University of Dundee

Highlanders and the City

Kennedy, Allan

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Highlanders and the City: Migration, Segmentation, and the Image of the Highlander in Early Modern London, 1603-*c*.1750

Introduction

Between 1760 and 1762, James Macpherson published a series of purported translations from Scots Gaelic into English of several poems, including an epic on Fingal, by a third-century bard called ‘Ossian’. Macpherson’s never-substantiated claim to have rediscovered these masterpieces of Celtic literature was immediately challenged by several observers who claimed he had written them himself. These accusations did not stop the Ossianic poems becoming international sensations, being translated into multiple languages and counting so august a figure as Napoleon among their admirers. Macpherson himself was briefly the toast of literate society across Britain, received by the London intelligentsia, in the words of James Boswell, as ‘a man of great genius and an honest Scotch Highlander’.[1] Although the sceptical backlash, led above all by Boswell’s mentor, Samuel Johnson, would destroy Macpherson’s reputation in London by the end of the eighteenth century,[2] his moment of glory fits within a wider process of reputational evolution that would see Scottish Highlanders, previously reviled as backward, barely-civilised ‘others’ within the British polity, transformed by the Victorian period into romantic epitomes of heroic, loyalist Britishness.[3] More immediately, Macpherson’s reception demonstrated that Londoners were prepared to accept, and indeed even to celebrate the presence in their city of visitors and settlers from the Highlands. But Macpherson was not the first Highlander to make it to London. As we will see, many others made the trip, and some, unlike Macpherson, remained in the capital to build new lives as migrants.

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[1] F.A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell’s London Journal 1762-1763* (Edinburgh, 1991), 73.

[2] For a useful introduction to the Ossian controversy, see W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh, 1998), 227-49.

[3] R. Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1820* (East Linton, 1995)

Recognising that individuals from the very periphery of early modern Britain could and did migrate to its core aligns with modern historiography's comprehensive debunking of any notion that pre-modern Britain was a fundamentally stationary society.[4] Scottish historians have taken this lesson to heart, generating in a rich body of migration research that has shed light not only on internal mobility, but also on the Scots' extensive experience of emigration to Europe and, increasingly, the New World.[5] England, however, remains largely overlooked as a migrant destination. Explanations for this lacuna are both methodological (the absence of obvious sources like passenger lists or alien registers) and conceptual (did Anglo-Scottish movement after 1603 represent emigration, migration, or some unique half-way-house?), but there can be little doubt that, in overlooking England, and in particular London, historians risk missing one of the central components of the Scottish diaspora – as well as, potentially, an important dynamic in the emergence of a coherent 'British' polity and identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[6] All of this holds true for Highland migrants in particular; substantial studies exist on Highlanders on the Continent and in the American colonies, but virtually nothing is known about the Highlander south of the border. In analysing the extent and nature of the Highland community in London, whose wealth of surviving records makes such reconstruction more viable than for much of the rest of England, this article seeks to address that deficiency, thereby helping establish how far appreciation of Highlanders' movement can add texture to our understanding of Scottish emigration. It will also, of course, shed light on the strength of London's migratory pull.

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[4] I.D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830* (Basingstoke and London, 2000), 5.

[5] The literature on Scottish migration to Europe is now quite extensive, but for a useful introduction see A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005). Research on New World migration is synthesised in T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London, 2003).

[6] S. Murdoch, 'Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link'', *History Compass*, 5:3 (2007), 890-913.

Empirical studies of early modern migration can draw upon a mature body of sociological theory to help ground their conclusions and fill in interpretive gaps, particularly in terms of migrants' fate upon reaching their new homelands.[7] In recent years, these frameworks have grown increasingly interested in the multifariousness of integration experiences. Of particular conceptual importance is the theory of 'segmented assimilation', which seeks to account for observable granulation within migrant communities by focusing on structural factors. Differences such as access to education and the attainability of work can, especially over the course of several generations, lead to entrenched divisions within a co-ethnic community, with some (usually the more advantaged) assimilating, and others (usually the poor or marginal) remaining distinct or merging into a native underclass.[8] Implicit within segmentation theory is the assumption that some migrants display inherently high 'mobility capital' – that is, a 'bundle' of 'assets, competences, or dispositions' pushing them both to move in the first place, and to assimilate successfully thereafter – while others do no.[9] London Highlanders offer an opportunity for applying an historical test to these theoretical frameworks. Originating from a clearly distinct (if imprecisely demarcated) periphery of Scotland, and moreover one whose remoteness, relative poverty and cultural distinctiveness bequeathed exactly the sorts of deficiencies in 'mobility capital' likely to militate against successful migration, these individuals formed an identifiable sub-group within the wider Scottish diaspora. Assessing their experiences in comparison to Scottish norms will help map out the opportunities for, and limitation on, migrant integration in early modern Britain. At the same time, uncovering how far Highlanders presented as distinct once they arrived in London, and tracing the implications of this, will shed light on the nature of Scottish society, and more precisely on the extent of Highland/Lowland divergence in the early modern period.

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[7] For an example of how empiricism and theory can be integrated in the context of Scottish migration, see K.M. Brown and A. Kennedy, 'Becoming English: The Monro Family and Scottish Assimilation in Early Modern England', *Cultural and Social History*, 16:2 (2019), 125-44.

[8] A. Portes and M. Zhou, 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 530 (1993), 74-96; M. Zhou, 'Segmented assimilation: issues, controversies, and recent research on the New second Generation', *International Migration Review*, 31 (1997), 975-1008; A. Portes and R. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Oakley and London, 2014), 279-80.

[9] J. Chatterji, 'Disposition and Destinations: Refugee Agency and "Mobility Capital" in the Bengal Diaspora, 1947-2007', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 55:2 (2013), 273-304, at 279.

The Highland Community in London

The size of the Scottish community in early modern London is impossible to estimate with confidence. There were probably only a handful of resident Scots on the eve of James VI's accession to the English throne as James I in 1603.[10] By 1680, however, a sample of more than 8,000 indentured servants emigrating from London included Scottish representation of six per cent, and a similar proportion of Scots has been found in a smaller-scale study of those attending the Westminster General Dispensary in the 1770s. Given prevailing estimates of London's size, these figures would suggest perhaps 35,000 London Scots in 1700 and around 60,000 by 1750 – a substantial migration that probably gave London the highest Scottish population than any town in Scotland save Edinburgh.[11] These, however, are essentially guesses, and numerical uncertainty is even greater for Highlanders. The Highlands probably accounted for around twenty per cent of Scotland's early modern population.[12] A proportional share of the emigre population, using the estimates cited above, would imply 7,000 London Highlanders at the end of the seventeenth century and 12,000 by the middle of the eighteenth. Other indicators, however, suggest numbers may have been much lower. At least 256 young men enrolled as London apprentices between 1612 and 1760 who had Scottish fathers – the best available method of identifying Scots, albeit not infallible – and of these only three per cent demonstrably originated from the Highlands.[13] Similarly, at least 133 Scots are recorded as having emigrating to the New World from London between 1682 and 1759, a sample that included only fourteen Highlanders representing eleven per cent of the total.[14] The same low Highland proportions emerge wherever tolerably coherent datasets can be assembled: None of the 66 Scots admitted to the Inns of Court up to the 1760s appear to have been Highlanders;[15] the twenty-four confirmed Scots admitted to the Royal College of Physicians of London between 1603 and 1750 included no known Highlanders, even if a precise place of birth cannot be established in many of these cases;[16] and a sample of twelve Scottish vagrants in London, drawn from poor relief documents of Westminster, reveals only two Highlanders.[17] These are snatched insights, certainly insufficient for estimating the total Highland population in London. They do, however, suggest that it probably represented a considerably smaller proportion of the overall London-Scot community than the Highland/Lowland population divide within Scotland itself would have suggested.

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[10] C. Rogers, 'Memoir and Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1872), p. 110;

[11] K.M. Brown and A. Kennedy, 'A Land of Opportunity? The Assimilation of Scottish Migrants in England, 1603-c.1762', *Journal of British Studies*, 57:4 (2018), 709-35; V. Harding, 'The Population of London 1550-1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *London Journal*, 15:2 (1990), pp. 111-28; J. Wareing, 'Migration to London and Transatlantic Emigration of Indentured Servants, 1683-1775', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 7:4 (1981), pp. 356-278, at p. 373; J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012), p. 90; E.A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy', *Past and Present,* 37 (1967), pp. 44-70

[12] M. Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), 38

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[13] The sample is derived from the following sources: Webb, *London Livery Companies*; D.F. McKenzie (ed.), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700* (Oxford, 1974), 138; *Records of London's Livery Companies Online. URL: http://www.londonroll.org/about;* accessed 16 January 2017; The National Archives, Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books, IR/1/1.

[14] M. Ghirelli (ed.), *A List of Emigrants from England to America 1682-1692* (Baltimore, 1968); J. and M. Kaminlow (eds.), *A List of Emigrants from England to America 1718-1759* (Baltimore, 1966).

[15] J. Foster (ed.), *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889* (London, 1889); W. Paley (ed.), *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Admissions,* 2 vols (London, 1896); H.A.C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple,* 3 vols (London, 1949); *The Inner Temple Admission Database*, www.innertemplearchives.org.

[16] W. Munck (ed.), *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2 vols (London, 1878). One of these men, however, certainly had Highland links: Dr James Campbell was born in Lowland Perthshire, and was probably kin of the Dukes of Argyll, since his will of 1733 left a case of cutlery the Earl of Ilay. NRS, CC8/8/95/227.

[17] This sample is drawn from London Metropolitan Archives, Westminster Quarter Sessions: Vagrancy Papers, WJ/SP/V, and from T. Hitchcock et al., *London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 24 April 2012) [*LL*]

Whatever its size, the Scottish population in early modern London was notably diverse, encompassing a spectrum of individuals from paupers and vagrants to royalty.[18] The Highland component of this community, as we will see, was not quite so variegated, but it still included migrants from an array of backgrounds.[19] There were, of course, some members of the Highland social elite who resided occasionally in the capital for various purposes. Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, for example, spent some time there in 1685 in an attempt to persuade James VII that accusations of treachery related to his conduct in the recent, abortive Argyll's Rising were false, while the *penchant* of Angus MacDonald, Lord MacDonnell for spending significant amounts of time haunting London's gaming tables earned famous condemnation from the Gaelic poet Iain Lom in the 1660s.[20] Such sojourning was typical of the Scottish elite after the 1603 union, and over time it could make London the primary residence. John Campbell, 3rd earl of Breadalbane, whose family had been dividing its time between London and Scotland for at least three generations, returned to his ancestral home at Taymouth only grudgingly, writing in 1743 that he wished 'never [to] set my foot in Scotland'.[21] And, of course, Highland grandees like the Breadalbane Campbells did not travel alone; John Campbell, 1st earl, had at least two apparently Highland servants with him, Dougall Campbell and Patrick McArthure, while staying in London in the mid-1690s.[22]

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[18] Brown and Kennedy, 'Land of Opportunity?'; K.M. Brown, A. Kennedy and S. Talbott, "Scots and Scabs from North by Tweed': Undesirable Scottish Migrants in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England', *Scottish Historical Review*, 98:2 (2019), 241-65.

[19] The following discussion is based on an open-ended survey of available sources. Demographic registers and church registers were included in this survey, but were found not to be particularly useful because place of birth/origin was rarely recorded in more detail than simply 'Scotland'. It is possible, however, that further, more intensive research into these sources than can be undertaken here might yield fuller information.

[20] James Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill* ed. J. Macknight (Edinburgh, 1842), 217-21; A. Kennedy, 'Rebellion, Government and the Scottish Response to Argyll's Rising of 1685' *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 36:1, 2016, 40-59, at 56; John MacDonald, 'Oran do Mhorair Chlann Domhaill' [A Song to Lord Macdonell] in *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John MacDonald, Bard of Keppoch* ed. A.M. Mackenzie (Edinburgh, 1964), 124–27, at 124–25

[21] NRS, RH15/10/41.

[22] NRS, GD112/1/695.

If historians have long noted the presence in London of the Highland nobleman, they have been equally quick to highlight the Highland soldier. Officers, being for the most part members of the social elite, could find themselves drawn to London for a multitude of reasons. Donald Mackay, 1st Lord Reay, famous as an officer in Dutch and Swedish service, resided briefly in London in 1631-2 in order (unsuccessfully) to shepherd treason proceedings that he had raised against a fellow soldier, David Ramsey, through a military court.[23] Rather differently, Robert Munro of Foulis, a career soldier who ultimately attained the rank of colonel in the 37th Foot, was MP for the Tain Burghs between 1710 and 1741, in which capacity he divided his time between London and Ross-shire.[24] By the eighteenth century, the British army was also making ample use of Highland manpower among the common soldiery, especially after 1739 when the first Highland Regiment – later known as the Black Watch – was raised.[25] Many, probably most, Highland soldiers were billeted in Scotland when not fighting overseas, but regimental duties did sometimes carry Highlanders to England, and London in particular.[26] Argyllshire's Archibald Wright, for example, was enrolled in the Scots Guards and living in London by 1725, when he married, and his family was still resident in the capital two years later.[27] Serving soldiers, of course, had little choice about where they were billeted, but demobbed veterans were rather freer, if also much more difficult to trace. Although the bulk of demobbed Highlanders seem to have returned home, certainly by the second half of the eighteenth century, we know that Scottish ex-soldiers often remained in England, and some Highlanders probably did likewise;[28] Alexander Macklyn, whose surname suggests he may have been of Highland extraction, became an out-pensioner of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea some time before 1730, but stayed in London long enough to marry a Londoner named Faith that year.[29] Indeed, other Highlanders awarded Chelsea pensions may well have been in no position to make the journey homewards – people like Duncan MacGregor from Atholl, a sixty-four year old, forty-year veteran of the Scots Guards described simply as 'worn out' when he began drawing his pension in 1744.[30]

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[23] NRS, GD84/2/191; I. Grimble, *Chief of Mackay* (Edinburgh, 1993), 115-8. Reay's service on the continent is explored in S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish General of the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648* (London, 2014).

[24] R.R. Sedgwick, 'Munro, Robert (1684-1746), of Foulis, Ross', *History of Parliament*, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/munro-robert-1684-1746 [accessed 27/01/17].

[25] The fullest study of Highland soldiers is A. Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton, 2000).

[26] V. Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700-1750* (London, 2014), 80-4.

[27] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 27 July 1727, *LL*, WCCDEP358020035, Westminster Archive Centre, F5020, 317.

A third group which, along with elites and soldiers, has long dominated historians' understanding of the London-Highlander community is the merchants. Some Highlanders made a living in London through small-scale or independent commercial ventures; men like John Macknoll, presumably a Highlander, who was executed at Tyburn in 1695 for coin-clipping, after a career spent '[selling] Goods in Scotland and England' – probably indicating that he was a peddler.[31] Rather more successful was James Fraser of Petty, who established himself as a book-seller shortly after arriving in London in the 1670s, and died in 1731 worth in excess of £1,500 and with a personal library exceeding 3,600 volumes.[32] More typically, however, Highland merchants emerged on the London scene as representatives of their wider family or other home interest. As an example of this trend, William Fraser of Pitcalzean in Ross-shire established himself as a merchant in London by at least 1699. He probably died in 1712, by which time he was the London agent for several Scottish individuals and companies, buying Scottish goods to sell in London or overseas, while shipping other products, often exotics from across the empire, back to his mercantile contacts at home.[33] As Scotland became more deeply embedded in the British imperial project during the eighteenth century, some of these Highland agent-merchants reaped substantial rewards. Alexander Grant, born in Inverness-shire in 1705, came to London in 1739 after a long spell as a physician in Jamaica. He became a sugar merchant, in which capacity he acted as a representative of the Grant family and cultivated friendships with a wide range of other London Scots. He grew sufficiently prominent to win election as MP for the Inverness Burghs in 1761, and he used his wealth to invest in various properties in Moray, as well as his favoured residence, a villa at Brookhan Grove, Surrey.[34] Men like these were part of the merchant elite who grew exceedingly wealthy on London trade, and their experiences demonstrate that enrichment through commerce was just as possible for Highland migrants as for Scots more broadly.[35]

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[28] Brown and Kennedy, 'A Land of Opportunity?'.

[29] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 6 December 1731, *LL*, smdset_17_1759, Westminster Archive Centre, F5024, 338.

[30] TNA, WO 120/1, f.93v.

[31] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 17 April 2011), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 13 December 1695 (OA16951213).

[32] B. Moffat, 'Fraser, James (1645–1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [*ODNB*] [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73233, accessed 30 Jan 2017].

At the same time as some Highland merchants were beginning to break into the London scene, skilled or artisanal workers from the Highland shires were also in evidence. The best indication of their presence comes from the apprenticeship registers of the various London trades. The earliest Highland apprentice of whom we are aware was John Due, son of a farmer from Chanonry in Ross-shire, who enrolled as an apprentice blacksmith with one Thomas Smith in 1637.[36] Nothing further is known about John, and so the means by which his father secured the apprenticeship, and its implications for John's future life, are obscure, but he was not the last Highlander to enrol as a London apprentice. William Weddell from Inverness-shire became an apprentice glover in 1678; Thomas Johnson from Fort William was made an apprentice fishmonger in 1730; William Allen from Caithness came to London to be trained as a farrier by Henry Potter in 1744; Murdoch Mackenzie, originally from Cromartyshire, was an apprentice coach-maker in 1753; Robert Duncan of Dores began training as a tiler in 1757; and William Sutherland, son of a Wick weaver, began life as an apprentice grocer in 1759.[37] As with John Due, all of these young men promptly vanish following their enrolments, and it is not clear how many of them even completed their apprenticeships, let alone subsequently practised their chosen trades in London or elsewhere. What is clear, however, is that, as noted above, the Highlands' three per cent share represents a tiny and demographically under-representative proportion of the Scottish apprentice population in London. That, indeed, is hardly surprising. Although conventional accounts of the early modern Highlands tend to overstate its backwardness while overlooking significant evidence of technological, tenurial and industrial innovation, it is undeniable that the region, boasting no significant towns other than Inverness, was overwhelmingly rural and possessed of a correspondingly agrarian economy.[38] It was, therefore, not well-placed to produce a significant number of artisans, a dynamic further confirmed by the apparent dearth of practising craftsmen within the Highland diaspora in London. Such men were not wholly absent, of course; going by his name, Henry Makey, a journeyman tailor lodging in Westminster in the 1620s, may well have been a Highlander, as, in all probability, was Rhoderick Mackenzie, who also came to London as a tailor towards the end of the 1690s, but soon moved into domestic service instead.[39] More concretely, William Ross, an engraver by trade, claimed to be a Highlander by origin but was in London no later than 1719 – although since he was a soldier by the time he died five years later it is not certain that he actually practised once there.[40] The meagreness of this evidence is striking, and tends to suggest that, in both absolute and relative terms, the Highlands sent very few skilled artisanal migrants to London.

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[33] National Records of Scotland, Journal of William Fraser, CS96/524.
[34] D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 48-59.
[35] As David Worthington has recently shown, such entanglements were not restricted to the English/British empire, and further research into this form of imperial adventuring would be extremely welcome. D. Worthington, 'Sugar, Slave-Owning, Suriname and the Dutch Imperial Entanglement of the Scottish Highlands before 1707', *Dutch Crossing*, 44:1 (2020), 3-20.
[36] C. Webb (ed.), *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, 48 vols (London, 1996-2008), xli, 70.

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[37] *Ibid*., ii, 24; vi, 5; xxiii, 39; xxviii, 2; xliv, 73; xlviii, 182.

[38] A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 142-8; F.J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980), *passim*; C.W.J. Withers, *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton, 1998), 33-5.

[39] Irene Scouldoudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority* (London, 1985), 350 ; St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 17 June 1735, *LL*, smdsset_21_2210, Westminster Archive Centre, F5027, 214.

As an extension to this point, there seem to have been few examples of Highland migrants with professional backgrounds living in London. Those who did were likeliest to be ministers. Such was the case with Alexander Denoone, minister of Petty in Inverness-shire who spent three years trying to find work in London after narrowly surviving an attempted deposition for drunkenness. His job-hunting was apparently unsuccessful, since he was re-admitted as minister of Petty in 1712.[41] More successful was the Skye-born Sir Archibald MacDonald, who moved to London as a teenager after becoming a king's scholar at Westminster School in 1760, and who subsequently carved out an illustrious legal career that saw him become attorney-general in 1788.[42] MacDonald, however, was unique, and few other Highlanders seem to have been able to sustain professional careers in London. We have already observed the dearth of Highlanders entering the Inns of Court, for example, and the absence of Highland admissions to the Royal College of Physicians is even more striking, given the Scots' famous prominence in this field.[43] Indeed, most Highland professionals active in London were there not as professionals *per se*, but as politicians, breaking into the capital by means of election as a Scottish MP. Duncan Forbes of Culloden was in Scotland a senior and well-respected lawyer and lord advocate, but his legal activities apparently did not carry over into England's quite distinct jurisdictional environment during the fifteen years he spent as MP for the Inverness Burghs between 1722 and 1737.[44] Scottish professionals – particularly but by no means exclusively medical men – were very much in evidence among the London-Scot community. The meagre representation of the Highlands within this group reflects the under-development of Highland Scotland, and the consequently narrower occupational profile of its migrants.

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[40] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 16 August 1727, *LL*, smdsset_11_1121, Westminster Archive Centre, F5020, 329.

[41] H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915–28), vi, 479.

[42] David Lemmings, 'Macdonald, Sir Archibald, first baronet (1747–1826)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17429, accessed 16 Jan 2017].

[43] A. Guerrini, 'Scots in London Medicine in the Early Eighteenth Century' in S. Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Cranbury, 2010), 165-85.

The final broad group of London Highlanders was the poor. Migration historians have long recognised the value of poor relief documents in tracing the movement of lower-status individuals around early modern England, and such material has been used to shed light on otherwise hidden migratory patterns, including in London.[45] It is, however, difficult to locate Highlanders in these documents, although such people must have existed. Mary Forsythe, originally from Badenoch, was examined as a pauper in St Clement Danes in 1746. Nothing is known about how Forsythe got to London or what she was doing there, although her prospects may have been hindered by Gaelic monolingualism – she apparently provided information to the parish authorities through Jennett Hattesley, possibly an interpreter.[46] Also in 1745, another woman, Jennet Lawman, was sent to her home parish in Skye after being examined as a vagrant in Westminster.[47] Yet if few poor Highlanders can be traced through London's formal poor relief records, there are other indications that a poverty-stricken sub-community, albeit probably a small one, existed. Henry Wild, presumably a Highlander because he was reported to be a habitual wearer of Highland dress, was imprisoned in 1724 for allegedly forging a £6 note, a crime suggestive of desperation inspired by poverty, rather than professional criminality.[48] Similarly, Daniel Macquin, and ex-chapman and soldier who was possibly of Highland extraction given his surname, turned to highway robbery as a means of support following his discharge from the army, a career trajectory that led to his execution in 1752.[49] In some cases, Highlanders, like many other migrants, ended up in poverty following long periods of prosperity. Hugh Mackintosh, whose name is again suggestive of Highland heritage, came to London around 1704 as a tailor. He thrived for about twenty years, renting a house in Cook's Alley for £8 annual rent. At some point, however – possibly on account of age – his fortunes dipped, and he found himself confined to the St Martin in the Fields workhouse by 1734.[50] These random and disparate glimpses into the lives of poor Highlanders – or, more accurately, possible Highlanders – in and around London are sufficient to suggest that such people existed. But the dearth of information suggests that proportionally fewer poor Highlanders than poor Scots resided in London.

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[44] J.S. Shaw, 'Forbes, Duncan (1685–1747)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9822, accessed 20 Jan 2017].

[45] See, for example, T. Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2004).

[46] St Clement Danes Pauper Settlement, Vagrancy and Bastardy Exams, 19 July 1746, *LL*, WCCDEP358020035, Westminster Archive Centre, MS B1170, 147.

[47] London Metropolitan Archives, WJ/SP/1745/07/21.

[48] *Daily Journal*, Issue 1079, 6 July 1724.

How does the occupational profile discussed above compare with the broader Scottish norm? Although the sources do not allow for meaningful quantitative comparisons, some general points can be made.[51] Highlanders were under-represented in the professions (except as MPs) and in artisanal trades, and they are also difficult to trace among the poor. If these demographics were proportionally less important in the Highland diaspora, elite and mercantile occupations appear to have been more prominent. This is a profile that does not suggest strong specialisation among Highland migrants to London – certainly nothing akin to the heavy concentration of Huguenot settlers in the textile industry, for example, or Jewish focus on brokerage and money-lending.[52] Rather, what emerges is a migration pattern that seems to mirror the disparateness and variability of the wider Scottish community in London, but with greater reliance on the elite and on commerce – two groups that often overlapped in any case.

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[49] *OBP*, *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 13 July 1752 (OA17520713).

[50] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 4 January 1734, *LL*, smdsset_20_2042,Westminster Archive Centre, F5026, 236.

[51] The composition of the Scottish community in England generally, and London in particular, is outlined in Brown and Kennedy, 'Land of Opportunity' and Brown *et al* "Scots and Scabs".

[52] R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenot in Britain* (Brighton, 2001), especially 74-117; White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 145-52.

Yet if it is clear that Highlanders from a range of backgrounds ended up in early modern London, it is more difficult to establish how these people arrived in the capital. As the centre of English and, later, British commercial, mercantile, cultural and political activity, London boasted a wide migration field, albeit one that may have contracted during the early modern period.[53] The city was therefore able to attract direct migration from substantial distances away, and some Highlanders probably did reach the capital in a single move. Argyllshire's Hugh Macklane came to London as the servant of a furniture-maker, Mr Williams, around 1722, when he was about twenty-one, and there is no indication of an intermediate step in his journey.[54] Yet both theoretical work and empirical reconstruction of migrations elsewhere in the early modern world expects long-distance mobility often to be made up of a series of shorter moves, and it is clear that such multi-stage migration was indeed the experience of some Highlanders.[55] William Matthewson was examined as a vagrant in 1741. He had spent some time in London, apparently without work, but had arrived there from his home in Inverness via stints as a servant in Fife, and then in some unknown capacity in Cambridgeshire. For Mathewson, London was just one stop on a much wider journey, and not even the final one; he subsequently moved to Yorkshire and Lancashire before his apprehension in Cumberland.[56] If London, for Matthewson, was one of many destinations, the city was for others little more than a stopping-off point on a much more ambitious migratory undertaking. In the four decades after 1720, at least nineteen Highlanders sailed from London as indentured servants bound for the American and Caribbean colonies.[57] While some of these people may have lived in London prior to leaving, others were so young as to suggest that they were straightforward emigrants simply passing through. Inverness-shire's Alexander Martine, for example, was only sixteen when he left for Jamaica in 1733 – hardly old enough to have made much attempt at building a life in London.[58] These examples demonstrate that London could fulfil a variety of roles in the story of Highland migration and emigration, whether as final destination, intermediate stop-off, or transatlantic hub. The absence of detailed biographical data on most Highland migrants, however, makes it impossible to judge which of these functions was paramount.

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[53] J. Wareing, 'Changes in the Geographical Distribution of the Recruitment of Apprentices in the London Companies, 1486-1750', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 7:4 (1981), pp. 356-78

[54] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 23 December 1729, *LL*, smdsset_15_1571, Westminster Archive Centre, F5023, 92.

[55] J. Wareing, 'Migration to London and Transatlantic Emigration of Indentured Servants, 1683-1775', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 7:4 (1981), 356-78

[56] Cumbria Archive Service, Carlisle Q/11/1/199/29.

[57] Kaminlow and Kaminlow, *List of Emigrants*.

Conceptualising the London Highlander

Within Scotland itself, clear distinctions were habitually drawn between Highlanders and Lowlanders. In a juxtaposition dating back at least to the late fourteenth century, Lowlanders were generally portrayed as civilised, while Highlanders came to be associated with varying degrees of barbarism, their incivility being demonstrated by factors like ethno-linguistic distinctiveness, disobedience to the crown, tendencies towards violence, a penchant for banditry, irreligion, and a general sense of otherworldly strangeness.[59] English commentators were not slow to pick up on the Highland/Lowland divide, and it became standard practice to state, as did the Norfolk schoolmaster John Holmes in 1751, that Scotland was 'divided into Lowlands and Highlands'.[60] Yet the extent of actual Highland distinctiveness in this period can be questioned, and in light of this it is worth asking if

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[58] *Ibid.*, 150.

[59] M. MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later Middle Ages' in D. Broun and M. MacGregor, *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009), 5-48; J. Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands' in B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), 259-300; Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, chpt. 1.

[60] John Holmes, *The grammarian's geography and astronomy ancient and modern* (London, 1751), 28.

Highlanders constituted an identifiable sub-group within the Scottish community in London.[61]

As we have seen, the evidence that Highlanders formed a coherent occupational bloc is thin. But there are other means by which migrant groups can signal a sense of ethnic distinctiveness, with one of the most obvious being the creation of ethnic clubs, societies or institutions. This was an established tendency among Scottish emigrants, although its extent in London was modest; excepting the charitable Scots Corporation and a number of Scottish Presbyterian congregations, the 'institutional completeness' of the London-Scot community remained low by the mid-eighteenth century.[62] It is therefore unsurprising that there is nothing to suggest the existence of specifically Highland institutions until the Highland Society of London emerged in 1778.[63] Yet the creation of exclusive institutions is not the only way that migrant communities can express ethnic solidarity. Perhaps more important, though usually less tangible, is co-national networking, which can play a valuable part in furthering migrants' adaptation to their new homeland.[64] Again, however, there is little evidence that Highland Scots constructed social networks in London that were qualitatively different from those established by other Scottish migrants. The social and corresponding circle of Ross-shire-born Alexander Monro, who resided in London during the 1690s as an Episcopalian exile following a prominent clerical and academic career in Scotland, showed little evidence of being excessively influenced by his Highland origins, containing both Englishmen, such as the Astronomer Royal John Flamsteed, and London-based Lowland

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[61] See, for example, A. Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660-1688* (Leiden, 2014), chpt. 1.

[62] G.G. Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London* (Oxford, 1979); J. Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a London Charity, 1603-2003* (East Linton, 2003).The concept of 'institutional completeness' is derived from R. Breton, 'Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants', *American Journal of Sociology*, 7:2 (1964), 193-205.

[63] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 132-4.

[64] B.A. Prescosolido, 'The Sociology of Social Networks' in C.D. Byant and D.L. Peck, eds., *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook* (London, 2007), 208-217.

Scots like Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and the merchant James Foulis.[65] Similarly, William Fraser of Pitcalzean maintained a wide circle of business contacts, some English (like his frequent partner, George Conning), some almost certainly Scottish (such as fellow merchant Alexander Hamilton), but few, apparently, Highland.[66] Here were Highlanders whose networking strategies, focused on other Scots but with room for English friends or partners as well, look indistinguishable from those deployed by Lowland-born migrants.

Nor is there much evidence to suggest that Highlanders, simply by virtue of being Highland, found assimilation into English society more difficult that other Scots. Certainly, somebody like the Highland-dress-wearing Henry Wild might well have struggled to fit in. But in the absence of such overt markers of difference, many Highlanders encountered few problems. Marriages to English women were evidently possible, as in the case of Argyllshire soldier Daniel Richardson, who married his Londoner wife, Alice, at the Fleet in *c*.1725.[67] Inverness-shire's Laughlin MacFerson, a servant, had little difficulty exploiting the capital's employment opportunities, since he was able to find work with a succession of apparently non-Scottish masters in St James's, including a Mr Rondeaus and a Captain Mambree, for upwards of seven years after arriving in London about 1725.[68] Others succeeded in forging institutional linkages, none with more spectacular success than James Fraser of Petty. Impeccable connections, forged over decades in London and including aristocracy and royalty, helped him secure a number of prestigious appointments, including licenser at Stationer's Hall, Secretary to Chelsea Hospital, and royal librarian.[69]

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[65] National Library of Scotland [NLS], Mackenzie of Delvine Papers, MS1393, f.41r-v, Alexander Monro to John Mackenzie of Delvine, May 1691; ff.99r-100r, same to same, 27 October 1694; f.122r, same to same, 18 January 1696.

[66] NRS, CS96/524.

[67] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1 August 1754, *LL*, smdsset_89_56330, Westminster Archive Centre, F5044, 423.

[68] St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 30 March 1739, *LL*, smdsset_114_58849, Westminster Archive Centre, F5031, 20.

[69] Moffat, 'Fraser, James'.

Notwithstanding such outward signs of assimilation, the nature of the sources makes it impossible in most cases to judge whether these individuals made the leap of identifying their new home as the primary locus of their identity, thereby signifying a comprehensive assimilation experience. That, of course, might not be expected in the first generation, and indeed the fact that Petty's will of 1730-1 left substantial bequests to the town of Inverness and to the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge suggests that even this highly successful migrant still saw himself, at the end, as a Highlander.[70] But Highland families were certainly capable, over the course to two or three generations, of making the mental adjustments required to Anglicise. Once in London, Alexander Monro's family began a process of assimilation that would see his son marry an Englishwoman, take a medical degree at Oxford and, in 1728, win appointment as attending physician at England's premier lunatic asylum, Bethlam Hospital. The Monros' deep embrace of Englishness was complemented by the severing of meaningful Scottish ties, symbolised by the sale of all their Highland estates in 1713.[71] Here was a family of unambiguously Highland origin, and yet whose experience of assimilation was rapid and more or less total.

Part of the explanation for the apparent absence of a distinct Highland sub-community within the Scottish diaspora in London, and for the limited evidence of additional obstacles to assimilation, lies in the fact that Highland migrants were not, in general, ethnic Gaels. Most, instead, seem to have come from the eastern or northern zones of the Highlands – places like Caithness, Cromarty or Inverness whose cultural distinctiveness from the rest of Scotland was reasonably muted. It is of course possible that Gaelic-speaking migrants are 'hidden' because they were mis-identified by contemporaries as Irish, but there is little hard evidence indicating the extent, or indeed the existence, of this problem. Moreover, Highland migrants, as we have already seen, were proportionally more likely to be from higher-status or wealthier backgrounds, in stark contrast to the un- or semi-skilled individuals who seem, as far as our admittedly sketchy understanding suggests, to have dominated Highland migration to Scottish towns in this period.[72] Such people often boasted desirable skills or a long history of interactions with the rest of Scotland through professional, kin or educational linkages, and it may be that these connection encouraged them to behave and identify simply as ‘Scots’, rather than ‘Highlanders’, when they reached London. The Highlands, in short, was not sending poor, uneducated Gaels to London, but skilled, wealthier individuals from the Highland fringe. To London eyes, such individuals were unlikely to have appeared markedly more alien than any other Scots, and their migration experience, consequently, need not have provoked additional resistance.

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[70] TNA, PROB 11/644. Many thanks to Dr Andrew Mackillop for this reference.
[71] Brown and Kennedy, 'Becoming English'.

The lack of an appreciably Highland sub-community within the London-Scot diaspora is superficially paradoxical, because the early modern period saw the London press and intelligentsia begin to develop a clear image of ‘the Highlander’ as distinct from ‘the Scot’. This was something on which the cartographer John Speed, writing in 1611, was very clear:

> Their more Southern people are from the same Original with vs the English, being both alike the Saxon branches [...] But the Highland-men (the naturall Scot indeed) are supposed to descend from the Scythians, who with the *Getes* infesting Ireland, left both their Issue there, and their maners.[73]

As Speed’s account implied, the perceived Scot/Highlander divide was reinforced by strong emerging stereotypes about the nature of Highlanders that echoed those contemporaneously prevalent in Scotland. Highlanders were by ‘Nature and Disposition rude and uncivil’, wrote

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[72] Withers, *Urban Highlanders*, 62-8 and at 84-6.

[73] John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611), 131.

Robert Morden in 1688, a judgement shared by numerous others.[74] Daniel Defoe, writing during the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, expanded on these assessments. Highlanders, for Defoe, were hot-blooded and quarrelsome, a potentially dangerous trait since they were always to be found carrying weapons. They lacked discipline, recognised no authority but their chief's, and they dressed bizarrely, favouring flimsy footwear, belted plaids and trews. In their persons, Highlanders were large, strong and tough. But they were also 'merciless, barbarous and bloody', lacking any quality of mercy or gallantry. In short, 'these wild Highland-men may well be stiled wild Men, for they act the brutal Part of Perfection'.[75] Though coloured by being, in effect, a piece of war propaganda against the Jacobite army, Defoe's withering pen-portrait encapsulated the unsavoury image of Highlanders as constructed in England, an image that unequivocally, and negatively, differentiated them from other Scots.

Where, however, did this model come from? English perceptions of Scots in the early modern period were clearly informed, in part, by direct experience of the Scottish diaspora south of the border. The very real influx of Scottish place-seekers in the train of James VI and I in 1603 occasioned vicious resentment that eventually evolved into a 'Scots-as-parasites' narrative which was to prove remarkably consistent in English Scotophobia.[76] That trend was reinforced after the 1707 union, since it was largely because Scottish migrants were conspicuously successful in certain fields – particularly medicine and politics – that eighteenth-century Scots developed a reputation as ruthless pursuers of other people's wealth.[77] The image of Highlanders produced by London presses, in contrast, was built on sources other than the capital's Highland community. To some extent they arose by osmosis via Scottish authors and accounts, so that, for example, the historian Percy Enderby explicitly stated in 1661 that his understanding of the origin and nature of Highlanders was informed by the work of 'Scotch Writers' who had described their descent from the ancient Scots and, ultimately, Scythians – a comment which suggests he was familiar with Scottish origin mythology as described by scholars like George Buchanan.[78] England's reading public could also acquire information about Highlanders through the published accounts of English visitors to Scotland.[79] Thomas Morar, whose narrative appeared in 1689, offered an arresting sketch of Highland Scots that reinforced prevailing stereotypes. He described 'their natural roughness, and perhaps rudeness', citing as evidence their sartorial and linguistic uniqueness, natural querulousness, and tendency towards Catholicism.[80] With such information available in print, Londoners did not need contact with Highland migrants to develop a distinct image of the 'wild Scots'.

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[74] Robert Morden, *Geography rectified, or, A description of the world in all its kingdoms, provinces, countries, islands, cities, towns, seas, rivers, bayes, capes, ports* (London, 1688), 31.

[75] Daniel Defoe, *A view of the Scots rebellion: with some enquiry what we have to fear from thenm? And what is the properest method to take with them?* (London, 1715), 18-23.

[76] K.M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38', *Historical Journal,* 36:3 (1993), pp. 543-76, at pp. 557-8; Brown *et al*, "Scots and Scabs".

[77] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven, 2005), 123-5.

A more direct influence on the way England thought about Highlanders was exercised by its experience of ruling the region during the 1650s. Cromwell's commander-in-chief in Scotland, George Monck, exemplified this dynamic perfectly, since grappling with the challenges of government forced him to develop a clear understanding of both the 'Highland problem' and its underlying causes:

> The Highlands […] are far remote from any court of judicature, either civil or criminal, and the inhabitants so barbarous, that publick justice cannot be executed there, which hath been the cause, that the people thereof have infested a great part of his nation with their frequent murthers and robberies, which they commit openly by

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[78] Percy Enderbie, *Cambria triumphans, Or, Britain in its perfect lustre shevving the origen and antiquity of that illustrious nation* (London, 1661), 61. Enderbie was clearly also influenced by earlier English writers, especially John Speed, the language of whose *Theatre* he echoes.

[79] For discussion of such accounts, alongside accounts of non-English travellers, see M. Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c.1600 to 1800* (New York and Munich, 2007).

[80] P.H. Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891), 268-71.

> force of arms, justifying the same as lawful, they having never yet been subject to the laws of Scotland, otherwise than as they were compelled by arms.[81]

Of particular importance, however, was Highlanders' armed intransigence in the face of the Cromwellian occupation, both through lingering opposition during 1651-2 to the initial conquest, and in the Royalist rebellion known as Glencairn's Rising (1653-4), which was largely sustained by Highland manpower and fought mostly in the Highlands. In reporting this resistance, and its suppression, to the reading public, English newspapers constructed an image of Highlanders that emphasised strangeness, 'otherness' and brutishness; one newsletter, for example, stated baldly in 1652 that Highlanders 'know little of God, less of themselves as men, and least of Civility'.[82] When not portrayed as vicious savages, the Highland rebels were mercurial chancers; one report from late 1653 claimed the Highland Royalists had recently ravaged the 'honest and civill' Lowland plantations in Kintrye and taken away all their goods. 'Their abuses and plunderings', it claimed 'draw deep upon those that inhabit near them'.[83] Persistent use of the word 'tories' to describe the Royalist forces – as in 1653, when readers of the government's press mouthpiece, *Mercurius Politicus*, were told that 'the Highlander Tories' had recently rendezvoused near Loch Lomond – subtly reinforced these impressions by evoking simultaneous images of Irishness, violence, and wildness.[84] The Cromwellian period offered the first opportunities for direct English contact with the Highlands, and part of its legacy was to help establish in English minds a distinct picture of Highlanders as outlandish, violent, barely civilised and prone to rebelliousness.

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[81] T. Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq;*, 7 vols (London, 1742), iii, 520-1.

[82] *Mercurius Politicus*, issue 100, 29 April-6 May 1652, 1580.

[83] *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings*, issue 204, 31 October-7 November 1653, 3113-4.

[84] *Mercurius Politicus*, issue 175, 13-20 October 1653, 2809.

After 1689, Londoners' understanding of the Highlander was also informed by Jacobitism.[85] We have already seen how the 1715 rising inspired Defoe to reinforce the 'wild Highlander' stereotype, and something similar happened at the time of the '45. One anonymous author, in presenting a hastily-compiled ethnography of Highlanders to enlighten English readers about the men baring down on them from the north, presented them as a barbaric hoard ruled by tyrannical chiefs, claiming that 'Plunder and Rapine are their sole Pursuits', and that, having grown up 'half-starv'd, amidst their dreary Mountains', they wanted nothing more than to plunder England's 'Fields of Plenty'.[86] Ultimately, Jacobitism was incorporated into the generic image of the Highlander; as one writer, seeking the roots of the '45 rebellion, baldly claimed 'all the People of the North and Highlands of Scotland are discontented at least, if not disaffected to our present happy Establishment'.[87] If Jacobitism reinforced English conceptualisations of the Highlander, while darkening them with the stain of disloyalty, it also helped cement a distinct visual grammar, especially during the 1745-6 rebellion, when a spike in the volume of political prints depicting Scots forced printers to develop a consistent iconography of Scottishness. The tropes employed – such as tartan, bagpipes and plaid – were consistently Highland, and although the purpose differed between Loyalists and Jacobites (the former associating Jacobitism with ignorance and backwardness, the latter seeking to evoke the purity and virility inherent in notion of the 'noble savage'), the effect was to generate a distinct, and durable, image of Highlandness.[88]

The increased interest in the Highlands stimulated by the Jacobite threat ensured that they became a noteworthy feature of the London stage, being prominent, for example, in the farce on the 1715 rising written by the little-known dramatist John Philips, entitled *The Earl of Mar marr'd*. The play is peopled by Highlanders wearing plaid and blue bonnets, and its central character – 'Jockey the Highlander' – ensures the Earl of Mar's defeat at the hands of the government army by switching allegiance before the climactic battle.[89] A particularly rich example of the genre was Joseph Mitchell's ballad opera, *The Highland Fair* (1731). Studded with songs set to traditional Scottish airs, this work told the story of a peace summit between two warring Highland chiefs, 'Laird Euen' and 'Laird Colin', organised and overseen by the captain of an Independent Company. The play carried a message of political support for the efforts of Sir Robert Walpole's government to pacify the Jacobite Highlands, and in doing so it presented Highlanders as a proud, passionate, hot-blooded race bound by a unique mental landscape of kinship and honour. The point was driven home by the printed playscript's frontispiece, produced by William Hogarth, depicting the two chiefs in traditional Highland dress, their armed retinues assembled in the background.[90] If the political climate of the 1650s had helped introduce England to Highlanders in a more systematic way, it was the Jacobite threat of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that calcified the image. The resulting stereotypes about warlike, tartan-clad rebels remained dominant until the rise of the 'warriors of empire' trope much later in the eighteenth century.

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[85] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 5; T.M. Devine, Clanship to Crofers' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands (Manchester, 1994), 28-9; A. Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton, 2000), 205.

[86] Anonymous, *The Highlander Delineated: Or, the Character, Customs, and Manners of the Highlanders* (London, 1745), preface.

[87] Anonymous, *An enquiry into the causes of the late rebellion, and the proper methods for preventing the life misfortune for the future* (London, 1746), 30-1.

[88] G. Pentland, "We Speak for the Ready': Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707-1832', *Scottish Historical Review,* 90:1, 2011, 64-95, at 72-5.

Views about Highlanders, forged in the political fires of the Cromwellian and post-1689 periods, were supplemented and reinforced by the growing popularity of stories about Highland outlaws. The most famous of these rogues, of course, was Rob Roy, the first biography of whom appeared in London in 1723.[91] Rob, as he emerges from this book, is the very epitome of the received image of the otherworldly Highlander:

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[89] John Philips, *The Earl of Mar marr'd, With the Humours of Jockey, the Highlander* (London, 1715). Highlanders were far less prominent in Philip's sequel, published the following year. John Philips, *The Pretender's Flight, Or, A Mock Coronation* (London, 1716).

[90] Joseph Mitchell, *The Highland Fair; Or, Union of the Clans* (London, 1731).

> He is a Man of prodigious Strength, and of such an uncommon Stature, that he approaches even to a Gigantic Size: He wears a Beard above a Foot long, and not only his Face, but his whole Body, is cover'd over with Red Hair [...] His Habit is after the usual manner of Highlanders, who are perfect Strangers to the *English* fashion of wearing Breeches and Stockings.[92]

But Rob Roy was not the only Highland outlaw whose personality and exploits, real or fictional, shaped the London image of Highlanders. An earlier bandit, Patrick 'Gilderoy' MacGregor, executed in Edinburgh in 1636, was subject to a sensationalist biography by Charles Johnson (probably a pseudonym for Daniel Defoe) in 1734.[93] In killing, raping and pillaging his way across half of Scotland, eventually at the head of a large gang, Johnson's Gilderoy embodies the barbaric qualities of the stereotypical Highlander, being addicted to violence and villainy and, simultaneously, averse to thrift and honest labour.[94] The role of men like these in shaping Londoners' view of Highlanders is, however, best attested by another, apparently entirely fictional, bandit, Donald Macdonald, subject of the biography-cum-novel, *The Scotch Rogue* (1706). Claiming its anti-hero originated from Highland Moray, *The Scotch Rogue* – whose frontispiece depicts Macdonald in stereotypical Highland garb, complete with tartan trews, bonnet, dirk, basket-hilted sword and targe – traces, in lurid detail, his transformation from respectable farmer's son to convicted highway robber and murderer. As such, the book presages the ‘Highlander as bandit’ trope that would later colour the fictionalised accounts of Rob Roy and Gilderoy. It is, however, particularly notable for its sexual content, since Macdonald is repeatedly shown engaging in adultery, fornication, prostitution, bigamy and rape, a history of sexual incontinence calibrated to tap into, and reinforce, Highlanders’ image for animalism and incivility.[95] Repeated fodder for the London press, such colourful tales of Highland banditry helped sustain negative stereotypes of Highlanders in a way that confirmed the rebellious, barbarous image derived from England’s fraught political interactions with the region.

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[91] 'E.B.', *The Highland Rogue: Or, The Memorable Actions of the Celebrated Robert MacGregor, commonly called Rob-Roy* (London, 1723); D. Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy: The Man and the Myths* (Edinburgh, 2004), 189-92.
[92] *Highland Rogue*, 15-6.
[93] NRS, JC2/7, 333v-335r.
[94] C. Johnson, *A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-robbers & co.* (London, 1734), 310-2.

None of these factors influencing English views of Highlanders – inherited Scottish thought, travellers’ accounts, the legacy of the Cromwellian union, Jacobitism, or bandit literature – responded in any meaningful way to the presence of an actual Highland community in London. Rather, their effect was to construct an image of Highlanders that rooted them firmly in their homeland. Indeed, much of this image-making relied on the synergy of people and place – literally so in the case of Sir William Temple, who opined that the ‘hilly and barren’ nature of the Highlands was responsible (by some unknown mechanism) for making Highlanders larger, healthier and more vigorous than people from elsewhere in the British Isles.[96] Others restricted themselves to behavioural observations, suggesting, for example, that the underdevelopment and poverty of their homeland helped explain Highlanders’ wild and warlike demeanour – this was what Robert Lilburne, commanding the English army in Scotland, had in mind when he suggested in 1653 that ‘want of livelyhoods’ was pushed many Highlanders into crime or rebellion.[97] Philip’s *Earl of Mar* played on a similar theme, since it suggested that, removed from the Highlands, Highlanders could potentially evolve into quite a different class of men:

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[95] ‘Donald Macdonald’, *The Scotch Rogue: Or, The Life and Actions of Donald Macdonald, a High-Land Scot* (London, 1706).

[96] William Temple, *Miscellanea. The Third Part* (London, 1701), 136-7.

[97] C.H. Firth (ed.), *Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland from August 1651 to December 1653* (Edinburgh, 1895), 271.

> ‘Tis a pity Men like these deserve the Gallows.
> Had they but cast their Plads, and travell’d hither,
> To taste the Softness of our milder Weather;
> I mean without their Armes, and warlike Geer,
> They might have found a better Service here.[98]

The centrality of landscape to English stereotypes about Highlanders mirrored a received Scottish assumption that the wild Highland character was in some way connected to the hard, isolated environment in which they lived.[99] But in constructing an image of Highlanders that invariably took their presence in the Highlands for granted, and which frequently relied upon landscape as a conditioning or explanatory factor, English image-makers were conspicuously failing to respond to the real-life presence of Highlanders within their midst, particularly in London. As such, they backhandedly spoke to the tendency of Highland migrants to blend into the wider Scottish community, rather than emerging as a distinct or identifiable migrant group in their own right.

Conclusion

The Highland community in early modern London was noteworthy largely for its invisibility. There were certainly Highlanders in the capital, although their numbers were probably smaller than their population share within Scotland would have suggested. These migrants turned up in a variety of occupations, but were most likely to be from elite or wealthier backgrounds, and to be engaged in commercial occupations, with relatively few being professionals, artisans or very poor. Probably as a consequence of this elite bias, but also no doubt because few Highland migrants seem to have originated from deep Gaeldom, London-Highlanders did not have migration experiences that were appreciably different from those of other Scots, certainly in terms of associational strategies and assimilation opportunities. This invisibility was confirmed by the London image of the Highlander as it began to crystallise from the late seventeenth century. Drawing upon established Scottish thinking, alongside travellers' reports, outlaw tales, and the political pressures of the Cromwellian and Jacobite periods, this emphasised barbarity and exoticism, resolutely ignoring the evidence of Highlanders actually present in London, many of whom did not conform to the prevailing stereotype. These conclusions arise from a general survey of the sources, and it may be that more in-depth, individually- or sectionally-focused research will produce a more complex picture. As things stand, however, it appears that the Highland community in London was more or less indistinguishable from the larger Scottish diaspora of which it was part.

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[98] Philips, *Earl of Mar*, prologue.
[99] Dawson, ‘Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands’, at 284-7.

The blending of Highland and Lowland Scots once in London is significant for two broad reasons. Firstly, it confirms an increasingly strong trend within Scottish historiography towards downplaying the cleavage between Highland and Lowland Scotland. That is not to say that there were no significant social, cultural and economic differences between Highlanders and Lowlanders, but merely to recognise that the two regions were deeply intertwined, and that, moreover, much of the Highlands, particularly at its southern, eastern and northern extremities, boasted a multi-layered culture drawing at least as much on Lowland as Gaelic sources. The ability of Highland migrants in London to melt into the wider Scottish community suggests that, once outside Scotland, it was these commonalities, rather than continuing difference, that were of more significance. Certainly, the process was helped along by the fact that most traceable Highland migrants were from the Highland fringe, but this merely confirms the point that, by the later seventeenth century at least, large portions of the Highlands were deeply integrated with the rest of Scotland.

The second point of note is that the data on London-Highlanders can speak to the experience of early modern migrants more generally. In blending with other Scots, Highlanders demonstrated that the ‘segmentation’ of the Scottish migrant community in London, if it occurred at all, manifestly did not emerge on the basis of regional divisions within Scotland. Migrants’ ‘mobility capital’, then, depended less on the simple fact of geographical origin than on a more intangible selection of factors like skill level, social status, and cultural affinity. Although derived from micro-study, this concept can be applied more broadly, and it suggests that migrants need to be conceptualised horizontally, as well as vertically. Thinking about migrants in terms of ethnic blocs can tell us a great deal, but individual experiences are likely to be informed at least as much by other factors that might well be shared between comparable groupings from different national diasporas. To put it another way, was the migration and assimilation trajectory of, say, a Scottish merchant in London mapped out more by their nationality, or by their profession? Finding the right balance between these two factors could do much to deepen our understanding of migration as an historical and contemporary phenomenon.