needed assistance. These papers often had a numerically wide readership within their own territory, but unlike larger London, Glasgow or Edinburgh papers, were not directed at a national readership. Their advertisements instead often reflect an attempt to reach a very particular

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[56] Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 86.

[57] See, for example, Donald Whyte, "Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants," *Scottish Genealogist* 9, no. 1 (March 1962); S.J.N Hornsby, "The Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (October 1992): 409, 412-413; David Dobson, *Emigrants and Adventurers from Southern Scotland. Pt. 1*, The Scots Overseas (St. Andrews: D. Dobson, 1994).

[58] For more detailed information on the types of sources used to trace British emigration to North America, see Charlotte Erickson, "Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. In 1831," *Population Studies* 35, no. 2 (1981); Charlotte Erickson, "Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. In 1841: Part I. Emigration from the British Isles," *Population Studies* 43, no. 3 (1989). and Hornsby, "Patterns."

[59] Hornsby, "Patterns," 398.

audience, in this case those from the Scottish Borders and northern England, by addressing local enquiries directly.[60]

In general, their area of influence, apparent from their news stories and the signatures of letters to the editors, seemed to stretch from the central belt of Scotland to the northern English counties of Northumberland and Cumbria. Longitudinally, however, the patterns of port use suggest a division along east-west lines. As mentioned above, the *Advertiser* rarely produced any advertisements that were not simultaneously in the *Mail*, the same being true of the *Journal* and *Courier*. This is noteworthy in itself. Considering the disparate editorship of the *Advertiser* and *Mail*, and to a lesser extent of the *Courier* and *Journal*, the similarity of advertising suggests that the port of departure was determined *more* by geography than personal or business relationships between the editor and agent. The advertisers were attempting to speak directly to their target audience, regardless of the editorial content of their chosen medium.

In the east, local ports were not favoured. Between 1809 and 1811, the *Advertiser* had offered annual advertisements from George Forster and John Crow for direct passage from Berwick to Canada aboard returning timber ships.[61] By the end of the war, however, these ships had disappeared from the scene. Instead the *Advertiser* was mostly home to a variety of ships marketed by William Allan. Allan, representing over 20 different Leith ships to the Borders between 1815 and 1830, was one of the most successful emigrant agents in the post-war period, scouring both the Highlands and Lowlands to obtain emigrants for ship-owners to fill their cargo holds.[62] The *Mail*, a newspaper much more popular with shipping advertisers than its Berwick rival, had a similar story to tell. Like its rival, the *Mail's* most diligent and consistent shipping advertiser was William Allan of Leith, joined now by half a dozen other Edinburgh shippers and agents. Although it consistently provided shipping intelligence for local ports, it only once displayed an advertisement for international passage from them, and only at the height of post-war passage advertising.[63] If eastern Border

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[60] Barker, *Public Opinion*, 116, 125, 131. *Courier*, 1 June 1819.
[61] *Advertiser*, 3 June 1809, 31 March 1810.
[62] For Allan's Highland exploits, see Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, 122.
[63] There were, however, several adverts for local or freight shipping along the east coast, especially to London and occasionally other European ports. The latter did allow a few

vessels did obtain passengers from the Borders, they did not rely on newspaper endorsement to do so. In the west, timber traders were again the earliest recipients of westward travellers. Yet, unlike Berwick, the emigrant links between the Solway Firth and Pictou only strengthened with the ending of the war, and, according to Edward Cowan, nearly all the Border Scots that emigrated westward went through these ports.[64] In the four most actively marketed years, Dumfries and Glencaple Quay advertised nearly as many ships as Leith, coming within three ships if all Solway ports are included. (See Figure 2.5 in Appendix B) The remaining advertised ships sailed from Dublin, Glasgow, and Cumbria, all of which had frequent water communication with the Solway Firth. As with the *Mail* and the *Advertiser*, the western papers attracted advertisers from near their own coastline.

With the east-west divide firmly established, the question becomes, which decided the specific ports, supply or demand? Were the advertisers shaping demand or bowing to it? While the practicality of sailing from the same coast as your primary residence cannot be denied, it is likely that the answer lies at least in part with the editor. In 1808, James Ballantyne, the editor and owner of The *Kelso Mail*, left it to the management of his younger brother Sandy in order to pursue a more lucrative printing career in Edinburgh, and the eventual acquistion of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*. This family connection to Edinburgh would not have been uncommon, and perhaps suggests nothing in itself. However, in February 1826, Sandy Ballantyne gave up the printership of the the *Mail* and the paper saw a sudden shift toward adverts from London, Liverpool and Glasgow, with only two adverts appearing for Leith after 1825.[65] In Dumfries, both papers remained steadfastly affliliated with local shipping concerns, though Allan had ventured two notices during the post-war boom.[66] All

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passengers but cannot be classified as a international passenger vessel as defined for this study and was therefore not included in the discussion.

[64] Edward J. Cowan, "From the Southern Uplands to Southern Ontario: Nineteenth-Century Emigration from the Scottish Borders," in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1990-91*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 71.

[65] Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, 47. Though a coincidental halt to Allan's business would also explain this change, William Allan and Son were still alive and well at the close of this period with a single advert appearing in *the Mail* in March 1830.

[66] Though the *Courier* was partly funded by Duncan's brothers in Liverpool, this was not evident in the advertising section, unlike Ballantyne's Edinburgh connection. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*,

this suggests that, notwithstanding Allan's zealous attempts to drum up business in the southwest, newspaper offices received advertisements from ship owners and agents with whom they would have somewhat regular communication.[67] It is for this reason that ports such as Kirkcudbright and Eyemouth, despite taking on passengers for British North America, were rarely advertised in the Kelso and Dumfries papers. Therefore, though the ship owners were somewhat aggressive in their marketing to Border Scots, they do not seem to have gone far out of the way of their normal lines of communication to reach them in print. It also implies that the editors had a signifigant role in both the size and compositon of their advertising section and that these were not simple reflections of raw demand.

Were any concessions made to these prospective migrants then? Was the demand for travel to British colonies from rural areas strong enough to obtain any extra consideration from the existing shippers? Did the passenger ships merely offer ballast space for would-be emigrants on their pre-established routes or did they take up new routes to accommodate a growing demand for commercial passenger traffic?

On the one hand, most of the advertisements in the Borders' provincial press were geared very specifically to passengers. 55 percent were specifically offering passage, 42 percent offered freight and passage, and 3 percent strictly advertised "Passengers only". Almost all boasted "excellent accommodation" being both "very roomy [and a] full six feet high between decks." Moreover, the rooms were not only newly fitted for passenger conveyance, including cabin passage, the crew had been trained for a such service. Adverts included mentions of ship surgeons as well as indirect testimonials of customers. Notices also included settlement advice, or direction on how to obtain it, and prognoses on the Canadian job market:

77-78.

[67] Though the *Courier* received financial backing from Duncan's brothers in Liverpool, there seemed to be no preference for advertisements for that port, despite its criticial role in the emigrant passage trade.

> The passengers who went by her to Ritchibucto [sic] last season, all got well employed immediately, and there can be little doubt but such as go this season will meet with similar encouragement, particularly Joiners, Blacksmiths, Farmers and Taylors.[68]

What is most important is this period, none of the four provincial papers offered solely freight services to international ports. The provincial press was often used as a trade journal, and in port towns such as Dumfries we might be tempted to assume that a whole range of shipping activities would be advertised there. Up until the middle of the eighteenth century, the Scottish press had in fact relied on such trade advertising. But in the latter half, and especially the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the focus of advertising had moved firmly to consumer goods.[69] Even in the port communities along the Solway Firth, there seemed to have been no financial reason to advertise freight services. It was the emigrants, not the cargo, that interested the advertisers.

On the other hand, the departures advertised in *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier* between 1815 and 1821 suggest that these ships were maintaining in their previous routes. 60 percent of the advertised sailings headed for the east coast of Canada from the Solway Firth and Cumbria. 8 percent travelled around the Cape of Good Hope, all departing from Leith in the years 1820-1, and 28 percent were bound for the major US ports. These were divided among the ports; roughly half were travelling from Dumfries, on timber ships taking the long way back to Canada, a third set off from Glasgow and the rest were split between Dublin and Leith. Overall, only the seven Dumfries-US sailings fall outside expected patterns. As they set sail at the height of the spirit, were from the larger timber shipping firms and would lose little time stopping over in New York on the way to the St Lawrence, these sailings fail to indicate any real shift away from the established timber trade routes.

Advertising in *The Kelso Mail* was more varied. For the same period the *Mail* had 14 percent of sailings for Australia via the Cape of Good Hope, 34 percent for the United States, and 51 percent for Canada. This variety is likely the result of the type of advertiser working with the *Mail*. Unlike the *Courier,* which principally held adverts from two local shippers, the *Mail* and *Advertiser*

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[68] *Courier*, 10 February 1817.
[69] Mathison, "Tropes of Promotion," 207-8.

principally held adverts brokered by William Allan from a constantly changing list of shippers; of the 27 adverts placed by him only 3 ships engaged his service a second time. Other repeat advertisers were agents of the Canada Company and London brokers such as John Pirie. Pirie became one of the principal shippers of assisted emigrants to Australia 1830-1850 but at this time was sailing predominantly to India.[70] As these ships sailed from major British ports such as Leith, Greenock, Liverpool and London, and the five cases of ship repetition were by agents or large metropolitan shipping concerns rather than individual ships or owners, it is unlikely that any of them represented a true emigrant passage business. Instead Allan simply made a good living filling up the unused space of the ships departing Leith, and found a convenient market in the eastern Borders.

As some of the other men did become heavily involved in emigrant passage in the following decades, it is crucial to differentiate between that business and that of the 1810s and 1820s. In his 1982 article on the role of "Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia", Broeze noted that the financial advantage to firms in the mid-nineteenth century was not primarily from the fares derived from the passage, but instead from the enriching of their trade routes by increasing commercial demand in the colonies.[71] Not only would the original migration increase the colonial population, but it would also increase the rate of chain migration to these ports. As each of these settlers was a guarantee of roughly £10 a year, it was well worth the effort and cargo space to increase their numbers.[72] His discussion focused on the period after 1830, but by 1820 Leith had already begun advertising passage to these under-peopled ports. However, unlike the large scale movements Pirie and others would later operate, notices for these ports in the *Mail* were only popular in 1820-1821 and were completely absent from their west coast contemporaries. Demand implied by statements such as "Several Passages being already engaged, early application will be necessary" were either short lived or fictitious. Furthermore, while Broeze's model is somewhat applicable to the early passages around the

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[70] Frank J. A. Broeze, "Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia, 1831-50," *Economic History Review* New Series 35, no. 2 (1982): 237-238.
[71] Ibid.: 239.
[72] Ibid.: 240.

Cape and to a lesser extent the still thinly populated British North America, it cannot account for the passages to the United States that comprised over a quarter of advertisements in the eastern Borders. It is therefore unlikely that these shippers saw future profits from consumerism as their main motivation, even if that was an eventual result. Instead, as with the earlier Berwick timber merchants, the demand for passage was seen as a useful way to fill ballast and unused cargo space.

But even if the shippers were unlikely to disrupt their trading practices for the emigrants, they were nonetheless aware of their customers' demands. For all the growing editorial excitement over the fertile lands of Australia and South Africa, and the financial encouragement to settle in British North America, the United States was still the destination of choice for a sizable majority of the passengers departing from the Borders. Even those taking ships to British North America were more likely than not to skip over the Border at the first opportunity.[73] The shippers knew this and planned accordingly. Although both William Allan and Glaswegian firms gave some information about settlement in Canada, agents throughout the Borders seemed to know that their best chance of attracting passengers was to appeal to those heading further south. Larger ports could offer passage on their direct commercial lines to northern United States cities such as Boston, New York and Philadelphia. That these were just following existing commercial routes is illustrated by the rarity of passage to Virginia, whose commerce with Britain had rapidly declined after the American Revolutionary War and especially after 1812.[74] Smaller ports also tried to compete for US-bound passengers: Thomson provided ships for Philadelphia in the post-war period and John Carruthers of Dumfries offered passage for Boston, drawing attention to the fact that "There is seldom an opportunity from this port to the United States, and at so seasonable and convenient a time of the year."[75] Others marketed the hand they had been dealt. While their timber trade obligations meant they would be travelling along the St Lawrence River,

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[73] Johnston notes this in Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830 'Shovelling out Paupers'*, 25-6. and it seems to be easily confirmed by letters and advertisements presented in the Border newspapers. For an example, see *Mail*, 14 November 1822

[74] Beals, "Thinning Acquaintances: National, Familial, and Commercial Identity in the British Atlantic World, 1740-1840", 129; Kenneth Morgan, "Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century.," *English Historical Review* 107, no. 424 (1992): 629.

[75] *Courier*, 1 June 1819.

several advertisements explained that "as a ready and moderate conveyance is always to be got from St John's into any Port of the United States, it may be interesting to passengers who wish to go that way to embrace the present opportunity."[76] When the British Government altered the Passenger Act and allowed a larger number of passengers per ton aboard Canadian-bound vessels, timber traders could further sweeten the deal by offering a reduction in fares.

So were the Scots who dreamt of foreign shores merely fare-paying ballast with no say in the service provided? Was the relationship between emigrants and service providers merely a one way transmission of information through a colluding editor? The demand for travel to North America, and later Africa and Australia, was a powerful force in the first decades of the nineteenth century. That these ships were filled and even overbooked demonstrates that the Borders offered sizable profits to those willing to convert their holds and cabin space. Furthermore, the often aggressive competition between firms and shorelines meant that shippers were willing to fight over the finite number of unassisted migrants the south had to offer. Nonetheless, language and bedding aside, the owners were not actively involved in the emigrant passage business, as they would not be until much later in the century. Neither their routes nor their circles of influence changed greatly during the period. They seemed happy to accommodate and take advantage of the spirit but were not at all ready to submit fully to the demands of the emigrants over their established freight businesses.

Reconciling Commercial and Editorial Interests

The sole purpose of these advertisements was to attract potential customers. They appeared in publications regardless of the editors' personal or political leaning and were a direct connection between two independent parties with little visible input from the newspaper's staff. Yet, despite being wholly commercial in nature, the shipping notices provide the key to understanding the editorial content of these papers. On the surface, the editors appeared conflicted in their opinions on emigration. On the one hand, they all pandered to the spirit, providing advertisements and information on settlement opportunities

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[76] Ibid.6 May 1817.

as well as a constant stream of colonial news to the family, friends, and prospective emigrants back home. On the other, they all had serious misgivings about it, and echoed the popular pre-Malthusian sentiment that to lose population was to weaken the country and that it "would be foolish to tolerate" it.[77] The explanation for these seemingly inconsistent views lies in the papers' commercial nature. Using the shipping advertisement as a guide to changing emigrant demand, the editorial content of these papers can be traced and contextualised, and these contradictions largely accounted for.

Although editorials did appear early on, the most common form of commentary published on emigration was the emigrant letter. These were sometimes sent directly to the Border papers, but were more often reprints from English, Glaswegian, or Irish papers. Nevertheless, these were the public letters available to most Border readers and must have therefore at least partially shaped their opinions about the settlement opportunities available to them. That they were not local, however, was not their greatest flaw. The letters published in guidebooks and periodicals were notoriously selective if not completely falsified. The consistently rosy accounts of colonial settlements had led one Scottish emigrant to note that "all the truth which has been written and printed respecting Upper Canada would not cover one-half of the lies that have been told."[78]

Terry McDonald's article on the use and misuse of the emigrant letters argued that these letters were often manipulated by editors and those who stood to benefit from emigration. Names and places were altered to disguise the economic background of the writer, whole letters were reprinted with dubious dating (old letters being presented as new), and some were entirely fabricated by combining several different correspondences.[79] This was all done to create an illusion of prosperity and to encourage emigration among the English poor. Contemporary readers were not consistently fooled, however. Several of the letters had raised the suspicions because of the unanimity in their descriptions of the settlements and the unlikely reuse of certain phrases. There were accusations that these letters were nothing more than advertisements:

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[77] McDonald, "English Emigrant Letters," 112-113.
[78] Ibid.: 114.
[79] Ibid.: 122-128.

> The substance of the whole is exactly similar:--condolence with their friends in Europe for the starvation and other miseries to which they are doomed to submit in England, as well as Ireland, from want of food and want of money--fullness of everything in Canada--from 3s to 8s per day for wages, besides board and lodging-- plenty of beef, butter, poultry, turkeys, and every thing that is good--well stocked farms of their own in a few year -- no taxes --lots of invitations to come out -- directions to starving Emigrants at home to take a great many things outwith them -- long list of articles which will be useful in Canada and other such information.[80]

Though written in England in 1836, this critique is wholly accurate in describing letters from the previous decade in Scotland. "We are sorry, however, to hear that the farming interest is so low in Scotland," wrote one Scottish correspondent in 1823, before continuing on exactly in the manner described above.[81]

In the last years of the 1820s, and especially in the 1830s, emigration had become fashionable among those weighed down by poor rates and those genuinely sympathetic to those unable to find full-time employment and sustenance. Therefore, the most positive and encouraging emigration advice was made available to the British masses. However, with many influential Borderers vehemently against emigration at the turn of the nineteenth century, earlier accounts adopted a decidedly different tone. In these letters, there are similar signs of the crude repetition and manipulation, but rather than promoting emigration, they seem determined to prevent it at all costs.

The Problem of the United States

The editors were aware that outright denial of information about emigration opportunities would irritate readers and lead to a decrease in revenue. Instead, all four papers offered a wide variety of information about the settlements within and beyond the empire. Which settlement received the most coverage, however, was determined by several competing factors. First, though Africa and Australia were reported on, the unfamiliarity of the antipodean settlements almost guaranteed that discussion of North America dominated and this editorial decision was not particularly contentious. Second, while Lord Bathurst dreaded

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[80] James Inches, *Letters on Emigration to Canada, Addressed to the Very Rev. Principal Baird* (Perth, Printed for the Author, 1836), 166-72, quoted in Ibid.: 118.
[81] *Advertiser*, 1 April 1823.

the flow of British labour to fields and factories in the United States that is precisely where most British citizens seemed determined to go. Therefore, providing detailed information on North America, especially the United States, made sound economic sense. However, many powerful and influential Britons were vocally against emigration, especially to the United States, and at least two of the editors had strong personal reasons for siding with Bathurst—John Ballantyne was financially supported by the conservative landowners who wished to retain population and Henry Duncan and his protégé MacDiarmid shared the Kirk's belief that the rural population should be maintained. Though both the United States and British North America were discussed at length, the selection of reprints makes it obvious which of the destinations the editors preferred. Immigration to the United States was a threat, and it would be combated with all the weapons at their disposal.

The most important of these weapons was consumer demand. Despite the availability of emigrant letters and guidebooks outwith the newspapers, the editors understood that their readers wanted every last scrap of recent intelligence they could get their hands on.[82] Because of this, the editors could and did exert considerable influence through their presentation of colonial intelligence. Nowhere was this more evident than in their treatment of the United States. One example of this was the reshaping of new stories to support their stance against immigration to the US. In 1819, the *Mail* reported on an outbreak of yellow fever, not as foreign news from North America, but rather as direct commentary on the suitability of the United States for British emigrants.[83] Likewise, in August 1815, in response to reports of American celebrations of the 4th of July, Ballantyne penned his annoyance that:

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[82] An emigrant letter was often read aloud and passed around villages and larger communities "until it was nearly worn out" McDonald, "English Emigrant Letters," 115.

[83] *Mail*, 8 November 1819.

> The 4th having been the fortieth Anniversary of American Independence, hatred of the mother country found a plausible pretext for shewing itself at the public meetings held on that occasion. It is remarkable, that, while England does not utter a word of reproach for the separation, the Americans, who profess to find great glory in it, can never see the another year added to its date, without raving against England, as if their wishes were counteracted and they were still in danger.[84]

More common than negative news stories, however, was the production of negative testimonials and one string of correspondence had particular longevity. It began in 1816 with a letter from a "deluded" young man, returning to Britain from New York.[85] He and many others, it was alleged, had come to the United States hoping to achieve financial independence without toil and had these hopes dashed. The economy was in ruins, and those who had a chance of retaining a lease in Britain ought to seize the opportunity. "I can only say," wrote the anonymous youth, "you need not come here with the ideas of your discontented countrymen, or, like them, you will be mightily disappointed." Letters in this vein, often reprinted from Irish or Liverpool papers, appeared in the *Mail* regularly for the rest of the decade. Those who were considering the move were referred to as "misguided" for having listened to "those prospects which have been so assiduously spread abroad".[86] Yet, immigration to the United States continued unabated and the *Mail* continued to print letters and articles into the 1830s attesting that New York was filled with over a thousand penniless British emigrants begging for passage home.[87] Post-war emigrant letters from the United States also declared that land was unavailable to lease in New York, and only at high prices in Pennsylvania, and that it was mostly held by speculators hoping to profit from increased demand.[88] Servants were hard if not impossible to acquire, even if brought from Scotland, as they typically ran away to purchase their own farm. The irony that servants could run away to purchase land when there was no land to be bought seems not to have struck the authors. They

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[84] Ibid.22 August 1815.

[85] Ibid.5 September 1816.

[86] Ibid.28 October 1816.

[87] *The Advertiser*'s only emigration news on the United States was a brief comment that it continued unabated. *Advertiser*, 17 October 1818.. On return migration from New York, see *Mail*, 11 November 1816, 12 December 1816, 8 November 1819, 15 July 1819. *Advertiser*, 16 October 1819, 13 November 1819; *Mail*, 10 June 1830.

[88] *Mail*, 15 October 1818, 25 January 1819.

continued that produce sold at low prices but tools and manufactured goods were dear. The land was never properly cleared and the roads were poor and the hospitality lacking. If prepared to run a farm by one's own labour, settlers *could* survive in the United States, but most were "disappointed" and returned home poorer than when they left.

Despite the overwhelmingly negative tenor of those selected for publication, the letters did seem to provide a great deal of detail on what kind of passage to expect, where land could be purchased, what crops could be grown, what jobs could be obtained and at what wages, how much seed-money a settler would need, and what sort of society and health conditions were to be expected. These were the same topics readers expected in the supposedly forged pro-emigration letters of the following decade. The only real difference is that these tried to convince people to stay home.

In 1819, and more prominently in the 1820s, however, other letters began to appear. While not wildly enthusiastic, a notice in the *Advertiser* described the successes of a group of "croppers and other persons employed in the manufacture of woollen clothes" in sending out a representative to the US to scout the economic conditions.[89] They had apparently found conditions favourable and were now attempting to raise a fund to emigrate there. That they intended to petition the government for aid in moving, should their funds prove insufficient, did not seem to provoke any negative reaction from the editor of the *Advertiser*. A letter appeared the following year by a farmer named Maidlow.[90] While his review was mixed, the letter was one of the first in southern Scotland to detail conditions in the United States in a generally positive light. This was joined by one in the *Courier* in late 1821. Again, it was a divided but generally optimistic account of settlement in the US.[91] That this change of opinion became apparent just as unassisted emigration was beginning to decrease, as evidenced by the declining number of ship advertisements, is unlikely to have been a coincidence. With the number of independent emigrants waning, and pressure of supporting the poor increasing, the editors could provide a less caustic treatment of the former colony with a clear conscience.

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[89] *Advertiser*, 15 April 1820.
[90] Ibid.03 April 1819.
[91] *Courier*, 30 October 1821.

Despite this correlation of economic and editorial changes, personal sentiment was not wholly removed from the selection of emigrant letters. Though the other Border papers seemed willing to give the United States a fair, if very brief, review by the 1820s, the *Mail* never got over its dislike of the former colony. Despite being a reprint of a *Glasgow Courier* editorial, a passage in August 1826 seems to indicate the editor's way of thinking:

> Instead of the merchants of Great Britain paying bills drawn in the West Indies, and other Colonial possessions, in favour of the subjects of the United States, for supplies furnished by these States, these merchants will have, or should in future only have, to pay, bills drawn in those possessions, in favour of British subjects residing in British North America or in Great Britain.[92]

Economic rivalries over supplying American ports and securing industrial labour had soured Ballantyne's feelings toward the fledgling nation. Like Bathurst, the editor of the *Mail* was not ignorant of the demand for travel to North America, but he did everything in his power to redirect it toward Canada. That is not to say the reports of Canada were particularly glowing either. They were just less caustic and more frequent, and therefore, they must have hoped, more present in their readers' minds.

Redirection to Canada

During the war years, any discussions of emigration had been rare or particularly guarded. Only during the brief peace of 1802, and in response to a sudden flurry of shipping advertisements, did Ballantyne make clear his hatred for immigration, even to British North America. Yet, by the 1816 upsurge in advertisements, Ballantyne was bringing his readers tidings of great joy that Montreal had been spared from the poor harvest ravaging Europe and North America in the summer-less year of 1816, though this was tempered by an equally dismal account the following year.[93] Although he was still uncomfortable with the idea of emigration, the editor of the *Mail* was now providing his readers with the information the demanded. That his accounts of Canada were more tempered than those of the United States, but still not wholly positive, suggests

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[92] *Mail*, 21 August 1826.
[93] Ibid.13 December 1802, 4 November 4 1816, 7 August 1817.

that he was attempting to redirect those who could not be discouraged from emigrating altogether. Likewise, the *Courier*, which had been conspicuously void of letters from the United States, eagerly printed news and letters from British North America. It created a narrative for its readership, relating when and how many ships had arrived from Britain to Canada, the condition of the immigrants upon arrival, and the status of the current harvest, 1817's being particularly favourable and abundant and therefore drawing a great deal of attention from MacDiarmid. Yet, at the same time, it too contained tragic stories of harsh winters and amputations, labour surpluses and unemployment and outbreaks of fever.[94] Though his methods differed somewhat, the editor of the *Courier* was painting a similar picture as his Kelso rival. Life in the colonies would not be easy, but in Canada, at least, there was a chance for success.

By the final years of the decade, the papers were near-consistently positive in their reviews of British North America. Furthermore, it is at this point that the letters of the southern newspapers began to bear a closer resemblance to those studied by McDonald. Nearly all the letters were directed quite specifically at intending migrants and offered them practical advice on how to obtain passage and land (usually through government assistance) and information on which crops and animals were best for the climate and what market they would encounter. These were not meant for casual interest or entertainment, but were a direct response to the demand for emigrant advice. The southern papers also attempted to present letters that were not just helpful, but authentic and trustworthy, even if some of the editors had to rely on reprints from Liverpool, Dublin, and Glasgow papers to do so. "We have been favoured," wrote the editor of the *Dublin Commercial Gazette* (reprinted in *The Berwick Advertiser*):

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[94] For numbers see *Courier*, 16 July 1817, 7 October 1817, 9 September 1817; *Mail*, 4 August 1817, 27 September 1819. For news on crops see *Courier*, 23 September 1817, 9 September 1817; *Advertiser*, 17 October 1818. For stories of disaster see *Courier*, 30 December 1817; *Mail*, 19 January 1818, 27 September 1819; *Advertiser*, 11 December 1819.

through the kindness of a friend, with the following extract of a letter lately received by a gentleman in this country from his son, who has been some years resident in the capital of Upper Canada. It gives a very encouraging view of that part of the country, and cannot fail of being perused with much interest. The respectability of the writer, and the circumstances under which his letter has been written, being an invitation to his father and brothers to join him in his adopted country, render it an authentic and satisfactory document.[95]

Letters were very often left conspicuously personal. Names of persons and villages were occasionally struck out, but more often than not, given names were left in to increase the integrity and intimacy of the letter. By writing to his father, to her sister, to his dear friend, the pseudo-anonymous letter was both general and direct. Most made personal entreaties to those back home to join them. The same Irish correspondent implored his father to convince his brother to join him in Canada, "and, if he will accept of it, he shall have the best lot of land I have; and if he be too independent to accept it as a present, I will sell it to him, and he may pay me when he makes the money of the farm." This display of fraternal love and confidence in agricultural success must have tugged at least a few heart strings. Moreover, assurances of quality and authenticity from the editors encouraged readers to choose their paper for the emigrant advices rather than those of their rivals.

As the years progressed, the letters became more formulaic and more expressive of the widening depression. Another brother, this one from Lanarkshire, sent condolences to his family and friends for the depressed economy in Scotland and the pain he felt that so many had to come to Canada unwillingly. His is particularly reminiscent of the English letters in MacDonald's discussion. This brother, however, had been cautious to write any advice concerning settlement, fearing people would come with unrealistic notions of quick and easy success, but hearing that "a number of our friends in Scotland feel very anxious for information on the subject of emigration [...] and feeling deeply interested in the welfare of friends, I shall lay aside all the difficulties, and give all the information I can collect, hoping, that should I commit any blunder, you may consider it to proceed from mistake, or wrong information, and not from any

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[95] *Advertiser*, 10 July 1819.

design to delude or deceive."[96] The *Advertiser* reprinted this letter in full, providing doubtlessly vital information on employment opportunities and land availability, as did correspondence in the *Courier* and *Mail*.[97] One, a direct letter to the editor of the *Courier* in 1823, praised MacDiarmid's efforts to provide for his readers, noting that "Information is to be had of all the several places to which emigrants go, and much, in good faith, has appeared in your intelligent and useful paper."[98] Like the *Advertiser*'s correspondent, he warned prospective emigrants to be very careful in their decision.

These emigrant letters demonstrated willingness by all the southern papers to provide their readers with the specific information on emigration and settlement they desired. They were also supplemented by less direct intelligence. Scattered on the inside and back pages, the editors brought news of safely arrived ships, the prevailing economic trends, and even extracts of popular guidebooks.[99] Nonetheless, the clear divide between the United States and Canada and the shift in tone in the late 1810s suggest that while the editors were fully aware of economic realities and changing perceptions of emigration, personal motives and opinions were still present in their presentation of colonial information. This can be further seen in their treatment of public emigration schemes.

Prior to 1830, North America was by far the most important and popular destination for those emigrating from southern Scotland. For more than a century the Lowland population had been drifting across the Atlantic to New England and Canada, placing a welcoming beacon for those who would travel later. Come here, the letters (real and fictitious) repeatedly urged, and rejoin your family and friends. You will not be alone or unprotected. While streams of migrants travelled to both, the settlers seemed to prefer the United States, as it had a larger population and was saturated by promises of freedom from the oppression of high taxes, economic distress, and the old landed classes.[100] This was not a secret and the reprinted letters from Canada acknowledged that

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[96] Ibid.1 April 1823.
[97] *Mail*, 14 November 1822.
[98] *Courier*, 18 March 1823.
[99] *Advertiser*, 20 September 1820, 30 September 1825, 24 November 1827; *Mail*, 5 December 1822; *Courier*, 27 November 1821; *The Castle-Douglas Weekly Visitor, and Literary Miscellany*, 1 January 1830.
[100] *Advertiser*, 10 July 1819.

"Some appear to have entered the [emigration] societies solely for the purpose of getting to the States; they abandoned us after receiving the first and second instalment [sic]" of government aid.[101] Yet, despite the evident market, none of the papers held advertisements for US land or employment. Unlike the occasional notices for Australia, Africa, and the West Indies, they were either deemed unnecessary by the American landholders or unacceptable by the Border editors, the former far more likely. The sympathy between the editors and Earl Bathurst was further illustrated by the frequent advertisements—direct and indirect—for government assistance schemes to British North America.

Government Assistance and the Removal of Commercial Considerations

From the conclusion of the war with France, the British government sponsored several assistance schemes, and these were duly "advertised" in the regional newspapers. These notices relayed the government's intention to offer or revoke emigration assistance and were generally presented in three forms. The first was a traditional advertisement placed by government agents. The second embedded in the English news, reprinted or summarised by the Border papers. These informed readers that certain bills had been passed to assist or to cease assistance to emigrants. The third was included alongside Scottish (though never the local) news of prospective emigrants petitioning for government aid. While the first appeared in all the southern newspapers, as well as throughout Scotland, the commentary surrounding the assistance schemes seemed confined to the eastern papers, and the reactions of the editors were disparate. In the west, the *Journal* rarely commented on emigration and the *Courier*, while concerned about pauper emigration and occasionally speaking at length about it, offered little in the way of direct commentary on government assistance.[102]

Despite their similar wording and high frequency in British papers discussion of the format of these government notices is warranted, if only to contrast them with commercial ventures described above. "By the Authority of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent" but under the stewardship of the Colonial Secretary Bathurst, long and stylised advertisements were placed in the southern papers

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[101] *Mail*, November 14, 1822.

[102] This likely stems from Duncan and his protégé's self-help philosophies as evidenced by the creation of saving banks in place of poor rates and the soliciting of neighbours for assistance in emigration rather than the government.

offering assistance for passage to and settlement in the British colonies. Unlike the passage adverts, which appeared throughout the paper (appearing on the back page as likely as the front) these official declarations were almost always placed on the front page, and often had an editorial note on the third or fourth page directing readers back to it. They were long and, of course, impressive in their official origin. They were also very clear that:

> It cannot be too much impressed on the minds of applicants, nor too often enforced by those with whom they advise, that the wishes and instructions of the Government are directed not to the increase of emigration from this part of the United Kingdom, but to divert to the British provinces in North America, the surplus population, which would otherwise proceed to the United States.[103]

A second batch of government notices, appearing only in the *Mail*, advertised aid to the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales. These were presented in much the same way, though they were not as fearful of encouraging the spirit where it did not already exist—the flow around the Cape was never comparable to that heading westward.[104] This prominence suggests that editors, especially Ballantyne, were keen to redirect their readers' attention away from advertisements for Boston and Philadelphia and remind them of the protection that came with remaining in His Majesty's colonies. Yet, despite their length in comparison to commercial advertisements, these notices contained very little specific information, instead prompting interested parties to contact the office of the Colonial Secretary or the local agent. Replies to these enquiries, reprinted in the local papers, merely referred the correspondent back to the original advertisement and explained that Bathurst could not provide them with any specific information on the agricultural resources of the colony.[105] Again, it appears that they were not marketing to prospective emigrants but merely herding those who were already determined to depart.

The second form of government notice, embedded notices in the English news section, usually comprised of a simple commentary or a metropolitan reprint,

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[103] *Courier*, 2 April 1816; *Mail*, 1 April 1816; *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 2 April 1816. For notices informing prospective emigrants of the cessation of aid, see *Mail*, 1 April 1816.
[104] *Mail*, 11 October 1819, 4 September 1826, 4 September 1826.
[105] *Advertiser*, 12 April 1817, 3 January 1818; *Journal*, 17 February 1818; *Mail*, 14 April 1817, 19 August 1819, 9 September 1819, 21 August 1826.

though occasionally the editors did relate information directly to their readers on alterations to government plans. These remarks created a sporadic narrative of the schemes: when they were approved, when agents would arrive, what alterations to the terms had been imposed, when the plans ceased, and so on. Like the advertisements themselves, they did not include any in-depth analysis or information on the scheme, nor seemed to market to any particular audience.

The final form, commentary on Scottish attempts to secure government aid, appeared only in the eastern papers. In the late summer of 1819, the *Mail* reported on the Committee of Glasgow Weavers and their attempts to secure the assistance of the British government. After a brief narrative, the editor commiserated with the Committee's disappointment "that politics should have been introduced at the meeting." A month previous, he had noted approvingly that, at the earlier meeting, few had supported a resolution on emigration and the gathering had been held "without the least show of disturbance".[106] The links between emigration and radicalism were evidently firmly placed in John Ballantyne's mind, and he did not care for either. In response to the first, he suggested that the desire for emigration was less than his readers generally supposed. Against the second piece he implied that the "industrious poor" were only hurting their appeals for aid by threatening unrest—an increasingly popular tactic among emigration societies.[107] In 1826, the *Mail's* new editor was of the opinion, but seemed more sympathetic to non-radical emigration societies, "that however debased in worldly circumstances the working classes of Glasgow were, they had happily sufficient virtue left them to be grateful for services rendered."[108]

The *Advertiser* was more sympathetic toward emigration in its choice of Scottish reprints. An editorial appeared in January 1820 informing its readers of an emigrant who had recently returned to Paisley from Canada, the country he now referred to as home:

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[106] *Mail*, 5 July 1819, 24 June 1819.
[107] Vance, "Politics of Emigration," 47-49.
[108] *Mail*, 9 November 1826.

> This person gives the most satisfactory and cheering accounts of the place, and says his chief complaint was the want of society to share in his felicities, to be companions of his joys, and to exult in his abundance. He adds that one of his principle [sic] reasons for coming here at present was hearing of our distressed condition and that he might persuade others to follow his example; anxious to be surrounded with happy, intelligent, and social neighbours.[109]

The article went on to describe a petition that had been circulated to implore the government for emigration assistance. The piece (extracted from the *Glasgow Chronicle*) was supportive of the move and hoped "that Government will see the necessity of attending to the supplications of these people." It should be noted, however, that like Ballantyne, the *Chronicle* decried the attempt of the radicals to promote emigration in order to further their political aims. Whether the *Advertiser's* editor, who had a certain affinity for radicalism himself, agreed with this last statement is difficult to discern. However, he did choose to reprint it without any personal commentary. Perhaps as counterweight, the *Advertiser* also provided its readers with accounts of successful schemes. In September 1820, the editor described the arrival of the *Lady Sherbrooke* and her hundreds of emigrants at Montreal. He noted that they had been furnished with timber, agricultural tools, seeds, rations and money by the government.[110] Because assisted migrants were less likely to subscribe to the papers or be targeted by the advertisements therein, the government-assisted schemes were given less discussion than letters targeting middling-farmers or artisans. Yet, despite their paucity, these editorials and news stories do provide a glimpse of editorial opinion when commercial considerations are removed. In these cases, emigration was still perceived as something to be carefully managed.

Private Settlements and the Power of Commercial Concerns

In contrast to these subdued government notices for settlement and passage aid were those few notices for private settlements. These were lengthier than the quick notes for domestic land or for foreign passage and instead of offering aid

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[109] *Advertiser*, 15 January 1820.
[110] Ibid.20 September 1820.

to those already intending to migrate, these attempted to persuade readers of all descriptions of the benefits of relocating.

The first of these was an advertisement for a "Colony of Brotherly Union" in Lower Canada.[111] It was first published in a Quebec paper and when reprinted in the *Advertiser*, the editor labelled it a curiosity rather than presenting it alongside other advertisements. Being within the jurisdiction and protection of the British Government, the colony was marketed as being founded upon "the ancient Spartan plan, sanctioned by Apostolical usage, of living in common and enjoying a community of goods." It invited farmers and tradesmen to come to the non-denominational settlement regardless of the amount of personal wealth or property they could contribute to the general store, and asked that they send word to the subscribers with their vital statistics. While this colony was never purposefully advertised in southern Scotland (a note at the bottom asked for this notice to be published *pro bono publico* (for the common good) in Canadian and United States papers) it is intriguing that this was the only such advert for Canadian land throughout the period. There had been several private notices in the 1820s for labouring families and young men to come to Africa or Australia or for artisans to work on Caribbean plantations, but employment and land in British North America had always been government-based or obtained by personal rather than public enquiry. The importance of chain migration to these colonies, discussed more fully in chapter four, likely made personal enquires much more effective and trustworthy than advertisements in local papers. It also indicates the one-sidedness of commercialised emigration. Scottish traders were active in selling advice and transportation, but at this time the colonies showed little interest or ability in marketing to these same men and women.

The other tract of foreign land to be sold was much further south and much more actively marketed in the southern counties. The Poyais Settlement, near British Honduras (modern-day Belize), was first advertised in the Borders in the *Courier* in the autumn of 1821. The settlement was supposedly the principality of Gregor MacGregor, Cazique of Poyais, who claimed to be the descendent of a Darien survivor. Eager to tap into the British demand for South American markets, MacGregor travelled to London to obtain capital and settlers for his

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[111] Ibid.6 March 1819.

land grant. A colourful figure, he delighted London society and was able to attract interest in both the metropolis and his home city of Edinburgh.[112] His early adverts, appearing mainly in the *Mail*, likely because of the Ballantyne-Edinburgh connection, were very brief notices and worded very similarly to those from the British Government. They gave little or no direct encouragement to emigrate (though they did not actively discourage it as Bathurst did) and instead merely presented a price list of acreage available. The advertisement attempted to appear both official and worldly, listing agents in "North America, West Indies, and Europe" and requiring certificates of sale to be attested before a magistrate.[113] Stylistically, the agents did much to liken the advertisements to those placed by the Colonial Secretary. By early 1822, the Edinburgh office claimed to have sold over 12,800 acres of land in 35 grants and notified potential buyers that the price would shortly increase (thus encouraging them to impulse-buy). The notices continued to appear on a monthly basis in Kelso (only the first and last appeared in Dumfries) and in the late spring the first attempts at real marketing appeared. The agent claimed that "every information in regard to the salubrity of the climate, the richness of the soil, &c. may be obtained by personal application to the Agent, or by letters post-paid."[114]

As the summer progressed, however, the advertising grew more aggressive. Growing from about 100 words to nearly 600, they changed from statements of prices to rich and flattering accounts of the native flora, fauna and inhabitants. They made clear the easy travelling distances between Poyais and Belize, Jamaica, and New Orleans. Furthermore, "The Climate is remarkably healthy, and agrees admirably with the constitution of Europeans; many of whom having become much debilitated by a long residence in the West Indies, have been completely restored to health by a removal, for a short period, to the Bay of Honduras."[115] The best cash crops flourished there, beyond what could be expected in the West Indies, and it had forests of "the most valuable Timber", far surpassing the Canadas. There was even the possibility of panning for gold in

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[112] For more on Gregor MacGregor and the Poyais Settlement, see David Sinclair, *The Land That Never Was: Sir Gregor Macgregor and the Most Audacious Fraud in History* (London: Review, 2004).
[113] *Courier*, 18 November 1821.
[114] Ibid. *Mail*, 11 March 1822, 4 April 1822, 27 May 1822.
[115] *Courier*, 15 July 1822.

the numerous rivers. The land was defended from Spanish molestation "by a chain of almost inaccessible Mountains" and the "native inhabitants esteem and are affectionately attached to the British. Most of them speak English, are considerably advanced in civilisation and their labour can be had on very moderate terms." This was all in stark contrast to both the mild advertising of British government and the harsh editorial critiques of the United States. The frequency and length of these advertisements made them unique in the *Mail* and for all the southern papers for the period studied here. No other product or scheme, domestic or foreign, was so aggressively marketed, with the exception of patent medicines. These two products have similarities well beyond their marketing budgets.

Through the autumn and into winter the advertising continued full force, extolling the beauties of the bay and warning of rising land prices in the near future. The phrase "the best poor man's country" began to crop up, another attempt to attract readers otherwise thinking of the United States and British North America. The last advertisement in the south was in the *Courier* in February 1823 and was no different from the dozen that had preceded it.[116] After this came news reporting. Although the listed passengers were almost entirely from Edinburgh and London, all the southern papers reported on the subsequent events, some in great detail.

By July 1823, the *Edinburgh Courant* published a notice, which was paraphrased in the *Mail,* that *The Skeen* had departed from Leith and as of June all aboard were in high spirits. The Leith ship *Kennersley Castle* had left in January.[117] By August, all emigrant spirits were crushed. Over the next few months dire reports arrived of "the deplorable condition of the Poyais settlers" and the rescue of some by the chief magistrate of Honduras. According to *The Caledonia Mercury*:

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[116] *Mail*, 14 October 1822, 28 October 1822, 7 November 1822, 2 December 1822; *Courier*, 2 February 1823.
[96] *Mail*, 10 July 1823.

> The emigration to Algoa Bay and Poyais is one of the strangest delusions that ever entered the mind of man. It is truly unaccountable that people should go to places of which they know nothing, except from interested representations, instead of going to Upper Canada, where so many of their countrymen are so comfortable settled.[118]

A lengthier narrative appeared in the *Advertiser,* and some weeks later in the *Mail,* detailing the destitution of the settlers, the impossibility of maintaining a settlement there and the nullification of land granted to MacGregor by the King of the Mosquito Nation.[119] A few months later, word came that the surviving settlers were making their way back home through the benevolence of Belize merchants, along with a list of those who had died. Of the 180 settlers who died, only one southerner was listed, "Mrs Renny, from Dumfries—left husband and four children." [120]

The Poyais settlement is important because it was the only heavily advertised private emigration enterprise found in these papers. What is most interesting is that the *Mail,* by far the least sympathetic paper toward emigration, so voraciously ate up the advertising revenue offered by MacGregor and his agents. Of course, Ballantyne never directly supported the Poyais settlement or encouraged his readers to purchase the land there. Nonetheless, ten of the twelve advertisements found in the Border region were published there. Perhaps the remote location, like South Africa or Australia, meant there was little threat of a mass exodus. In that case, his anti-emigration stance would not be undermined by indulging in this advertising revenue.

Shifting Audiences and the Rise of the Adventure Story

In the early 1820s there was brief increase in advertising for passage to Australia. Coinciding with this rise in advertising, and thus a rise in consumer interest, there was an increase in information about Australia in the editorial content. This information was heavily disseminated throughout the Borders. The *Journal* printed one of the earliest letters in 1816 from an English settler in New South Wales, and by the early 1820s all the papers were reprinting letter

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[118]Ibid.25 August 1823.
[119] Ibid.4 September 1823; *Advertiser*, 30 August 1823.
[120] *Advertiser*, 25 October 1823; *Mail*, 20 October 1823.

extracts from English journals; few seemed to be from Scots.[121] Between them, over 35 letters were printed or reprinted, most often in the *Advertiser* despite its later starting date.[122] The first reports were not directed at intending emigrants. Instead, they focused on interesting facts such as the number and situation of the transported prisoners and the glut of British manufactured goods at the Australian settlements.[123] As 1819 drew to a close, however, accounts favourable to settlement began to appear. The *Advertiser* informed its readers that "The progress of the settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have been so rapid that they now possess, of their own growth, all the necessaries of life, and are even enabled to make exportation of a surplus produce."[124] Another, from a husband to his wife, advised her to seek government assistance to come out to him and to suggest that his brother do the same.[125] In 1823, the *Courier* reprinted an article which portrayed Van Diemen's Land as "a beautiful country" and described the high fertility of the soil, the various foods and livestock that could be raised there, the growing society among the immigrants, and the utter economic self-sufficiency of the colony, all traits of McDonald's standard emigrant letters. This writer encouraged all those who had trepidations about moving from England to so remote a colony to overcome them as the "difficulties of settling, which appeared so frightful in England, I have found very trifling. You view dangers in a mass, and fear to struggle with them; we encounter them singly, and vanquish them."[126]

There was also some indication of readers' reaction to the shift to pro-emigration letters. One correspondent, while taking care not to impugn the integrity of the editor, explained that representations of Australia in these letters were "cruelly circulated through the kingdom" and his own intelligence on the colony painted a much more dismal landscape.[127] "I assure you that nothing else but a sense of duty to intending emigrants, who might have been

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[121] *Journal*, No. 13, Quar. IV. Vol. XXXIX.
[122] At least 35 extracts from Australia and New Zealand were printed 1816-1830, but many others were quick summaries of letters or else acknowledgments that positive letters had been received.
[123] *Advertiser*, 5 December 1818, 27 February 1819.
[124] Ibid.13 November 1819.
[125] Ibid.29 January 1820.
[126] *Courier*, 11 March 1823.
[127] *Mail*, 15 July 1830.

misled to their ruin by false accounts, would have induced me to trouble you or myself about a matter the one nor the other can have any personal interest whatever".[128] From this dialogue, and from McDonald's research, it appears that the readers did not simply believe whatever they were told. These newspapers, regardless of their popularity, were not the sole source of information on the colonies. Personal letters, discussed in chapter four, competed with and often outweighed those selected by the editors. While editors may have been reacting to a demand for emigrant advice, they could not fully control the supply.

For the remainder of the decade, letters, both reprints from London as well as some received locally, offered information on population growth, commerce, missions, and colonial politics. Although most endorsed the settlements and advised others to take up government offers of assisted passage and land, the practical details on life in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were scarce, consisting mostly of prevailing market prices or discussing current economic conditions such as a bad season or a shortage of labourers rather than specific information and advice on passage and settlement. Many began with an account that this ship or that had arrived safely after a certain number of days, or that bush rangers had recently been put down, noting that "those who have relations or friends in Van Diemen's Land must be much relieved."[129] In general they seemed to be geared not at those intending to go to Australia, but more at informing and entertaining those staying behind. In fact, in the spring of 1830, the *Mail* offered to return the favour; it would forward copies of its newspapers to Australia "upon payment of one penny for each packet".[130]

Likewise, the most acute attention paid by editors to South Africa coincided with the rise of passage adverts to that colony between 1820 and 1821. They began rather flatteringly in the early months of the decade. An 1821 reprint in the *Courier* noted that high wages were to be expected for ploughmen travelling to the colony as well as good prospects of profitable marriage to any young ladies

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.14 September 1826.
[130] Ibid.22 April 1830.

who could be made to emigrate there.[131] Likewise, the *Mail* relayed news (likely obtained from London papers) of the English settlers near Algoa Bay:

> the party are all well, and have no doubt of doing well; they have already on their grazing ground 25 bullocks and cows, have down their bread corn, have cabbages planted out, radishes (of seed carried from Deal [Kent]) fit to pull, pease and beans up; a division of the party attends solely to fishing, which employment produces them enough to keep the whole. They write in the highest possible spirits, and advert with great admiration and thankfulness to the fatherly care and fostering protection of Government, which, from the first day of their application to Lord Bathurst, up to the present moment, has been unremitting and kind in the extreme.[132]

News continued to trickle into the eastern papers about this settlement, very detailed and mostly positive, for the rest of the decade.[133] But again as time progressed, the information began to shift away from settlement (wages, soil fertility, health of the livestock) and more toward political intelligence and entertaining stories about natives and outlaws.[134]

Adventure stories about the colonies became as common, if not more so, than information relevant to settlement. How the editors wrote about native populations is an illustrative example. In the first decade of the century, the *Advertiser* noted approvingly that "the natives of Africa are greatly improved in personal appearance as well as character [...] The cheerful manliness of willing obedience has succeeded to the frown of insolent suspicion."[135] Of Australia, the *Courier* announced triumphantly in 1821 that there too progress was being made in civilising the native population.[136] Couples were married in Parramatta by British clergy, and settled on farms given to them by the British government. Even the convicts sent there were being well-reformed, one missionary noting that "Every week I ride, during the night, several miles along a road on which side there are more than 100 convicts employed, and have never experienced the slightest molestation from them." Other articles offered miscellaneous

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[131]*Courier*, 9 October 1821.

[132] *Mail*, 20 November 1820.

[133] Other emigrant letters published about the Cape and Angola Bay can be found in Ibid.22 May 1820, 17 August 1820, 13 November 1820, 15 April 1822, 24 July 1823. and *Advertiser*, 24 January 1818, 15 February 1823.

[134] *Mail*, 12 December 1822, 19 May 1825, 29 September 1823, 28 August 1826.

[135] *Advertiser*, 15 July 1808.

[136] *Courier*, 28 August 1821.

updates about the British Empire, such as the use and diet of oxen in Sierra Leone.[137]

But while there were many calm nods to the march of civilisation, most focused on the fantastic and gruesome. The *Mail,* the *Advertiser,* and the *Castle-Douglas Weekly Visitor*, a literary magazine, all published accounts of cannibalism in New Zealand, committed not only by anonymous and unruly natives, but also by a transported convict named Alexander Pierce, who was on trial "for the Murder of Thomas Cox, whom he put to death, and cut up to exist upon."[138] Other articles told of fantastic beasts, such as the fifty-foot sea serpent hiding along Cape Ann, or the mermaid now on display in the settlement at Cape of Good Hope.[139] Another spoke of a sixth continent rising from the sea from the volcanic rock and coral beds of the Pacific islands.[140] The *Visitor* was particularly keen to publish every colonial adventure story it could get its hands upon, including a long series of articles on "The national character of" various peoples, and advertisements for books on travel in Africa and the Near East.[141]

The most common adventure stories, however, were the tragic, lamentable, and uncomfortably frequent tales of shipwrecks and disasters at sea. These stories were particularly common in the south-western papers, so close to ports and seamen's families, but a fear of the ocean was common throughout the south. One Jedburgh woman was so terrified of the ocean that, despite all her living relatives and friends having moved to North America and India, she could not bear to join them.[142] Some of these tales took place along the Australian or African coast, such as the harrowing tale of the loss of the *Blenden Hall* and the eventual rescue of its passengers.[143] Others were closer to home. The autumn of 1821 saw several wrecks along the Ayrshire coast, though with no loss of life, thanks to the efforts of other passing ships. A ship sailing from Liverpool a few

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[137] Ibid.7 August 1821, 28 August 1821; *Advertiser*, 15 July 1808.
[138] *Mail*, 17 January 1825-2; *Visitor*, 9 April 183063; *Advertiser*, 22 January 1825., et al.
[139] *Courier*, 28 October 1817; *Mail*, 29 July 1822.
[140] *Advertiser*, No. 949.
[141] See, for example, *Visitor*, 20 November 1829.
[142] Swem Library, The College of William and Mary, Jerdone Family Papers (Hereafter JFP), Box 4, Folder 6, Joan Douglass to Francis Jerdone, 12 February 1805.
[143] *Advertiser*, 8 February 1823; *Courier*, 18 December 1821.

months later was less fortunate, with four of its crew washed overboard by a storm.[144] In 1826, the *Mail* reported another ship lost on the Ayrshire coast:

> the account they give is, that the Captain, seeing their fate inevitable, was going below for the money he had received for the coals, that he might divide it among the crew to supply their wants should any of them be cast ashore, when a huge wave broke over the vessel, carried him overboard, and he was never seen more. His body has not yet been found. Forty-five pounds of money have been found scattered up and down the shore, near the place where she struck, and a pair of trowsers [sic] and a watch of Captain Elliot's have also been picked up.[145]

Other events verged on the absurd, combining elements of emigration, shipwreck, and the loss of the innocent. In the same issue as above, the *Mail* reported that a young boy from Alloa, whose employment was to blow the steam-boat horn, went from his home to Miramichi. His ship caught fire and he had to abandon her. He was saved and found his way to Miramichi. Once there he secured passage back to Alloa. Off Prince Edward Island, however, he was shipwrecked and had to return again to Miramichi. On his second attempt, his ship was a third time lost, this time off the coast of Arran. Whether or not this story is true, it would resonate with readers. Few would not have friends, or friends of friends, who had made the trip on Canadian timber ships. Few would not have worried for their safety. The *Mail* engaged in this sort of storytelling several times in the latter half of the 1820s. Another story had a young boy playing with his friends on a docked ship. His friends had lost interest and departed, but the boy remained, thinking the ship would remain near the harbour for some time. However, the Captain "hoisted sail for America; the boy was seen from the shore making signs for someone to come for him, but the vessel was going as such a rate, that relief was impossible."[146]

By comparing the rise of these stories with the fluctuating demand for passage, one thing is made very clear. These tales of adventure and tragedy, of the glorious march of British civilisation and the loss of good British civilians, had grown out of provision of basic information and emigrant letters of the 1810s. As

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[144] *Courier*, 11 September 1821.
[145] *Mail*, 2 January 1826.
[146] Ibid.15 April 1830.

the finite number of non-assisted emigrants left the Border region, the editorial content shifted toward those who intended to remain behind.[147] The market, therefore, had spoken when it came to emigration in the provincial Scottish press. Newspapers would cater to both those who wished to go and those who remained.

Non-Commercial Content in the Emigration Debate

The above discussion has attempted to reconcile shifting patterns in editorial content with changes in commercial realties. However, many of the articles were not written to appeal to readers seeking emigrant advice and were therefore not directly affected by changing demands. Furthermore, while Ballantyne's abhorrence of immigration to the United States has already been demonstrated, the other editors were also extremely opinionated about emigration, though these opinions only appeared in short energetic bursts. They may have accepted advertising revenue from shipping agents, and they may have framed their news stories to fit the times, but when it came to philosophical debate over emigration, they all stood firmly against it.

Arguments against Emigration

The first attack on Lowland emigration, in the summer of 1816, was a quick comment on the back page of the *Journal,* which noted that "the hopes of these Emigrants that they were bettering their condition by removing from the mother country, is but a visionary one!"[148] That same month, the *Mail* provided a thousand word discussion of the "rage for emigration to the American Continent".[149] It argued that it was "to be deplored, as involving at once the waste of our best means and instruments of national prosperity, and the misery and ruin of a vast portion of the deluded individuals who thus abandon their native land." First, Ballantyne expounded on the greed which drove farmers to America to avoid tithes and taxes. But, he argued, without those tithes, there were no ministers to tend to his spiritual needs, and what government services the American received was dearly bought for the amount of taxes they paid. The promised farm land was a thousand miles from the shore and could only support

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[147] Ibid.
[148] *Journal*, 23 July 1816.
[149] *Mail*, July 25, 1816.

crops that were entirely foreign to Scottish agriculturalists. They were isolated from community in the rural areas, and in the cities dragged into filth, partisan politics, and into adopting a staunchly anti-English stance lest they be attacked. There were no Christian charities to tend to the sick or unemployed, and, in short, any misery experienced in Britain, among friends and family, was incalculably worse in the United States.[150] A month later he reminded his readers that all who had gone to Virginia had been greatly disappointed, "all they have gained by the change is a new, not a better country."[151] The *Journal's* editor also feared for the health and safety of the passengers on the "horrors of the Middle Passage!" He lamented that the government had "abandoned this seemingly most wise, as well as humane plan" of directing emigrants to Canada, and had left them to "choose their new country as chance or fortune may guide them."[152] However, the following summer, the *Mail* published welcome news from North America. Those disappointed with their lot in New York were being granted land in Upper Canada from their benevolent British Government, and according to a Quebec paper in May of 1817, some 329 English, 178 Scots, and 481 took up the offer that year.[153]

While these editorials might appear to be nothing more than anti-US rhetoric, the arguments put forward here warrant separate discussion. Ballantyne's particular attention to loss of community and moral guidance and the rescue of the settlers by the British Government, their social protectors, reinforced the arguments made by the parish ministers discussed in chapter two. Moreover, both the *Mail* and the *Journal* worried that these emigrants were being taken advantage of, their weak economic condition forcing them to accept the role of indentured servants in exchange for passage. Like those described by the ministers, these emigrants lacked the ability to direct their own migration patterns safely. While the United States was used an example, their arguments were against emigration ion general.

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[150] Ibid.25 July 1816.
[151] Ibid.26 August 1816.
[152] *Journal*, 18 June 1816.
[153] *Mail*, 21 July 1817.

Canada was also occasionally used as an example against emigration and the "love of change".[154] In May 1817, The *Courier* received a lengthy letter from an anonymous source near Lockerbie. MacDiarmid published the scathing review of emigration over two weeks, taking up columns on both the third and back page of this paper. Not only did he print it, he was "particularly anxious that the attention of such of our readers as entertain any thoughts of emigrating to America, should be directed to a paper on this subject, written by a gentleman of sound judgment and extensive information". The editor continued:

> We have every reason to believe, that the infatuated individuals, whom a love of change, or the embarrassments of the times, have induced to cross the Atlantic, have thrown themselves into a situation, in which they will have to contend with difficulties and discouragements of the most serious nature. Independent of the inconveniences and discomfort which must always attend the settlement of so many unconnected individuals, in a distant country, without any well digested plan, or any regular superintendence, they have to endure the extreme rigour of a Canadian winter, in huts, hastily and insecurely built, perhaps by their own hands, and the still fiercer inhospitality of a brutal and unfriendly population; [...] It is not, therefore, without the deepest sorrow, that we observe the continued infatuation of many of our countrymen, in the eagerness with which they seek refuge from the partial distresses of their own country, by flying to one where misery is already at its height.[155]

The letter, a lengthy description of the misery suffered by a recent party of Dumfriesshire emigrants, became a rallying point for those with a negative perception of emigration. It was reprinted in the *Glasgow Chronicle* and by several historians discussing popular sentiment.[156] The author even explicitly confirmed the non-commercial nature of his letter:

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[154] *Courier*.

[155] Ibid.10 June 1817.

[156] The letter, originally published in Ibid., has appeared in numerous sources including Vance, "Politics of Emigration," 40. and Macinnes, Harper, and Fryer, eds., *Scotland and the Americas, C.1650-C.1939: A Documentary Source Book* , though usually citing its reprint rather than its original publication.

I am happy to be able to add, that I am authorised by my friend Mr Benjamin Nelson, of Annan, to give his name to confirm the above statement. His brother commands a large vessel which trades to that country, of course his interest is to encourage emigration to it. But he despises such a motive, and earnestly joins with the writer of this, in deploring the folly of his humble countrymen, which has already involved so many of them in misery and distress.[157]

Most of the anti-emigration editorials, however, did not deal with the southern Lowlands at all. The *Advertiser* and the *Mail* instead spent much of their copy lamenting the depopulation of the Highlands to Lord Selkirk's Canadian colony and Pictou.[158] One of the *Mail*'s editorials is particularly notable because it was published in the latter half of 1802, during the brief re-instatement of peace and the sudden flare up of advertising for transatlantic passage. It blames agricultural rationalisation for the emigration of Highland Scots and empathises with the men, women and children being torn from their beloved home country, perhaps in the hopes of encouraging those who could stay in Scotland to do so.[159] It is possible that these editorials were in fact commercially driven. They may have been written or published to appeal to landowners and others with an interest in maintaining the population. However, the fact that these editorials were the only direct writings on emigration by the editorial staff—the emigrant letters and advertisements having been written by other parties—it does suggest they had a certain degree of personal motivation in their publication.

Alternatives and Acceptances

Though their stance against emigration was steadfast, the editors of the *Mail* did not discount emigration without offering alternatives. Throughout the 1810s and into the early 1820s, the Ballantyne brothers supported the notion that a population explosion in Britain was not a burden in a time of economic distress, but rather a blessing to be exploited. An 1816 article, seemingly a reprint though not explicitly so, contemplated that while poor aid was being distributed throughout, "we do not learn that any of them have been sent to work, which seems to be an essential appendage to the pecuniary relief to be afforded, for

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[157] *Courier*, 17 June 1817.
[158] *Advertiser*, 13 July 1816, 3 July 1819.
[159] *Mail*, 16 August 1802.

the obvious reason that this will soon be exhausted."[160] The article never mentions emigration directly, but its title "Work Enough At Home" suggests that its numerous economic proposals, mostly aimed at reducing imports, were meant to be alternative uses for the surplus labour, "instead of [it] being entirely withdrawn". A follow-up article later that month cheerfully noted that a committee had been formed to implement measures for employing the "industrious poor of the kingdom".[161] In subsequent years, the *Mail* published accounts of Robert Owen's plans to increase employment, rather than allow the excess population to die off or resort to emigration. The editors noted that the presentations of these plans were greeted with "loud applause."[162] The newspaper also provided reassuring economic news that manufactures "continue in state", despite low prices, and that the increase in taxation was only a sign of a healthy trade.[163] Though the *Mail* was the only paper to focus on this argument, it was popular in other parts of Britain under such titles as "Home Colonisation." McDonald provided an example of a Norfolk rector who used it to refute the use of emigration.

> it is suggested that the emigration of 5,000 persons, chiefly agricultural labourers, is absolutely necessary to remedy the evils of redundancy and pauperism. This process would remove 1,000 families and leave only 676 families of labourers, pensioners, and impotent persons for the cultivation of the soil. Would not such a process remove the glory of the land and cast a chill upon the trade of the neighbourhood? Would it not become a vacuum, and would not hordes of Irish rush in upon this deserted district?

As for positive notes on emigration, there were a few fleeting moments. In August 1817, the *Mail* reprinted the sentiments of Major Robert Torrens who spoke positively on emigration as a cure for over-population. These reports, however, were greatly outweighed by the number of reprints and direct condemnations by the Ballantyne brothers during their thirty year reign of the *Mail*.[164] MacDiarmid, on the other hand, supported it directly in his *Political Reflections*, but only in response to desperate economic conditions and rising

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[160] Ibid.17 October 1816.
[161] Ibid.28 October 1816.
[162] Ibid.5 July 1819.
[163] Ibid.17 October 1816, 28 March 1822, 4 April 1822.
[164] Ibid.14 August 1817, 18 August 1817.

radical inclination amongst unemployed weavers. To objections that sedentary weavers could not survive the harsh winter's rigorous labour of Canadian agriculture, he drafted the following reply:

> But Providence (we answer) tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' & poverty & despair that can make even cowards brave, would in the course of a very little time transform the pale-faced mechanic into a farmer and a husbandman [...] therefore, we think government could not do a wiser or better thing than to encourage emigration **to our own colonies** [my emphasis], at the present moment.[165]

 He even cheerfully suggested that there were many unemployed seamen as well who could use the passage business. As Edward Cowan noted in his 1992 discussion of south-western emigration, it was only after the threat of radicalism and the growing poverty of the economic depression came into clear view, and began to fill the popular imagination and press with fear of political agitation, that the *Courier* reluctantly acknowledged that emigration might be acceptable.[166] Despite the usefulness of emigration in funnelling away the working poor and dampening the spirit of radicalism, a trait lauded by MacDiarmid but one disparaged by *The Scotsman*, most Scottish papers seemed pessimistic about the positive effects of large-scale emigration.[167]

Describing the Faces of the Emigrants

Whether or not MacDiarmid thought it would achieve any real effect, he was notable among the four main editors for the sympathetic tones he used in describing the emigrants themselves. Unlike the *Journal,* the *Mail,* and the *Advertiser*, he put a profoundly human face on the spirit of emigration, most poignantly in an 1821 editorial:

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[165] *Courier*, 29 June 1819.
[166] Cowan, "Southern Uplands," 71-72; Barker, *English Society*, 197. Duncan, the original editor and continued owner of *The Courier,* was particularly concerned about these two interwoven issues, founding the savings bank of Ruthwell to alleviate the suffering of economic downturns and penning a parable on the dangers of radicalism in Glasgow. Henry Duncan, *The Young South Country Weaver; or, a Journey to Glasgow: A Tale for the Radicals* (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes, 1821).
[167] Vance, "Politics of Emigration," 40-49.

> However easy it may be to demonstrate the expediency of emigration,—and, under certain circumstances, nothing is more easy,—it is at all times a painful spectacle to behold hundreds of our fellow-creatures about, as it were, to cast their bread upon the waters, and trust themselves to the treacherous ocean, in quest of that better fortune which, if found at all, must be found after the lapse of many days.[168]

MacDiarmid then wrote of his observations of Glencaple Quay as the Thomson ship *Elizabeth* prepared for its journey to America. He described the buzz of activity as families and friends made their farewells, "Among the females, in particular, every eye was filled with tears, whether of those that went or those that staid." His attention was soon drawn to a young couple, the woman about to depart with her parents and sibling for America, her lover desperate to persuade her to remain:

> Jeanie, Jeanie! if you kent but half o' what I feel at this moment, you would surely stay at home, especially as your father has left it a' to yourself', and owned that he is laith to see us part. I hae na muckle, Jeanie; but you ken my fancy never glaiket after anither; and as lang as these hands and this heart haud thegether, ye shall never want.

Unfortunately for the young man, Jeanie was bound by familial obligation to journey onward and care for her ailing mother. MacDiarmid closed the tale with Jeanie rushing up the gangway and sailing out of view.

Satire

Yet, despite these glimpse at editorial opinion, the newsmen actually had very little to say about emigration directly. They diligently provided information on the colonies and kept up their circulation with useful advertisements for passage and employment. The solvency of their paper depended on it. But, over the entire sixty-year period, only a handful of commentaries was issued, most of them reprinted from other towns or discussing other peoples. News from Parliament, of the trials and tribulations of the royal family, of the rising tide of radicalism, or of the battle over the Corn Laws consistently outranked stories on the changing demography of the Borders. Yet, this is to be expected. Provincial papers were not local papers in the modern sense of the term. Local news could

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[168] *Courier*, 10 April 1821.

only be brief, as anything worth speaking about was well-discussed before the paper went to press. This was almost certainly true of emigration. In 1830, a contributor to the *Advertiser* informed the editor that:

> I have lately been in the habit of hearing sad complaints against many newspapers of the day by some of my fair country women.—They say that papers contain nothing now but politics from bottom to top— that, for an instance, there was Mr. W. Horton must have three whole columns devoted to his speech on redundant population, or emigration—confound him!—a speech that was as long and tedious as the courtship of Jacob and Rachel—and that, were they confined to read such jejune stuff they would consider the reading of it a sufficient penance for their sins.[169]

'Rusticus,' it seems, was referring to an earlier article in the *Mail,* or perhaps one of the non-regional papers. Nevertheless, he offered to spice up the *Advertiser* by providing a short story of romance and adventure for its female readers. However desperate the historian may have been for information "on redundant population, or emigration" the original readers quite obviously had had enough. It should be noted that the following week, the author devoted his pen to the more serious political problem of savings banks legislation. Politics outside the emigration debate, it seems, were still fair game.

Boredom with the press's view of emigration is perhaps to be expected, and the peculiarities of its reporting, the similarity between letters, the repetitiveness of praise and condemnation, and the quite obviously exaggerated accounts of despair, did not escape satire. As early as 1816, the *Journal* printed a lampoon on the crisis of emigration.[170] In it, a supposed country-gentleman complained of emigration, not *from* London but *to* it. His misery and poverty, he moaned, were yearly increased by the pestering of his wife and daughters for a fashionable spring journey to the metropolis: "And as you Londoners know very well how to make the most of such visitors, I can assure you that these emigrations are not performed without a greater consumption of pounds, shillings, and pence, than a year's residence at home would require." This letter appears to have been in part a response to an earlier editorial, which lamented that previously "emigration took place principally from Ireland and Scotland, but it is now going

[169] Ibid.24 April 1830.
[170] *Journal*, 25 June 1816.

on to a most alarming extent from the metropolis and heart of the United Kingdom." Likewise, the *Courier* entertained its readers with anecdotes about the emigrant ships. One told of two robins, which had been forced to immigrate to America, being nested in the forecastle of a newly built timber vessel and left undisturbed by superstitious carpenters.[171] The most poignant satire of the emigration spirit, however, was an absurd faux-letter, printed in both The *Visitor* and *Advertiser*:

'Squampash Flatts, 9th Nov. 1827

Dear Brother,—Here we are, thank Providence, save and well, and in the finest country you ever saw. At this moment I have before me the sublime expanse of Sqaumpash Flatts—the majestic Mudiboo winding through the midst—with the magnificent range of the Sqaub mountains in the distance. But the prospect is impossible to describe in a letter! I might as well attempt a panorama in a pill box! We have fixed one settlement on the left banks of the river. In crossing the rapids we lost most of our heavy luggage and all our iron work; but by great good fortune we saved Mrs Paisley's grand piano and the children's toys. Our infant city consists of three log huts, and one of clay, which, however, on the second day, fell into the ground. We have now built it up again; and, all things considered, are as comfortable as we could expect—and have christened our settlement New London, in compliment to the old Metropolis. We have one of the log-houses to ourselves—or at least shall have when we have built a new hog-sty. We burnt down the first one in making a bonfire to keep off the wild beasts, and for the present the pigs are in the parlour. As yet our rooms are rather usefully than elegantly furnished. We have gutted the Grand Upright, and it makes a convenient cupboard; the chairs were obliged to blaze at our bivouacs,—but thank Heaven, we have never leisure to sit down, and so do not miss them. [...] We have lost only one of our number since we came, namely, Diggory, the market-gardener, from Glasgow, who went out one morning to botanise, and never came back. I am much surprised at his absconding, as he had nothing but a spade to go off with. Chippindale, the carpenter, was sent after him, but did not return; and Gregory, the smith, has been out after them these two days. I have just despatched Mudge, the herdsman, to look after the three, & hope he will soon give a good account of them, as they are the most useful men in the whole settlement, and , in fact, indispensable to its very existence. The river Mudiboo is deep and rapid, and said to swarm with alligators, though I have heard but of three being seen at one time, and none of those above eighteen feet long; this, however, is immaterial, as we do not use the river fluid, which is thick and dirty, but draw all our water

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171 *Courier*, 20 May 1817.

from natural wells and tanks. Poisonous springs are rather common, but are easily distinguished by containing no fish or living animal. Those, however, which swarm with frogs, toads, newts, efts, &c are harmless, and may be safely used for culinary purposes. In short, I know of no drawback but one, which, I am sanguine, may be got over hereafter, and do earnestly hope and advise, if things are no better in England than when I left, you, and as many as you can persuade, will sell off all and come over to this African paradise.'

A postscrsipt [sic] to the letter says that the four men had been killed by wild beasts, that the Mudiboo had overflowed, that the Squampash Flatts were converted into a swamp, and that they were all coming back as fast as they could.[172]

Though it should not be supposed that the number of satires in any way matched the number of serious contemplations of emigration, they provide further evidence of a lively and evolving conversation on emigration beyond the carefully managed papers of the provincial press.

Conclusion

Despite the increasing visibility of passage advertisements, emigration was not a major concern of private enterprise in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century southern Scotland. The only businesses to specifically target emigrants were the ship-owners, and even these businesses did not see emigration as a full-time opportunity but as supplemental income to the timber trade. There were also several advertisements for foreign land or employment, but the most visible of these turned out to be a horrific scam on the would-be settlers.

The newspapers themselves, however, assuredly saw the benefit in pandering to prospective emigrants. As demand increased in the 1810s, the editors provided advice and colonial intelligence in order to attract a steady flow of readers. Furthermore, the desire to retain these subscribers tempered their personal anti-emigration views and encouraged them to include specific advice on how and where to immigrate to. Of course, personal and political motives still often shaped the flow of information dramatically, and when commercial considerations were removed their full voices became evident. On the other hand, when personal feelings were irrelevant, as they were with the fledgling colony of Poyais, commercial interests were indulged without hindrance.

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[172] *Visitor*, 18 December 1829; *Advertiser*, 21 December 1829.

It is also evident from these papers that the 1820s was a time of readjustment, in both commercial and editorial terms. The late 1810s had seen an exodus of mid-level farmers and tradesmen from the Border region to the greener pastures of Canada and the United States. As this finite resource dwindled, so too did the advertisements for private conveyance and the provision of emigrant-focused news and advice. In their place, advertisements for travelogues and extracts of narratives appeared, entertaining those who could not or had chosen not to go abroad. Likewise, as passage assistance to Australia or South Africa became available, information on the antipodean colonies appeared more frequently, only to fade with the conclusion of these government schemes.

Moreover, the editors' treatment of the various settlement options suggests that, like the landowners and the ministers, their perception of emigration was skewed by their traditional beliefs regarding population size. Like so many, they seemed to believe sincerely that a nation's prosperity depended upon a large and growing population to take up the plough and man the shuttle. At the same time, they understood that emigration was not simply a result of men being pushed from their ancestral homes. As leading providers of advice and advertisements, the editors recognised that emigrants were being enticed as much as evicted. If emigration was going to be stopped, or at least slowed, it was going to take more than the building of cothouses or the home colonisation efforts of men like Owen. It was through the provision of well chosen advice and intelligence that they could control emigration. Moreover, if they were unable to keep population within Britain, they could still use these tools to maintain it within the British Empire.

When such a complex relationship between the press and emigration exists, why is it so rarely discussed in emigrant and settlement narratives? The answer lies in the fact that newspapers are most frequently consulted for quantitative data, such as the number of ships departing, *or* for editorial content relating to a specific wave of emigration, such as that from Lockerbie in 1817. Without a discussion of both, and how they interrelate with each other and the wider economic and social landscape, changes in opinion and style cannot be fully understood.

In the same vein, this study must recognise the wider importance of its closing date. By 1830s, the continuing difficulties in the economy, and the threat of radicalism, had taken their toll. The hatred of emigration and population loss, so apparent in these early newspapers, had faded as discussions became rarer and more temperate. The era of mass-migration was upon them and editors saw little point in denying it. In 1830, the *Advertiser* published another "Emigrant's Farewell", this time from across the English border in Alnwick. Though nostalgic for the beauty of rural Britain, this second poet did not share the same despair at the prospect of emigration. There was sadness in the hearts of the emigrants, and a love for their native land, but the time had come for the large-scale emigration of the nineteenth century.

> But I haste to embark, the sails are unfurled,
> I must now leave this east for a far western world
> The stars are impatient—the signal is given—
> The pennon it waves in the blue clouds of heaven.
> Yes, my dear country! From thee I must sever,
> My heart seems to echo, "And it is for ever!"
> One last lingering look on thy rocky bound shore
> Then I run me around, to behold into more.[173]

Though the period of animosity between the editors and the colonies was brief and complicated, the relationship is one that demands increased attention.

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[173] *Advertiser*, 24 July 1830.

Chapter 4: Personal Circumstance and Emigration

Thus far this study has discussed the perceptions of those affected by, but not actively taking part, in emigration. These individuals, acting upon their experiences, influenced and enacted policies which slowed or sped emigration from the Border counties. However, attention should now be paid to those more closely involved with the process, the prosective emigrants themselves, their families and their close friends.

Detailed and representative evidence from this segment of the Border community, however, is not easily obtained. Memoirs and diaries rarely spoke at length about emigration unless dictating their own experiences—or derivates thereof such as Galt's *Bogle Corbet*.[1] Natural alternatives to these retrospective accounts are letters from the period itself. Yet, while emigrant letters were often saved, letters from home communities have had a less consistent survival rate. This is partly because of the value given emigrant letters by archives, but may also be the result of the continued migrations of the emigrants and their descendents. Furthermore, only certain socio-economic groups were capable of maintaining written contact. Nonetheless a surprising number of Scottish letters have been perserved from a variety of men and women, though they primarily remain in the hands of the emigrants' families rather than public archives.

Yet, even when sufficently large collections of these letters are found, they are not without innate flaws. Like most personal writings, their content cannot always be taken at face value or as simple relations of fact. More importantly, the information they include, while relevant to the writer, was often heavily circumscribed and may include little material that is relevant to the topic being examined.[2] Instead, these letters illustrate "personal trajectories of migration" which may or may not be typical or even partially representative.[3] Furthermore, while some of the correspondent's personal circumstances and motivations may

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[1] John Galt, *Bogle Corbet, or, the Emigrants*, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831).

[2] Eric Richards, "The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter," in *Letters across Borders*, ed. Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber, and Suzanne M. Sinke (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 59-60.

[3] David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994), 5.

be reconciled with quantitative data obtain elsewhere, "the underlying tension between these disparate forms of representation will endure."

Fortunately, this discussion does not rely upon these qualitative sources to accurately describe how men and women from the Scottish Borders were able to emigrate. Instead, it seeks to recreate the mental landscape of those living in southern Scotland at a time of rising emigration and to discern how these pereceptions affected their personal trajectories.[4] This study will primarily utilise correspondence from family members resident in southern Scotland to family and friends who had emigrated abroad. It also includes domestic correspondence prior to emigration or after return migration. "Letters written before embarkation," according to Eric Richards, "provide special entry to the emigration decision and its context, usually inaccessible in the broad record."[5] By utilising a group of case studies from throughout the region and from throughout the period, one can trace the perceived effects of emigration on the micro level. From this, it can be determined whether the ability to cross the Atlantic or travel around the Cape of Good Hope significantly impacted perceptions of the world within the sending region.

While any sample of personal correspondence will be incomplete in a variety of respects, much having survived through sheer serendipity, attempts have been made to include both eastern and western families from varying social groups and from before and after the watershed of 1816. Included in this sample are the letters of the Jerdone, Douglass, and Elliot families of Roxburghshire, the Miller and Turnbull families of Selkirkshire, the Innes family of Peeblesshire, the Harvie family of southern Ayrshire, the Beveridge and Adamson families from throughout the Borders, and the Carlyle family of Dumfriesshire. While most correspondence from Border families clearly originated in the counties under study, the amount of internal migration has meant a number of letters were written in Edinburgh and Fife.[6] However, because they spent their childhoods and parts of their adulthoods in the Borders, and because arbitrary dismissal of

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[4] Richards, "The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter," 59.

[5] Ibid., 61-62.

[6] Although the return address of the vast majority of correspondence indicated a particular farm, the ambiguity of spelling, and the likelihood of confusion between similarly named plots, has led me to instead identify the correspondence with the parish wherever possible.

letters from family branches resident elsewhere would hinder academic enquiry, these letters have been included. Furthermore, a short collection of letters from southern Ayrshire was so similar in content to those from other western counties that they have been included in order to better represent eighteenth century south-westerners in a study that would otherwise be too eastern and too late in its focus. Finally, as step-migration was such a prominent aspect of Border migration, brief discussions of the families in North America and Australia slightly outwith our period have also been added to illustrate the strength of these transatlantic bonds between generations.

A crucial caveat should also be given. These letters, by their very nature as family correspondence, only offer evidence regarding those families which maintained contact with the emigrants. As Eric Richards notes, "Emigrants who maintained no ties with home wrote no letters."[7] In a large proportion of cases, people emigrated with the intention of disconnecting themselves from their bonds back home. Others, in an attempt to assimilate into their new surroundings, chose not to maintain cultural links. The perceptions of their emigration are more difficult to trace with any accuracy, owing to the problems in identifying their original kin networks and obtaining sufficient qualitative information on this network's reaction to their departure. This chapter shall therefore focus on those kin networks that continued their connections, in a variety of ways, after emigration.

Throughout the correspondence, three key themes have emerged, and will be discussed in turn. First, discussions of the basic mechanics of emigration, the seeking advice and support, were present throughout the period. While these were in some cases highly accurate descriptions of how emigrants travelled and maintained contact, they also provided detailed evidence of the importance of kin networks and informal support. Second, this chapter will discuss practical and economic considerations for those contemplating emigration and those who decided or were forced to remain behind. It will attempt to reconcile disparities between qualitative and quantitative evidence of the relative importance of economics in the decision to emigrate. Lastly, it will discuss the emotional

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[7] Richards, "The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter," 57.

effects of emigration and the ways in which southern Scots conceptualised their place in the expanding British Empire.

Mechanics of Emigration

There have been many efforts to track the pathways of British emigrants from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Charlotte Erickson's use of passenger lists to the United States after 1840 has created an index of emigrant trajectories including origin, destinations, and economic status. Likewise S. J. N. Hornsby utilised Whyte's directory of immigrants to Canada to trace pathways to British North America. Using this basic, consistent information, both of these efforts have provided general guides to most common routes taken by emigrants and established useful baselines for further study. With these statistical evidences in mind, an examination of personal correspondence can bring to light not only which locations prospective emigrants originally contemplated, but also the reasons behind their final decisions.

The Importance of Chain Migration

When discussing the process of chain migration, wherein subsequent emigrants followed the paths of previous ones in order to obtain support and guidance, it is difficult to establish a starting point. Each set of correspondence had a progenitor, but only in one case, that of Francis Jerdone, is there any explicit written record of the original migration.[8] In his case, he was sent as a roving factor to Virginia in the 1730s, well before the focus of this study. Under the protection of the tobacco firm, he was protected in much the same way as those undertaking chain migrations in subsequent decades. As for the others, David Miller, Thomas Elliot and John Harvie, one can only speculate whether or not they had friends waiting for them across the Atlantic as nothing is suggested either way. Nevertheless, whenever the original migration took place, these collections all indicate that chain migration was taking place throughout the period and that it was recognised as an important part of the emigration process.

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[8] Although there is a very detailed account of the Adamson-Beveridge emigration, theirs did not start a chain of migration within the period of study.

In terms of destination, there were several locations that attracted Border migrants, but the majority of this sample chose communities in New York State and Upper Canada. Furthermore, there was a perception amongst these who remained that most were travelling to these same areas. John Turnbull, a local Hawick businessman, wrote to his half-sister that "There have been a great number of people who have passed thro Hawick this season chiefly for the Canadas"; an observation confirmed by the mapping of emigrant routes by Hornsby.[9] It is at this point, however, that qualitative and quantitative studies must be reconciled. From Hornsby's statistical evidence, it appears that Lowlanders who immigrated to Canada went overwhelmingly to Ontario, but not to any particular locations within it. However, the personal letters suggest that these men and women did not distribute themselves randomly within the British colony. Instead, it appears that the first migrants from a social group—family or community—travelled to the most civilised locations where land or employment could be found, often on the outermost ring of settlement. After having established themselves to some degree, family, friends, and neighbours would then attempt to obtain land or employment nearby, a process similar to most chain migrations.[10]

Sociological studies undertaken in the 1970s indicated that even in a time of advanced communication systems, where multiple sources of information were readily accessible, two thirds of all migrants considered no other destination for immigration than that eventually chosen. Sixty percent relied on a single source of information, usually a friend or family member. "Because they rely so heavily on family and friends in deciding where to go, migrants often limit their destination choices to places where friends and relatives have already settled."[11] As time progressed and economic conditions fluctuated, this "beaten path" mentality became increasingly important, and a wider range of

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[9] John Turnbull to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 5 May 1831, Private collection of John W. Hoy, Papers of the Miller Family (Hereafter MFP); S.J.N Hornsby, "The Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (October 1992): 404.
[10] Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1997), 80.
[11] Peter A. Morrison, "The Functions and Dynamics of the Migration Process," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 64-65. See also Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," 80.

"community" migrants followed after what was originally a single-family migration.

Questions of proximity appeared in letters of those contemplating emigration and were often crucial in making a final decision. "I think that I would like very well to come to you," wrote John Elliot when contemplating whether to move on from Canada to New York, "if you think that one would have any chance of getting land any way neigh to you."[12] He perhaps could not justify leaving his own community if he could not join the community of his family. The importance of chain migration, rather than unconnected mass migration, can also be seen in the wording of letters throughout the period. Expressions such as "Coming to see you" or "come over to you" were commonplace. There were other indications that the prospective emigrants intended to stay with or near family and friends.[13] In the case of the Elliot family, one son had emigrated to New York and another to Upper Canada. Because of this, the remaining family members had a choice as to where to settle and did not consistently choose one location over the other. The dispersal of the original emigrants to some extent explains Hornsby's data. Because genealogical data is in general fragmentary—entire extended families were rarely recorded and in which other personal relationships are unknown to modern historians—the dispersal of emigrants in the second decade of the nineteenth century may give the impression of highly dispersed and individualistic settlement pattern. In none of the letters, however, was there any indication that the family intended or did settle far away from existing kin settlements.

Even long periods of separation did not dampen the chain migration process. For example, Isabel Turnbull's biological mother had immigrated to New York when Isabel was a child, leaving her in the care of a friendly family. When Isabel became unintentionally pregnant herself, she decided to immigrate to the United States as well. There she sought out the protection of her biological

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[12] John Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 28 January 1826, L110, Private collection of Sally M. Elliot, Thomas Elliot Letters (Hereafter TEL)

[13] Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819, L103, Ibid. James Harvie to John Harvie, Ayrshire, n.p., 1797, printed in Leland H. Harvie, *The Harvie / Harvey Family of Hant County Nova Scotia* (Yarmouth, N.S.: Sentinel Printing Ltd., 1984), 11-12. Margaret Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Maxwelltown, Troqueer, 2 October 1846, printed in Robert Adamson and Ben Evans, *Dunfermline to Down Under: James and Elizabeth Adamson and Family: Early Pioneers of South Australia* (Adelaide: R. Adamson, B. Evans & J. Evans, 1994), 268. et al.

mother, whom she had not seen in over a decade.[14] Even more removed was the case of the Aitchisons. The original emigration had taken place in the early nineteenth century. The American branch of the family, however, maintained close ties with those remaining in Eyemouth, Berwickshire, writing and even visiting as a form of genealogical tourism. When Eyemouth's local economy was severely hit, owing to a severe storm that had killed nearly 200 fishermen, their cousin in Ohio offered to take them in and give them employment in his own shipping business. They readily accepted, arriving unannounced on his doorstep several months later.[15] Chain migration not only provided stability and security to those expanding the Anglophone world. Early emigration gave those remaining at home an emergency escape valve, one that could remain intact for years if not decades after the original settlement abroad.

Of course, not everyone who was left behind decided to follow. While the Elliot and Miller letters indicate a desire to rejoin their family abroad, men and women in other families maintained a firm desire to remain in the Borders. Yet, many of those remaining behind still had active roles in the emigration process. First, many boarded or adopted the children of emigrants. Mentioned previously was Isabel Turnbull, raised by Isabel Elliot after her mother immigrated to New York, but other children were sent back to the Borders from the colonies for their education. In the 1760s, Francis Jerdone, Jr of Virginia was sent to Jedburgh to reside with his cousins.[16] Though his father had permanently settled abroad, his affection and respect for his home parish were strong enough for him to insist that his children be sent there for their education. John Harvie, formerly of southern Ayrshire, also attempted to send his son to study under a prestigious Scottish schoolmaster. In return, his brother wrote that, "As I never expect to see yourself I would wish to see one or more of your sons here that I might testifie my good will to them."[17]

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[14] MFP: George and Ester Aitken to Isabell Aitkin, Hawick, 1st October 1826.

[15] Peter Aitchison, *The Noblest Work of God: Episodes of My Life: The Story of John Craig, Shipbuilding Entrepreneur, Toledo, Ohio, and, Memoirs of James Lough, Master Mariner, Eyemouth, Formerly of Toledo, Ohio. As Recorded by Both in 1928 and 1929* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005).

[16] Melodee Beals, "Thinning Acquaintances: National, Familial, and Commercial Identity in the British Atlantic World, 1740-1840" (M.A., Clark University, 2005).

[17] Francis Harvie to John Harvie, Irvine, 23 March 1782; George Harvie to John Harvie, Kilwinning, 1 March 1803, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 9-10, 12-13.

The tendency for these individuals to conceptualise possible emigration in terms of maintaining kin networks suggests that it could be perceived as a physical but not a social movement. The reliance upon familial and friendly connections for support, direct or indirect, meant that at least part of the population wished to physically maintain the social structures that had existed in their home parishes, whether they emigrated or were left behind.

Communication Structures

When physical connections were not possible, the Borderers at home and abroad could be very diligent in maintaining intellectual ones. Although this contact could be verbal, through the proxy of an outward or returning emigrant, or by the content of a letter being relayed to other interested parties, the primary means of communication was written correspondence. These letters varied considerably in length, language, and frequency, but were remarkably similar in content between families of different regions, classes, and generations. Though familial relationships often became strained with time, misunderstandings, and outright confrontations, all the collections studied here show a laudable will to maintain contact with the expanding branches of their extended kin-networks. Part of this is shown in the resourceful way middle- and working-class families were able to keep up regular communication in a time without reliable international post.

The first and most convenient way of sending correspondence was by personal courier. Because there was a strong tendency for chain migration in the Scottish Borders, and because each season saw one or two families depart, it was a simple matter to ask the emigrants to carry letters with them to their new settlement. "I have embraced the opportunity of writing these few lines" wrote a Hawick mother, "by Adam Thorburn of this place who is to set off in ten days time."[18] Another Borderer noted that his brother had sent a letter with "Philhope Elliot as he was intending to come near to where you are".[19] This method of conveyance was so common and so relied upon that, after a long lapse of silence, one correspondent had to apologise, explaining that she "was

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[18] TEL, L101: Isobel Grieve to Thomas Elliott, Hawick, 3 March 1818.
[19] MFP John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 19 June 1819.

intending to write you long before this time, but I always put off expecting to get it conveyed with some acquaintance going to America".[20]

Delivering family letters in this way was beneficial to both correspondent and courier, so long as they were trusted acquaintances. On the one hand, the sender had peace of mind that his letter would be delivered and any gifts or tokens would arrive intact. It should be noted, though, that while letters could be carried by friends and acquaintances, gifts were usually carried by relations or business partners. For example, John Turnbull of Hawick wished to send his half-sister, now living in New York, gifts in honour of her recent marriage. Upon learning that her husband was his neighbour's brother, he asked his new brother-in-law to carry letters and gifts with him when he immigrated to the United States a short time later.[21] Therefore, chain migration of family afforded Borderers an ad-hoc postal service for valued goods. On the other hand, a courier could expect at least cursory accommodation from the letter's recipient in return for his services. This was especially important to new settlers in a strange country and provided at least rudimentary security in an unfamiliar landscape. To encourage an appropriate level of courtesy, writers often reminded their readers of the identity of the courier and his or her relationship to the old neighbourhood. "Andrew Grey's wife that sometime resided at Stouslee is intending going to America this year," wrote one Scottish correspondent.[22] Another noted that his letter would be carried by "Gray from near Wilton as he is to leave that place in a few days".[23] Some couriers received more than just simple accommodation. In 1771, a young tobacco merchant named Alexander MacAulay offered to carry a letter from a boy studying in London to his Borderer family in Virginia.[24] Though he may have known of the prominent planter family beforehand, shortly after this courtesy the merchant began to appear more frequently in the family's business records. Moreover, after a decade of friendship with the family, MacAulay married the boy's elder

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[20] Ibid. Janet Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 8 January 1835.
[21] Ibid. John Turnbull to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 5 May 1831.
[22] Ibid. Janet Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 8 January 1835;
[23] Ibid. John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 6 April 1822.
[24] Swem Library, The College of William and Mary, Jerdone Family Papers (Hereafter JFP), Box 1, Folder 1: John Jerdone to Sarah Jerdone, Islington, 21 March 1771.

sister.[25] Personal conveyance had another advantage over impersonal postal services. It allowed for verbal messages that may have been too delicate to write out at length. John Miller wrote to his brother that "the woman that is to carry this is comming to america to her husband[.] he went from here last season and left her and a family and he has conditioned their passage with the captain of a ship she is to land at new York [sic]"[26]. Miller then suggested that his brother might be able to do the same for him, presumably by asking the courier for more information on her own arrangements. Because the rest of Miller's family were vehemently against him emigrating, he was not able to write at length of his intentions and desires to do so. Using a friendly proxy, he could communicate more explicitly with his brother without offending his father and other siblings. Thus, emigration did not automatically sever existing ties of communication. Instead, it was often perceived to be a manageable alteration to existing networks. In fact, that Borderers engaged primarily in chain migration meant they were particularly able to maintain direct links between rural areas of southern Scotland and the rest of the British Empire over many decades.

Kin networks, however, were not composed merely of personal connections between friends and family. An important part of network development was the creation of reliable business partnerships, as seen above with Alexander MacAulay. Emigration, whether permanent or temporary, could be the basis of transatlantic businesses and the mercantilistic exchange of colonial raw materials for British-manufactured goods. Moreover, once these networks were established, personal correspondence could be relayed through commercial channels. A family member involved in transoceanic trade could easily slip personal letters and small gifts into crates and packages that were being shipped to the United States or Australia. When the crates were received by their overseas business partner, the letters could be internally couriered to family and friends. The difficulty with this method was that, because war encompassed much of the period under discussion, business often became depressed and trade routes experienced dramatic changes, abruptly cutting off communications

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[25] Alexander Macaulay, "Journal of Alexander Macaulay " *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (January 1903).
[26] MFP John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820.

between branches.[27] A steady flow of chain and return migration between Scotland and abroad was a more reliable means of communication.

The mechanics of Border emigration suggest that, to friends and family, emigration did not have to be a one-way process. Frequent letters to and from settlement communities helped maintain relationships while chain migration and the boarding of school children renewed physical links between the Borders and the wider world. Illuminating this physical connection, however, is only the first step to understanding the varied and changing perceptions of emigration of those left behind. A more detailed examination of their correspondence is therefore warranted.

Economic and Practical Perceptions of Emigration

Before diving fully into the content of these letters, however, one qualification should be noted. In the previous discussion of the press, the emigrant letters printed in the Border papers were extremely similar, not only to each other but to the vast majority of printed emigrant correspondence throughout Britain in this period. Standard descriptions of prices, wages, weather and local news covered the back and inside pages of the *Courier* and the *Mail* for decades. While it is easy to dismiss these as being the result of selective publishing or editorial adulteration, an examination of outbound correspondence lends some credence to the idea that some of the printed letters were genuine, or at least very good forgeries.

In letters from both the eastern Borders and the southwest, families asked emigrants to write "the truth as far as your judgment can go concerning America as there is so many different storys [sic] about it."[28] Specifically they asked for information on "what sorts of horses and cows and other animals are mostly among you. If you have any tame and wild fowls such as are here and any fish. How far are you from any market town and above all, if you have any Gosphel [sic] preached near to you."[29] Others asked which crops could be grown, which

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[27] Robert Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Glasgow, 22 January 1849, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*.; JFP, Box 1, Folder 6: Thomas Mitchell to Francis Jerdone, Jr, n.p., 10 November 1787; Box 2, Folder 1: Thomas Mitchell to Francis Jerdone, Jr, n.p., 2 February 1788; Box 2, Folder 5: George Weare Braikenridge to Francis Jerdone, Jr, Bristol, 20 February 1792; Box 2, Folder 4: Sarah Braikenridge to Sarah Jerdone, Bristol, 30 April 1791.
[28] TEL, L102: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Eliott, Hawick, 24 May 1818.
[29] Ibid., L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819.

kind of land should be purchased and whether or not there was any market for domestic products such as flax, yarn, butter, and cheese. Religion was also a significant concern to most of the people considering emigration. A fear of "popery or prelacy" often made them seek reassurances that a Presbyterian minister was nearby.[30] Furthermore, some correspondents complained that their relatives were not being forthright regarding their new homes. The specific information they had requested had not been given and that which was "no beter [sic] than all the rest."[31] "You write to me to come to you and advise my brothers, but I cannot come nor advise any till I know better of the country and what we are to come too [sic]". [32] Others were more passive in their condemnations, noting that "There was some of your friends thought you should have been more full in your last letter than you were. Therefore I hope you will be particular both respecting your situation concerning the sea passage the next time."[33]

These questions, requests and outright demands highlight the fact that many of those left behind were desperate for information, not only from abroad, but from trustworthy sources. Those contemplating emigrate themselves were wary of trusting those outside their kin and community and evidently pestered the families of emigrants for any information they might have on the colonies. That the majority of requested information was strictly practical suggests that these transatlantic conversations influenced economic perceptions of emigration at least as much as the information provided in the local press.

Economic Perceptions of Perspective Emigrants

At the turn of the nineteenth century, there were times of plenty and times of dearth, of high wages and low. These can and have been traced through various economic indicators, such as the wages published in the *Farmer's Journal* or by fiars' listings.[34] In turn, these periods of low wages can be connected to

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[30] James Harvie to John Harvie, Newside, 11 June 1784, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 10-11.

[31] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Muselee, 17 January 1829.

[32] James Harvie to John Harvie, Darly, 7 August 1762, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 8-9.

[33] TEL L104: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 11 or 12 April 1820.

[34] T. M. Devine, "Social Stability and Agrarian Change in the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840," *Social History* 3 (1978); A. J. S. Gibson and T. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland: 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), see especially chapter

subsequent waves of emigration by simple chronologies or from the brief questions asked of emigrants by the port authorities on their reason for departing. However, these correlations can be nothing more than generalisations. They may lead to misconceptions, as Charlotte Erickson has warned, that migration was an automatic response to economic distress.[35] Furthermore, the classification of migrants at isolated moments of their lives, at the time of their departure for example, may suggest wholly erroneous conclusions. According to Erickson, the most prominent of these is the expectation that migrants from poorer backgrounds were pushed, attempting to secure survival, while middle-class or wealthy migrants were pulled by the promise of upward mobility. This conclusion negates not only individual agency from both groups, but also the social vectors, such as family, faith, and ideology, which may have influenced their decisions.

Furthermore, the terminology used to describe certain individuals, such as "vagrants", may have indicated a temporary period of unemployment or a lack of precision by church authorities, rather than be indicative of long-term financial problems and a sustained pressure to emigrate.[36] These difficulties are further compounded by the fact that the widespread economic crises of the post-war period, excepting the harvest failure of 1816, were not temporary in nature, making it appealing to ascribe all financial difficulties in the late 1810s to the wider developments rather than personal crises.[37] Other difficulties, such as the common practice of writing "labourer" under employment in immigration records, has made it difficult to determine with any precision what kind of individuals were leaving Britain in general, let alone from rural areas without direct port access. In other words, gauging perceptions of emigration based on economic trends is a shadowy practice at best. In conjunction with these macroeconomic analyses, family correspondence can clarify not only what types of individuals were affected by emigration, but how important economic

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[35] Charlotte Erickson, "Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. In 1831," *Population Studies* 35, no. 2 (1981).

[36] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Perter Lang AG, 1997), 19.

[37] Edward J. Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement and the Formation of Early Agricultural Societies in Dumfries and Galloway," *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LIII (1977-8): 162-163.

fluctuations were to their decision to stay or go. The advantage in using correspondence to emigrants is that the writers discussed the local economy in detail, writing to those who were far removed from the area, clearly stating their current income and how they were reacting to it.

Interestingly, despite a few comments on the economy in the eighteenth century correspondence, most of the economic details appeared in the period after Waterloo. From the general depression of wages and incomes after 1816, it might be expected that the majority of general comments would be negative. However, there were several optimistic notes in letters from the eastern Borders to friends and family abroad. In the uplands of Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire, there were reports that "ther is plenty of work hear" [38] and even though there was "little alteration of work or wages as yet [...] we hope they will take a turn" for the better, as "things look better than they did when you went from us[.] cattle is considrably [sic] higher and vital is lower."[39] However, upon closer inspection these comments usually had a hidden agenda. Both the above were written in an attempt to convince an emigrant brother to return, "as you know we would give all that we have to have you back in Scotland."[40] Others tried to encourage friends considering emigration that times would get better. "Consider the talents you possess—the classical, scientific, historical—above all the agricultural knowledge, which you have acquired; look around you; continue to improve your mind in patience, and do not *yet* imagine that, in our own country, the gates of preferment are shut against you."[41]

More often, the correspondents were pessimistic about the economy. A common complaint was that trade and manufacturing were "dull" and that wages were low in both rural industry and in agriculture. [42] This of course fluctuated season to season and year to year, but overall there was a feeling that while there was

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[38] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 18 March 1819.

[39] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Broomhall, 8 March 1818.

[40] Owing to irregularities, I have used modernised spelling. Ibid.: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, March 18 1819. Originally: you kneu that ue uad give all that ue have to have you bak in scotland.[40]

[41] http://www.carlyleletters.org [Accessed 11 April 2008], The Carlyle Letters Online (Hereafter CLO) DOI: 10.1215/lt-18190108-TC-JJ-01; *CL* 1: 155-159: Thomas Carlyle to James Johnston, Edinburgh, 8 January 1819.

[42] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820; Thomas Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820; John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 6 April 1822.

plenty of work to be had, the wages were small.[43] For example, servants in Hawick could usually expect between £3 and £3 10s, though some men were hired for as much as £6 if they "can work at anything."[44] Skilled labourers such as joiners, masons, and tailors, however, were noted as having better employment prospects. In terms of prices, "Cattle are at least one third higher than when you left us" in 1817, though local oat prices had fallen 20 percent and barley remained much the same.[45] Two years later the price of oats had decreased another fifth and barley even further.[46] While cheaper meal helped wage labourers in tough circumstances, in the southwest there was a general sense of despondency among farmers who were "very much distressed with high costs. There is numbers failing every year which makes people at a stand which way to go."[47] High rents and low income seemed to remain on the horizon as well. The aforementioned correspondent had sunk £75 into setting up his business and now rued not going to America with his kinsmen as he was "oblige[d] to give Credit and Money was never worse to get in."[48]

These generalisations paint a picture consistent with the existing historiography—of high costs and low incomes, of the fluctuating fortunes of farmers and labourers—but are only faint impressions of the economic environment at large and do not always indicate what part emigration played. Fortunately, these letters give a more specific view of three of the non-landowning social groups in the southern counties: tenant farmers, skilled labourers, and unskilled workers. Because of the active marketing of commercial passages, and the amount of emigrant advice on farming abroad, this study shall begin with the upper-rung of non-landowning rural society, the tenant farmer.

During the war years, farmers were doing very well and this is reflected in their correspondence. In the west, cows were selling from £6 to £20, with cheese at 9s or more a stone and butter at a shilling a pound. Although there was a feeling that rent was very high, especially on the larger farms, "people make a good

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[43] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 6 April 1822.

[44] TEL, L102: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Eliott, Hawick, 24 May 1818.

[45] Ibid., L102: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Eliott, Hawick, 24 May 1818; L103, Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819.

[46] MFP: Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821.

[47] Gavin Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 12 April 1819, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 18-19.

[48] TEL, L102: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Eliott, Hawick, 24 May 1818.

way of living in general."[49] By 1805 one south-westerner was boasting of a doubling, if not trebling, of the production on the land in his neighbourhood.[50] Then again, only those tenants with the capital to obtain the expensive leases could profit from the high produce prices. Others who had "not money to buy land here" contemplated how far their savings would go in the North America.[51] The families under study were generally lesser tenants, and therefore more likely to be out bidded for leases in their home parishes. By the mid-1810s the high rent demanded no longer reflected the amount of income the land could produce. Because of this, the competition for the smaller, moderately-priced farms was severe. Furthermore, the increased length of "improving leases" meant that many farmers were trapped into paying rents they could no longer afford and had to rely on landowner abatements to remain solvent.[52] In southern Ayrshire, Andrew Harvie had married and obtained a lease when rents and profits were at their height. By 1819, it was so high that was "obliged to quit it to his loss which I am sorry for because he means to do weel and works very hard."[53] Likewise in the east, the Miller family had done well in the early 1810s. The father and eldest son both held land in the uplands of Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire of moderate size, with a few domestic animals and servants.[54] By the end of the decade, however, times had worsened. Thomas Miller was three years back-rented and none of his sons was in the position to pay the arrears on his behalf.[55] From one perspective, their subsequent musings on emigration were a result of them being pushed from their former farms. In contrast to the clearance model, however, it was not that there was insufficient land for these men—they theoretically could retain tenancies—but that it was only available "at prices that the part of the population migrating outward considers unsuitable."[56] Emigration was perceived as an escape clause for those with some, but not quite enough, money to manage a farm in Scotland. It allowed for

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[49] James Harvie to John Harvie, n.p., 1797, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 11-12.

[50] Thomas Aitken to John Harvie, Dalry, 1 July 1805, printed in Ibid., 13-14.

[51] James Harvie to John Harvie, Newside, 11 June 1784, printed in Ibid., 10-11.

[52] Cowan, "Agricultural Improvement," 158-159.

[53] Gavin Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 12 April 1819, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 18-19.

[54] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 19 June 1819; John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820; William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820; Thomas Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820; William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821.

[55] Ibid.: William Miller to David Miller, Muselee, 17 January 1829.

[56] Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," 75.

a redistribution of middling tenants from areas of high prices and a sufficient supply of men to areas of low prices and a deficiency of settlers to cultivate the land, namely North America. It was in this climate that the eldest son began to make preparations for emigrating to join his brother in New York. He had indicated previously that he would like to emigrate, but felt he could not while their father lived. When he died, he followed the path that the economic environment had laid out for him.

While the perception of emigration is therefore clear, the actual effect of emigration on this class of Borderers, however, is less clear. Competition for leases was so fierce throughout the war that the exit of a small proportion of tenants did not significantly affect auction prices. As for fixed-price leases, there is no indication that rents were lowered by local landowners to maintain native tenants. Then again, had they remained, natural growth would have been even higher in the region and might have caused considerable difficulties for the succeeding generation, further increasing competition and reducing the need for rent abatements to retain local farmers.[57]

While emigration was seen as an acceptable path for middling farmers to take in the post-war years, it seemed that professionals and skilled workers were thought to be better off staying at home. Anonymous letters printed in the provincial newspaper had made such a distinction, but personal correspondence makes it clear that this was a generally held belief. Robert Beveridge wrote to his sister in 1849 that he believed that Australia was "not a good place for one who is good only at figures. I am convinced that I could not be in a better place than Glasgow, and after a little up-hill work I am in good hope of making way here in my Profession which is very remunerative when one is employed".[58] Others tried to call back previous emigrants with the same logic. "Your mother", wrote James Harvie to his brother in Canada, "still thinks you would have been better at your trade, since you had a way of living than going such hazards."[59]

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[57] Kingsley Davis, "The Effect of Outmigration on Regions of Origin," in *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 163.

[58] Robert Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Glasgow, 22 January 1849, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 269.

[59] James Harvie to John Harvie, Darly, 7 August 1762, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 8-9.

Despite a general downturn in the economy, skilled manual labourers were doing very well in the first decades of the nineteenth century. John Miller of Galashiels began his career as a joiner at 6s 6d per week with board, but he had heard that migrating to Edinburgh might earn him "from 18 shillings to 22sh per week without vituals".[60] Having "got a good sort [sic] of tools" and "not owing any man anything" he was reluctant to emigrate to join his brother in New York.[61] While it was possible he would do well abroad, and was eager to see his brother again, he had "fallen well in for work and loves my own business so well."[62] The promises associated with emigrating did not outweigh the risks of starting anew and losing the headway he had made in his trade in Galashiels. Short distance migration was more acceptable. In 1822 he moved to Edinburgh to obtain higher wages and was making 15s per week without room and board and 8s 6d with. Having moved to Kelso two years later, he was still earning 15s a week and expecting 16s in the future. The rest of his family, seeing how well he was doing at home, chided the emigrant brother for seemingly pressuring him to emigrate as well.[63]

John gave no indication that his good wages were the result of labour shortages from emigration, and considering that most emigrants to North America were advised to have experience in agricultural rather than skilled trades, there is little reason to believe emigration financially affected the skilled tradesmen who stayed behind. In contrast, some workers in Paisley, in an attempt to increase wages, threatened to 'go off in a body to America' were their demands not met.[64] The same might have been true for other joiners in John's workshop. After all, when he gave notice that he was returning to school, his master was "so anxious for me to stay with him that I staid [sic] with him and went to the

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[60] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 19 June 1819. This appears to have been a well-worn path for young tradesmen in the eastern Borders. Alexander Lowle, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Berwick, with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement* (London: Printed by M. Millan, 1794), 49.

[61] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820.

[62] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 6 April 1822.

[63] Ibid.: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821.

[64] Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 158.

night school."[65] Had he threatened to join his brother abroad, perhaps he would have obtained a pay rise as well as board during his education.

When discussing unskilled farm labour and domestic service, it is more difficult to reconcile qualitative and quantitative evidence, as the situation was particularly reliant on the local factors. In many regards, life for the agricultural worker in Lowland Scotland was getting better rather than worse. Unlike the wheat-dominated economies of the English south, Lowland Scotland relied on a rotation of crops and husbandry that required a steady supply of labour throughout the year.[66] Intensive wheat production required short bursts of intense labour, but for the majority of the year required a diminished workforce. During years of high demand, this had led to a sharp move toward day-labour in England. By only procuring labour on the days needed, farmers were able to keep down production costs and reduce their liability to a large, often unemployed, local population. Most of Lowland Scotland, on the other hand, relied on oats, barley, peas, turnips, and pasture which kept the land in use for most of the year. In the seventeenth century, Scotland's landowners had passed legislation that, according to economic historian George Houston, forced workers to remain in labour with a master for a minimum six-month term.[67] There were also unable to leave the farmer's service unless they could prove they had found another half-year contract elsewhere. This was to prevent men taking up contracts for employment over the winter, when labour needs were lower, and then hiring themselves out at high day-wages during the labour-intensive summer months. This practice continued into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in order to maintain a year-round agricultural population despite competition with rural manufactures. This provided a level of security to Scottish labourers that was not enjoyed by their southern counterparts.[68] In fact, Alex Gibson's study of Buchanan has shown that while day-labourers did exist in Scotland, they were much more likely to be full-time

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[65] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 6 April 1822; John Miller to David Miller, Kelso, 6 April 1824.

[66] Devine, "Social Stability," 335.

[67] George. Houston, "Labour Relations in Scottish Agriculture before 1870," *American Historical Review* 6, no. 1 (1958): 28-29.

[68] Alistair Orr, "Farm Servants and Farm Labour in the Forth Valley and South-East Lowlands," in *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914,* ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), 41.

day labourers. Their wages were calculated in cash but often paid for, at least in part, in kind or lodging. This made their situation similar to those in six-month contracts.[69] Moreover, the injections of labour needed at harvest times were easily filled by female family members, referred to as bondagers, and seasonal migration from the Highlands and Ireland, and did not required a local surplus population.[70] In such a relatively stable environment, what effect would emigration have?

First, it should be noted that the Borders were not homogenous or typical in their composition. Orr's study found that the proportion of the population that could be defined as agricultural labourers varied considerably throughout the southern counties, with Berwickshire sporting the lowest percentage at just 19.3 percent and Peeblesshire and Dumfriesshire the highest at around 45 percent.[71] In general, however, the numbers were higher in the west than the east. Berwickshire was particularly low in comparison with its fellow southern counties. This is likely owing to Berwickshire, as with East Lothian, engaging in a high proportion of wheat cultivation, making its labour market more akin to southern England than the rest of the Lowlands. Rather than unemployment leading to violence, however, Devine argues that its proximity to Edinburgh allowed this additional labour pool to migrate in search of employment when agricultural demand was low.[72] This explains both Berwickshire's reduced number of labourers and the movement to Edinburgh of men such as John Miller, who was born into an agricultural family, for higher wages in skilled manual labour.

Second, despite being the most recorded cause for migration, wider economic trends were not the only factor. Local and family variation played an important part. In 1797, arguably a time of economic plenty in southern Ayrshire with high prices for stock, one farmer asked his brother if there was any employment for

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[69] Alex Gibson, "Proletarianization? The Transition to Full-Time Labour on a Scottish Estate, 1723–1787," *Continuity and Change* 5, no. 3 (1990): 366-383. Certain records from the Buccleuch estates also show full-time labourers paid on daily or weekly wages in the estate account books. National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Montague-Douglas-Scott Family, Dukes of Buccleuch (Hereafter BFP), GD224/522/3/29: List of labourers regularly employed in Eskdale, March 1812.

[70] Orr, "Farm Servants," 33-39.

[71] Ibid., 48-49.

[72] Devine, "Social Stability," 343.

his three sons, a wright and two labourers, in America and whether he might "befriend them [...] in doing what you can to procure them a place among the friends for a way of living through this world."[73] Conversely, Berry Shaw and Christine Miller of Roxburghshire, both young and single, worked as agricultural and estate labourers during the late 1810s and early 1820s. As this was a time of economic downturn, they were perhaps ideal candidates for emigration.[74] Nonetheless, according to Orr, it was at this point that Lowland Scottish wages began to recover from the post-war depression, and there is some indication of a local recovery in their letters.[75] Although Christine had initially enquired after women's wages in America, by 1819 the family was commenting that "ther is great excpteshon [expectation] of uages bin [being] a great deal beter than this seson."[76] A few months later they confirmed that times were in fact getting better, especially for women servants—though actual wage packets varied from fair to fair and Christine complained that the wages had been better in Hawick than Selkirk.[77] Likewise, Gavin Harvie, an Ayrshire labourer engaged at slating houses and plastering, and his wife noted that while they were thankful they had no children to support, they were making "a good way of living."[78] Local and personal circumstances could defy larger economic trends, for better or worse, and change an individual's perception of the viability of emigration.

Nevertheless, while wages in the 1810s were sufficient for the single Roxburghshire siblings, and the as-yet childless couple in Ayrshire, there were indications that these wages were not particularly good. When speaking of their carpenter brother, Berry Shaw Miller noted that "he is doing better than many other kinds of trad[e] for money is scarce and hirring[sic] is scarcer".[79] He went on to admit that his position as a labourer was low and that he was considering working as a day-labourer that summer in a gamble for better wages. However, none of this meant that he was willing to trade guaranteed wages in Scotland for

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[73] James Harvie to John Harvie, n.p, 1797, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 11-12.
[74] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, March 18 1819; Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820; Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820.
[75] Orr, "Farm Servants," 36-37.
[76] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 18 March 1819.
[77] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 19 June 1819. Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820,
[78] Gavin Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 12 April 1819, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 18-19.
[79] MFP: Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821.

the hope of fortunes abroad. Advice from America, and his older brother William, was that "if a person had money to gate a pes [piece] of ground they may do uell but if not they uill have to uorke more laboursey [laboriously] than ever they did in Scotland."[80] Because these men and women did not have large families to support, they were able to get by in a generally poor economic environment. Without the significant start-up capital obtained from selling off farming implements, labourers and farm servants were better off staying within a familiar community and relying on family support in times of hardship. In the first post-war years, emigration offered little in the way of escape to these men and women and with heavy competition with the Irish for labourer positions, the migration of unskilled labourers is unlikely to have greatly affected wage-packets in the southern counties.

By the mid-1820s, however, labourers in the eastern counties were again suffering. In 1824, Archibald Elliot noted that Hawick wages were "greatly down" and by 1827, Berry Miller found it "a hard job for a labouring man and a family to live here[.] all kinds of living is verry high and wages low and a great scarsity of work". Furthermore, he was having difficulty finding work near his family, which meant paying for additional accommodation. His poor circumstances were not a result of personal misfortune, however. He noted that, on the contrary, "there is none can keep thereself out of debt by honest labour for we have had many advantages which few of our neighbours has had [...] it appears to be worse in our country for labouring men everry year for worke is scarcer and scheaper done".[81]

At this point both Berry Shaw and Christine began to seriously contemplate emigration. In 1826 Christine again enquired after women's wages in America and Berry Shaw was attempting to pull together enough money for passage.[82] He did not, however, intend to go out on a hope and a prayer as his brother David had done a decade previously. He wrote to David that "as you have so mutch land and so many beasts you cannot be doing without servants". He asked if his brother could offer him and his wife employment, or at least know of a

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[80] Ibid.: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, March 18 1819.
[81] TEL, L107: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 26 January 1824; MFP: Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Hawick, 7 June 1827.
[82] MFP: Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, April 1826.

neighbour who could, and help them pay for their passage if needed.[83] Emigration offered labourers not only a chance of a better life, as it had for the earlier migrants, but through the process of chain migration, a security that they would not arrive in worse condition that they had left. According to Moch, most emigrants were neither "rootless nor friendless."[84] Berry mentioned this specifically, perhaps in part to fan fraternal affection from his brother. A neighbour's family, he wrote, was also thinking of moving to America. They had the money for the passage "but having none before him he is feard [sic] they starve in a strange land before he fall in with work".[85] Yet, even if the economy seemed to encourage emigration, the community did not necessarily do the same. Like his brother John, Berry directed David to write to him directly lest others conceal letters that would encourage him to depart.

David's role in John and Berry's view of emigration is clear. His departure, while risky, had allowed him to create a beachhead for future family migration. Once established, he could support family and friends who might not otherwise have been able to take advantage of this economic safety valve without government aid.

Perceptions of those left behind

This is not to give the impression that emigration was considered a personal choice with only personal consequences. There were financial implications for those left behind as well and these shaped community perceptions about the process.

The first and most common effect was probably the remittance of funds by emigrants. In Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire, Harper analysed news reports of large-scale efforts by Scots abroad to aid their native communities with American foodstuffs and Australian funds.[86] Likewise, the *Mail* frequently brought similar emigrant generosity to the notice of its southern readers. By far the most reported of these benefactors was Thomas Fair, a merchant in Buenos

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[83] Ibid.: Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Hawick, 7 June 1827.

[84] Leslie Page Moch, "Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1997), 44.

[85] MFP: Berry Shaw Miller to David Miller, Hawick, 7 June 1827.

[86] Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, vol. I: Willing Exiles (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 50-51.

Ayres and a native of Roxburghshire. Between 1819 and 1826 he had "expended above £200 amongst the poor" in Kelso and Coldstream to purchase oatmeal, coals, and other necessities.[87] Another emigrant, remembered "the frosts of Caledonia, though herself enjoying the sunshine of Italy", and donated blankets, meal, shawls and clothing through her sister, still resident in Kelso.[88] There were also several benefactors amongst the soldiers and medical officers serving in India.[89]

Remittances were not simply sent by emigrants, however. The vast majority were sent by those living in England, usually London. One former inhabitant of Roxburghshire sent home ten pounds to be used "in such manner as [the School of Arts] may deem proper for forwarding the patriotic object they have in view".[90] The money was used to help fund the education of "no fewer than eighty mechanics". Others helped fund local parish schools, libraries or the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland.[91] Most, however, sent money home for the relief of the unemployed in a time "when labour in general is not easy to be had."[92] These notices indicate that the emigration process in and of itself did not necessarily encourage conspicuous benevolence. Rather migration, whether southward or abroad, often meant a greater ability to engage in conspicuous charity. Donations to local libraries or new educational institutions, as well as relief in times of scarcity, also suggest that the migrants kept up with news from their native parishes and, despite migration, were still emotionally involved with those left behind and concerned for their well-being.[93]

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[87] *The Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette*, 15 February 1819, 3 January 1820, 4 February 1822, 9 January 1826; *The British Gazetteer or Berwick Advertiser*, 20 February 1819, 8 January 1820, 19 February 1825.

[88] *Mail*, 30 January 1826.

[89] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. II: Linlithgow, Haddington, Berwick (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Earlston, 24; *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. III: Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Morebattle and Mow.

[90] *Mail*, 9 September 1824.

[91] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.*, vol. IV: Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Tynron, 479-480; *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. IV: Dumfriesshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1979), Closeburn, 55; *Mail*, 9 October, 1826.

[92] *Mail*, 25 December 1820, 21 January 1822, 19 January 1826.

[93] Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 52.

On the other hand, the remarkably loud advertisement of these acts of charity in the *Mail* and *Statistical Accounts*, both of which had a vested interest in promoting private charity, does raise some doubts as to the reason for their publicity. Often being listed alongside the benevolence of the local heritors, it is possible that some of these donations were given merely to display their generosity and relative prosperity. Other donations were more personal. Dr Abraham Roberston of Duns, after achieving his position at Oxford, was able to institute annuities for his female cousins who were still "in the humble rank of life from which he sprung".[94] This, the parish minister boasted proudly, pre-empted the need to place them on the local poor rolls. Likewise, after the death of his father, David Miller sent his step-mother money to help support her; though she was receiving some aid from the parish, about 2s 6d a week.[95] Had all emigrants been able to support friends and family in this way, perhaps the ministers would not have feared emigration.

Money, of course, was not only coming in. Even if they were not one of those suffering unemployed and penniless in New York, most emigrants did not achieve the level of wealth required to make substantial donations to those back in Scotland. Instead, their profits remained with their family in North America and Australia. The main difficulty with this was that these emigrants had been born and raised in Scotland, had consumed resources for their care and education, and the left these communities at an age where they had yet to fully recompense the society for its initial outlay. Even if they intended on returning, the removal of young men, the most likely sojourners, left a sex and age imbalance in the sending community which was often made permanent when the emigrant failed to return.[96] This was a cause of especial anxiety on the micro level. Migration of a family member disrupted the flow of income into a family economy, unless its members were able to continue mutual support through remittances from abroad.[97]

There was also the problem of 'brain-drain'. In theory, the emigration of surplus population should benefit the sending community by creating a more favourable

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[94] *NSA II*, Dunse, 259.
[95] MFP: Isabel Scott to David Miller, Hawick, 1831.
[96] Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," 74-5.
[97] Ibid., 79.

balance of skills.[98] However, the best and most able members of the community, those most likely to improve the general welfare through their skills and expertise, were precisely those best suited and most able to emigrate abroad.[99] This meant that those left behind were often hampered by sex, age, and skill imbalances, exacerbating the economic conditions that prompted the original emigrations. An area unable to attract employment for its skilled labourers would be even less likely to attract capital investment if the community became even more proportionally unskilled, female, and elderly. This would prompt the further out-migration of those able and willing to do so. At this point, extreme measures, such as government sponsorship, would be required to relocate unskilled labourers and restore economic balance.[100]

Historians of Scottish emigration have placed considerable focus upon destitute and otherwise economically-forced emigrants, notably western handloom-weavers and northern crofters. However, most emigrants from this period were able, through the sale of property or the saving of income, not only to pay for their own passage, but to take significant start-up capital for their new life abroad.[101] While the removal of this capital from the local economy may have had a knock-on effect for the entire community, other losses caused more direct and tangible effects. In Whitsome and Hilton, the parochial poor fund had been diminished, in part, by the expense of sending a pauper to Canada.[102] Likewise, family correspondence indicates that David Miller may have taken with him a family watch to sell for start-up funds if the need arose.[103] On the other hand, some may have felt the burden lighten with the departure of certain emigrants. Anne Maxwell of Dumfriesshire, for example, had been left in severe financial straits after the death of her father and husband. With several young daughters

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[98] Pieter C. Emmer, "Was Migration Beneficial?," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1997), 111.

[99] Ibid., 112.

[100] Morrison, "Migration Process," 70.

[101] National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Hereafter BM), GD112/16/4/1/2: John Campbell of Achallader to Lord Breadalbane, 20 May 1785; David A. Gerber, "Ethnic Identification and the Project of Individual Identity: What We Can Learn from the Life of Mary Ann Woodrow Archbald (1768-1840) of Little Cambrae Island, Scotland and Auriesville, New York," *Immigrants and Minorities* 17, no. 2 (July 1998): 7-8. Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland I*, 8.

[102] *NSA II*, Whitsome and Hilton, 179.

[103] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, n.p., 8 March 1818.

to support, she had applied to the Duke of Buccleuch and her friends in the Innes family for assistance in immigrating to America.[104] Upon her departure, she tried to allay Innes's fears that certain people were wishing "to get me off their hands."[105] Maxwell assured her that she had been a burden to no one, so they must have been genuinely happy for her making a new start. Innes, however, seemed displeased at her friend being seemingly pushed from her native shores.

Lastly, while most community members felt the impact of emigrant money indirectly or in small doses, some friends and families used their emigrant connections in order to engage in international business.[106] Francis Jerdone, after settling in Virginia, sold his tobacco to family members resident in Britain, and the Beveridges were able to ship goods such as cast iron to Australia. However, neither of these business networks was centred in the Borders. Rather, the British fronts were in Glasgow, Bristol and London. Yet, that these families did not engage in trade directly from the Borders does not preclude the possibility of Border commerce. The port of Dumfries, it should be remembered, had a very significant trade with Canada for timber and other commodities.

Perceptions of return migration

While many emigrants took money when they departed, some brought money home upon their return. Though the *Mail* enjoyed spinning tales of destitute and heartbroken migrants returning to Britain and Ireland, many emigrants throughout Europe had made impressive fortunes abroad and returned home, injecting new capital into their home parishes. Mark Wyman's discussion of twentieth-century migration has detailed the effects of return migration on "poverty-scarred" communities with the building of beautiful homes by return emigrants in southern Italy and the introduction of new crops in Scandinavia.[107] Likewise, Eric Richards has written of "retirement migration" and the purchase of Hebridean islands and old Scottish castles by those who had emigrated to China or the United States, as well as the buying of fashionable London

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[104] National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peeblesshire, GD113/5/104A/15: A. Maxwell to Miss Innes, 27 December 1834, Morton;

[105] Ibid., GD113/5/104A/16: A. Maxwell to Miss Innes, 8 May 1835, Morton.

[106] Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," 74-5.

[107] Mark Wyman, "Emigrants Returning: The Evolution of a Tradition," in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000,* ed. Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 24-26.

residences by Australian returnees.[108] As Richards put it, "They returned to the centre of empire as the final demonstration of the excellence of their imperial credentials and, of course, to die at home, as part of their own personal apotheoses of empire." In southern Scotland, ostentatious returns seem to have been more common to the western parishes than those in the east, perhaps in part because the shipping interests in Dumfries and Glasgow offered easier entry into transatlantic trade. Baronet Sir William Douglass and his investments in Kirkcudbrightshire have already been mentioned, but the writers of the *New Statistical Account* make reference to several young men who had travelled to England and the West Indies to trade in "tea or cloth, some of whom, by their persevering and regular habits, have succeeded in accumulating a few thousand pounds."[109] After 10 or 15 years, and having made their fortunes, they returned to their home parishes "with genteel fortunes" as "very respectable members of society".[110] Archibald MacNab, for example, used his fortune to improve and beautify his Kirkconnell estate, which certainly required the employment of many labourers in their neighbourhood.[111] It is also likely that some returning emigrants spent their money among their family, improving family furnishings and assisting in raising their standard of living.[112]

Others brought in new crops for cultivation, such as Dr Jackson and Thomas Mein, both of whom were credited as bringing tobacco to the eastern Borders in 1778. The product grew in popularity in the area, leading to more than 1,000 acres being in cultivation between Eyemouth and Hawick and selling for nearly £70 per acre. Unfortunately, the benefit of this emigrant import was cut short by the parliamentary prohibition of tobacco cultivation, costing at least one Crailing producer £200 profit.[113] Other crops were exchanged among emigrants

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[108] Eric Richards, "Running Home from Australia: Intercontinental Mobilty and Migrant Expectations in the Nineteenth Century," in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 85.

[109] *NSA IV*, Crossmichael, 197.

[110] *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, vol. V: Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1983), Kells, 148. *NSA IV*, Rerrick, 360.

[111] *NSA IV*, Kirkconnell, 316n.

[112] Bruce S. Elliott, "Settling Down: Masculinity, Class and the Rite of Return in a Transnational Community," in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 171.

[113] Alistair Moffat, *Kelsae: A History of Kelso from Earliest Times* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), 142-143. Alexander Jeffrey, *The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire and Adjacent Districts: From the Most Remote Period to the Present Time*, vol. IV (Edinburgh:

and those back home. Scottish farmers sent oats and cabbage seeds along with their letters, so that friends abroad could grow the same varieties they had known at home.[114] In return, family members asked those abroad for American potatoes, oats, turnips and other samples "of your produce and a sample of your product."[115] David Miller's father, on one occasion, asked for some rye for his wife, as she was "very fond of ry[e] bread."[116]

Emotional Perceptions of Emigration

All this has shown that there were many pragmatic reasons to approve of emigration. The economic approach would moreover suggest that the decision to migrate was a practical, deliberate choice based on the perception of opportunity abroad. Emigration provided an outlet, along with urbanisation, for a segment of the population that would otherwise have been unemployed or contributed to widespread underemployment. When families chose to remain connected, emigration allowed kin-networks to diversify income and engage in transcontinental business with a degree of security in an unregulated marketplace.[117] Lastly, whole communities benefited from remittances sent home by successful emigrants. Manifesting as direct payments or through investment in the poor fund or education or the improvement of a farm and the creation of jobs these were recognised advantages to a steady stream of emigration. While some communities and families suffered from the loss of income or the departure of liquid capital, for purely economic and pragmatic reasons, emigration was usually a benefit to those who remained behind. But human beings are not wholly rational, pragmatic beings. Emotional concerns could and often did trump the practical. According to Dirk Hoerder, emigrants wanted "bread and roses, too".[118] Therefore, emigration's psychological effects should not be discounted.

T. C. Jack, 1864), 349-350.

[114] TEL, L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 11/12 April 1820; L104: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819.

[115] George Harvie to John Harvie, Kilwinning, 1 March 1803, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 12-13.

[116] MFP: Thomas Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 28 May 1820, Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 24 February 1834.

[117] Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and M. J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 31, 17.

[118] Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," 76.

Feelings of Separation and Coping Mechanisms

The upland migrant families, the Millers and the Elliots, both show the crucial problem of chain migration. By its very nature, it assumed a segmented removal of a family or community, in waves, from one location to another. While this had many advantages, it also caused considerable strain on the family. William and Thomas Miller were deeply distressed at the idea of David encouraging John, and later Berry Shaw, to join him in New York. "uil not insest on him [coming] to you" wrote William in 1819, "be case you know that ue are all agenst him coming to you".[119] Christine Miller also reprimanded David, writing that "I hope you will never send for him again".[120] The fact that both Berry Shaw and John had to ask their brother to write to them separately, or with detachable sections in family letters, indicates the emotional strain that prospective emigration was having on the family.[121] In this examination of Australian immigration, Eric Richards concluded that this "kind of intra-family tussle may have been common and may have prevented some emigration."[122]

This particular argument was not, of course, a reflection of the family being fonder of John or Berry Shaw than they were of David. Their father had apparently been against David's emigration as well and all the family were constant in their appeals for him to return to Scotland, American wife and son in tow. [123] "Do not think" wrote John in 1820, "that three years absence and the far distence we are from you has in the least altred our afection for you."[124] Instead, the difficulty was that obligations encouraged some of the Millers to remain in Roxburghshire and they hoped to prevent a further splintering of the family. It would be easier, in theory, for David to return than for the rest of the family to emigrate. Part of this was owing to Thomas Miller's age and his establishment in the community. He and his second wife were unlikely to abandon their lease and Christine felt that "it would be verry ungreatful of us if

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[119] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, March 18 1819; John Miller to David Miller, Broomhall, 8 March 1818, et al.

[120] Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821, Ibid.

[121] This practice was all used when discussing other potentially controversial matters, such as David's current monetary standing in America. John Miller to David Miller, Broomhall, 8 March 1818, Ibid.

[122] Richards, "The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter," 62.

[123] MFP: William Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821, et al.

[124] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820.

we were to leave our father and Isabella which has always been so kind to us all".[125] Meanwhile, John had married and had young children, making him more wary of overseas travel and more attached to his local community than David who had emigrated as a young single man.[126] Janet Elliot, David's sister-in-law, also had "a great notion of going to America, and I believe had it not been for [wanting to remain near] my mother you would have seen me long before this".[127] In some cases, however, family at home accepted that fortunes were better abroad, so long as there was someone to watch over them. "David [Beveridge] has long had a wish to go and his Uncle was with us about six weeks sinse and was very glad to have him come to him and will be all but a Father to him there, so his Father altho he could have wished him to remain with him did not think it would be right to prevent him."[128] Thus, while chain migration was beneficial economically, emotionally it could chip away at family cohesion.

Chain migration also led to the unintentional dissemination of false information. Emigrant letters published in guidebooks and newspapers were, for the most part, unrealistically optimistic, and personal letters often tried to give a clearer and more accurate picture. Yet, some wanted to reunite with their family so desperately that they too painted an overly rosy picture to neighbours and family back home. Amongst themselves, emigrants pondered the implications of chain migration and the effect their letters were having on those in Scotland. Regarding his brother's prospective emigration, William Elliot of Canada wrote that "I would be verry glad to see them all but it is hard to advise."[129] The lack of "comfortable society" made him wary of encouraging his family, lest they be worse off than at home. Then again, even when family on both sides of the Atlantic wished to reunite abroad, not all were able to afford passage and settlement.[130] Emotional and economic needs were often at odds.

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[125] Ibid.: Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821; Christine Miller to David Miller, Roberton, April 1826.
[126] Ibid.: John Miller to David Miller, Kelso, 6 April 1824.
[127] Ibid.: Janet Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 8 January 1835.
[128] Margaret Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Maxwelltown, Troqueer, 2 October 1846, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 268.
[129] TEL, L105: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathhurst, Canada, 22 March 1822; L108: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 13 February 1824.
[130] Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 26 January 1824, L107, Ibid.

Others seem to have had a less personal opinion of emigration and were simply fascinated by the level occurring in their region. In many ways this appears to have been an extension of the high demand for colonial intelligence evident in the provincial press. The settlements in Virginia, New York, Canada and Australia were romantic, exotic, and wild—in other words much more interesting than day-to-day life in the Borders. Yet, there was a deeper level to these discussions of life abroad. By talking about family and friends that had emigrated, or were contemplating the move, separated family members were able to bond through shared connections. This is seen in two ways.

First, chain migration created surrogate communities for the emigrants. These were men and women that the Border emigrants could broadly define as Lowland Scots—such as a group from Glasgow who founded a village called Lanark near where the Elliots had settled.[131] Others were more closely related to the home community:

> We have a good many Scotts people round us here. They are mostly Liddesdale [Roxburghshire] people. Riddls and Storys and Armstrongs. I think there is none that you have any acquaintance of except William Goodfellow, a son of old [illegible]. I don't mind her surname. Old William of Merrylar was his Uncle.[132]

Second, these communities acted as identifiable contexts for those left behind, a way of imaging their family in a wholly alien context. There were countless off-handed mentions of neighbours and kin moving such as "You will perhaps have heard that your daughter Mary Elliot came to America last year along with her husband."[133] In fact, throughout all the correspondence there seemed to be a feeling that the area of destination was very small geographically and former neighbours would certainly be within easy communication of their correspondent. One noted that no one had heard anything from the same Mary Elliot. This was likely an attempt to encourage Thomas Elliot to contact her and inform her to write home. [134] Others were more explicit:

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[131] Ibid., L105: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathhurst, Canada, 22 March 1822.

[132] Ibid., L114: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Elmsley, Canada, 27 January 1834.

[133] Ibid., L107: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 26 January 1824.

[134] Ibid., L108: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 13 February 1824.

> I was also desired to Mention to you if you knew anything about John Oliver that went away with you. Must let him know if you have an opportunity that his child that he left is dead and that his sister Margaret in Craikhope is very anxious to hear from him.[135]
>
> Send a particular account of John Chalmer and John Orr if dead or alive for their friends are still enquiring at me about them and how they are framing [sic]. Send us word distinctly how to address our letters for you and be sure to send us true accounts and not lies and nonsence [sic].[136]
>
> let Jams Miller and wife no that Isbell noks [Knox] is to bi beried tomrou [tomorrow] being the 26 of march I am desired by Jeney Coune that you will [let] Robert and Walter Gladstons nou [know] that ther Mother is with ther sister at the langholm as she could not dou heir self.[137]
>
> my mother's door neighbour will be very much obliged by your letting Adam Graham and his family know they are all well[138]

From these letters, it is evident that those left behind had an emotional need to maintain the cohesion not only of their family but of the network of friends and acquaintances that had been in their life before the "spirit for emigration" had gripped the southern counties of Scotland.

Lastly, return migration made an emotional as well as an economic impact on those in Scotland. While many Scots sojourned in North America or the West Indies, fully expecting to return home upon financial success, others returned home under less auspicious conditions. In 1805, after several years working in Canada, Andrew Harvie was asked to return home by his mother to manage the family's farm.[139] Although he was apparently happy to do so, the ongoing conflict with France meant that Harvie had to risk impressment on the journey back to Scotland and would have to become a Volunteer in the local regiment. Both of these outcomes weighed heavily on the minds of his friends and family.

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[135] Ibid., L107: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 26 January 1824.
[136] James Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, Ayrshire, 7 August 1762, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 8-9.
[137] MFP: Thomas Miller to David Miller, Roberton, 25 March 1821.
[138] Ibid.: Janet Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 8 January 1835.
[139] Mary Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 1 July 1805, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 13-14.

Fortunately, he was able to pass as a man of affluence and returned home unmolested.[140]

Others, upon returning home, needed consolation and emotional support from friends. In 1822, Thomas Carlyle wrote about his friend on his return from North America:

> We had poor James Johnstone with us lately for a day or two, on his road to Broughty-ferry. He is a way-worn, jaded, helpless man: at the same time, the most placid and peaceful-hearted honest creature in being. I am truly sorry to see him so *forfoughten* [worn-out]. In his new place he hopes for better fortune; and as he seems determined to lay aside his wildgoose schemes of emigration, and to persevere in his present calling, I do not at all despair of his success. Few men deserve better to be happy; few men could be made happy at a cheaper rate.[141]

Carlyle was particularly harsh on the idea of emigration in the 1820s. "If you would put me on the throne of Aurungzebe," he declared in 1823, "I would spurn at India—for the stomach's sake; and rather be a 'swinkt hedger' *without* nerves, eating porridge in my fatherland."[142] When his friend contemplated another try, this time to Australia, he wrote emphatically that "you must absolutely never say another word about New Holland whatever befalls. This I insist upon. Take my word for it, Sir, you are no[t ma]de for emigration."[143] Carlyle saw emigration as the destruction of not only his own friendship but of the well-being of the friend himself.

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[140] Andrew Harvie to John Harvie, Galcrige, Ayrshire, Scotland, 18 August 1807, printed in Ibid., 16-17.

[141] CLO, DOI: 10.1215/lt-18221113-TC-AC-01; *CL* 2: 199-202: Thomas Carlyle to Alexander Carlyle, Edinburgh, 13 November 1822.

[142] Ibid., DOI: 10.1215/lt-18230408-TC-JJ-01; *CL* 2: 327-329: Thomas Carlyle to James Johnston, Edinburgh, 8 April 1823.

[143] Ibid., DOI: 10.1215/lt-18220204-TC-JJ-01; *CL* 2: 28-31: Thomas Carlyle to James Johnston, Edinburgh, 4 February 1822. According to CLO, James Johnston, nicknamed the "Targer." Born before 1795, he died in late 1837. After studying theology at Selkirk, he acted from 1814-19 as tutor to the family of Duncan Church at Hitchill (between Annan and Dumfries). He left England for Nova Scotia in June 1819 and arrived there on 28 Aug. He was back in Glasgow by 1822 and soon afterward taught at Broughty Ferry, Dundee. From 1826-37 he was head of the parochial school at Haddington. He married Janet Carlyle, Carlyle's cousin, 4 Sept. 1826, shortly before Carlyle's own marriage.

Christian Solace, Sentimentalism and Death

The feelings of loss and separation described above are expected and in many ways tangible emotional effects of the emigration process. Those left behind also experienced more abstract emotions as well. One of these, according to historian Sarah Gibson, was a process of self-reflection and a redefinition and hardening of Scottish identity.[144] In her study of Scottish identity in Canada, she examines this process through the family correspondence of the Brodie family of northern Ayrshire and asserts that "discourses of enlightened progress, Presbyterian temperance, and romantic nostalgia" aided in developing an explicit Scottish identity across the Atlantic.[145] It was through these topics that correspondents on both sides of the Atlantic were able to create, rather than merely export from Britain, what it meant to be Scottish. Like discussions of shared acquaintances, conversations about cultural identity helped to maintain concrete links between the international branches of the family. Although Gibson discussed a northern Ayrshire family, which falls outside the perimeters of this study, Border correspondence, there were strong indications of the latter two themes in the Border correspondence throughout the period. Moreover, while their shared religious background was apparent in many ways, the most important was the perception of death.

Emigration was a notable event. It impacted memory in a way with which their day-in-day lives could not compete. "There is not any new thing from Annandale" wrote Thomas Carlyle in 1823; "they are marrying and giving in marriage there, dying and being born, as usual."[146] This was a typical refrain in letters from family at home. "I think," wrote Archibald Elliot of Roxburghshire, "there has nothing very particular taken place amongst us since you left us."[147] Throughout the region there was ennui in relating family news to friends and family abroad. The names and ages of new children were recorded dutifully; one gave the names of all her children, noting that, because the Australian branch of

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[144] Sarah Katherine Gibson, "Self-Reflection in the Consolidation of Scottish Identity: A Case Study in Family Correspondence, 1805-50," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* ed. Phillip Buckner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[145] Ibid., 31.

[146] CLO, DOI: 10.1215/lt-18230408-TC-JJ-01; *CL* 2: 327-329: Thomas Carlyle to James Johnston, Edinburgh, 8 April 1823.

[147] TEL, L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819.

the family received "letters so seldom. Perhaps you never heard of some of them".[148] Most events were recorded concisely, often list-like, in an attempt to quickly bring the emigrants up-to-date. Occasionally, however, some notifications warranted more space. In 1824, Archibald Elliot wrote to his brother and sister-in-law of her father's death. He stressed that his death, though violent—he had been gored by a bull—had been swift and that his former employer was assisting her mother in obtaining a living and keeping her in her cottage upon his land.[149] Likewise, George Braikenridge wrote to his brother and sisters-in-law in 1793 that his wife, their sister, had died along with her daughters from scarlet fever.[150] Again, the description of their death was particularly well documented in comparison to the lists of births and marriages that usually filled letters from Britain. Braikenridge was so distressed, having written the letter only a few days after his wife's death, that he apologised for the brevity of the letter and promised that "as soon as my mind is more composed I shall write you" again.

It is notable that death appears so prominently in the letters from home. While letters were generally cheerful, if brief, all the families fell into patches of despondency, either at the death of shared loved ones, or at the contemplation of their physical separation from each other, which they often characterised as death-like. It is understandable that only traumatic events, such as death, would make it into the international correspondence with any detail.[151] Writing only once a year, or even less frequently, it was these events that would stick out in their minds when they sat down to write. Births, marriages, and internal migration must have felt too commonplace to mention. Yet, it was the normality of home that the emigrants craved to hear. Speaking amongst themselves, two brothers who had emigrated to North America, one to New York and the other Upper Canada, wrote about the lack of information they received from Scotland. In 1827 one wrote that "I hope if you have had any word from Scotland you will give us all the particulars" while in 1834 he noted that "I have had nothing but

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[148] Margaret Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Maxwelltown, Troqueer, 2 October 1846, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 268.

[149] Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, n.p., 26 January 1824, L107, TEL

[150] JFP, Box 2, Folder 6: George Braikenridge to Charles Thompson, Bristol, 7 April 1793.

[151] It should be noted, however, that deaths of acquaintances, rather than friends or relations, were not detailed.

one letter from Archibald" and another "from Christian. There was nothing in it worth mentioning but some deaths."[152] Likewise, another brother mentioned having "a letter from the old country" but that it "mentioned nothing that was any way particular but our sister Margaret's death" and that "Jeanie Scotts of Newcastletown and Walter Jerdin of Arkelton was thought to be for dyeing in a consumption."[153]

Closely connected with death was the expression of their common faith. Sending condolences over the loss a young child, William Elliot was comforted with the thought that "we are told in Scripture that the sea shall give up its dead" and Robert Beveridge reminded his sister, at the death of her son, that "True religion is the only sure alleviation of your distress".[154] There were many more examples of this Christian rhetoric throughout the correspondence, such as emotive references to a "Friend & Saviour in Jesus Christ" and "His blessing in all your undertakings, spiritual and temporal" and this language was typical of all the parties involved, those resident abroad as well as those in Scotland.[155] Furthermore, there was a consistent connection, through this rhetoric, between the separation of death and that of emigration. William Elliot, resident in Bathurst, wrote to his brother in New York of "the happy shore where death divided friends as last shall meet to part no more. Wherefore let us comfort one another with these words."[156] In a similar tone, Jemma Beveridge wrote to her sister in Australia that when contemplating "the immense space between us, I can scarcely believe it possible that we shall ever meet again. Yet, we may hear of each other's families, and, if we both look beyond our time, and place our hopes on the same Redeemer, we must soon meet in a more unchanging world."[157]

[152] TEL, L113: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 15 October 1827; L114: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Elmsley, Canada, 27 January 1834.
[153] Ibid., L112: John Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 7 October 1826.
[154] Ibid., L105: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathhurst, Canada, 22 March 1822; Robert Beveridge to Elisabeth Adamson, 7 February 1829, Dumfries, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 264.
[155] Robert Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Glasgow, 22 January 1849, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 269.; TEL, L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819; MFP: George and Ester Aitken to Isabell Aitkin, Hawick, 1st October 1826, et al.
[156] TEL, L111: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Bathurst, Canada, 11 August 1826.
[157] Jemima Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Dunfermliine, 1841, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 266.

Their particular depth of religious feeling notwithstanding, their use of Christian imagery when speaking about death as well as the physical separation of emigration is telling. Although communication was steadily improving as the nineteenth century progressed, there was a constant feeling of despair at the lack of news, and an equating of silence with death, and a quiet resignation to this equation. "I can not say whether we have hopes of hearing of my mother being still alive yet or not. Still as long as we know nothing else we have no right to determine but ought to endeavour [sic] submission to the will of God."[158] Others, such as Joan Douglass of Jedburgh, seemed to equate the two phenomena on a massive scale. Upon the death of her mother, her last remaining blood relation in Scotland, she wrote a lengthy letter to her cousins in Virginia describing, in a meandering way, the simultaneous and equally distressing traumas of her family departing. "but oh the uncertainly of human life for I now sit alone and too much leasure [sic] time in my hand which only give me an opportunity to brood over the many sore afflictions I have met with by death [...] I find it is a very great misfortune to be cut off from ones near relations in the day of trouble".[159] She then went on to ask after her various American relations, especially her sister-in-law, for "her not writing makes me to know no more about them then they were not in the land of the living." She was "now doubly anxious to hear about all my near relations as you know they are all in Virginia now and none in this Country." Likewise Carlyle wrote:

> [...]of that feeling which must freeze the soul of an emigrant, when, landing on the quay of Boston or New York, he reflects that the wide Atlantic is roaring between him and every heart that cares for his fate[...]to snap asunder, *for ever*, the associations that bind us to our native soil; to forget the Hampdens, the Sydneys, the Lockes, the Stewarts the Burnses,—or to remember them only as men of a foreign land."[160]

Residing in northern Ayrshire, Gibson's Brodie family expressed the same connection between death and emigration.[161] This suggests that this emotional

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[158] Robert Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Glasgow, 22 January 1849, printed in Ibid., 269.; TEL, L114: William Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Elmsley, Canada, 27 January 1834.

[159] JFP, Box 4, Folder 4: Joan Douglass to Francis Jerdone, Jr, Jedburgh, 21 March 1803.

[160] CLO, DOI: 10.1215/lt-18190108-TC-JJ-01; *CL* 1: 155-159: Thomas Carlyle to James Johnston, Edinburgh, 8 January 1819.

[161] Gibson, "Scottish Identity," 34.

connection was commonplace throughout Lowland Scotland, and discussions of migration and depopulation on a wider scale suggest it is commonplace to humanity as a whole. After all, emigration on a large scale had traditionally been associated with famine, war, disease and death. It was only natural for it to have the same connotations on the small scale as well.

Despite the universality of death imagery, Gibson has argued that these expressions of Christian solace were part of a range of measures used to create an explicit Scottish identity, both for those abroad and those at home.[162] Rather than merely an export of "Scottishness" from the sending region, the ideology of what it meant to be Scottish, part of which was to be Presbyterian, and the importance attached to that idea were built up over many decades through the interactions between Scots and colonials. Both the family studied by Gibson and the nineteenth-century Border families seemed to rely on Christian and death imagery as a common point of reference. Earlier letters, however, such as the Jerdone and Harvie family papers, offer a different view of personal identity. The Jerdone-Douglass family had immigrated to Virginia in the decades preceding the American Revolution, and the Harvies to Canada in the decades following.[163] In the eighteenth century correspondence, there appears to be little in the way of Christian rhetoric in any of the letters. There were, of course, rhetorical expressions of gratitude to the Almighty, but it was not until 1819, when Gavin Harvie was beginning to feel his own mortality that thoughts of the "Eternity into which we must all shortly launch into" began to appear more frequently.[164] Likewise, though her uncle emigrated in 1740, it was only in the nineteenth century, and only after the death of her Scottish relations, that these mentions began to appear in Joan Douglass's letters.[165] Conversely, from their inception in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Elliot and Adamson-Beveridge letters contain a great deal of Christian imagery and reference to scripture. Meanwhile, seemingly anomalously, none of the Miller-Turnbull letters had more than a cursory mention of religion.

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[162] Ibid., 31.
[163] Beals, "Thinning Acquaintances: National, Familial, and Commercial Identity in the British Atlantic World, 1740-1840"; Harvie, *Family of Harveys*.
[164] Gavin Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 12 April 1819, printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 18-19.
[165] JFP, Box 4, Folder 6: Joan Douglass to Francis Jerdone, Jr, Jedburgh, 2 February 1805.

While it is tempting to conclude that some families were more devout than others, and in the case of the Beveridges the temperance movement at least had certainly taken a very firm hold, certain temporal and situational differences between these families, and Gibson's Brodie family, offer a more satisfying answer. In the case of the Elliots, Archibald Elliot, the author of the some of the most emotionally-charged rhetoric, felt he would remain there for the entirety of his life.[166] Despite his musings about moving himself, his situation showed little possibility of being able to actually do so. Thus, emigration had seemingly permanently severed his connection to a branch of his family. The same was true for Joan Douglass and Gavin Harvie, who upon passing midlife found that they had too many obligations in Scotland, or lacked the proper "spirit", to envision travel across the ocean to join with their family abroad. Finally, by far the most likely to engage in this sort of rhetoric was William Elliot, who had himself emigrated to Canada, away from his family in New York and Scotland, and was likely felt the pain of separation particularly acutely. On the other hand, David Miller's correspondents all fully expected to see David again, "either in scotland [sic] or America."[167] In fact, with the exception of their father, all of David's immediate family did emigrate to New York in their relative youth, perhaps pre-empting feelings of permanent loss. There is no reason to doubt that their depth of religious commitment was any less than that of the others; instead it is more likely that they did not feel they had to wait until the hereafter to reunite. As to the reason for the shift in the nineteenth century, this appears to be the result of the type of emigration taking place. In the case of the eighteenth century Jerdone-Douglass and Harvie families, as well as others from outwith the Borders, there was a fluidity of movement between the coastal colonies and Britain, facilitated by the shipping industry, with many emigrants being better classified as sojourners, or with its second generation returning or setting out for their education and employment. In the early nineteenth century, before the widespread adoption of steam travel, most of the emigrants were, and knew they were, pinning themselves down to foreign shores.

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[166] TEL, L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819.
[167] MFP: John Miller to David Miller, Galashiels, 27 February 1820.

Although Gibson focuses primarily on their shared Presbyterian heritage as a way of creating a Scottish identity, some of the Border correspondents were more direct in their praises of their homeland and the lionising of Scottish culture. James Ballantyne, the editor of the *Kelso Mail*, had been a close friend of Sir Walter Scott, and had published many of Scott's romantic works at his Kelso and Edinburgh presses.[168] His passion for literary affectations concerning Scotland can also be seen in the poetry he chose to publish in his paper. Nearly all of the 'emigrant' poetry produced referred to Scotland as a place of unrivalled beauty and undeniable appeal, the loss of which was almost too much to bear. He also printed debates over local landmarks and praised attempts to restore the "venerable" Kelso Abbey as a source of community pride to "all men of taste and patriotic feeling."[169] There was even an attempt to modernize its appeal, noting that though it had been a Catholic structure, one of the "strong-holds of mitred [sic] superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny, exposed [...] it appears to have been early used as a parish church for the reformed worship, and indeed continued to be so occupied till about fifty-two years ago."[170] The print debate was begun, it appears, by an anonymous letter from a "traveller" who had heard of the beauty of Kelso from Scots living abroad, and had travelled there to see it, perhaps as an early form of genealogical tourism.[171]

This suggests that the community, even some of those wholly removed from the emigration process, were affected by the spreading of Scottish cultural identity throughout the world, and were enthusiastically taking up the mantle of antiquarian and community activism to maintain a positive appearance in the world. This was joined in by those abroad, including "a number of gentlemen residing in Charleston, South Carolina, natives of Scotland, in aid of the monument now erecting to the memory of Burns in Ayrshire."[172] Pride in local society was also apparent in letters discouraging emigration. Carlyle asked his emigrant-minded friend

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[168] *The Ballantyne Press and Its Founders: 1796-1908*, (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1909), 2-4.
[169] *Mail*, 23 December 1822.
[170] Ibid.26 December 1822.
[171] Ibid.3 February 1823.
[172] Ibid.6 July 1820.

> Could you banish yourself from all that is interesting to your mind, forget the history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles of old Scotland [...] Never! my boy—you will never think of it. Scotland has borne us all hitherto; we are all Scots to the very heart; and the same bleak but free and independent soil will I hope receive us all into its bosom at last.[173]

There has been a strong tendency in emigration studies, regardless of geography, to focus very tightly on a single ethnicity and assign particular traits and experiences as a result of that ethnic background.[174] These letters, in conjunction with those examined by Gibson, indicate that "Scottish identity" was at least in part determined by the transatlantic experience after emigration rather than acting as a determinant of the experiences themselves.

A hardening of national identity aside, the migration of large swathes of the population also affected personal life-choices in surprising ways. Joan Douglass "having seen so much of the vanity and uncertainty of all connections" had long decided to remain unmarried.[175] However, after the death of her mother and sister, and the emigration of her brother and cousins, she "found it so helpless a state that it made me change my mind when a senseable disinterested companion cast up"; it should be noted, however, that all her succeeding letters indicate it was a affectionate marriage. Others found it necessary to shift family members around in response to emigration. In another vein, upon leaving for Australia, Elizabeth Adamson arranged for her mother to live with her brother Robert, as her "mind would be much easier when I left her if she was with him, as a person her age is much better to have neither thought nor care about worldly things."[176]

More often, however, the impact was purely emotional and could only be expressed in words of sentimentality between the affected parties, before and after the actual emigration process. In her final days of preparation, Adamson wrote to her brother "I can not bear the idea of leaving without seeing you" and that "sometimes cannot think it true that I am going away to leave all my friends

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[173] CLO, DOI: 10.1215/lt-18220222-TC-AC-01; *CL* 2: 52-55: Thomas Carlyle to Alexander Carlyle, Edinburgh, 22 February 1822.
[174] Lucassen and Lucassen, *Migration History*, 21-22.
[175] JFP, Box 4, Folder 6: Joan Douglass to Francis Jerdone, Jr, Jedburgh, 2 February 1805.
[176] MFP: Janet Elliot to Isabel Turnbull, Hawick, 8 January 1835.

and never see them again".[177] Once she had departed, however, her sister-in-law Jemima comforted her with the idea that though she could "always look across the world of waters as to your home, but when your sons begin to settle around you, your thoughts and feelings will gradually cluster round your own little circle, and the affairs of the old world will almost escape your memory."[178] She was, in effect, allowing her friend to let go of her and Scotland. Like Jemima Beveridge, most contented themselves with a shared affection and a sharing of correspondences, as "nothing is more interesting to Friends so far separated as we are from each other, than to know of each other and Families."[179]

The emotional effects were not confined to solace and death imagery, however. There was also a sense of excitement and connection to the wider world, achieved through newspaper articles, letters and gifts home. For example, Jemima Beveridge wrote that her "children brought your letter from the post office, and so great was their anxiety to hear the wonders of your distant home that I had to read it immediately."[180] It is likely that their reaction to the tales of adventure being printed in the local newspapers and travelogues was similar. For Beveridge's children, and for those whose acquaintances but not family had emigrated abroad, the sting of separation was probably less acute, supplanted by a sense of wonder that helped keep the provincial printers in business.

Conclusion

Despite wider and local economic forces, the alluring advertisements for cheap land, religious brotherhood, and employment abroad, many of the decisions to migrate, emigrate, or remain came down to family loyalties. Of course, many individuals moved without obtaining or requiring the consent of their families. But many preferred, and even relied upon, the support structures provided by families, friends, and communities they knew.

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[177] Elizabeth Adamson to David Beveridge, Crossgates, 14 December 1838, printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 265-6.

[178] Jemima Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Dunfermliine, 1841, printed in Ibid., 266.

[179] Margaret Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Maxwelltown, Troqueer, 2 October 1846, printed in Ibid., 268.; TEL, L103: Archibald Elliot to Thomas Elliot, Binks, 12 March 1819; Mary Harvie to John Harvie, Dalry, 1 July 1805 printed in Harvie, *Family of Harveys*, 13-14.; JFP, Box 1, Folder 5:John Jerdone to Francis Jerdone, Jr, Edinburgh, 28 February 1785, et al.

[180] Jemima Beveridge to Elizabeth Adamson, Dunfermliine, 1841 printed in Adamson and Evans, *Down Under*, 266.

Thus, on a micro level, emigration could be perceived in a variety of ways. It provided an alternative to changing economic realities and an opportunity to continue a variant of the agricultural lifestyle that was slowly disappearing from their home communities. It also, through the process of chain migration, connected relatively isolated rural areas of Britain to the greater British world, if only for a generation. It even provided a relatively secure livelihood to those who chose to engage in intercontinental trade in an unregulated marketplace.

It was also seen as an exodus of sometimes badly needed capital and skills. Not only did communities lose valuable contributors, which may or may not have been replaced through natural growth, but individual families could lose out on much-needed family income. Despite the safety net of parish relief, most expected, and were expected to obtain, aid from their family in times of need. The removal of a branch could disrupt or even destroy the family economy. On the other hand, communities and families alike received remittances of coin and kind from those who succeeded abroad. Whether in the form of an annual remittance, a large legacy, or a grandiose return, money coming from abroad was just as important, psychologically if not economically, as the money exiting.

Moreover, the importance of community in the emigration debate was strikingly paramount. The decision to move came with the caveat of remaining near one's kin, one's own kind. Economic migration was, and is, a vital and near-inevitable part of life. Yet, perhaps strangely, medium-distance destinations such as Glasgow, Edinburgh or London were not necessarily the nearest ones to a migrant's community. Emigration and chain migration meant that, despite travelling far further for employment, they might be far closer to friends and family, to the vital support structure individuals often relied so heavily upon. In one sense, emigration allowed for economic migration without loss of community. Though this study has focused upon those who wished to remain connected with their communities, and may not be fully representative of the emigrating population at large, it does provide at least an initial view of how families coped with the emigration processes and how the duties and obligations of Scottish family life adapted to a dispersal of family members, a not uncommon event in the nineteenth century.

In the end, these personal sources show, perhaps more clearly than any others, the complexity of the emigration process. They demonstrate the push of economic distress and the pull of economic possibility. They also show how the need for family and community could influence people's decisions to stay, to leave and to return. Moreover, the decision to emigrate was by no mean always permanent. Changing conditions at home and abroad could, as with Andrew Harvie, send migrants quickly on their way home. Likewise, a wholly personal tragedy, such as the death of a parent, could finally allow economic considerations to take centre stage. Little about the migration process was definite or automatic. Any push factor could be tolerated and any pull factor ignored. Yet, while personal perceptions of emigration often defy statistical assumptions, understanding them can help reconcile the inconsistencies that have stubbornly appeared throughout the past century of research on the topic.

Conclusion: Perceptions of Emigration

This thesis has set out to answer three questions. First, how did Border Scots characterise emigration between 1770 and 1830? Second, to what extent did these perceptions change over the sixty-year period and why did they do so? Lastly, which economic, social and emotional forces and considerations influenced these perceptions?

Up through the first decade of the nineteenth century, explicit discussions of emigration rarely characterised it as beneficial. The ministers of the Established Church and contributors to the regional newspapers generally portrayed the process as an unnatural one. The rationalisation of farmland and the failure of landowners to maintain cottages and employment had forced out-migration when it would otherwise not naturally occur. Moreover, landowners, ministers and editors alike believed that retaining a large, socially-interdependent population was crucial to maintaining a prosperous and stable society. Emigration was seen to damage this in three ways. First, it numerically reduced the population. This meant a reduction in the number of young men that could be recruited into local regiments, a decrease in the number of tenants and their rent, and the loss of the social prestige associated with both. Second, those leaving were thought to be the most able to secure employment domestically. By emigrating, they not only reduced the labour available to local employers, they also left behind family members who would now depend on Kirk charity or landowner assessment for support. Without the loss of industrious family members, most kin networks should have been able to support themselves independently. Lastly, emigration threatened to dilute the moral character of the community. In general, it was believed that the most responsible and industrious members of the community would leave rather than be reduced to poverty during periods of economic distress. Because of the relatively simple procedure for enrolling on the Scottish poor roll, it was feared by landowners, rate payers and ministers that the empty cottages would be quickly filled by less scrupulous English and Irish immigrants. Furthermore, increasing mobility, of which emigration was a part, was thought to reduce the effectiveness of religious and civil mechanisms of social control.

By 1816, certain perceptions of emigration evolved. Directly after the war, those departing were less often characterised as being forced by circumstances beyond their control. Instead, they were described as being tempted by the flattering accounts of colonial settlements. However, though it was generally agreed that emigration was now being marketed to Border Scots, the reaction to these advertisements was mixed. Some felt that they were being asked to emigrate against their best interests. The word "deluded" appeared frequently in the *Mail* after 1816 and all the newspapers tempered their praise of North America throughout the decade. Personal correspondence, too, indicated a general perception that emigration was being glorified by those abroad. Both the anonymous contributor to the *Courier* and the letters by William and Christine Miller reprimanded emigrants for their eagerness in recruiting others to join them. Conversely, a large number of Border Scots believed emigration to be their best chance for a better life. The increasing demand for emigrant passage and advice despite negative appraisals in the press indicates that in the 1810s the southern parishes were sharply divided in their perceptions of emigration. By the end of the period, however, the majority of commentators accepted that emigration might be a rational decision in certain circumstances. This acceptance, however, was often qualified. In general, emigration was seen as safety valve. It could be used during times of severe economic distress, but should still be considered a last resort. Domestic efforts to provide employment and accommodation were more acceptable solutions to economic distress. Furthermore, discussion of emigration beyond the British Empire became increasingly rare as the period progressed. This suggests a continuation of the eighteenth-century desire to retain a large population. Rather than be abandoned, the concept of British manpower was adapted to more readily include those living in colonial possessions. Likewise, concerns over replacement immigration remained. The greater landowners remained greatly concerned well into the 1840s that useful labour would emigrate and the destitute would be augmented by immigrants from England and Ireland.

All of this indicates that perceptions of emigration did change between 1770 and 1830. However, these changes were piecemeal adaptations rather than sudden breaks or watersheds. Even 1816 failed to delineate two distinct eras of belief.

The transformation of perception was a highly individual process. While long-term trends are evident, precise dates cannot be applied with any accuracy, even to well-defined social groups.

As to the third question, which external forces influenced these perceptions, several layers must be addressed—economic, social and emotional. First, while the Border Scots did not view emigration as a general cure to economic difficulties, economic concerns did shape their perceptions of emigration. It has been assumed by many emigration histories that changes in Scottish agriculture demanded a reduction in the rural population and these men and women travelled to urban centres or abroad to obtain employment. However, a close examination of the southern landowners demonstrated the slow and often contradictory paths the landlords took toward consolidation and population management. Although many needed to undertake day-labour in order to support themselves and their families, the waves of improvement throughout the region meant there were jobs to be had within a relatively short distance of their parish of origin. Furthermore, personal accounts suggested that agricultural labourers did not consider this high level of local migration as either unusual or particularly disadvantageous. Some, such as John Miller, were able to use migration to secure the most advantageous wages for his trade. Moreover, there is little conclusive evidence that the greater landowners desired to clear their population, or even significantly reduce it, until the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The diversity of Border agriculture meant that these counties did not experience the cyclical unemployment that plagued the southern, wheat-reliant counties of England. Without this widespread drain on parochial relief, those who controlled the majority of land had little reason to advocate population reduction until the end of the period. In fact, even during the post-war depression southern labourers were often reluctant to emigrate solely on the promise of more remunerative employment and instead attempted to obtain higher wages through day-labour or short-distance migration. All this suggests that up to the 1830s, the southern parishes were considered stable enough to maintain the majority of their population. While the Statistical Accounts clearly linked improvement and rural depopulation, surveys of

landowner policies and personal correspondence counter the notion that emigration in this period was the direct result of economic change.
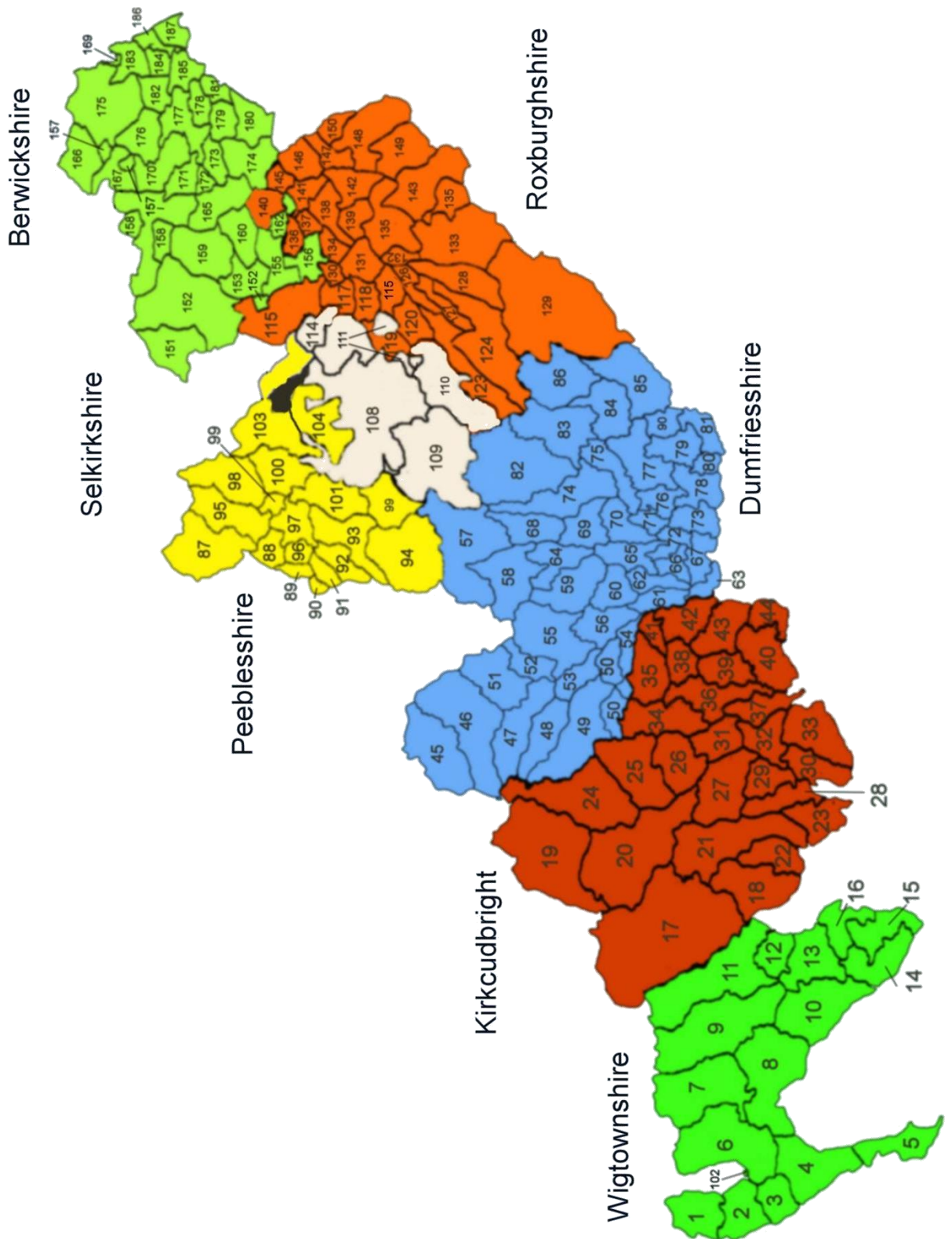
Social as well as economic considerations must be taken into account. For example, the existence of widespread moral outcry against rationalisation and rural urbanisation does not support the idea of a population pushed. Taken in context, many of the complaints against emigration made by the ministers actually expressed a fear of moral decay and a breakdown of Scotland's administrative apparatuses. The Church's administration of education, poor relief and moral statutes relied upon a small, low-density population in which the majority of adults were in year-round employment and in which family members remained under the financial protection of the primary wage earner. Because emigration and urbanisation both threatened the status quo in the same way, they were treated similarly by the ministers. This makes it difficult to argue that emigration was particularly abhorrent to them. In fact, urbanisation was often perceived to be a much more pressing economic issue. Moreover, concerns over urbanisation's social implications were equally concerning to the lesser rate payers while emigration was never directly mentioned by them. Likewise, while landowners considered a large industrious population to augment their social prestige, the connection between emigration and their social obligations was rarely discussed by them before the end of the period. Thus, while social considerations did shape how certain individuals viewed emigration, they did so indirectly and with little precision on the part of the commentators.

Finally, conflict between economic and emotional issues often coloured perceptions in unexpected ways. The editors of the provincial press, for example had numerous difficulties in reconciling their desire for advertising and subscription revenue with their sincere belief that emigration should be prevented. Likewise, personal migration trajectories were often redirected because of conflicting needs. Economically, Christine Miller was well-suited for emigration, having little employment in the region but the opportunity to live and work with her brother David in New York. However, the loyalty she felt toward her father and step-mother outweighed the chance for personal financial security. On the other hand, her brother John seemed sometimes desperate to be reunited with his brother, but could not turn his back on his burgeoning trade

in Galashiels or the expectations of his family in Scotland. James Harvie, on the other hand, suppressed his desire to keep his sons close and asked his brother to essentially adopt and care for them in Canada, where employment prospects were better. Thus, in both private and public spheres, there was a variety of influences that shaped perceptions of emigration in this period. Most important though, is the recognition that economic, social and emotional factors affected all the commentators studied here and all in different ways. One must therefore exercise extreme caution when assigning economic or emotional causes for emigration, despite prevailing trends and logical expectations.

In conclusion, the importance of this work is not simply that it describes a hitherto neglected region of Scotland. Instead, it concretely demonstrates the importance of a full and integrated study of the sending community. By accepting that perceptions of emigration from any region will be multi-layered and internally conflicting, a deeper and more nuanced understanding of emigrants and the emigration process can be obtained. Discussions of landowners and their policies, for example, provided an understanding of how improvement, rural industry and the wider economic environment developed, and this development directly affected population density and migration. Likewise, understanding the social implications of internal migration, as perceived by the lesser rate payers and the ministers of the Established Church, greatly explained the origins of the anti-emigration rhetoric employed in this period. Furthermore, by examining advertisements and editorials in regional papers, this study was able to discover important trends in the demand for emigration. It also laid the groundwork for a more discerning analysis of editorial content in the future. Lastly, by analysing correspondence by those who had not yet or would never emigrate, the relative importance of economic and emotional factors can now be discerned more concretely. While any of these chapters would provide useful information in isolation, it is only by combing all four that the mental landscape of the southern parishes can be understood. With this understanding, future studies of Border emigrants will be able to more accurately describe, not only their reasons for departure, but also their expectations and strategies for the future.

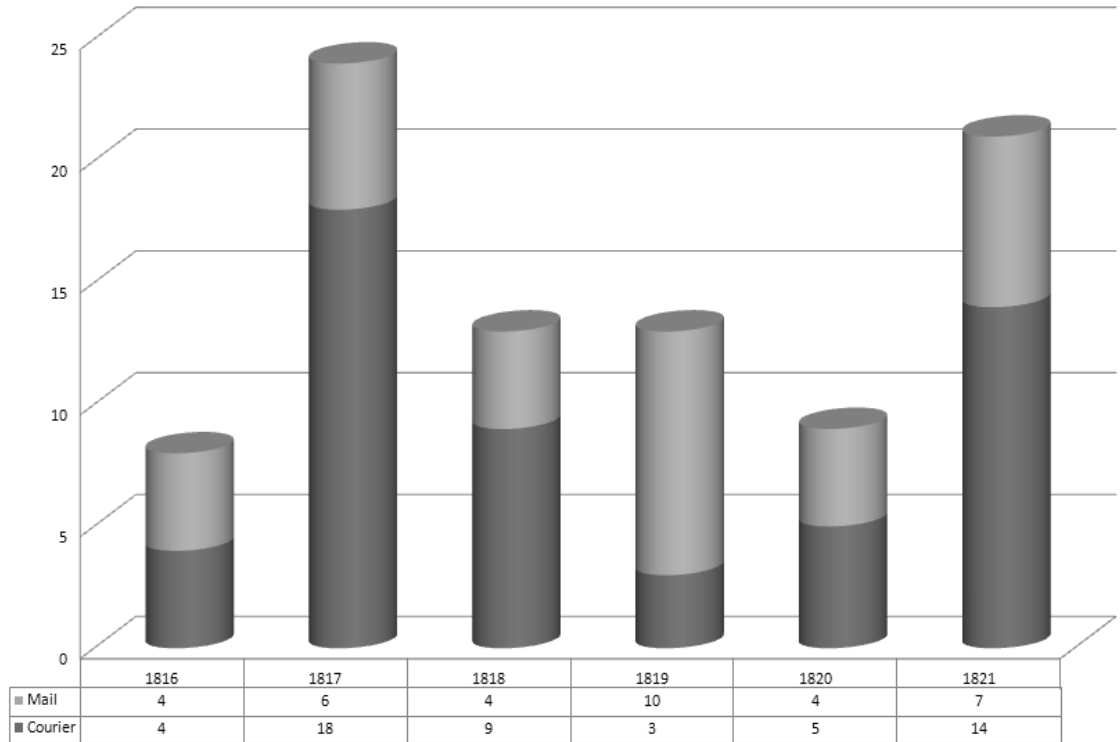# Appendix A: Map of the Parishes of Southern Scotland c1800

Parish Map Key

Parish	No.	Parish	No.	Parish	No.
Abbey of St Bathans	167	Jedburgh	135	Lockmaben	65
Ancrum	131	Johnstone	64	Lockrutton	38
Annan	78	Keir	53	Longformacus	157
Anwoth	22	Kells	20	Lyne and Megget	99
Applegarth	69	Kelso	141	Makerston	137
Ashkirk	119	Kelton	32	Manor	101
Ayton	183	Kilbucho	91	Maxton	134
Balmaclellan	25	Kirkbean	44	Melrose	115
Balmaghie	27	Kirkcolm	1	Melrose	125
Bedrule	132	Kirkconnel	45	Mertoun	156
Borgue	23	Kirkcowan	9	Middlebie	77
Bowden	117	Kirkcudbright	30	Minniegaff	17
Broughton	96	Kirkgunzeon	39	Minto	126
Buittle	37	Kirkinner	13	Mochrum	10
Bunkle and Preston	176	Kirkmabreck	18	Moffat	57
Canonbie	85	Kirkmahoe	56	Mordington	186
Carlaverock	63	Kirkmaiden	5	Morebattle	148
Carsphairn	19	Kirkmichael	59	Morton	52
Castleton	129	Kirkpatrick-Durham	34	Mouswald	66
Cavers	124	Kirkpatrick-fleming	79	Nentorn	162
Chanelkirk	151	Kirkpatrick-Irongray	35	New Abbey	43
Chirnside	182	Kirkpatrick-Juxta	58	New Luce	7
Closeburn	55	Kirkton	127	Newlands	95
Cockburnspath	166	Kirkurd	88	Old Luce	8
Coldingham	175	Ladykirk	181	Oxnam	143
Coldstream	180	Langholm	84	Parton	26
Colvend and Southwick	40	Langton	171	Peebles	100
Crailing	139	Lauder	152	Penninghame	11
Cranshaws	158	Legerwood	153	Penpont	47
Crossmichael	31	Lessudden	130	Polwarth	172
Cummertrees	73	Leswalt	2	Portpatrick	3
Dalry	24	Liberty of Berwick	187	Rerrick	33
Dalton	72	Lilliesleaf	118	Roberton	110
Dornock	80	Linton (Peebleshire)	87	Roxburgh	138
Drumelzier	93	Linton (Roxburghshire)	147	Ruthwell	67
Drysesdale	70			Sanquhar	46
Dumfries	61			Selkirk	111
Duns	170			Skirling	89
Dunscore	50			Smallholm	136
Durrisdeer	51			Sorbie	16
Earlston	155			Southdean	133
Eccles	174			Sprouston	146
Eckford	142			St Mungo	71
Eddleston	98			Stitchel and Hume	140
Ednam	145			Stobo	97
Edrom	177			Stoneykirk	4
Eskdalemuir	82			Stranraer	102
Ettrick	109			Swinton and Simprim	179
Ewes	86			Terregles	41
Eyemouth	169			Tinwald	60
Fogo	173			Tongland	29
Foulden	184			Torthorwald	62
Galashiels	114			Traquair	104
Girthon	21			Troqueer	42
Glasserton	14			Tundergarth	75
Glencairn	49			Tweedsmuir	94
Glenholm	92			Twynholm	28
Gordon	160			Tynron	48
Greenlaw	165			Urr	36
Gretna	81			Wamphray	68
Halfmorton	90			Westerkirk	83
Hawick	123			Westruther	159
Hobkirk	128			Whitorhn	15
Hoddam	76			Whitsome and Hilton	178
Holywood	54			Wigtown	12
Hownam	149			Wilton	120
Hutton	185			Yarrow	108
Hutton and Corrie	74			Yetholm	150
Inch	6				
Innerleithen	103				

Appendix B: Advertisement Frequencies

Figure 2.1: Number of Individual Sailings By Year: 1816-1821

	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
▪ Mail	4	6	4	10	4	7
▪ Courier	4	18	9	3	5	14

Source: Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette 1816-1821; The Dumfries & Galloway Courier 1816-1821

Figure 2.2: Number of Advertisements By Year: 1816-1821

	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
▪ Mail	9	18	10	29	14	16
▪ Courier	9	62	51	14	12	47

Source: Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette 1816-1821; The Dumfries & Galloway Courier 1816-182

Figure 2.3: Number of Advertisements By Month: 1816-1821

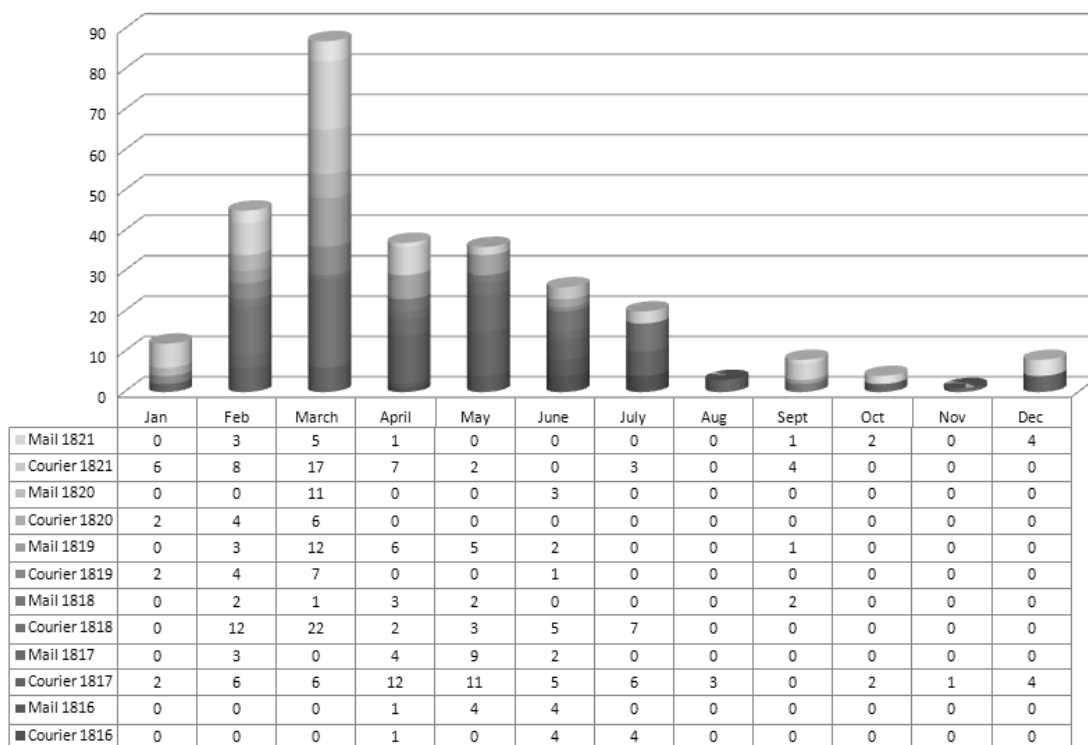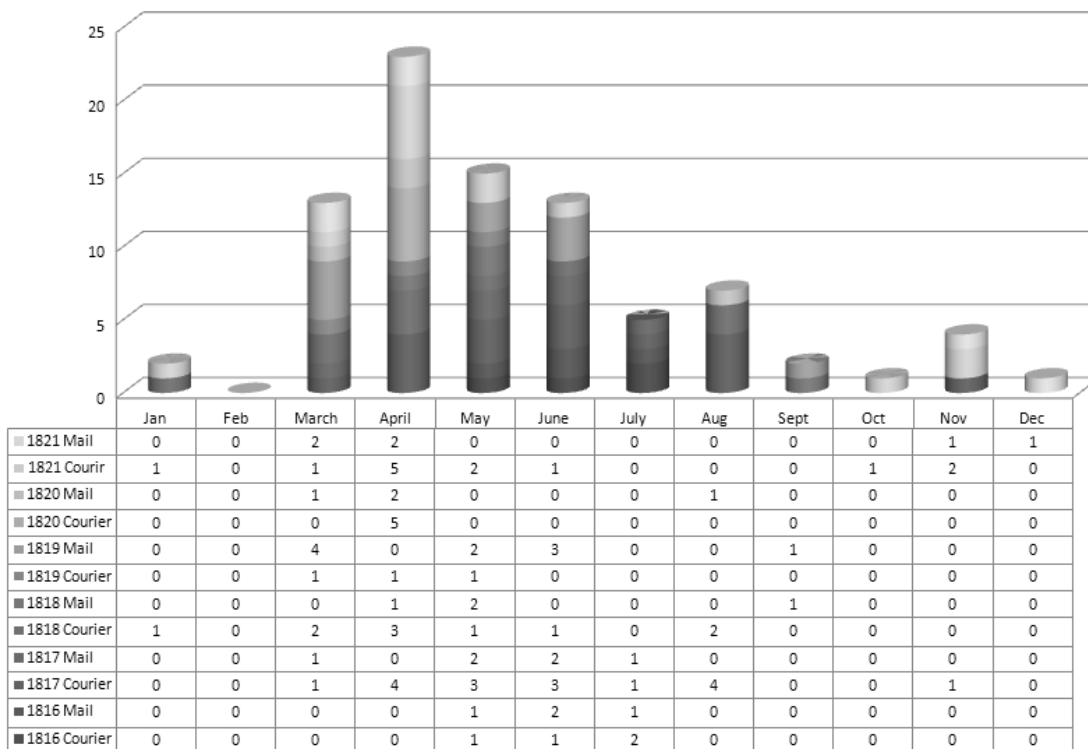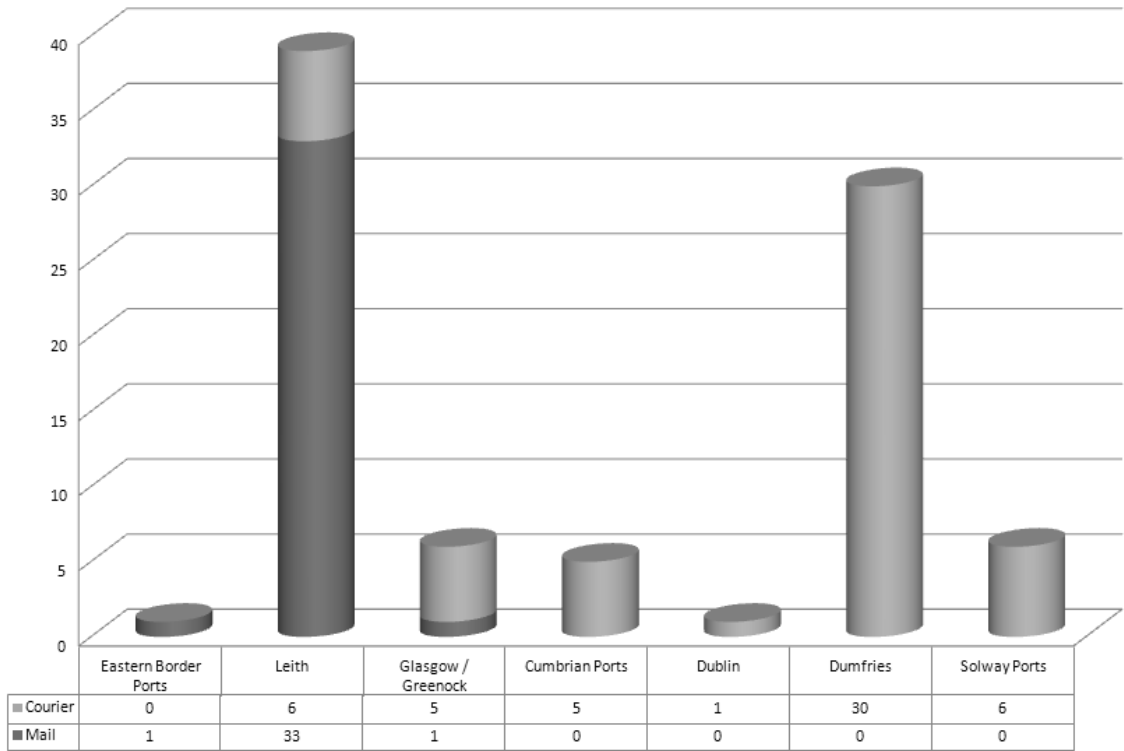|	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
▪ Mail 1821	0	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	4
▪ Courier 1821	6	8	17	7	2	0	3	0	4	0	0	0
▪ Mail 1820	0	0	11	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Courier 1820	2	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Mail 1819	0	3	12	6	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
▪ Courier 1819	2	4	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Mail 1818	0	2	1	3	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
▪ Courier 1818	0	12	22	2	3	5	7	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Mail 1817	0	3	0	4	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Courier 1817	2	6	6	12	11	5	6	3	0	2	1	4
▪ Mail 1816	0	0	0	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ Courier 1816	0	0	0	1	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette 1816-1821; The Dumfries & Galloway Courier 1816-1821

Figure 2.4: Number of Individual Sailings By Month: 1816-1821

	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
▪ 1821 Mail	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
▪ 1821 Courir	1	0	1	5	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	0
▪ 1820 Mail	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
▪ 1820 Courier	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ 1819 Mail	0	0	4	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
▪ 1819 Courier	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
▪ 1818 Mail	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
▪ 1818 Courier	1	0	2	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
▪ 1817 Mail	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
▪ 1817 Courier	0	0	1	4	3	3	1	4	0	0	1	0
▪ 1816 Mail	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
▪ 1816 Courier	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette 1816-1821; The Dumfries & Galloway Courier 1816-1821

Figure 2.4: Number of Individual Sailings By Port of Departure: 1816-1821

	Eastern Border Ports	Leith	Glasgow / Greenock	Cumbrian Ports	Dublin	Dumfries	Solway Ports
▪ Courier	0	6	5	5	1	30	6
▪ Mail	1	33	1	0	0	0	0

Source: Kelso Mail or, Roxburgh, Berwickshire, & Northumberland Gazette 1816-1821; The Dumfries & Galloway Courier 1816-1821

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