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*Published in:*  
Journal of Social History

*DOI:*  
[10.1093/jsh/shx051](https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shx051)

*Publication date:*  
2017

*Document Version*  
Peer reviewed version

[Link to publication in Discovery Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Brown, K. M., & Kennedy, A. (2017). “Their Maxim is Vestigia nulla retrorsum”: Scottish Return Migration and Capital Repatriation from England, 1603-c.1760. *Journal of Social History*, 52(1), 1-25.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shx051>

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Keith M Brown and Allan Kennedy

**“Their Maxim is *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*:” Scottish Return Migration and Capital  
Repatriation from England, 1603-c.1760**

The authors are grateful to Professor Mike Braddick, Professor Claire Alexander, Dr Andrew Mackillop and the anonymous readers for their comments on earlier drafts of this article and to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the funding of a Network Grant that allowed us to expose our ideas to wider discussion.

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## **Abstract**

The return of migrants to their places of origin has been subject to significant theoretical enquiry in recent decades, but testing the resulting modelling against historical data has so far been limited and reliant mainly on nineteenth- and twentieth-century evidence. This article builds upon these foundations by offering detailed analysis of the process of return migration as it affected Scottish migrants to England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Utilising both theoretical insights from social science and a broad range of empirical evidence to explore the mechanisms and motivations of return, the article offers a six-category typology, involving: circular, self-improving, retirement, employment and failed returnees, as well as those returning from forced exile. Yet the article concludes that the individual stories incorporated within this framework did not add up to a meaningful overall trend, and that, in general, Scottish migrants were more likely to settle permanently in England than to enact returning strategies. The article contends that this patterns sheds significant light on the process of Anglo-Scottish integration in the early modern period, since in tending to settle rather than return home, Scottish migrants demonstrated the relative openness of English society to certain incomers, while also, perhaps paradoxically, highlighting the firmly Anglicized idiom of the emergent British state.

## Introduction

In October 1762, Patrick Kelly, an unhappy correspondent to the *St James's Chronicle* newspaper, complained that the government was spending too much money on building a new bridge over the river Tweed to improve communication between Scotland and England. The bridge, Kelly commented acidly, need only contain a footpath, which was all the Scots would need because “their Maxim is *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* [no backwards steps]; and when they have once *walked* hither, not one of them will drive their Carriages back again.”<sup>1</sup> Kelly’s quip tied into the wider rhythms of English stereotyping about Scottish migrants in the early-modern period, which often characterized them as an uncouth and money-grabbing rabble intent on feeding from England’s greater wealth.<sup>2</sup> Yet while it is impossible to quantify accurately Scottish migration or return migration to and from England in this period (though there may have been as many as 60,000 Scots living in London by c.1750),<sup>3</sup> Kelly’s assumption that Scots who made the move southwards were so comfortable as never to travel home again was not wholly true. This article explores the scale and nature of Scottish return migration from England in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. What emerges is an understanding of why some people returned to Scotland, or engaged in capital repatriation (the process by of returning capital or goods back home) while remaining in England, much of which chimes with existing theoretical frameworks. Nevertheless, as the evidence indicates, Patrick Kelly’s caustic comment was not far off the mark. Scots who moved to England, and particularly to London where the cultural, political and economic attractions were greatest, on the whole did not return home or engage in systematic capital repatriation. Instead, they largely committed to their new life in England where integration was relatively easy, reflecting a comparatively benign assimilation process that could partially or in some cases completely detach Scots from their societal and cultural roots.<sup>4</sup>

A fundamental problem in approaching return migration concerns the length of time that an individual spends abroad before they become a “migrant,” and at what point does a visit home become “return migration”? Partly as a result of this uncertainty, and on account of challenges inherent in most primary historical sources, return migration has proved notoriously difficult to quantify.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, progress has been made in developing a typology of return migrants that classifies individuals into occasional, seasonal, temporary and permanent returnees.<sup>6</sup> Emerging alongside efforts to establish categories of return migrants is a theoretical literature that identifies five broad schools of thought. The “neoclassical economic” understanding views migration as a permanent project, conceptualising return migration as a signal of personal failure in the host country. The perspective labelled “new economics of labor migration” characterizes migration more as a project in temporary personal improvement, usually in skills or capital, with return signalling successful attainment of pre-set goals. A “structuralist” approach emphasizes wider contextual factors, with return occurring when the migrant considers their prospects to be better served in the country of origin than in the host nation. Two final theories, “transnationalism” and “cross-border social networking,” view return migration as part of an on-going dialogue between the sending and receiving countries, enabling the migrant to move back and forth between them, although the former considers this to be achieved by ethnic linkages while the latter stresses socio-economic relationships.<sup>7</sup> However, just as theorists are increasingly alert to how migration could be subject to “cumulative causation” – that is, spurred by multiple influences at the individual, household, community and macro level – so too could decisions to return involve a personal calculus aligning with more than one theoretical tradition.<sup>8</sup>

The testing of theoretical work against British case studies has largely been concentrated in the modern period.<sup>9</sup> Our understanding of the distinctly Scottish experience is

thin, with much of the available literature being skewed towards the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Analysis of early-modern trends has been undertaken largely in relation to colonial possessions, resulting in a picture of transient, sojourning migration to the West Indies and India, set against patterns of more permanent settlement on the American mainland.<sup>11</sup> Scottish migrants made their way back from Europe too, adding to the rich mixture of returnees in their homeland.<sup>12</sup> While Scottish settlement in France and the Dutch Republic seems to have been largely transitory, more permanent communities may have been established in northern Germany and the Baltic, particularly Sweden and Poland-Lithuania.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, almost nothing is known about Scottish migrants returning from south of the border, reflecting the wider paucity of literature on Anglo-Scottish migration.<sup>14</sup>

Recent research, however, highlights a number of factors about the Scots' experiences in England that have implications for the understanding of return migration. England, uniquely, shared a land border with Scotland, a boundary that, thanks to the dynamics of the 1603 regal and 1707 parliamentary unions, was increasingly permeable.<sup>15</sup> Following the decision in Calvin's Case in 1608, Scots enjoyed naturalisation rights in England, placing them at an advantage over other immigrants, a position that was further strengthened by parliamentary union.<sup>16</sup> Scottish migrants were drawn from a diverse social spectrum; England played host to Scottish aristocrats, intellectuals and professionals just as easily as it absorbed artisans and unskilled workers. This variety in the migrant population is significant because the theoretical literature often conceives of return migration as inversely linked to earning potential; poorer, more unskilled individuals are seen as more likely to return home because of perceived relative deprivation in their adoptive country, or the belief that their economic situation would be improved by returning.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, return migration is usually regarded as being most prevalent among populations for whom integration into the host society is difficult.<sup>18</sup> Yet Scotophobic rhetoric notwithstanding, assimilation was relatively

straightforward for many Scottish migrants, largely because many possessed desirable skills and consequently English hostility towards them was muted. Furthermore, Scotland's cultural heritage was sufficiently similar to that of England to be accommodated within the emerging umbrella of "Britishness." The likelihood and indeed incidence of permanent settlement was correspondingly high – as one anonymous writer put it in 1705, "the *Scots* [...], once Anglified, care not for returning to their native Country."<sup>19</sup> While the decisions of individuals to migrate, or to return home, are difficult to reconstruct, patterns of Scottish return migration from England uncovered in this article reveal a nuanced and diffuse pattern of homecomings that shed light on the processes of Anglo-Scottish integration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and on the making of "Great Britain."

### **Modes of Return**

Some migrants returned to Scotland because that was their intention when they departed. Often their experiences could hardly be described as "migration" at all. Gavin Hamilton, who returned to his native Lanarkshire around 1695 to be invested by his father with lands in Lesmahagow, previously lived in England long enough to have married a gentlewoman named Frances Guither, but his residence there was described simply as "his travels," suggesting something more akin to a self-improving tour than migration.<sup>20</sup> More compelling examples of return migration were provided by seasonal workers. A report compiled in Newcastle around 1710 claimed that 1,500 men worked as "keelmen" in the city, employed to move coal from land out to transport ships waiting offshore using special flat-bottomed boats. Of this population, the report claimed:

The skippers and Keelmen [...] are only day Labour and hired party to the Fitters and Hostmen in Newcastle and a great Number of them come yearly from North Brittain and worke at the Keels in the Sumer Season but returne back in the Winter.<sup>21</sup>

One uncredited writer, probably Daniel Defoe, later put the number of seasonal migrants from Scotland at 400, representing roughly one-quarter of the total keelman population, and probably not much below half of the Scottish contingent, a general pattern that probably continued until technological changes rendered keelmen obsolete in the early nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Some of these men – like those in other seasonal industries such as droving or farming – possibly lived in this state of permanent seasonal employment for years, placing them within a category of return migration that has been labelled “circular.” On a micro level, such individuals might be regarded as engaging in personal decisions about how best to optimize their incomes or quality of life.<sup>23</sup> On a macro level, their existence reflects the increasingly porous nature of the Anglo-Scottish boundary; neither migration to nor return-migration from England necessarily had the same sense of personal significance as carried by transoceanic movement, especially in the context of two culture zones – southern Scotland and north-eastern England – that were broadly similar. This was especially true of the border counties, where, for example, Alexander Dobson experienced little difficulty in 1696 drifting southwards from his home parish of Galashiels to buy grain illicitly from an English farmer, before immediately returning home.<sup>24</sup> Chapmen or pedlars shared this insouciance about repeated crossings of the increasingly fuzzy border that nominally separated what James VI and I envisioned as the Middle Shires. John Thompson, Newcastle-born but resident in Edinburgh since childhood, declared in 1714 that “he went sometimes with a pack in Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoorland.”<sup>25</sup> Testament data suggests other chapmen behaving in a similar fashion. John Somervell, probably from Glasgow, was a travelling



merchant – a euphemism for pedlar – whose range took in both sides of the border prior to his will being proved in Scotland in 1644.<sup>26</sup>

Such repeated crossing of the border was not limited to seasonal workers and itinerant hawkers. Wealthier individuals often retained homes in Scotland and England, travelling between them regularly. An early example was George Hume, 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Dunbar, who became James VI's most dominant Scottish minister following the 1603 union until his death in 1611, shuttling between London and Edinburgh on the king's business.<sup>27</sup> Many nobles, including some of the wealthiest and most influential, followed Dunbar's example, often using their time in Scotland to tend political or estate-management business. John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale, Charles II's secretary of state for most of his reign, resided primarily in London or at Ham House, but spent extended periods in Edinburgh, where he presided over the Scottish Parliament, or at his ancestral seat of Thirlestane Castle.<sup>28</sup> In a similar vein, Archibald Campbell, earl of Ilay, the most influential political manager of the mid-eighteenth century, was in the habit of retiring from his residence in London to spend a few months in Scotland during the summer of each year.<sup>29</sup> This pattern of dual residence was not restricted to the nobility. During his first phase in London between 1738 and 1754, the portrait painter Allan Ramsay regularly returned to live and work in Edinburgh for extended periods, eventually marrying there in 1752.<sup>30</sup> Equally, those maintaining business interests in Scotland and England were likely to find themselves moving regularly between the two countries. William Fraser, whose roots were at Pitcalzean in Easter Ross, was a London-based merchant working a triangular trade between Scotland, England and the Americas. He occasionally returned to Scotland on business matters, as he did between June and December 1699 in order to buy up a substantial consignment of cloth to be sent to his London business partner, George Conning.<sup>31</sup> Later in the century, Robert Campbell, a merchant at Stirling, spent much of the 1750s and 1760s shuttling between Stirling and London while trying to establish a

business foothold in the capital, although this repeating pattern of circular migration came to an end in 1769, when he chose to settle in London permanently.<sup>32</sup>

The lifestyles of seasonal workers, the itinerant poor, and joint-residents highlight some of the conceptual problems faced by historians tracing return migration within the increasingly integrated British Isles, the implications of which can be observed by considering the theory known as the “new economics of labor migration.” A central contention of this model is that planned return migration results from individuals deciding that a brief spell living in another country would provide them with competitive advantages that could be used upon returning home. This paradigm seems intuitively relevant for those leaving a less developed country, like Scotland, for a more advanced one, like England.<sup>33</sup> Yet while English stereotyping of Scots readily pilloried their wealth-accumulating ambitions, many of these individuals did not return to Scotland with their new-found riches, but instead stayed in England. Alexander Man claimed to have followed George Monck on his march into England in 1660, establishing a coffee house near Charing Cross by the mid-1660s which he ran with great success – even securing the first ever royal warrant to supply coffee in *c.*1675 – until his death in 1714. By then, Man owned a mansion house in Charing Cross and was able to leave his wife and children legacies valued in excess of £2,500, alongside government annuities totalling £300.<sup>34</sup> A similar, though more modest, trajectory was charted by James Kynneir, a weaver from Edinburgh who was in London by the 1660s. Kynneir became a wealthy man, and he retained a strong sense of Scottishness; a founding member and twice master of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a charitable body designed to assist poor Scots in London, he left it in his will two separate legacies of £100, plus a ceremonial silver cup. Yet he seems never to have contemplated returning home.<sup>35</sup> John Harstones, a wandering pedlar who earned the distinction of being described as “rich” in 1674, remained in England, dying at Tynemouth.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the most spectacular example was that of William Murray. Born at Scone in 1705, Murray left Scotland in 1718, aged thirteen, to begin training as a lawyer, being called to the bar in 1730. His rise through the ranks of the English legal profession was rapid, culminating in appointment as chief justice of the King's Bench in 1756, at which point he was ennobled as viscount, later earl of, Mansfield. He never returned to Scotland, dying instead at London's Kenwood House in 1793.<sup>37</sup> The extent of Mansfield's fame and success was unique, and he did leave Scotland at a young age, but his basic experience was shared by other highly professional or creative Scots who, having acquired or honed valuable skills in England, stayed put to utilize them. Some artisanal Scots did the same, men like William Currey, who was apprenticed to a Newcastle smith in 1716 and, upon completion of his seven-year term, entered into the guild, taking Scottish apprentices, the brothers John and Adam Elliot, in 1729 and 1730 respectively.<sup>38</sup> The classic pattern of temporary migration for economic advantage, therefore, was muted among the Scottish diaspora in England because of the relative ease with which Scots could integrate into English society, and possibly because Scotland's under-developed economy did not provide sufficient opportunities for exploiting new-found skills.

Nevertheless, as well as the imperative to acquire wealth, economic modelling has conceptualized return migration in terms of human capital, suggesting that individuals who migrate from a less developed to a more developed country may be able to learn valuable new skills which, upon returning home, will heighten their own professional status while simultaneously boosting the national skills or knowledge base.<sup>39</sup> One highly unusual example was Emelia Geddie, a child mystic from Fife whose precocious piety convinced her parents in 1675 to send her for private schooling in London, where she learned to write. After about seventeenth months she was back in Scotland, attending nonconformist meetings and acquiring a reputation as a Presbyterian prophet before her death in 1681, still only sixteen

years old.<sup>40</sup> An explanation for the relative absence of high levels of return migration of this type lies in the fact that there was no great need for Scots to seek training or education in England. Scottish universities provided one of the highest ratios of places to population in Europe, and by the eighteenth century were enjoying a phase of rapid expansion and innovation that allowed them to provide cutting-edge teaching in disciplines like philosophy, political economy and history.<sup>41</sup> Most significantly, they were expert in providing sophisticated medical training, so that most Scots had had at least their initial education in Scotland, even if many acquired additional experience elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> John Arbuthnot, who attended Queen Anne and George of Denmark, was a graduate of Marischal College who, despite moving to England around 1691 and entering as a fellow-commoner at Oxford in 1694-6, briefly returned to Scotland in autumn 1696 to take a medical degree at St Andrews. James Mackenzie acted as attending physician at Worcester Infirmary between 1745 and 1751, publishing *The History of Health and the Art of Preserving it* (1758), having studied at Edinburgh and Aberdeen (where he gained his M.D. in 1719), as well as Leiden.<sup>43</sup> The available data on Scottish apprentices enrolling in England implies a similar conclusion, since many of them came from skilled families. In London, for example, where the occupations of 212 apprentices' fathers are recorded, 103 were sons of artisans such as merchants, glovers, tailors, smiths, weavers, masons or carpenters, with a further sixteen being the offspring of more professional men like surgeons or clerks.<sup>44</sup> There was, therefore, little reason to travel to England for training if one's intention was to return to Scotland, since an adequate skill-set could be acquired at home. Scotland was not deficient in skills, but in the economic capacity to use them, a situation that chimes with the superficially surprising dearth of evidence for return migration of the "new economics" type.

If the theoretical archetype of the self-improving return migrant is problematic in an Anglo-Scottish context, another well-discussed variety is more traceable. Long-term

emigrants often harbor, and in many cases act upon, a desire to retire to their homelands once their years of economic activity come to an end.<sup>45</sup> Fife-born Sir John Wedderburn, a medical graduate of St Andrews, spent much of his working life in England, enjoying appointments as physician to both Charles I and Charles II, and becoming a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1649. By around 1662, however, age and infirmity forced him to retire to Gosford, the East Lothian estate of his nephew, Peter Wedderburn, where he remained until his death in 1679.<sup>46</sup> A more august retirement returnee was John Ker, 1<sup>st</sup> duke of Roxburghe. Although Roxburghe, like most Scottish peers, was never solely resident in England, spending substantial amounts of time on his Scottish estates, his political career drew him to reside in London for much of the twenty years after the union of 1707. A Scottish representative peer in the House of Lords from 1707 to 1727, Roxburghe served as one of the Scottish secretaries of state after 1716, but marked himself as an opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, *de facto* prime minister from 1721, and was eventually forced out of office in 1725. With his political career over, Roxburghe returned to Scotland and lived in retirement at his recently-completed home, Floors Castle.<sup>47</sup> Yet retirement migration was not solely the preserve of elites. The town of Lanark, for example, benefited from the return of the man-midwife William Smellie, who, after moving to London in 1740 and building up a hugely successful and fashionable practice specialising in difficult births assisted by forceps, retired to Scotland in 1759. In Lanark, he prepared his case notes for publication, but more importantly he left the bulk of his library to the local school, along with £200 for the repair of the building, nine flutes, some music quartos and three pictures for the walls, all these bequests being added by means of codicils written in the final year or so of his life when he experienced a growing level of commitment to his home town.<sup>48</sup> Much more lowly in social status was Patrick Stewart, whose will was proved at Dumfries in 1759, and who worked for a time as a pedlar in England before returning home to settle near Dunblane.<sup>49</sup>

In all of these cases the initial decision to move to England and the impulse to return were freely taken, but for some migrants crossing the border in the first place was involuntary, and they naturally seized the first available opportunity of returning home. Andrew McKairter was a schoolboy in Dalmellington, Ayrshire when, in 1666, he joined the doomed Presbyterian rebellion known as the Pentland Rising. He fled to England following the rebels' defeat, spending several years learning to become a tobacco-spinner at Newcastle and London – also living for a spell in the Dutch Republic – before returning home in 1674 to secure an indemnity for his past actions and begin plying his newfound trade at Leith.<sup>50</sup> Returning exiles of this type were most numerous among nonconforming ministers, either Episcopalians in the 1640s and after 1690, or Presbyterians before 1638 and during the Restoration. A member of the earlier Presbyterian exodus, Eleazar Borthwick, initially found work in Orholm, Sweden, but by the 1630s was ministering to nonconformists in London. He returned to Scotland in 1641, becoming minister of Leuchars under the Covenanters.<sup>51</sup> Later in the century, Henry Erskine was ejected as minister of Cornhill, Northumberland in 1662, after which he returned to Scotland as an itinerant preacher. Exiled as a nonconformist in 1682, Erskine lived for a time near Carlisle, but later returned to Scotland, and after the 1689 revolution was rewarded with an appointment as minister of Chirnside.<sup>52</sup>

While Borthwick, Erskine and others like them were ultimately on the “winning” side, similar paths were trodden by some Episcopalians. William Annan accompanied his father, who was minister of Ayr at the time of the Covenanting revolution, into exile in England in 1638. There he embarked on a clerical career, becoming minister of Weston on the Green, Oxfordshire and vicar of Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire. By 1663, however, the ecclesiastical climate in Scotland was more amenable to his Anglican outlook, and he returned home as minister of Edinburgh Tolbooth. David Mitchell had an even more triumphant return. Once minister of Edinburgh's first charge, he was expelled in 1638 and

found refuge in the Dutch Republic. Returning to England as prebendary of Westminster in 1661, he was appointed bishop of Aberdeen the following year. Mitchell's successor in Aberdeen, Alexander Burnett, was another former exile. Rector of Burmarsh in Kent between 1641 and 1650, and in 1661 rector of Ivychurch, again in Kent, he came to Aberdeen in 1663, acquiring a reputation as an anti-Presbyterian hardliner and being promoted to the archbishoprics of Glasgow (1674) and St Andrews (1679).<sup>53</sup> For these religious dissidents, moving to England was an enforced necessity and returning to Scotland was desirable when the opportunity arose for all but a few.

Unlike the ministers of the Restoration era, those ministers who were returnees in the eighteenth century were not exiles. John Johnston, for example, ministered to a Presbyterian congregation at Brampton, Northumberland in the 1740s and 1750s, but returned to Scotland to serve as minister of Durisdeer in 1758.<sup>54</sup> In the most significant of the Scots-affiliated congregations south of the border, at Founder's Hall, London, several ministers behaved similarly to Johnston. Nicholas Blaikie, appointed to Founder's Hall in 1684 after almost twenty years in London, returned to Scotland, albeit briefly, as minister of Robertson in 1690; Gilbert Laurie began serving in 1686, but by 1693, after brief spells in America and Berwick-upon-Tweed, was back in Scotland as minister of Hatton; Robert Kirkland, called *c.*1712, became minister of Dalton in *c.*1715; and William Wishart came to London in 1729, but eight years later left to become simultaneously minister of New Greyfriars and principal of Edinburgh University.<sup>55</sup> Presbyterian clerics were one of the few professional groups for whom Scotland, rather than England, was unequivocally their main centre of operations, and it is unsurprising that a proportion of those who moved to work in England ended up coming back again when an opportunity arose.

Ministers were not alone in being drawn home by the prospect of material or personal advancement. James Gregory, a noted mathematician, famed for pioneering a new mirror-

based telescope that would later be developed by Isaac Newton, lived in London for two spells, between 1662 and 1664 and again in 1668, before returning to Scotland to occupy his only formal academic position, the chair of mathematics at St Andrews.<sup>56</sup> Robert St Clair, who spent some years as a research assistant to Robert Boyle, was tempted to return to Scotland in 1699 by an offer of the professorship of mathematics at the University of Glasgow (he would later become professor of Hebrew as well), claiming that he returned purely from “love to his native country,” preferring “this small encouragement [in Scotland] to a greater in South Brittain.”<sup>57</sup> Away from academia, James Wemyss was appointed master gunner by Charles I at the outbreak of the English Civil War (allegedly to the horror of many in England), later switching to serve the Parliamentary armies, and by 1648 he was back in Scotland, judging that his prospects were now best-served in the Covenanting armies. Wemyss was granted a 57-year patent for the production of light ordinance, and in 1649 was appointed general of artillery with pay of 600 merks Scots.<sup>58</sup> In line with the “structuralist” approach to return migration, the actions of these men indicated neither success nor failure in the host country, only a response to the wider context and a personal decision as to where their own interests were best served.<sup>59</sup> From Scotland’s point of view, attracting them home was not without its advantages – Wemyss, for example, brought with him cutting-edge military knowledge for use in the Covenanting war effort. Nevertheless, apart from clergy, returnee professionals were rare given the relatively few opportunities for employment.

Return migration was not always voluntary. Some Scots were compelled to retrace their steps because their lives in England proved unsuccessful, tying them into the older “neoclassical economic” approach that equates return with a failed migration experience.<sup>60</sup> In a few cases, failure occurred because migrants were caught up in the criminal system. For example, one unnamed shepherd, upon being indicted for poaching before the justices of the peace for Northumberland in 1718, threatened to flee back to Scotland rather than face the



charges.<sup>61</sup> In the same year, Peter Shaw, a servant in the household of a London surgeon, absconded with £50 of his master's money and was suspected of having "gone for Scotland" to hide.<sup>62</sup> More prosaically, the financial difficulties faced by Scottish courtiers who followed James VI to London in 1603 are well known; James Hamilton, 3<sup>rd</sup> marquis of Hamilton for example refused an invitation to attend court in 1628 on the grounds that he could not afford to live there.<sup>63</sup> This problem of living at the London court did not go away; Alexander Douglas, who was returned as MP for Orkney and Shetland in 1708, only stood after being promised by the Tory interest that he would receive a stipend of £200 per session to cover his expenses. As this expectation proved unforthcoming, Douglas rarely attended parliament and did not stand for re-election in 1713.<sup>64</sup> If England, particularly London, could be prohibitively expensive for elites, life south of the border proved just as challenging for the lower societal ranks. In 1712, a group of Scottish women, Margerry Baley, Jane Baley, Ellin Baley, Jane Moor and Elizabeth Hornson, together with their collective brood of eleven small children, petitioned the justices of the peace for Northumberland for immediate release from the jail cells in which they had been mouldering for a year. What brought this group to Northumberland is unknown, as is the reason for their incarceration (they claimed it was "onely that they are North Brittaners"), although probably they had been in search of some form of subsistence possibly because they had been abandoned by or had lost their husbands. In order to secure their liberty, they assured the justices that "upon your setting them at Liberty they are wery willing never to give Northumberland more trouble."<sup>65</sup>

Edward Hamilton, born near Glasgow, was apprenticed to an East India merchant in London in the 1690s. Soon after completing his seven-year apprenticeship, and with a newly-acquired wife and the beginnings of a family, he returned to Scotland to seek employment in Edinburgh, having been unable to secure work in London.<sup>66</sup> While Hamilton returned to Scotland because he could not find work, others suffered the disappointment of securing

positions and then losing them. William Sheels, originally from Newton, a day-laborer in Yorkshire, was lamed after he fell from a building, forcing him to beg for support, which eventually led to his being sent back home in 1742.<sup>67</sup> Employment loss of a more sensational type afflicted Archibald Grant of Monymusk. Elected MP for Aberdeenshire in 1722, Grant maintained various business dealings in London, culminating with his collusion in wildly unsuccessful speculation using the profits of the Charitable Corporation, a poor relief charity of which he was a director. The House of Commons indicted Grant for fraud in 1732; ejected from Parliament, he retreated to Scotland and spent the rest of his life tending to his estates at Monymusk, earning a reputation as one of the foremost agricultural innovators of the age.<sup>68</sup> For others, their dream of self-improvement in England proved forlorn. William Ged was an Edinburgh goldsmith who in 1725 hit upon the method of stereotype printing. Unable to secure backers in Edinburgh, Ged moved to London in 1729, seeking to take advantage of the city's greater availability of capital and expertise to develop the project in the hope that "an estate might be made of it." In the event he was hampered by poor business dealings, and returned to Edinburgh in 1733.<sup>69</sup>

It was a short step from reluctant to forced repatriation. There is some evidence of mild Scotophobia in early-modern England, particularly during points of acute political tension such as the Civil Wars, the union debates of 1702-7, the Jacobite uprisings, or the unpopular ministry of John Stuart, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Bute in 1761-2.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, Scots were rarely chased out of England on account of their Scottishness, with the exception of a forced ejection decreed by the Commonwealth regime during the Anglo-Scottish war of 1650-1.<sup>71</sup> This policy affected some migrants, among them Walter Rosse, a former soldier who had settled in Manchester around 1648, but had to return to Scotland three years later, leaving his Mancunian wife behind.<sup>72</sup> However, a comprehensive ejection of Scots was not attempted, and license to remain was often granted, for example to the Harbottle-based minister Thomas

Laurie, or to the soldier James Affleck, both in August 1650.<sup>73</sup> Most forced repatriations were more individual in character, one early example being that of Thomas Ross, erstwhile minister of Cargill who moved to Oxford in the 1610s in the hope of obtaining an academic post. While there he suffered a breakdown; he wrote a Latin thesis that he affixed to the door of St Mary's church in which he demanded "that all Scottismen audit to be shote furth of the Court of England, excepting his gracious Majestie, his sone, and ane verrie few utheris." He was arrested, sent to Scotland and tried for defaming the Scottish nation. Found guilty, he was executed in September 1618.<sup>74</sup> Less bizarrely, Scottish fugitives were sometime captured in England and sent north for trial and punishment, particularly before 1707 when a meaningful political border still existed. Such was the fate of a clutch of radical Covenanters discovered at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1684. The eight men in this cell were suspected of involvement in the Covenanter rebellion of 1679 and, in some cases, the murder of Archbishop James Sharp a year earlier, and consequently were dispatched to Scotland to face trial.<sup>75</sup>

Being forcibly returned home was most typically the fate of Scottish vagrants. English poor law legislation restricted a person's right to aid to their parish of legal abode, or "settlement." Anybody requiring relief outside this place of settlement could, under the terms of the English poor laws, be forcibly sent home, which had important implications for migrants. Acquiring settlement anywhere else was possible but was intentionally difficult, even if, in practice, local authorities were sometimes pragmatic in their application of the law. Nonetheless, the poor laws facilitated forcible repatriation of vagrants to their place of settlement, which for most Scots meant returning to Scotland.<sup>76</sup> Numerous Scots were ensnared by these terms, including Thomas Cargill, who was apprehended as a vagrant in Cuckfield, West Sussex in January 1636. After suffering the customary vagrant punishment of whipping, he was ordered back to his home parish of Strathmiglo in Fife.<sup>77</sup> More than a

century later, in 1740, John Boid was apprehended in Ravenglass after begging his way across country from Sunderland by way of Workington and Whitehaven. Boid had once been a wandering chapman selling diverse goods such as tea, brandy and pepper, but had turned to begging after losing the not insubstantial sum of £25. The justices of the peace for Cumberland sent him home to Comrie, Stirlingshire.<sup>78</sup> As an ex-pedlar, Boid overlapped with beggars since chapmen were generally regarded as little better than vagrants and indeed were explicitly defined as such under the poor laws.<sup>79</sup> John Tompson, a native of Dumfries, described himself as a chapman when he was examined as a vagrant in Ormskirk, Lancashire in 1702, a designation that did not stop him receiving a removal order.<sup>80</sup> The experiences of these men are a reminder that, for those at the lower end of the social scale, migrating to England carried risks of being deemed undesirable and forcibly returned home.

Although it is impossible to trace in the sources, this flow of deported vagrants and chapmen may have spread word within Scotland about the strictures of the English poor relief system, which, although in some ways more generous than Scotland's, was curtailed by the settlement laws. That, in turn, would help explain an apparent curiosity of the evidence. Notwithstanding some contemporary polemic and historiographical assumption, there is little empirical support for the notion that large numbers of poverty-stricken Scots migrated to England in search of alms, even during periods of acute social distress such as the famines of 1623 and the 1690s.<sup>81</sup> Possibly this absence reflected the general, if basic efficacy of Scotland's poor laws in dealing with native poverty. However, the enforced return of vagrants from England, diffusing knowledge about the limited opportunities for relief available south of the border, may have nudged would-be migrants into targeting alternative destinations, principally in northern Europe, Ireland and, by the eighteenth century, America. Forced return migration may have had a dampening impact on population exchange between Scotland and England at least among the lower ranks.

## **Capital Repatriation**

Even when Scots did not physically return home, their ongoing links with Scotland could result in the repatriation of goods and capital which provide a proxy for ongoing association with family and home, perhaps even long-term ambition to return to Scotland. The tendency towards doing so has long been noted with regard to more far-flung destinations, especially within the empire. Indeed, the scale of material repatriation amongst Scots in south Asia – particularly, of course, British India – might have affected significantly the development of Scotland.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, for Scots based in the Caribbean the intention of using West Indies' profits to purchase or improve land in Scotland was often implicit from the outset.<sup>83</sup> Such activity was not restricted to migrants within the expanding British empire. The transient Scottish community in France regularly funnelled profits back to Scotland, and some individuals made substantial investments; this was how John Clerk acquired his barony of Penicuik in the 1640s.<sup>84</sup> Analysis of testaments from the Scottish community in the Netherlands and Sweden, meanwhile, has demonstrated a striking pattern of leaving substantial bequests to relatives in Scotland, while other Dutch data suggests that wages were often partially repatriated.<sup>85</sup>

Although it is difficult to trace in the sources, some Scots followed the well-known migrant practice of sending money earned in England back to Scotland to support family members – this was probably what was being done by William Nicholson, a Scot residing in London and described in 1639 as living “vpon some small meanes he hath here, his wife and family being in Scotland.”<sup>86</sup> Perhaps more substantially, merchants who continued to maintain business interests in Scotland acted as conduits for channelling English money northwards, although in these cases capital repatriation was largely an incidental by-product of orthodox commercial activity. William Fraser's cloth purchases in the latter half of 1699,

for example, saw around £40 distributed among various merchants, mainly in Edinburgh.<sup>87</sup> On a larger scale, the woollen manufactory at Newmills, East Lothian, which was incorporated by act of the Scottish Parliament in 1693, not only made use of London-based Scottish merchants like Fraser to provide it with tools and materials, but maintained a board of partners and investors in the city. Amongst these men the most active individual, and chair of most investor meetings, was the Scots-born merchant James Foulis. In total, the company had raised £8,000 in England by early 1696 from thirty-two individual investors (who provided nearly £3,000 in loans), at least thirteen of whom – forty per cent – were London-Scots. Moreover, if the names of the remaining investors, such as Hugh Fraser, James Gray and William Hamilton, are any guide, the proportion of Scots amongst Newmills's English investors was probably a good deal higher.<sup>88</sup>

Another common means of repatriating capital was to invest wealth accumulated in England into purchasing Scottish land. John Coutts's 1644 will, for example, revealed that he was the owner of an unspecified "laird estate" in Scotland, an asset he probably purchased with money made in London commerce.<sup>89</sup> His nephew's Gosford estate to which John Wedderburn retired in the early 1660s was purchased largely using his earnings in England, as were the lands of Blackness, owned by another nephew, Alexander Wedderburn, purchase of which was facilitated by a loan of more than 25,000 merks Scots in 1652.<sup>90</sup> Sir Alexander Cumming, scion of a lairdly family, clearly desired to concentrate his land-holdings portfolio in Scotland, since in 1727 he agreed with his wife, Elizabeth, to sell her Somerset lands and replace them with estates of equivalent value north of the border.<sup>91</sup> Alexander Grant, who settled in London in 1739 after a spell as a physician in Jamaica, evolved into a successful sugar merchant and politician, choosing to invest some of his capital in several landed possessions along the Moray coast, although he was an absentee landlord preferring to reside in London or Surrey.<sup>92</sup>

In some instances, Scots moving to England already owned land in Scotland, and investment could be directed at these assets. Elites in particular began doing this in the early days of the regal union. Patrick Maule, a gentleman of James VI and I's bedchamber and later 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Panmure, used the income from his courtly career to relieve the heavily indebted Angus estates he inherited in 1606.<sup>93</sup> Similar investment strategies persisted, with an outstanding eighteenth-century example being John Cockburn. Previously a commissioner to the Scottish Parliament from Haddingtonshire, Cockburn was elected to the House of Commons in 1707, remaining there until 1741. Yet throughout the resulting long residence in England, Cockburn's passion, and the subject of much of his attention and expenditure, was his family estate at Ormiston, East Lothian. Through a long and detailed stream of letters sent to his gardener, Charles Bell, Cockburn directed Scotland's first major project in agricultural improvement, characterized by granting long leases, innovative planting strategies, land enclosure, stimulating industrial activity and building a planned village, thereby setting an example followed later in the century by other landlords – despite the fact that Cockburn himself enjoyed no long-term benefits, being forced to sell his estate in 1748. In addition to any income secured in England, for example his salary as a lord of trade (1713-17) and of the admiralty (1717-32 and 1742-4), no doubt being invested in his improving project, Cockburn's presence south of the border gave him the opportunity to provide materials, especially trees, for the improvement of Ormiston.<sup>94</sup> Though he lived primarily in the south of England for decades, Ormiston's Scottish possessions remained the consistent centre of his focus, and as such are an exemplar of the role of property in drawing back migrants and their resources.

Some Scots in England facilitated material repatriation through bequests in their wills.<sup>95</sup> Margaret Hay, dowager countess of Cassillis, lived primarily in England and wished to be buried at Middlesex, but in a will compiled in 1695 specifically to cover her English

estates, she still left £15 to John Strachen, professor of divinity at the College of Edinburgh.<sup>96</sup> Less august individuals might follow a similar route. In 1616, William Carmichell, described as a gentleman living in London but formerly of Leith, left two rings and a signet to his sister Katherine, who still lived in Scotland, in 1626.<sup>97</sup> William Watt, residing in London and described as His Majesty's tailor, used his will of 1702 to name his brother Patrick, flesher and burgess of Forfar, as his only heir.<sup>98</sup> John McComb, carpenter of Bristol, whose will was proved in 1745, left his goods and monies to his brother and sisters who, given that the will was directed to be sent "to Mr Arsable [Archibald] McComb in Brotyferry," were probably still in Scotland.<sup>99</sup> Bequests such as these reflected standard inheritance practices, but they also demonstrate that, for such individuals, living in England did not necessitate severing emotional ties with family or friends back home.

An alternative means of repatriating capital to Scotland, while simultaneously highlighting an ongoing sense of Scottish linkages, was to leave bequests to specified places or institutions, or for particular charitable purposes. An early and unusually substantial example was the Edinburgh jeweller George Heriot, who followed James VI to London shortly after the union of the crowns, dying there, fabulously wealthy, in 1624. As a monument to the "honor and due regaird whilk I have and bear to my native soyl and mother citie," he left his estate, minus certain specified bequests, to the burgh council of Edinburgh with instructions to establish what became George Heriot's Hospital, an institution for the care and education of poor boys in conscious imitation of Christ's Hospital in London.<sup>100</sup> Dr Robert Johnstoun, a borderer residing in St Anne's Blackfriars, left a comparably lavish legacy in 1639; he willed more than £3,000 for various schemes in support of poor scholars in Edinburgh, as well as £500 to build a stone bridge over the river Annan and £1,000 to establish a grammar school in Moffat.<sup>101</sup> The burgh of Aberdeen benefited from the testament of its former provost, Thomas Mitchell, who was probably not resident in England but whose



will, proved there in 1721, was consciously crafted so as to funnel as much money as possible from his English and international business dealings back to Scotland. Among his bequests, he left 1,000 merks Scots to the guild brethren's hospital and 500 merks Scots to Aberdeen kirk session for the relief of the poor.<sup>102</sup> A legacy of a slightly different type was left by the Quaker, Elizabeth Dickson, resident in London but probably with Scottish ancestry. Her will of 1701 was designed to assist in the spread of Quakerism in Scotland, to which end she left nearly £200 to be invested in land in Edinburgh and Aberdeenshire for the support of travelling Friends, with an additional £5 gifted to hire a convenient meeting room in Montrose.<sup>103</sup>

However, the ubiquity of this repatriation activity should not be exaggerated. Many Scots chose to invest during their lives in English, rather than Scottish property. The Earl of Dunbar provided an early, well-known example; James VI harbored ambitions of making him the premier crown agent on both sides of the eastern Marches, as part of which he was made Baron Hume of Berwick and acquired substantial properties in and around that town. This cross-border property empire did not long survive Dunbar's death; the castle and house were sold by his daughter, Anna, to a consortium of London gentlemen in 1614.<sup>104</sup> Dunbar's transient estate-building presaged a continuing trend among Anglo-Scottish nobles (although admittedly always a minority) for purchasing English land, but this interest also spread more widely.<sup>105</sup> At least two Scots, David Lyndsay in 1603 and George Murray in 1605, were granted denizations by James VI for the specific purposes of acquiring landholding rights in England, while a third, John Adams, gained his from Charles I in 1631 expressly in order to buy property in Essex.<sup>106</sup> Mathew Logan, a Scot described only as a gentleman, bought a tenement of land near the parish church of Berwick in 1605.<sup>107</sup> This interest persisted, and for wealthy Scots investing in profitable English property became relatively common. Archibald Hay, a successful sugar merchant with plantations in Barbados and Antigua, bought the estate

of Stockley Park in Staffordshire, which he ordered in his will of 1651 to be sold to provide monetary legacies totalling more than £1,500 for various friends and family -members.<sup>108</sup> David Mitchell, born poor but rising through the naval ranks to become Lord High Admiral under Queen Anne, used his wealth to acquire private stables in Piccadilly, as well as the manor of Popes in Hertfordshire, where he lived out his retirement prior to dying in 1710.<sup>109</sup> Further north, Monymusk, although best known as an avid improver of his Scottish estates, held a modest portfolio of land in England, mainly acquired through his marriage to the English heiress Anne Potts, which included a four-acre estate at Castleton in Derbyshire and two farms at Partington in Cheshire (which he sold in 1733 to a Lancashire yeoman for more than £800), as well as stakes in various Welsh and Derbyshire mining concerns.<sup>110</sup>

Such behavior was not the sole preserve of the social elite. Simon Johnson, a clerk from Annan, purchased a water mill called Waverton in Cumberland, which he acquired in 1630 alongside a mansion house, barn, garden and an acre of arable land.<sup>111</sup> Matthew Langdaile, a mariner in Scarborough, owned a small parcel of land in the town before selling it to Ralph Taylor, a local tanner, in 1633.<sup>112</sup> The following year, William Anderson and his namesake son, an apprentice in Berwick, co-bought a tenement of land in the town's Castlegate area. By this point, William younger had been an apprentice in Berwick for about a year – here was a family apparently committed to making a new life on the south side of the Tweed.<sup>113</sup> Elsewhere in England, Margaret Robson, of “Roul” in Scotland, held the Woodhouse estate in Simonburn, Northumberland, which she transferred to James Robson – apparently no relation – in 1668.<sup>114</sup> Simonburn parish, for reasons that are not clear, enjoyed persistent Scottish interest; one Walter Scott held lands there, at Stokoe, in the 1730s and 1740s, which he leased in 1736 to a Roxburghshire man, Henry Elliott.<sup>115</sup> William Fraser's possession of Pitcalzean was complemented by a not insignificant portfolio of London houses, including in Red Lion Fields, Holborn, Stepney, Princes Street and Shoemaker Row,

which together yielded annual rent of nearly £40 in the early eighteenth century.<sup>116</sup> These Scots did not feel any overwhelming pressure to invest their money in Scottish assets. Instead, their willingness to buy lands in England suggests that, while migration might have the effect of shifting capital across the border, the decision to do so was probably a highly personal one, not reflective of any general or widely-shared repatriation strategy.

This point is echoed in testament data, which demonstrates that some Scots chose to leave bequests to their new communities in England, having made the emotional switch in identity from the land of their birth to their new home. Alongside the bequest to his sister, the aforementioned William Carmichell bequeathed twenty shillings to the poor of his parish of residence, St Bartholomew the Great, as well as providing for any outstanding assets to go to his friend John Cornwallis in Rood Lane.<sup>117</sup> James Kynnier, as we have seen, kept a good deal of his money in London by willing it to the Royal Scottish Corporation, and he left dozens of smaller legacies to England-based individuals and to the Weavers' Company of London.<sup>118</sup> In 1711, William Kent, another mariner, declared that his possessions would go to the Stepney shipwright William Hinson and his wife Mary.<sup>119</sup> Archibald Hyndman, a surgeon in Bristol, left all his possessions to William Calder, a pewterer in Bristol, in 1744.<sup>120</sup> Even when Scotland-based beneficiaries predominated, some capital might still be diverted elsewhere. Thus, sailor Mungo Wood, whose main heirs under his 1709 will were three siblings in Leith, left a legacy to Duncan Gillies, a fellow sailor on board the ship *Smyrna*.<sup>121</sup> Scots in England, therefore, were not especially motivated to transfer their wealth back north after their deaths, and while family and institutions in Scotland benefited from legacies, so did individuals and communities in England.<sup>122</sup> The available evidence is fragmentary, making it difficult to gain a comprehensive picture, or to trace developments in repatriation strategies over time. Nonetheless, it seems clear that there was no Scottish cartel determinedly funnelling English wealth back across the border. Furthermore, the evidence

does not help to build a picture of why one migrant sent cash back to Scotland and another did not, and in the absence of any perceptible pattern we are left with a variety of individual decisions.

## **Conclusion**

On the basis of discoverable evidence it appears that returnees were a small minority of those Scots who migrated to England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This finding is surprising given the assumptions often made about Anglo-Scottish animosity and the strength of Scottish identity. Insofar as there was modest return migration, it is possible to identify six distinct categories of returnee, mapping broadly onto the theoretical literature. Firstly there were “circular” migrants who regularly travelled between Scotland and England, especially between south-east Scotland and north-eastern England, either as seasonal or itinerant workers, or as wealthier individuals retaining a home on both sides of the border. This pattern could conceivably be mapped onto either the “transnational” or “cross-border social networking” theories of return migration, although the weakness of ethnic distinctions between Scotland and England tends to support application of the latter model. Secondly, there were the self-improving migrants expected under the “new economics of labor migration” paradigm, looking to gain capital or skills in England so as to better their lives in Scotland, although the importance of this group was limited. The third category consisted of retirees, the fourth category included returning exiles, and the fifth category incorporated those coming home in response to economic, usually employment opportunities – this latter category representing an example of the “structuralist” theory of returns. The sixth and final type of return migrant, tying into the “neoclassical economic” understanding, was the reluctant returnee, referring to people driven or forced to leave England because their migration experience had failed. The experience of Scottish returns, therefore, offers

empirical support for each of the main theoretical positions on return migration, and it is difficult to conclude that any one of them most fully accounts for the Scottish data. Indeed, this six-part typology, which is rather more sprawling than earlier frameworks tending to be derived from longer-distance migration, demonstrates that the Scots who returned from England were a diverse group in terms of motivation but also geographic origin and social status, whose rationale for coming home varied widely. This offers a reminder that return migration was often a highly individualistic affair, making it is necessary to utilize a broad array of theoretical and conceptual tools in order fully to understand it. It also suggests that, in a geographically contained or (relatively) culturally homogenous context, strategies and experiences of return might be rather more multifarious than those observed in transoceanic migration.

Yet while the community of return migrants was diverse, it represented only a modest proportion of Scots who migrated to England. Save for seasonal migration, chiefly to and from Newcastle, there was no strong tradition of return movement, with most Scots choosing instead to remain south of the border for life. A similarly equivocal pattern surrounds the repatriation of capital. Some Scottish testators dispatched their wealth back to individuals or institutions in Scotland, but they were just as content for it to remain in England; no overwhelming testamentary flow of money from south to north can be detected. Nor did Scots necessarily rush to invest newly-acquired money north of the border. Some did, of course, especially if they had pre-existing estates in need of funds, but many others happily invested in England instead, loosening their emotional attachment to Scotland over time.

Nevertheless, if return migration seems to have been limited, it took place. The classic theoretical explanation of how this process might impact the origin country can be summarized as “brain gain,” meaning that returning Scots brought back valuable skills of benefit to the economy.<sup>123</sup> However, that process was not especially important, largely

because Scotland's primary deficiency was not in its skill-base, but in its capacity to use the human capital it produced. As a result, skilled Scots were more likely to remain in England where there were greater economic opportunities than to return home, save at retirement, or in cases of personal failure – a process facilitated by the relative ease of Scottish assimilation into English society. Similarly, the notion that return migrants could provide injections of English capital – something Scotland needed – is rendered less plausible by the tendency of many successful Scots to remain south of the border, not to mention migrants' varying attitudes about repatriating capital. In any case, capital inflow could probably be achieved more efficiently by trading activity, either directly with England or, as in the example of the Glasgow tobacco trade, with the burgeoning empire.<sup>124</sup>

In sum, minority of Scottish migrants chose to return to their homeland after stints in England and it is difficult to detect in their individual decisions any meaningful trends. This is superficially surprising, given current academic interest in the continuing ties between migrants and their ancestral homes, not to mention well-established perceptions, both academic and popular, about the persistence of “old country” identification among Scottish emigrants.<sup>125</sup> From another perspective, however, the absence of a large-scale and materially or culturally significant tradition of Scottish return migration from England is telling, for it casts light on the nature of Anglo-Scottish integration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, by extension, on the making of Great Britain. Scots, in general, did not go to England as a temporary exercise in self-betterment before returning home to exploit their new wealth or skills. Rather, whatever the original intention of the individual migrant, the general pattern was to settle in England permanently, retracing their steps only in response to pressing push or pull factors. They could do this because England, and increasingly London, provided these people with a better lifestyle while not placing significant barriers in the way of their integration. That process has implications for understanding the emergent British

identity of the early modern period. Lacking precise parameters throughout the seventeenth century, and therefore generating a range of different interpretations in both Scotland and England, the idea of Britain that emerged in the eighteenth century emphasized a shared project rooted in commerce, Protestantism, Francophobia and empire, but which was flexible enough to accommodate differing cultural heritages throughout the British Isles.<sup>126</sup> The comparative rareness of Scottish return migration, combined with the variety of experiences and the absence of typicality, underlines the malleability of early modern “Britishness,” which was capable of incorporating Scots in England irrespective of their personal identity, whether as Scots, Britons or even English. England drew Scots in and permitted them space to assimilate and flourish more or less as they saw fit. Many, as a result, were sufficiently comfortable in England to shed their Scottishness, feeling little imperative to partake in return migration, and in rejecting this option they spoke to the peculiar mixture of openness and Anglo-centrism that characterized the emergent British union.

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<sup>1</sup> *St James's Chronicle*, issue 251, 16-19 October 1762.

<sup>2</sup> English attitudes towards Scotland are assessed in-depth in S.K. Waurechen, “Talking Scots: English Perceptions of the Scots during the Regal Union” (Queen’s University, Kingston, PhD thesis, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012), 90.

<sup>4</sup> Keith M. Brown, “A Land of Opportunity? The Assimilation of Elite and Skilled Scottish Migrants in England, 1603-c.1762,” working paper.

<sup>5</sup> John Percival, “Charting the Waters: Return Migration in Later Life” in J. Percival, ed., *Return Migration in Later Life: International Perspectives* (Bristol, 2013), 1-19, 2-5.

<sup>6</sup> Russell King, “Generalizations from the History of Return Migration” in Bimal Ghosh, ed., *Return Migration: Journey of Hope or Despair?* (Geneva, 2000), 7-55 which refines George Gmelch, “Return Migration,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9 (1980): 135-159, 137-136. And for an early case study that shaped the discussion see Frank P. Cerase, “Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of

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Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy,” *International Migration Review*, 8:2 (1974): 245-262.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Pierre Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited,” *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 6:2 (2004): 253-279.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas S. Massey, “Social Structures, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration,” *Population Index* 56:1 (1990): 3-26.

<sup>9</sup> Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford, 2010), 306-337.

<sup>10</sup> A useful review of return migration literature from a Scottish perspective is provided in Mario Varricchio, “Introduction: The other side of leaving” in Mario Varricchio, ed., *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecomings from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2012), 1-33, 7-18.

<sup>11</sup> David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987); Andrew Delbano, “Looking Homeward, Going Home: The Lure of England for the Founders of New England,” *New England Quarterly* 59:3 (1986): 358-386; Tom M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire 1600-1815* (London, 2003), 98, 227-230; David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA, 1994); Alexia Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie, 1593-1875: The Impact of Return Migration on an Aberdeenshire Parish” in Marjory Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005), 216-232, 221-225; Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820* (Manchester, 2005); Alan L. Kerras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800* (Ithaca, 1992); Ned Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton, 1985), 9-14, 114-20; Ned C. Landsman, “Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas” in Ned C. Landsman, ed., *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* (Lewisburg and London, 2001), 15-35, 18-25; George McGilvary, “Return of the Scottish nabob” in Varricchio, *Back to Caledonia*, 90-108; Andrew Mackillop, “The Highlands and the Returning Nabob: Sir Hector Munro of Novar, 1760-1807” in Harper, *Emigrant Homecomings*, 233-262; T.C. Smout, Ned C. Landsman and Tom M. Devine, “Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” in



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Nicholas Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1994), 76-112, 90-100.

<sup>12</sup> Research has demonstrated that second- or even third-generation migrants in Europe might be found returning to Scotland, Steve Murdoch, “Children of the Diaspora: The ‘Homecoming’ of the Second-Generation Scot in the Seventeenth Century” in Harper, *Emigrant Homecomings*, 55-76.

<sup>13</sup> Peter P. Bajer, *Scots in the Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (Leiden, 2012); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690: ‘Shaken Together in a Bag of Affliction’* (East Linton, 2004), especially 178-206; Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie,” 218-21; Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden, 2006), 135-43; Siobhan Talbott, “If it please God, I come home’: Scottish Return Migration from France in the Long Seventeenth Century” in Varricchio, *Back to Caledonia*, 54-72; Siobhan Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations* (London, 2014); Kathrin Zickermann, “Scottish Return Migration from Northwest Germany during the Early Modern Period” in Varricchio, *Back to Caledonia*, 73-90; Kathrin Zickermann, *Across the German Sea: Early Modern Scottish Connections with the Wider Elbe-Weser Region* (Leiden, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Steve Murdoch, “Scotland, Europe and the English ‘Missing Link’,” *History Compass* 5:3 (2007): 890-913.

<sup>15</sup> Tom M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), 3-30.

<sup>16</sup> Calvin’s case centred on the rights of Robert Calvin, born in Scotland after 1603, to inherit property in England. The Exchequer Chamber’s decision to rule in Calvin’s favour implicitly recognised Scots born after the regal union as natural subject of the English crown. Polly J. Price, “Natural Law and Birthright Citizenship in *Calvin’s Case* (1608),” *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 9:1 (1997): 74-146.

<sup>17</sup> George J. Borjas and Bernt Bratsberg, “Who Leaves? The Outmigration of the Foreign-Born,” *Review of Economics and Statistics* 78:1 (1996): 165-76.

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- <sup>18</sup> Loizou Efstratios, Michailidis Anastasios and Karasavvoglou Anastasios, ‘Return Migration: Evidence from a Reception Country with a Short Migration History’, *European Urban and Regional Studies* 21:2 (2012): 161-74.
- <sup>19</sup> “E.B.,” *A Description of Scotland and its Inhabitants* (London, 1705), 4.
- <sup>20</sup> National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh (NRS), Small collections, GD1/179/46.
- <sup>21</sup> Tyne and Wear Archives (TWA), Papers concerning the Keelmen’s riot, 1710-11, 394/3.
- <sup>22</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Farther Case Relating to the Poor Keel-men of Newcastle* (1712); Joseph M. Fewster, *The Keelmen of Tyneside: Labour Organisation and Conflict in the North-East Coal Industry, 1600-1830* (Woodbridge, 2011), 177.
- <sup>23</sup> Florin Vadean and Matloob Piracha, “Circular Migration or Permanent Return? What Determines Different Forms of Migration?” in Gil S. Epstein and Ira N. Gang, eds., *Migration and Culture* (Bingley, 2010), 467-95, 471.
- <sup>24</sup> Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre, Hawick, Galashiels Kirk Session Minutes, 1692-1710, CH1/1152/1, ff.6v-7r.
- <sup>25</sup> North Riding of Yorkshire Record Office (NRYRO), Quarter Sessions Bundles, QSB/1714/75-76.
- <sup>26</sup> NRS, Dumfries Commissary Court, CC5/6/6/28; and for other examples in different decades see NRS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/67/5, CC8/8/79/560, CC8/8/80/300, CC8/8/93/163; NRS, Glasgow Commissary Court, CC9/7/29/285, CC9/7/44/572, CC9/7/63/10.
- <sup>27</sup> Maurice Lee, *Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I* (Urbana, 1980), 61-111.
- <sup>28</sup> Raymond C. Paterson, *King Lauderdale: The Corruption of Power* (Edinburgh, 2003).
- <sup>29</sup> Roger L. Emerson, *An Enlightened Duke: The Life of Archibald Campbell (1682–1761), Earl of Ilay, 3rd Duke of Argyll* (Kilkerran, 2013), 245.
- <sup>30</sup> John Ingamells, “Ramsay, Allan, of Kinkell (1713–1784)” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23073>, accessed 6 Oct 2015].
- <sup>31</sup> NRS, Business Journal of William Fraser, 1700-1711, CS96/524, 1-2.

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- <sup>32</sup> Stana Nenadic, "Military Men, Business Men and the 'Business' of Patronage in Eighteenth-Century London" in Stana Nenadic, ed., *Scotland in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Cranbury, 2010), 229-52, 240-6.
- <sup>33</sup> Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration," 255-7.
- <sup>34</sup> The National Archives (TNA), Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Wills, Prob 11/545/103; Barry Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1963), 351-7. As here, all sums of money are in Sterling unless otherwise stated.
- <sup>35</sup> TNA, Prob 11/375/329; Justine Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, A London Charity, 1603-2003* (East Linton, 2003), 33-5
- <sup>36</sup> R.H. Couchman (ed.), *The Parish Registers of Tynemouth*, 2 vols (North and South Shields, 1910), i, 268
- <sup>37</sup> For the most recent biography of Mansfield, see Norman S. Poser, *Lord Mansfield: Justice in the Age of Reason* (Montreal and Kingston, 2013). Discussion of other Scottish lawyers in London can be found in John Finlay, "Scots lawyers and House of Lords appeals in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Legal History* 32:3 (2011): 249-77.
- <sup>38</sup> TWA, Company of Smiths: Apprentice indentures, 1600-1877, GU.SM/36/1.
- <sup>39</sup> Christian Dustmann, Itzhak Fadlon and Yoram Weiss, "Return Migration, Human Capital Accumulation and the Brain Drain," *Journal of Development Economics* 95 (2011): 58-67; Esther Mijers, "Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680-1730" in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005), 301-26.
- <sup>40</sup> Anonymous, *The Life of Emelia Geddie, Daughter of John Geddie, of Hiltoun in Falkland* (Edinburgh, 1750); John Brown, *The Young Christian, or, The Pleasentness of Early Piety Exemplified* (Glasgow, 1782), 5-28; Robert Mylne, 'Memoir of John Geddie' in J. Maidment, ed., *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club* (Edinburgh, 1837), 325-51, 345-9.
- <sup>41</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 77-9.

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<sup>42</sup> Christopher Lawrence, “The shaping of Things to Come: Scottish Medical Education 1700–1939,” *Medical Education* 40:3 (2006): 212-8, 213-5.

<sup>43</sup> George A. Aitken, *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians* (Oxford, 1892), 8-19; Robert W. Innes Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leiden* (Edinburgh and London, 1932), 148.

<sup>44</sup> Apprenticeship data is derived from D.F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1641-1700* (Oxford, 1974); Cliff Webb, ed., *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, 48 vols (London, 1996-2008); *Records of London’s Livery Companies Online* ([www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org)); Tim Hitchcock, et al, eds., *The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674-1913* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org)).

<sup>45</sup> See Percival, “Charting the waters.”

<sup>46</sup> William Munk, ed., *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2 vols (London, 1878), i, 251.

<sup>47</sup> John M. Simpson, “Ker, John, First Duke of Roxburghe (c.1680–1741),” *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15450>, accessed 13 Oct 2015].

<sup>48</sup> Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660-1770* (London, 1995), 123-31; John Glaister, *Dr William Smellie and his Contemporaries: A Contribution to the History of Midwifery in the Eighteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1894), 293-7, also 323-8, where Smellie’s will is reproduced verbatim.

<sup>49</sup> NRS, CC6/5/26/259.

<sup>50</sup> Peter H. Brown, et al, eds., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Third Series, 1661-1691*, 16 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-1970), iv, 162-3.

<sup>51</sup> Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915–28), v, 221.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 4 vols (1828-40), iii, 403-404; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, ii, 34.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 59, vii, 327-8 and at 331.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 313.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 140, ii, 52, 201, iii, 323; London Metropolitan Archives, , Scots Church, London Wall, 1689-1868, CLC/182, ff. 258-67. See also George G. Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London* (Oxford, 1979).

<sup>56</sup> Anonymous, *Biographica Britannica: Or, the Lives of the Most eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1757), 2355-65.

<sup>57</sup> Norfolk Record Office, Kelton-Cremer Papers, WKC 7/101/7.

<sup>58</sup> Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1807), ii, 747; Keith M. Brown *et al*, eds., *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews, 2007-2015), [www.rps.ac.uk](http://www.rps.ac.uk) (RPS), 1648/3/48, 1649/5/551 and at 1649/5/347. Captured and imprisoned by Cromwell, Wemyss enjoyed a second period of success in England following the restoration of Charles II, being reinstated as master-gunner and holding a patent for manufacturing light ordinance before retiring to Scotland by 1666. Mary A.E. Green *et al* (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685*, 28 vols (London, 1860-1947) (CSPDC), iii, 94, vi, 63, viii, 103 and at 200.

<sup>59</sup> Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration," at 258.

<sup>60</sup> Michael P. Todaro, "A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," *American Economic Review* 59:1 (1969): 138-48.

<sup>61</sup> Northumberland Archives (NA), Quarter Session Petitions, QSB/49.

<sup>62</sup> *Evening Post*, issue 1405, 2-5 August 1718.

<sup>63</sup> NRS, Papers of the Hamilton Family, Dukes of Hamilton, GD406/1/97. On the costs of court attendance for nobles more generally, see Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004), 87-89.

<sup>64</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, 8 vols (1891-1907), v, 53; Davod Wilkinson, 'Douglas, Sir Alexander (d. 1718) of Egilsay, Orkney' in D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks and S. Handley, eds., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>65</sup> NA, QSB/37.

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<sup>66</sup> Lancashire Archives (LA), Quarter Session Petitions, QSP/1371/11. Edward and his wife, Mary, gave conflicting accounts of their lives together; he claimed they married in London and lived there for several years, while she swore that their nuptials took place after his return to Scotland.

<sup>67</sup> North Yorkshire County Record Office, Register of Vagrants, QDV

<sup>68</sup> A.J.G. Cummings, "The Business Affairs of an Eighteenth Century Lowland Laird: Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, 1696-1778" in Tom M. Devine, ed., *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh, 1994), 43-61.

<sup>69</sup> [John Nichols, ed.], *Biographical Memoirs of William Ged* (London, 1781). Quotation at 1.

<sup>70</sup> Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2009), 466; Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), 170-171; Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 211; Adam Rounce, "'Stuarts without End': Wilkes, Churchill and Anti-Scottishness," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29:3 (2005): 20-43; Karl W. Schweizer, "English Xenophobia in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Case of Lord Bute," *Scottish Tradition* 22 (1997): 6-26; Christopher A. Whatley and Derek Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2007), 212-214.

<sup>71</sup> Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 3 vols (London, 1911), ii, 406.

<sup>72</sup> LA, QSP/52/14.

<sup>73</sup> Mary A.E. Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660*, 13 vols (London, 1875-1886), ii, 281, 295.

<sup>74</sup> Robert Pitcairn, ed., *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland from AD MCCCCLXXXVIII AD MDCXXIV*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1833), iii, 449-454.

<sup>75</sup> *CSPDC*, xxvii, 154-155, 160-163, 178, 188, 216.

<sup>76</sup> Peter Clark, "Migration in England during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Past and Present* 83 (1979): 57-90, reprinted in *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* ed. Peter Clark and David Souden (London, 1987), 213-252, 238-242; Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1988), 138-148, 188-200; Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (Basingstoke, 2000), 57-62; Steven King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*,

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1700-1850: A Regional Perspective (Manchester, 2000); Keith D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), 85-86.

<sup>77</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Poor Law Records, Par/301/7/2, f.8.

<sup>78</sup> Cumbria Archive Service (CA), Quarter Session Petitions, Q/11/1/199/29.

<sup>79</sup> Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclathing or Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984), 8.

<sup>80</sup> LA, Quarter Session Petitions, QSP/876/6.

<sup>81</sup> K. Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The 'Ill Years' of the 1690s* (Edinburgh, 2010), 172-3.

<sup>82</sup> McGilvary, "Return of the Scottish nabob," 104.

<sup>83</sup> Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 196-204.

<sup>84</sup> Talbott, "'If it please God, I come home'," 65

<sup>85</sup> Murdoch, "Repatriation of capital"; Murdoch, *Network North*, 228-240.

<sup>86</sup> TNA, State Papers Domestic: Charles I, SP16/418, f.94.

<sup>87</sup> NRS, CS96/524, 2.

<sup>88</sup> RPS, 1690/4/110; NRS, CS96/524; NRS, Newmills Woollen Manufactory: Sederunt Book, 1694-1701, RH15/102/1.

<sup>89</sup> NRS, CC8/8/108/417.

<sup>90</sup> Alexander Wedderburn, *The Wedderburn Book*, 2 vols (1898), ii, 104.

<sup>91</sup> NRS, Duff Family of Fetteresso, GD105/317.

<sup>92</sup> David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 48-59.

<sup>93</sup> Keith M. Brown, "The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization, and the Court," *Historical Journal* 36:3 (1993): 543-76, 557, 563-564.

<sup>94</sup> James Collville, ed., *Letters of John Cockburn of Ormistoun to his Gardener, 1727-1744* (Edinburgh, 1904), 5, 55, 57, 70; Michael Fry, *A Higher World: Scotland 1707-1815* (Edinburgh, 2014), 10-11; Thomas H. Cockburn-Hood, *The House of Cockburn of that Ilk and the Cadets Thereof* (Edinburgh, 1888), 157-158.

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<sup>95</sup> The testaments discussed below form part of a sample that includes all those wills registered at the Consistory Court of Canterbury and at Scottish Commissary Courts where it can be established with certainty that the testator was both Scottish and resident in England at the time of the will's creation.

<sup>96</sup> NRS, GD25/9/79. She also left £15 to the College's former principal, Alexander Monro, by then resident in London.

<sup>97</sup> TNA, Prob 11/148.

<sup>98</sup> NRS, CC8/8/81/365.

<sup>99</sup> Bristol Record Office (BRO), Mangotsfield Wills, Transcripts, 1613-1671, Wills 1744, 49b.

<sup>100</sup> NRS, Papers of the Earls of Morton, GD150/3019.

<sup>101</sup> NRS, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, GD45/24/3.

<sup>102</sup> TNA, Prob 11/550.

<sup>103</sup> Friends House, London, Richard H. Field, "Glimpses of early Friends in Scotland," Acc. 2361, 48.

<sup>104</sup> Berwick Record Office (BO), Berwick Enrolments, BBA/B6/1, ff.299v-303r.

<sup>105</sup> Brown, "Scottish Aristocracy," at 560-562; Keith M. Brown, "The Origins of a British Aristocracy: Integration and its Limitation before the Treaty of Union" in Steve G. Ellis and Sarah Barber, eds., *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London, 1995), 222-49.

<sup>106</sup> William A. Shaw, ed., *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England 1603-1700*, 2 vols (Lymington, 1911-1923), i, 1, 9, 46.

<sup>107</sup> BO, Berwick Enrolments, BBA/B6/1, ff.253r-254r.

<sup>108</sup> NRS, Papers of the Hay Family of Haystoun, 1507-1911, GD34/683.

<sup>109</sup> Peter Le Neve, *Le Neve's Pedigree of the Knights made by King Charles II, King James II, King William III and Queen Mary, King William Alone, and Queen Anne* (London, 1873) ed. G.M. Marshall, 461-2; TNA, Prob 11/515/368.

<sup>110</sup> Archibald Grant, *A True and Exact Particular Inventory of All and Singular the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, Debts and Personal Estate whatsoever Which I Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in the County of Aberdeen in North-Britain, Baronet, (To the Best of My Knowledge, Remembrance and Belief) was Seized or Possessed of or Intitled unto in My Own Right,*



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*and Which Any Other Person or Persons Was or Were Seized or Possessed of, in Trust to Me, or to, or for My Life and Benefit, Upon the First Day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty* (London, 1732), 6, 8-9; NRS, Grant of Monymusk Papers, GD345/827, item 2.

<sup>111</sup> CA, Carlisle, DX 109/4.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Y. Ashcroft, ed., *Scarborough Records 1600-1640: A Calendar* (Northallerton, 1993), 375.

<sup>113</sup> BO, Berwick Enrolments, BBA/B6/1, f.343r and at f.366r.

<sup>114</sup> NA, Swinburne Estate Records, ZWS/48/17.

<sup>115</sup> NA, Northumberland Deeds, SANT/DEE/1/26/55, 60, 63, 69, 71, 72.

<sup>116</sup> NRS, CS96/524, 2.

<sup>117</sup> TNA, Prob 11/148.

<sup>118</sup> TNA, Prob 11/375/329. Some of these smaller grants may have ended up in Scotland, but Kynnier's only unquestionably Scottish legacy was £10 left to his friend Richard Lowthian in Edinburgh.

<sup>119</sup> TNA, Prob 11/526/211.

<sup>120</sup> BRO, Wills 1744, 43.

<sup>121</sup> TNA, Prob 11/512/414.

<sup>122</sup> Of course, in some cases the beneficiaries might themselves have been fellow Scots, but this does not change the fact that no capital repatriation was taking place.

<sup>123</sup> Dustmann, *et al*, "Return Migration, Human Capital Accumulation and the Brain Drain."

<sup>124</sup> T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963); Tom M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, 1740-1780* (Edinburgh, 1975).

<sup>125</sup> Steven Vertovec, "Transnationalism and identity," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27:4 (2001): 573-82, 578.

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<sup>126</sup> Jenny Wormald, “James VI, James I and the Identity of Britain” in Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, eds., *The British Problem, c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke, 1996), 148-171; Allan I. Macinnes, *The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London, 2012).