# Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth 1787—1891

Charles W J Withers

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A Study in the Social History of Migrant Higlanders

Charles W.J. Withers

# PREFACE

The gradual disintegration of the Highland economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries precipitated the departure of thousands of Highlanders from their native parish: many went overseas to Canada, America or Australia, but a good many settled elsewhere in Scotland and in the Lowland towns in particular. What follows is a study of the origin and paths of migration, and the social and economic history of those Highlanders who moved to and settled in Dundee and Perth during the period 1787 to 1891.

The two dates reflect, firstly, the date of opening of St. Stephen's Gaelic chapel in Perth - an event taken here to mark the formal beginnings of the Highland community there - and the Census of 1891 which is the last source here used to highlight migration patterns and the social and economic characteristics of the Highland-born population in the two towns. Attention is paid to other work on migrant communities and, in brief, to the broader context of Highland migrants in Lowland Scotland, but three elements are of particular concern: the migration paths of Dundee and Perth Highlanders, and who exactly these peopie were in terms of the age and sex structure of the Highland-born population; their occupations and place in the labour force in Dundee and Perth: and the role of Highland institutions, particularly the Gaelic chapel, in fostering and maintaining a Highland identity for these people in the two towns.

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| | |
|---|---|
| *APS* | *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland,* T. Thomson and C. Innes (eds) (Edinburgh, 1814-75) (12 vols. 1124-1707) |
| Dund. Cent. Lib | Dundee Central Library (Local History Collection) |
| EB | Enumerators' Book(s) |
| EUL | Edinburgh University Library |
| GRO | General Register Office, Edinburgh |
| NLS | *National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh* |
| *NSA* | *New Statistical Account of Scotland* J. Low (ed) (Edinburgh, 1831-1845) (15 vols.) |
| *OSA* | *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* J. Sinclair (ed) (Edinburgh, 1791-1799) (21 vols.) |
| *PP* | *Parliamentary Papers* |
| *RPC* | *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* J.H. Burton (ed) (Edinburgh, 1908-1970) (16 vols.) |
| SRA | Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow |
| SRO | Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |

# CHAPTER 1

**Introduction: Highlanders in Lowland Scottish Cities**

It is difficult to know when Highlanders began to settle in numbers in Lowland towns and cities.[1] We are told of 'considerable numbers of persons having the Irish language residing in the City of Glasgow and the town of Grinok' in 1717[2] and although this evidence challenges the notion that Highlanders settled in the south only after the 1745 Rebellion, it is likely that substantial movement and settlement was much more marked from the later eighteenth century. The membership lists of Glasgow Highland Society, founded in 1727, suggest a Highland population in Glasgow of perhaps 3500 -4000 persons by 1800,[3] but this figure must be regarded as an estimate.

Lobban has suggested that the overwhelming majority of Greenock's resident Highland population came from the more adjacent parishes of south and east Argyll.[4] The majority of Highland incomers to Paisley in the later nineteenth century came from Argyllshire, and, to an extent, eastern Inverness-shire. Most of Glasgow's Highlanders came from Argyllshire and the south-west Highlands and those south and east Highland parishes on the edge of the Grampians. It is likely that each of the chief centres of population in the Lowlands drew the great proportion of their Highlanders from the more contiguous Highland parishes and only a relatively small fraction from the more distant Highlands.[5]

Information on the occupational experiences of Highlanders is more certain. As Lobban has noted, several authors consider the urban Highlander to have come from, and fitted into, 'the lower orders of society'.[6] But Highlanders also found jobs involving at least some training or skill. Many had employment in retail or distributive trades or in administration. A breakdown by occupation of the membership lists of Glasgow Highland Society from 1727 to 1861 reveals large numbers of Highlanders with employment in what may be termed managerial/professional jobs. The continued use of Gaelic may have acted to keep the Highlander apart from his Lowland counterpart. Edinburgh's city-guard, composed entirely of Highlanders in 1745, was still strongly Gaelic by 1779, and what was true of a section of Edinburgh's Gaelic population in the late eighteenth century seems to have been true of other towns with a Highland population. It was this strength of Gaelic that led to the opening of Gaelic chapels in Lowland towns from the late eighteenth century onwards and the presence of Highlanders in Lowland towns was also reflected in the establishment of Highland societies and clubs. Better-off Highlanders dominated the committees of management of the Gaelic chapels and the membership of the various Highland clubs and societies.[7]

In review, it is clear that Highlanders were an important element in Lowland urban society by the late eighteenth century. Although many Highlanders were unskilled or only part-skilled manual workers and gravitated toward employment as labourers or servants, many were familiar with the processes of industrial production or competent

enough in the handling of people or goods to find positions in a range of skilled manual or administrative jobs. Separate chapels or clubs provided a focus for the Highland-born population, and several sources hint at differences in occupation, status and background *within* these communities.

## Sources used in the Study

The principal sources used for an assessment of migration — the censuses of 1851 and 1891 — do not record reasons for the move. 1851 is the first reliable guide to birthplace by parish. The census also provides evidence upon occupation, relationship to head of family, age, sex, and place of residence in the town in question. Other sources have been examined to fill the gaps and instil a sense of process and change over the period 1787 to 1891. For Dundee, three sources are of particular value: the East Poorhouse Register of Inmates 1856-1878; the Burial Register of the Howff Burial Ground 1772-1854 (of special interest from 1821 to 1854); and the Register Minutes of the Deacon's-Records, Free Gaelic Church in Meadowside. For Perth, two sources are of particular value in addition to the census: the Register Minutes of the Kirk Session of St. Stephen's Free Gaelic Church, and, from 1845-1891, the General Register of Poor for the two parishes of Kinnoull and Tibbermore which, together with Perth parish, made up the town of Perth in the nineteenth century.

The Highlands have been here defined as the pre-1974 counties of Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Inverness, Argyll, Bute, and those parishes of Perthshire, Nairn, and Morayshire where, by 1891, Gaelic was spoken by more than twenty-five per cent of the parish population (see Figure 1).

It will be clear from all the evidence examined that not everything is known about every person of Highland birth or Gaelic speech in late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century Dundee and Perth. Nevertheless, it is possible to investigate and assess several themes central to an understanding of the place Highlanders had in the social history of these two towns.

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[1] For a broader review of some of the available evidence, see C.W.J. Withers *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981: the geographical history of a language* (Edinburgh, 1984) 182-208

[2] SRO CH2/557/5 f 171

[3] *The scheme of Erection of the Charitable Highland Society in Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1787)

[4] R.D. Lobban, 'The Migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland with especial reference to Greenock in the period c. 1750-1890' Unpublished Ph. D. thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1969) *passim*

[5] T.M. Devine 'Highland migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760-1860' *Scottish Historical Review* LXII(2) (1983) 137-149

[6] R.D. Lobban (1969) *op. cit.* 70

[7] C. Withers (1984) *op.cit.* 200-201

Fig. 1. Base Map of Highland Parishes. (Key to Parishes Overleaf)

## List of Parishes

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Edderton | 34 | Abernethy & Kincardine |
| 2 | Tain | 35 | Kingussie |
| 3 | Tarbat | 36 | Kirkmichael |
| 4 | Fearn | 37 | Moulin |
| 5 | Nig | 38 | Logierait |
| 6 | Logie Easter | 39 | Little Dunkeld |
| 7 | Kilmuir Easter | 40 | Weem |
| 8 | Rosskeen | 41 | Glenorchy & Inishail |
| 9 | Alness | 42 | Ardchattan |
| 10 | Kiltearn | 43 | Muckairn |
| 11 | Dingwall | 44 | Kilmore & Kilbride |
| 12 | Fodderty | 45 | Kilninver & Kilmelfort |
| 13 | Urray | 46 | Kilbrandon & Kilchattan |
| 14 | Lochcarron | 47 | Craignish |
| 15 | Lochalsh | 48 | Kilmartin |
| 16 | Urquhart & Logie Wester | 49 | Kilchrennan & Dalavich |
| 17 | Resolis | 50 | Inverary |
| 18 | Cromarty | 51 | Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich |
| 19 | Rosemarkie | 52 | Strachur |
| 20 | Avoch | 53 | Kilmichael Glassary |
| 21 | Knockbain | 54 | North Knapdale |
| 22 | Killearnan | 55 | Stralachlan |
| 23 | Kiltarlity & Convinth | 56 | Kilfinan |
| 24 | Urquhart & Glenmoriston | 57 | Kilmodan |
| 25 | Kirkhill | 58 | Inverchaolain |
| 26 | Inverness & Bona | 59 | Dunoon & Kilmun |
| 27 | Dores | 60 | Kingarth |
| 28 | Daviot & Dunlichty | 61 | Rothesay |
| 29 | Petty | 62 | North Bute |
| 30 | Ardiseier | 63 | Kilcalmonell |
| 31 | Croy | 64 | Saddell & Skipness |
| 32 | Moy & Dalarossie | 65 | Killean & Kilchenzie |
| 33 | Duthil & Rothiemurchus | 66 | Gigha & Cara |

**CHAPTER 2**

**The Origins and Growth of Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth**

**The Beginning of the Communities**

The dates of opening of Gaelic chapels in the two towns — in Dundee in 1791 and in Perth in 1787 - may be taken as the first formal expression of the Highland population in these places, although it is likely that both towns had Highlanders resident before then. Historians of the towns are generally silent on the matter: Rollo writes of Dundee only how a 'Gaelic Church was erected ... in Long Wynd which became known as the Gaelic Chapel',[1] and we are told for Perth simply that the chapel which was only for the Highland population had been built as a result of a great influx of Highlanders in the late 1780s.[2] If, as is likely, the settlement of Highlanders there and in Perth from the later eighteenth century and earlier was slow and small in scale in any one year and not the result of a single large immigration, the steady growth of a Highland element in these towns would have gone unrecorded until the foundation of the chapels.

Persons of Highland surname are recorded in the burial register of the Howff burial ground from 1772: there are sixteen recorded Highland-surname burials in that year alone, and each year thereafter until the early 1800s has about a dozen such entries.[3] Accompanying statements hint at the names and occupations of Dundee Highlanders in the last quarter of the eighteenth century — consider, for example, the burial entry on March 21, 1772 of Mrs. Jean McGlashan, Mother to Mr. Donal McGlashan, Cloater [Collector] of yr Excies [Excise] — but such cases are few and are of little help in estimating the size of the Highland population. There are thirty persons of Highland surname listed in the *Dundee Register* for 1782 when the population of the town was about 16,000.[4] This is not, however, an accurate guide to the number even of middle-class Highlanders engaged in trade in Dundee since trade directories of this period were selective and many in more menial tasks would not have been recorded. This evidence also suggests, however, that by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, some persons of Highland background had been settled long enough to establish themselves in the town.

In Perth the Gaelic congregation numbered 400 in 1837 although the chapel had sittings for 762.[5] Since there is some evidence to suggest that Highlanders did not attend worship, and that of those who did, attendance at chapel fell during the nineteenth century, it is possible that the number of Highlanders in Perth was greater than the given totals for sittings or attending service would suggest. In both towns, it is likely that the Highland population numbered only one or two hundred by the late eighteenth century.

**The Growth and Demographic Experience of the Highland Populations**

The most certain guide to the size of the Highland population is the Census of 1851. By the mid-nineteenth century, Dundee and Perth had grown rapidly (Table 1). Dundee had a Highland-born population of 809 persons in 1851, of whom 400 were male, 409 female. The total Highland-born population in Perth at the same date was 1220, of whom 555 were male and 665 female. By 1891, Dundee's Highland-born population

numbered 1277 persons, made up of 525 males and 752 females, and in Perth in 1891, the total population of Highland-born was 1117, 454 of whom were males and 653 females.[6]

**Table 1**
**The Population of Dundee and Perth, 1801-1891†**

| Date | Dundee | Perth |
|------|--------|-------|
| 1801 | 26,084 | 14,878 |
| 1811 | 29,616 | 16,948 |
| 1821 | 30,575 | 19,068 |
| 1831 | 45,355 | 20,016 |
| 1841 | 62,873 | 21,293 |
| 1851 | 78,931 | 23,835 |
| 1861 | 91,664 | 25,293 |
| 1871 | 120,724 | 25,606 |
| 1881 | 142,154 | 28,980 |
| 1891 | 155,985 | 29,919 |

† From the Census of Scotland

No simple explanation can be advanced to account for the larger Highland population being in Perth and not Dundee in 1851. Perth lies nearer the Highlands — one writer in 1704 considered that it lay '...in the very mouth of the Highlands'[7] — and this relative proximity may have meant that potential migrants in parishes such as Killin, Kenmore, Dull, and even north-east Perthshire parishes like Logierait, Moulin, and Kirkmichael (Figure 1), would have been attracted to Perth rather than Dundee. To an extent, this hypothesis is substantiated by evidence upon the life-time migration paths and parishes of origin of the Highlanders in the two towns. The increase in the Highland population in Dundee between 1851 and 1891 and the slight fall in the number of Highlanders in Perth in the same period may be a reflection of the relative prosperity and availability of employment in those places during the second half of the nineteenth century.[8]

More detailed analysis of the age and sex structure in 1851 and 1891 reveals that the Highland population in Dundee and Perth had relatively few hi the very young and very old age groups and was largely made up of persons in the working age groups (Tables 2 to 5). In Dundee in 1851, over three-quarters of the Highland-born population were between the ages of 20 and 44, and in Perth in the same year, a little over seventy per cent of the Highlanders were to be found in this age range. Similar proportions are apparent for 1891 in both towns. The Highland population of 1220 in Perth in 1851 represented 5.11 per cent of the town's total population. Forty years later, the Highland total of 1117 was 3.73 per cent of the total population. In Dundee, the 809 persons of Highland origin resident in 1851 represented 1.02 per cent of the total population; the 1277 Highlanders in the Dundee of 1891 made up only 0.81 per cent of the population. These figures, suggestive of a reasonably large Highland community but a small Highland element in the population as a whole, are supported by other evidence.

**Table 2**
**Age and Sex Structure of the Highland-born Population in Dundee, 1851†**

| Age Cohort | MALES | | FEMALES | | Total Pop in Cohort |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Male Pop. | No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Female Pop. | |
| 0-4 | 5 | 1.25 | 5 | 1.22 | 10 |
| 5-9 | 16 | 1.5 | 4 | 0.97 | 20 |
| 10-14 | 13 | 3.25 | 7 | 1.71 | 20 |
| 15-19 | 23 | 5.75 | 34 | 8.31 | 57 |
| 20-24 | 54 | 13.5 | 38 | 9.29 | 92 |
| 25-29 | 44 | 11.0 | 51 | 12.46 | 95 |
| 30-34 | 46 | 11.5 | 48 | 11.73 | 94 |
| 35-39 | 47 | 11.75 | 38 | 9.29 | 85 |
| 40-44 | 47 | 11.75 | 35 | 8.55 | 82 |
| 45-49 | 33 | 8.25 | 44 | 10.75 | 77 |
| 50-54 | 27 | 6.75 | 30 | 7.33 | 57 |
| 55-59 | 15 | 3.75 | 16 | 3.91 | 31 |
| 60-64 | 15 | 3.75 | 18 | 4.4 | 33 |
| 65-69 | 12 | 3.0 | 19 | 4.64 | 31 |
| 70-74 | 4 | 1.0 | 13 | 3.17 | 17 |
| 75-79 | 3 | 0.75 | 4 | 0.97 | 7 |
| 80-84 | 5 | 1.25 | 4 | 0.97 | 9 |
| 85-89 | 1 | 0.25 | - | - | 1 |
| 90-94 | - | - | 1 | 0.24 | 1 |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | - | - | - |
| | **400** | **100.00** | **409** | **100.00** | **809** |

**Table 3**
**Age and Sex Structure of the Highland-born Population in Perth, 1851†**

| Age Cohort | MALES | | FEMALES | | Total Pop in Cohort |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Male Pop. | No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Female Pop. | |
| 0-4 | 9 | 1.62 | 4 | 0.6 | 13 |
| 5-9 | 13 | 2.34 | 21 | 3.15 | 34 |
| 10-14 | 39 | 7.02 | 25 | 3.75 | 64 |
| 15-19 | 41 | 7.38 | 51 | 7.66 | 92 |
| 20-24 | 51 | 9.18 | 66 | 9.92 | 117 |
| 25-29 | 41 | 7.38 | 74 | 11.1 | 115 |
| 30-34 | 60 | 10.81 | 54 | 8.1 | 114 |
| 35-39 | 52 | 9.36 | 53 | 7.95 | 105 |
| 40-44 | 44 | 7.92 | 47 | 7.05 | 91 |
| 45-49 | 31 | 5.58 | 46 | 6.9 | 87 |
| 50-54 | 41 | 7.38 | 63 | 9.47 | 104 |
| 55-59 | 37 | 6.66 | 28 | 4.2 | 65 |
| 60-64 | 33 | 5.94 | 49 | 7.36 | 82 |
| 65-69 | 25 | 4.5 | 29 | 4.36 | 54 |
| 70-74 | 23 | 4.14 | 25 | 3.75 | 48 |
| 75-79 | 10 | 1.8 | 13 | 1.95 | 23 |
| 80-84 | 2 | 0.36 | 14 | 2.1 | 16 |
| 85-89 | 3 | 0.54 | 1 | 0.15 | 4 |
| 90-94 | - | - | 1 | 0.15 | 1 |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | 1 | 0.15 | 1 |
| | **555** | **100.00** | **665** | **100.00** | **1220** |

**† From *Census of Scotland***

**Table 4**
**Age and Sex Structure of the Highland-born Population in Dundee, 1891 †**

| Age Cohort | MALES No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Male Pop. | FEMALES No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Female Pop. | Total Pop in Cohort |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 7 | 1.3 | 11 | 1.4 | 18 |
| 5-9 | 11 | 2.1 | 12 | 1.5 | 23 |
| 10-14 | 19 | 3.6 | 21 | 2.73 | 40 |
| 15-19 | 25 | 4.7 | 42 | 5.5 | 67 |
| 20-24 | 47 | 8.9 | 45 | 5.91 | 92 |
| 25-29 | 39 | 7.4 | 83 | 11.03 | 122 |
| 30-34 | 46 | 8.7 | 77 | 10.2 | 123 |
| 35-39 | 43 | 8.11 | 68 | 9.04 | 131 |
| 40-44 | 52 | 9.91 | 66 | 8.7 | 118 |
| 45-49 | 44 | 8.32 | 74 | 9.8 | 118 |
| 50-54 | 45 | 8.4 | 71 | 9.4 | 116 |
| 55-59 | 39 | 7.4 | 50 | 6.6 | 89 |
| 60-64 | 42 | 8.0 | 42 | 5.51 | 84 |
| 65-69 | 28 | 5.3 | 31 | 4.13 | 59 |
| 70-74 | 18 | 3.4 | 32 | 4.2 | 50 |
| 75-79 | 9 | 1.7 | 20 | 2.6 | 29 |
| 80-84 | 9 | 1.7 | 4 | 0.5 | 13 |
| 85-89 | 1 | 0.19 | 3 | 0.4 | 4 |
| 90-94 | 1 | 0.19 | - | - | 1 |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | - | - | - |
| | **525** | **100.00** | **752** | **100.00** | **1277** |

**Table 5**
**Age and Sex Structure of the Highland-born Population in Perth, 1891†**

| Age Cohort | MALES No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Male Pop. | FEMALES No. in Cohort | Percentage of Highland Female Pop. | Total Pop in Cohort |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 6 | 1.32 | 9 | 1.37 | 15 |
| 5-9 | 13 | 3.3 | 22 | 3.36 | 37 |
| 10-14 | 23 | 5.06 | 20 | 3.06 | 45 |
| 15-19 | 43 | 9.47 | 32 | 4.09 | 65 |
| 20-24 | 28 | 6.16 | 43 | 6.58 | 71 |
| 25-29 | 37 | 8.14 | 59 | 9.03 | 96 |
| 30-34 | 40 | 8.81 | 59 | 9.03 | 99 |
| 35-39 | 42 | 9.25 | 60 | 9.18 | 102 |
| 40-44 | 36 | 7.92 | 64 | 9.8 | 100 |
| 45-49 | 35 | 7.7 | 53 | 8.11 | 88 |
| 50-54 | 38 | 8.37 | 49 | 7.5 | 87 |
| 55-59 | 27 | 5.95 | 31 | 4.47 | 58 |
| 60-64 | 34 | 7.4 | 40 | 6.12 | 74 |
| 65-69 | 15 | 3.3 | 37 | 5.66 | 52 |
| 70-74 | 14 | 3.08 | 38 | 5.7 | 52 |
| 75-79 | 16 | 3.52 | 24 | 3.67 | 40 |
| 80-84 | 3 | 0.66 | 10 | 1.53 | 13 |
| 85-89 | 2 | 0.44 | 1 | 0.15 | 3 |
| 90-94 | - | - | 2 | 0.3 | 2 |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | - | - | - |
| | **452** | **100.00** | **653** | **100.00** | **1117** |

**† From *Census of Scotland***

Using the records of the Howff burial ground from 1821 to 1854, Flinn and his co-authors have suggested that between 0.9 and 2.5 per cent of total burials over that period were persons of Highland origin.[9] A more realistic assessment is to consider the actual number of Highlanders buried per year over thirty-four years (Table 6).

**Table 6**
**Burials of Persons of Highland Birth in the Howff Burial Ground, Dundee, 1821-1854†**

| Date | No. of Highland-born Persons buried | Date | No. of Highland-born Persons buried |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1821 | 11 | 1838 | 29 |
| 1822 | 11 | 1839 | 33 |
| 1823 | 13 | 1840 | 38 |
| 1824 | 4 | 1841 | 21 |
| 1825 | 13 | 1842 | 21 |
| 1826 | 22 | 1843 | 32 |
| 1827 | 18 | 1844 | 25 |
| 1828 | 16 | 1845 | 29 |
| 1829 | 23 | 1846 | 31 |
| 1830 | 21 | 1847 | 37 |
| 1831 | 25 | 1848 | 26 |
| 1832 | 43 | 1849 | 43 |
| 1833 | 24 | 1850 | 23 |
| 1834 | 31 | 1851 | 26 |
| 1835 | 37 | 1852 | 21 |
| 1836 | 35 | 1853 | 34 |
| 1837 | 48 | 1854 | 27 |
| | | | **881** |

† From Dundee City Archives, Register of Burials Howff Churchyard 1821-1854

In both towns, the sub-standard working and living conditions of the great majority of the population were major contributors to the death rate.[10] Endemic fever - typhus in 1847 and cholera in 1832 and 1849 - was particularly severe in Dundee, and burial records reveal typhus, consumption (tuberculosis) and asthma to have been common causes of death across all age groups. Problems in obtaining fresh water and a continued housing shortage made the problem worse.[11] Before 1870 too few houses were available for the working classes, and after that date, there was insufficient accommodation at rent or prices suitable for working people.[12] Some people were housed by their employers, but for the great majority of employees, low wages determined their level of rent and forced them into squalid, overcrowded tenements and closes.[13] Working conditions were often little better. Many branches of the textile industry in which Highland migrants were engaged involved outdoor or piece work or long periods standing soaked by wet cloth or hot spray in processes such as the wet-spinning of flax.[14] Death or illness as a result of lung disease, skin complaints, spinal disorders as well as accidental death in fires or being trapped in unguarded or ill-maintained machinery was commonplace. And low wages also meant a sub-standard diet which could not offset such living and working conditions.[15]

## Table 7

### Principal Specific Causes of Death in the Highland-born Population in Dundee, 1821-1845†

| Principal Specific Cause of Death | Age Cohorts and Numbers of Deaths in Each Cohort | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total Deaths by Cause |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70-74 | 75-79 | 80-84 | 85-89 | 90-94 | 95-99 | 100+ | |
| Accidental[1] | | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 2 | | | 5 | 5 | | | | | 1 | 24 |
| Asthma | | 2 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 15 | 25 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 80 |
| Bowel diseases[2] | 1 | | 1 | | 7 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 | | | | | | 44 |
| Cancer | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | | | | | | 12 |
| Cholera[3] | 1 | | | 4 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 58 |
| Consumption[4] | | | | 4 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 18 | 13 | 14 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | 128 |
| Dropsy | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 4 | | | | | | 32 |
| Heart attack | | | 2 | 4 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 2 | | | | | 35 |
| Influenza | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | 18 |
| Measles | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Scarlet Fever | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 7 |
| Smallpox | 6 | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 16 |
| Typhus | | | | | | | 5 | 4 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | 40 |
| Venereal disease | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Whooping cough | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| **Total Deaths By Cohort** | 18 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 27 | 29 | 29 | 34 | 46 | 43 | 46 | 45 | 66 | 49 | 25 | 20 | 6 | 2 | – | 2 | 1 | 547 |

† From Dundee City Archives, Register of Burials Howff Churchyard 1821-1854

[1] Including one murder and three suicides
[2] Including 'flux'; dysentery; 'Illiac passion' [inflammation of the ilium]; and diarrhoea
[3] The first recorded case among the Highland-born population was that of Jean McIntosh from Kirkmichael parish Perthshire, who died aged 78 on 10 September, 1826
[4] This does not include deaths attributable to 'inflammation of lungs'

The average age at death of the 452 Highland-born males buried in the Howff burial ground between February 20,1821, and December 22,1854, was 51.7 years and ranged from infants of six months to men in their late nineties. The average age at death of the 448 female Highlanders entered in the register for the same period was 52.5 years. The principal specific causes of death may be seen from Table 7.[16] The relatively large percentage of Highlanders recorded as dying from asthma and consumption—a total of 208 (38 per cent of the total number of 547 entries where cause of death is given) - should not go unnoticed given their involvement in the textile industries and residence in several of the poorer districts of town.

For many Highlanders, ill-health meant temporary unemployment, or condemned them to a life of begging or the receipt of poor relief. In the register of inmates of Dundee's East Poorhouse for the period 1865 to 1878, it is possible to note illnesses and injuries for 110 Highland-born individuals (Table 8). The number of individuals receiving assistance as a result of what is recorded as 'asthma', 'bronchitis' and 'lung disease' testify to illnesses common among textile workers. In several instances, the register records the death of the inmate: Isabella McDonald, aged 36, a mill worker, originally from Inverness, died of inflammation of the lungs on October 13, 1859, two weeks after her admission. Catherine McNaughton, a sixty-six year old from Blair Atholl employed as a waste picker, entered the poorhouse on July 19, 1861, and was dismissed from there on August 16. Ten years later, the records reveal her re-admission, this time describing her only as a 'millworker', and, on February 14, 1871, her death due to 'chronic bronchitis and debility' is entered in the register.

For the great majority of Highlanders registered, the term 'dismissed' completes individual entries and we lose sight of them thereafter. Such dismissal cannot have made life easier for the injured or sick. Mary Ann Cameron, a seamstress born in Inverness in 1826 and resident in Dundee since she was ten years old, was received into the poorhouse on February 16, 1857, with what was recorded as 'paralysis'. One can only surmise that this paralysis was the result of long hours stitching dresses or sewing sacks and only guess at her fate upon being dismissed in July 1857. Some, like thirty-one year old Euphemia McKimmin, a mill worker from Islay, or Charles McDuff, 62, a blacksmith from Tain, received relief as a result of accidental injury and left after recovering, but others gained only temporary relief from debilities which, in many cases, must be presumed to be occupationally-related. Highland-born female workers with bronchitis, 'beat's knee', (an inflammation of the knee joints and skin caused both by continued standing and rubbing by cloth), or weavers with lumbago, seventy-year old labourers made unemployable through 'general enfeeblement' bear witness to the experience of at least a proportion of Dundee's Highlanders in the nineteenth century.

The above statistics and evidence and the connections between environment, occupation and health they hint at should not be interpreted to mean that Highland-born persons were any more or less prone than the rest of the urban population to fluctuations in total number through endemic disease or illness related to sub-standard living and working environments.

Rather the figures in Tables 6, 7 and 8 illustrate the way the Highland population in nineteenth-century Dundee varied in size and well-being in response to mortality, disease and the availability of employment in just the same way as the remainder of the town's population.[17]

**Table 8**
**Listed Injury or Given Reasons for Receipt of Poor Relief among**
**Highland-born Inmates of Dundee's East Poorhouse, 1856-18781†**

| Listed Injury or Given Reason for Receipt of Poor Relief | Number of Individuals |
|---|---|
| 'Asthma' | 6 |
| 'Brain disease' | 2 |
| 'Bronchitis' | 16 |
| 'Burns' | 1 |
| 'Bruises from a fall' | 3 |
| 'Cancer' | 3 |
| 'Debility' | 18 |
| 'Deformity of hand' | 2 |
| 'Dropsy' | 2 |
| 'Eye disease' | 2 |
| 'Fever' | 1 |
| 'Heart disease' | 4 |
| 'Injury to arm' | 1 |
| 'Injury to hip' | 2 |
| 'Lung disease' | 10 |
| 'Paralysis' | 4 |
| 'Rheumatism' | 12 |
| 'Rupture' | 2 |
| 'Sore throat' | 1 |
| 'Sprained wrist' | 1 |
| 'Swelling of knee' | 4 |
| 'Ulcer on leg' | 7 |
| 'Venereal disease' | 6 |

† From Dundee City Archives, Register of Inmates of Dundee East Poorhouse, 1856-1878

The General Registers of the Poor for Kinnoull parish from 1845 to 1890 and Tibbermore parish from 1855 to 1890 (those for Perth parish are destroyed) cast a similar light on the experience of several Perth Highlanders. Alexander McFarlane, for example, described as a resident of Gloagburn in Tibbermore parish in the register for May 1870, was a shepherd born in Peatygown, a hamlet in Blair Atholl parish in 1803 and had been resident in Perth since 1859. His disablement - described as 'rupture and dropsy' - was considered sufficient to warrant financial assistance of 12⁷- (60p) per month. In addition to this sum, McFarlane's wife, Margaret Campbell, earned 1/- (5p) a day '... when able and employed'. Outgoings included £1.00 per annum in house rent. Their son, Donald, was a gamekeeper and had eight children; too great a responsibility to permit much support for his parents.[18] By early December 1873, however, Alexander

McFarlane had died and his name was struck from the roll of recipients of poor relief: no mention is made of arrangements for his wife.

Of course, not all those of Highland background in Perth and Dundee found themselves living on the margins. Several of the names listed in the Seat Rent Account Books for Perth Gaelic Chapel in 1856 may be traced in the Post Office Directory for Perth of 1856-1857.[19] Several Highlanders lived or worked in hamlets and farms on the outskirts of Perth and of those who lived in the town, there are a number whose given residence and occupation points to middle-class status. The several individuals of Highland surname enumerated in the Dundee Burgh Land Tax of 1826-1830 likewise reveal such persons to have found security in the town and counterbalances the above evidence upon less fortunate Highlanders.

What is difficult to know in the case of both Highland populations is the extent to which their numbers were either inflated or decreased by numbers of Highland-born visitors or temporary migrants. Highland parishes certainly provided large numbers of those people employed only seasonally as bleachfield workers:[20] some of these, though intent on returning north with their wages, may have been enumerated in the census records. The number of Highland-born persons recorded as 'boarders' or 'lodgers' or 'visitors', especially the last of these, provides some clues as to the proportion of the Highland population who were temporarily resident. Dundee had 112 boarders/lodgers and thirty-two visitors among its Highland population by 1851, and eighty-six and ten in each category respectively in 1891. In Perth, the numbers were seventy-four and thirty-one in 1851 and sixty-six and only six visitors in 1891. The number of visitors is more important in regard to any transient Highland-born population. Sub-letting was common among the working population in both towns, and although in some cases the term 'lodger' was given to such as Alex. Dewar from Moulin, recorded as a traveller in the boot and shoe trade in 1891 for whom his lodgings in the Hilltown, Dundee, may have been but little used, most lodgers and boarders lived in and contributed to their local community. The visitor, on the other hand, is 'one who calls upon or goes to see a friend or relative *for a short time.* The duration may be anything from 10 minutes to a few months, it is true, but the temporary and social nature of the visit is never in doubt.[21] Isaac Norrie, a twenty-three year old unmarried flax buyer from Inverness, residing in 1891 at 13 Nelson Street, Dundee, and recorded there as a visitor is perhaps more likely, in view of his occupation and lack of family ties, to have been temporily resident than individuals like Peter McGlashan, Helen Macleod and Grace and Charlotte McGlashan [no relation] who are all recorded as 'visitor' to 49 Athole Street, Perth, in 1891. Their jobs as millwright, sacksewer and domestic servants suggest they contributed more to the local community than the term under which they were enumerated is normally taken to mean. Visitors to one address may have been resident in another part of the town and those recorded under terms like 'niece' or 'brother-in-law' may have been resident for a short period only.[22] And in contrast to including those who might only be temporary, there is no way of knowing omissions from the census: of Highlanders on the very

fringe of society who were beyond the ken of the enumerator and thus absent from the records.

The above figures for the above Highland population in the two towns must, therefore, be considered estimates only. It is likely that the Highland element swelled in response to straitened circumstances in the Highland parishes and to periods of prosperity and employment in the local economy. Numbers perhaps increased in the shorter term during the summer with the influx of temporary migrants. In contrast, downturns in trade and resultant mill closure or short-time working would have been an incentive for some to return to the Highlands.

**The Places of Origin and Migration Paths of**
**Dundee and Perth Highlanders**

The great majority of the inhabitants of Dundee and Perth in 1851 were born in those towns or in the immediately surrounding counties, with relatively large proportions coming from nearby counties such as Fife and comparatively few from more distant places (Table 9). Closer examination of the number of persons from the Highlands as here defined reveals that, in the mid-nineteenth century, well over three-quarters of Perth's Highland population came from the Highland parishes of Perthshire (Table 10: see also Figure 2). Inverness-shire provided the second highest total of Highland-born residents of Perth in 1851 with Ross and Cromarty, Bute, and Argyll and Sutherland each supplying less than five per cent of the total Highland population. The Highland parishes of Caithness, Moray and Nairn contributed very few to the total (Table 10). By 1891, the relative proportion of Highlanders from the more northern Highland counties is greater than for 1851: the Highland parishes of Perthshire were still the leading source area of Perth's Highland population, but Inverness-shire now provided nearly twice as many as in 1851, and Ross and Cromarty, though still providing relatively few in total number by the end of the century, accounted for nearly ten per cent of Highland migrants in Perth.

Similar patterns characterise the areas of origin of Dundee's Highland population in the nineteenth century (Table 10). Allowing for the enumeration of a few Highlanders on more than one occasion, a reasonably consistent pattern emerges from these statistics. The dozen parishes that make up Highland Perthshire were the principal areas of origin of Dundee's Highland population during the nineteenth century. Though the figures for Inverness-shire suggest that, at any one date or period in the 1800s, a little over one in four of Dundee Highlanders would have been born in that county, the evidence for Ross and Cromarty may point to an increase in numbers from this county, perhaps particularly in the period 1851 to 1891. Bute, Sutherland, and the Highland parishes of Moray, Caithness, and Nairn seem always to have been the source of only a few of Dundee's Highland population. Argyll's contribution was only slightly greater in size than these — perhaps one in twenty before about 1851 though that proportion increased slightly in the second half of the century (Table 10). Detailed mapping, by parish, of the

birthplace of Highlanders resident in Dundee and Perth affords greater insight into the areas of origin of these immigrant communities than county-based statistics. Figures 2-9 show the parishes of birth of life-time migration of the Highland population in Dundee from about 1821 to 1891, and for Perth, from about 1845 to 1891.

**Table 9**
**Birthplace of the Inhabitants (Scotland only) of the Counties of Angus and Perth**
**and the Towns of Dundee and Perth, 1851†**

| COUNTY | PERTH Under 20 | PERTH 20+ | ANGUS Under 20 | ANGUS 20+ | PERTH TOWN Under 20 | PERTH TOWN 20+ | DUNDEE TOWN Under 20 | DUNDEE TOWN 20+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aberdeen | 162 | 553 | 789 | 2505 | 49 | 136 | 375 | 1018 |
| Angus | 1811 | 2991 | 73223 | 66625 | 248 | 380 | 3714 | 7262 |
| Argyll | 183 | 541 | 25 | 121 | 9 | 28 | 8 | 60 |
| Ayr | 58 | 222 | 68 | 223 | 19 | 70 | 37 | 120 |
| Banff | 20 | 82 | 72 | 389 | 5 | 27 | 12 | 112 |
| Berwick | 8 | 117 | 19 | 124 | 5 | 23 | 12 | 66 |
| Bute | 2 | 16 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 |
| Caithness | 24 | 59 | 38 | 208 | 7 | 20 | 18 | 125 |
| Clackmannan | 275 | 413 | 12 | 56 | 10 | 31 | 8 | 40 |
| Dumfries | 32 | 113 | 14 | 80 | - | 20 | 4 | 31 |
| Dumbarton | 83 | 132 | 11 | 34 | 6 | 26 | 7 | 24 |
| East Lothian | 40 | 159 | 30 | 182 | 8 | 35 | 11 | 87 |
| Fife | 856 | 2037 | 1069 | 3824 | 131 | 390 | 697 | 2754 |
| Inverness | 134 | 910 | 95 | 745 | 14 | 160 | 37 | 287 |
| Kincardine | 33 | 129 | 1312 | 3574 | 4 | 35 | 48 | 214 |
| Kinross | 176 | 357 | 8 | 79 | 19 | 58 | 6 | 56 |
| Kirkcudbright | 8 | 25 | 7 | 42 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 19 |
| Lanark | 574 | 755 | 66 | 206 | 135 | 196 | 205 | 443 |
| Midlothian | 624 | 1257 | 687 | 1654 | 199 | 327 | 411 | 974 |
| Moray | 18 | 113 | 51 | 294 | 3 | 21 | 18 | 73 |
| Nairn | 16 | 34 | 10 | 59 | 4 | 16 | 4 | 26 |
| Orkney (see Shetland) | | | | | | | | |
| Peebles | 19 | 35 | 4 | 28 | 4 | 11 | 3 | 11 |
| Perth | 53444 | 61631 | 2670 | 8424 | 1200 | 3640 | 1368 | 5021 |
| Renfrew | 117 | 275 | 179 | 469 | 34 | 73 | 85 | 187 |
| Ross & Cromerty | 30 | 186 | 55 | 413 | 4 | 52 | 24 | 163 |
| Roxburgh | 27 | 79 | 25 | 82 | 13 | 18 | 13 | 44 |
| Selkirk | 3 | 19 | - | 7 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 |
| Shetland (and Orkney) | 3 | 16 | 28 | 104 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 66 |
| Stirling | 667 | 1209 | 66 | 206 | 46 | 88 | 43 | 120 |
| Sutherland | 10 | 69 | 9 | 138 | 4 | 27 | 7 | 79 |
| West Lothian | 48 | 147 | 22 | 87 | 9 | 23 | 6 | 44 |
| Wigtown | 16 | 52 | 10 | 51 | - | 12 | 3 | 28 |

† From Census of Scotland 1851, p.1040

**TABLE 10**

**Birth place, by County, of the Highland Population of Dundee an Perth, 1821-1891**

**(Number of Highlanders Born in Indicated County and as a percentage of Total Highland-born Population)**

| | DUNDEE | | | | | | PERTH | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1821-54[1] | | 1851[2] | | 1891[3] | | 1851[4] | | 1891[5] | |
| Argyll | 37 | (4.19) | 54 | (6.67) | 92 | (7.20) | 28 | (2.33) | 48 | (4.29) |
| Bute | 2 | (0.22) | 5 | (0.61) | 11 | (0.86) | 8 | (0.66) | 1 | (0.08) |
| Inverness | 250 | (28.37) | 220 | (27.19) | 364 | (28.50) | 147 | (12.25) | 247 | (22.11) |
| Ross and Cromerty | 105 | (11.91) | 128 | (15.82) | 263 | (20.59) | 38 | (3.16) | 107 | (9.57) |
| Sutherland | 76 | (8.62) | 39 | (4.82) | 44 | (3.44) | 19 | (1.58) | 38 | (3.40) |
| Highland Caithness | 11 | (1.24) | 11 | (1.35) | 27 | (2.11) | - | ( - ) | 9 | (0.80) |
| Highland Moray | 5 | (0.62) | 1 | (0.12) | 7 | (0.54) | 4 | (0.33) | 5 | (0.44) |
| Highland Perth | 391 | (44.38) | 348 | (43.00) | 466 | (36.49) | 955 | (79.58) | 657 | (58.80) |
| Highland Nairn | 4 | (0.45) | 3 | (0.37) | 3 | (0.23) | 1 | (0.08) | 5 | (0.44) |
| **TOTALS** | **881** | **(100.00)** | **809** | **(100.00)** | **1277** | **(100.00)** | **1200** | **(100.00)** | **1117** | **(100.00)** |

[1] From Register of Burials Howff Churchyard 1821-1854
[2] From Census Enumerators Books, Dundee 1851
[3] From Census Enumerators Books, Dundee 1891
[4] From Census Enumerators Books, Perth 1851
[5] From Census Enumerators Books, Perth 1891

According to the 1851 Census, the great proportion of Dundee's Highlanders came from the northern and north-eastern Highland Perthshire parishes of Dunkeld and Dowally, Blair Atholl, Kirkmichael, Moulin, Logierait, Dull and Little Dunkeld (Figure 4). Only Inverness and Bona parish, and, to a lesser extent, the parishes of Boleskine and Abertarff, Kilmuir (Skye), Ardersier, Dingwall, Cromarty, and Tain, and the Argyllshire parish of Kilmore and Kilbride (including within it the town of Oban), could be considered source parishes of any numerical significance. Beneath them in order of importance are the remainder of the Highland parishes, most of whom were the parishes of birth of only one or two of Dundee's Highlanders.

By 1891, the broad pattern of the majority of the Highland population in Dundee coming from north-east Perthshire and the eastern parishes of Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty had not greatly changed, but several points should merit our attention in regard to this later evidence (Figure 5). Firstly, and as we have seen, more Highlanders were involved than forty years previously; secondly, a greater number of Highland parishes were source parishes than in 1851; and, thirdly, Highlanders came in greater number from the more distant and isolated parishes of the north and west than they had before. In addition, several parishes seem to have been important areas of origin throughout this period: Inverness and Bona in particular, but also Dingwall, Cromarty, Ardersier, and Tain. (See also Figures 6, 7 and 8.) Taken together, this evidence suggests not only a certain continuity in what may be understood as the principal areas and parishes of origin of Dundee's Highland population, but also a later phase of migration to the south from the northern and western parishes rather than from the south and east Highlands. This later movement may itself reflect the delayed impact of agricultural and social change in the northern Highlands.
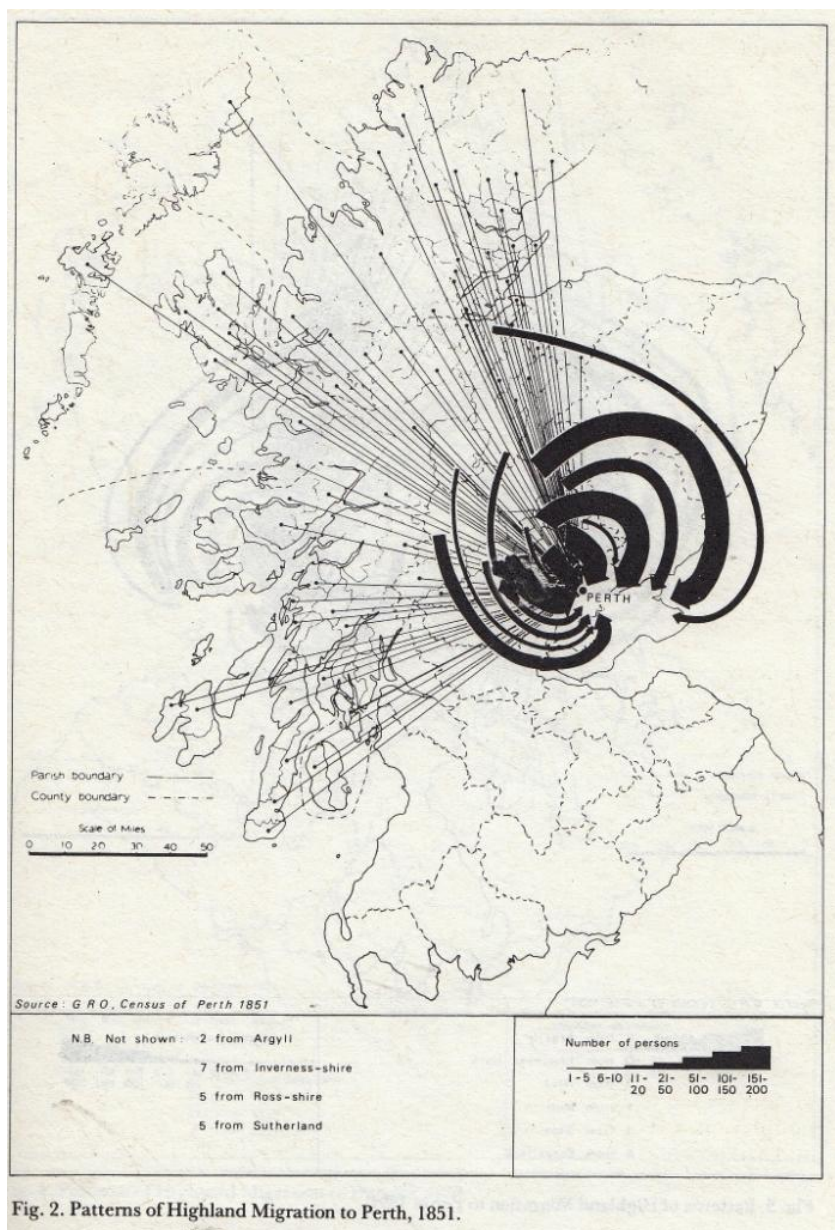
Fig. 2. Patterns of Highland Migration to Perth, 1851.

Fig. 3. Patterns of Highland Migration to Perth, 1891.

Parish boundary ————
County boundary - - - - -

Scale of Miles
0   10   20   30   40   50

Source : G R O, Census of Dundee 1851

N.B. Not shown :   6 from  Argyll
                   1 from  Bute
                   1 from  Highlands ·
                  19 from  Inverness-shire
                  17 from  Ross-shire
                  12 from  Skye
                   8 from  Sutherland

Number of persons

1 - 5  6-10  11-  21-  51-  101-  151-
             20   50   100  150   200
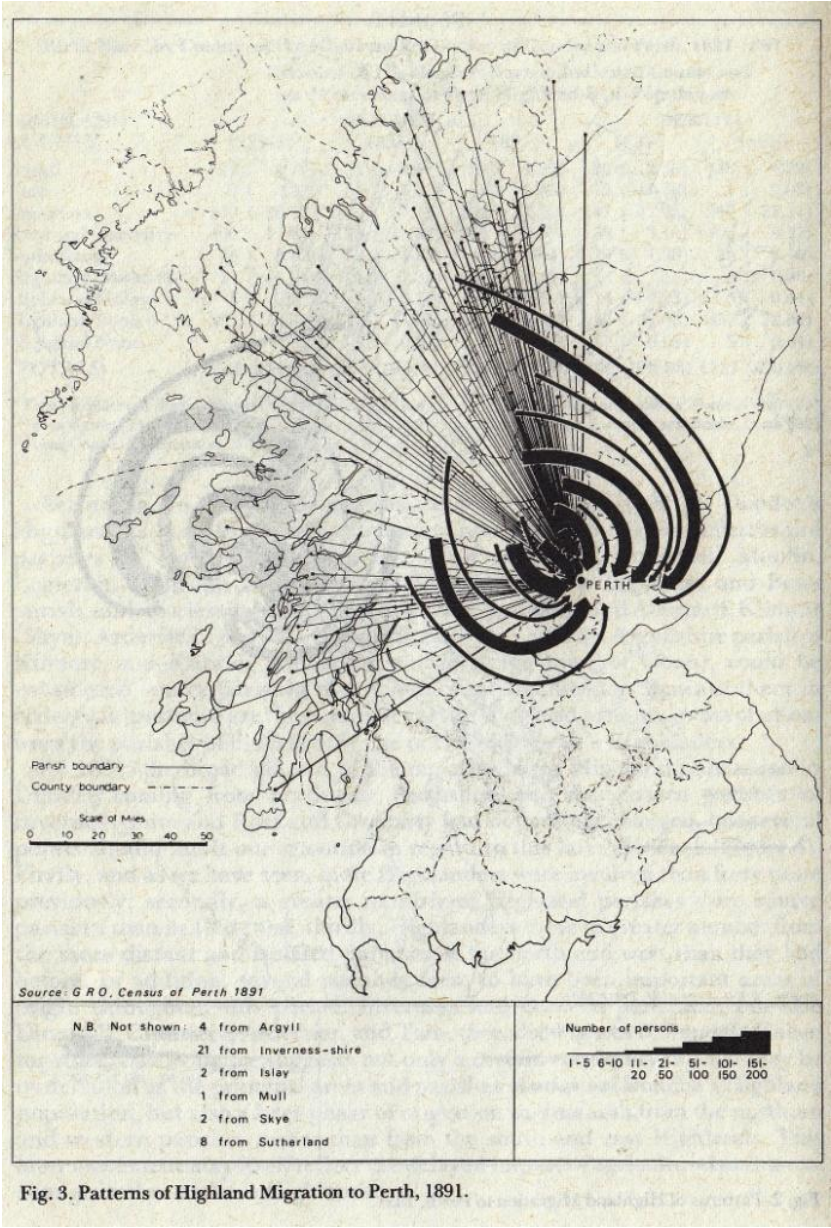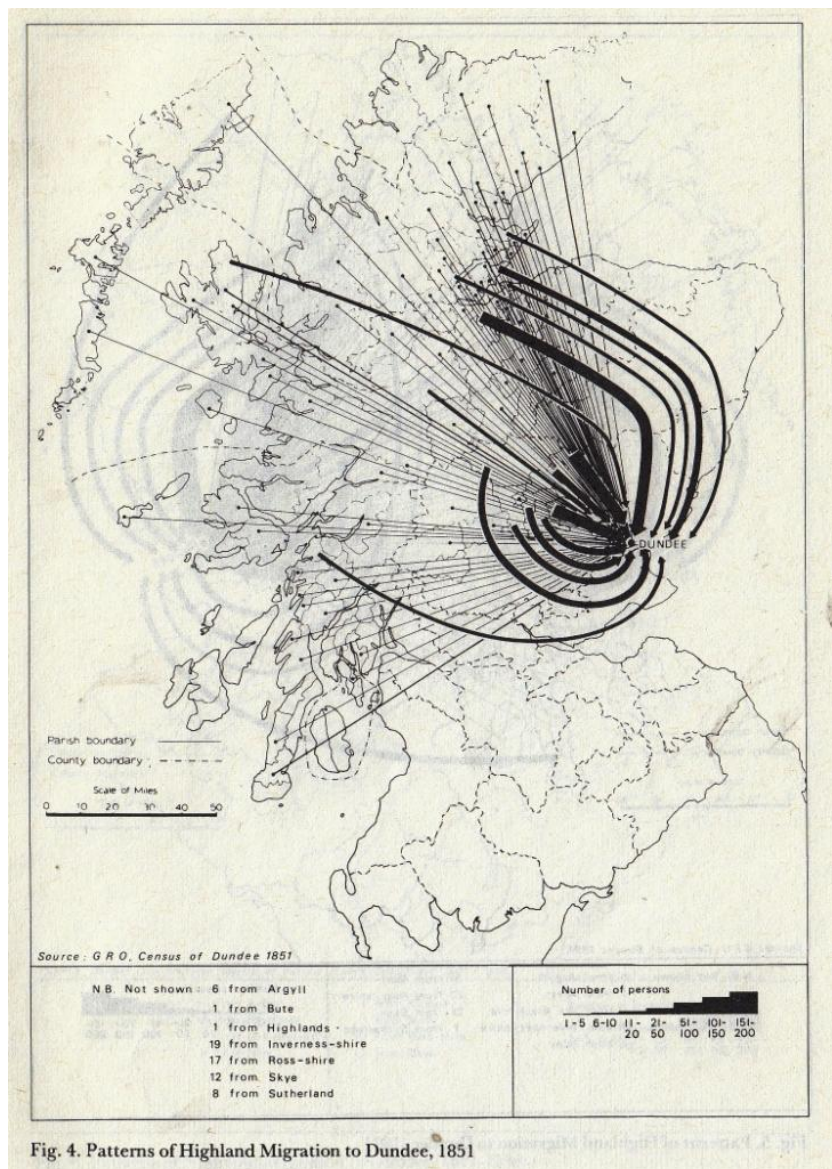
Fig. 4. Patterns of Highland Migration to Dundee, 1851

Fig. 5. Patterns of Highland Migration to Dundee, 1891

Parish boundary ———
County boundary ———

Scale of Miles
0  10  20  30  40  50

Source: Dundee City Archives, Register of Burials, Howff Churchyard 1821–1854.

N.B. Not shown :   11 from Argyll            1 from Kintyre
                   16 from Highlands         1 from Mull
                   17 from Inverness-shire   30 from Ross-shire
                    3 from Islay             17 from Skye

Number of persons

1 - 5  6-10  11 -  21 -  51 -  101-  151-
            20    50   100   150   200

Fig. 6. Patterns of Highland Migration to Dundee, 1821-1854:
the Evidence of Howff Burial Register.
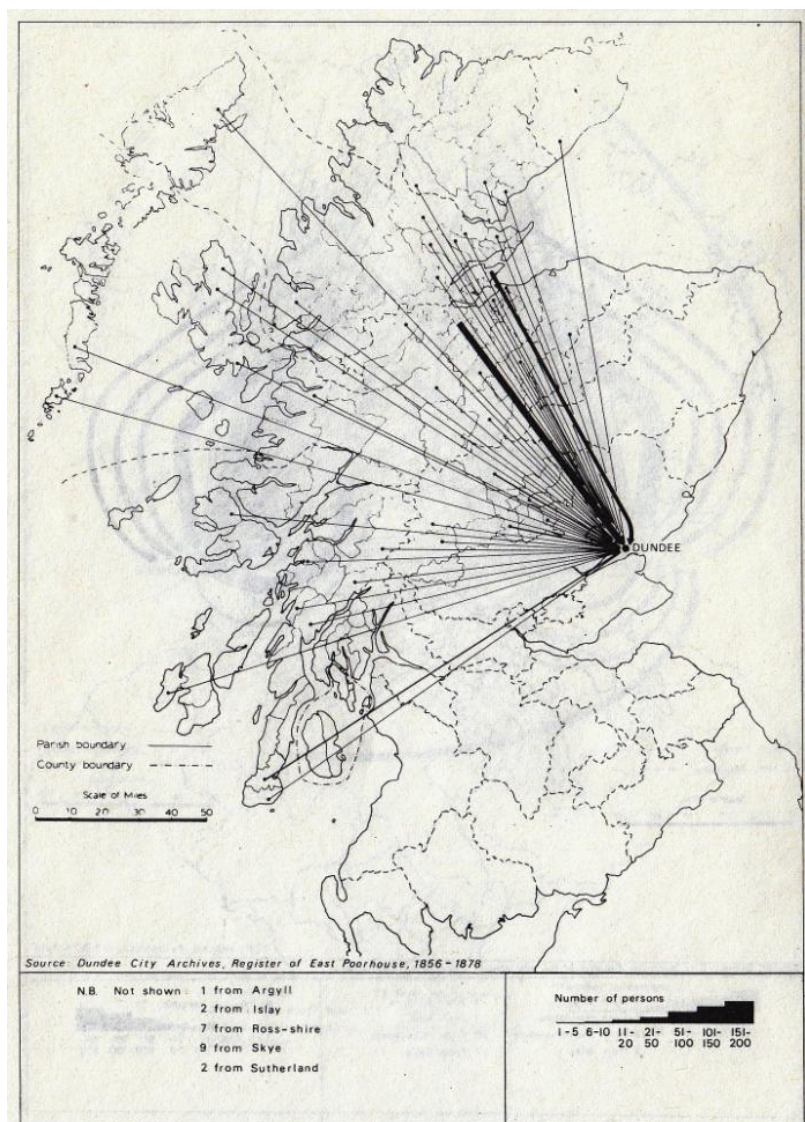
Fig. 7. Patterns of Highland Migration to Dundee, 1856-1878:
the Evidence of the East Poorhouse Register.
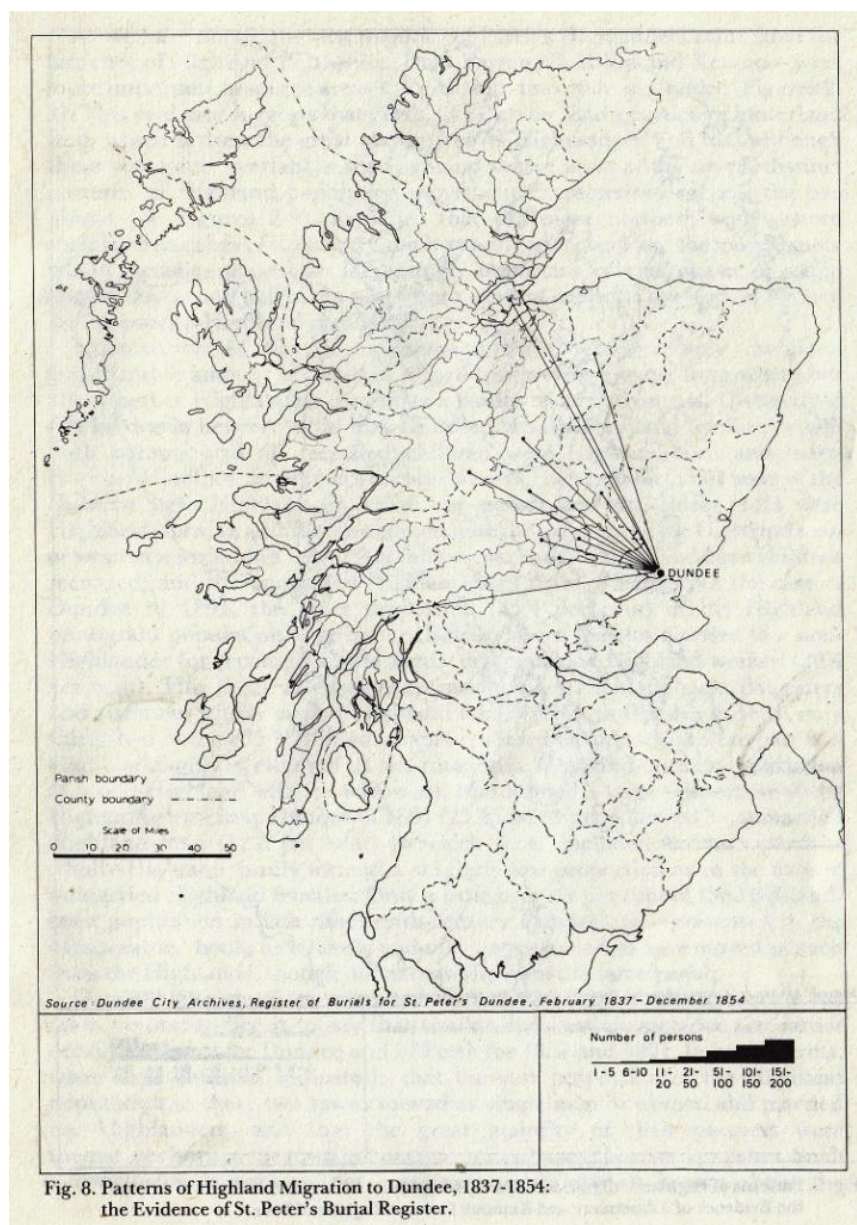
Fig. 8. Patterns of Highland Migration to Dundee, 1837-1854:
the Evidence of St. Peter's Burial Register.
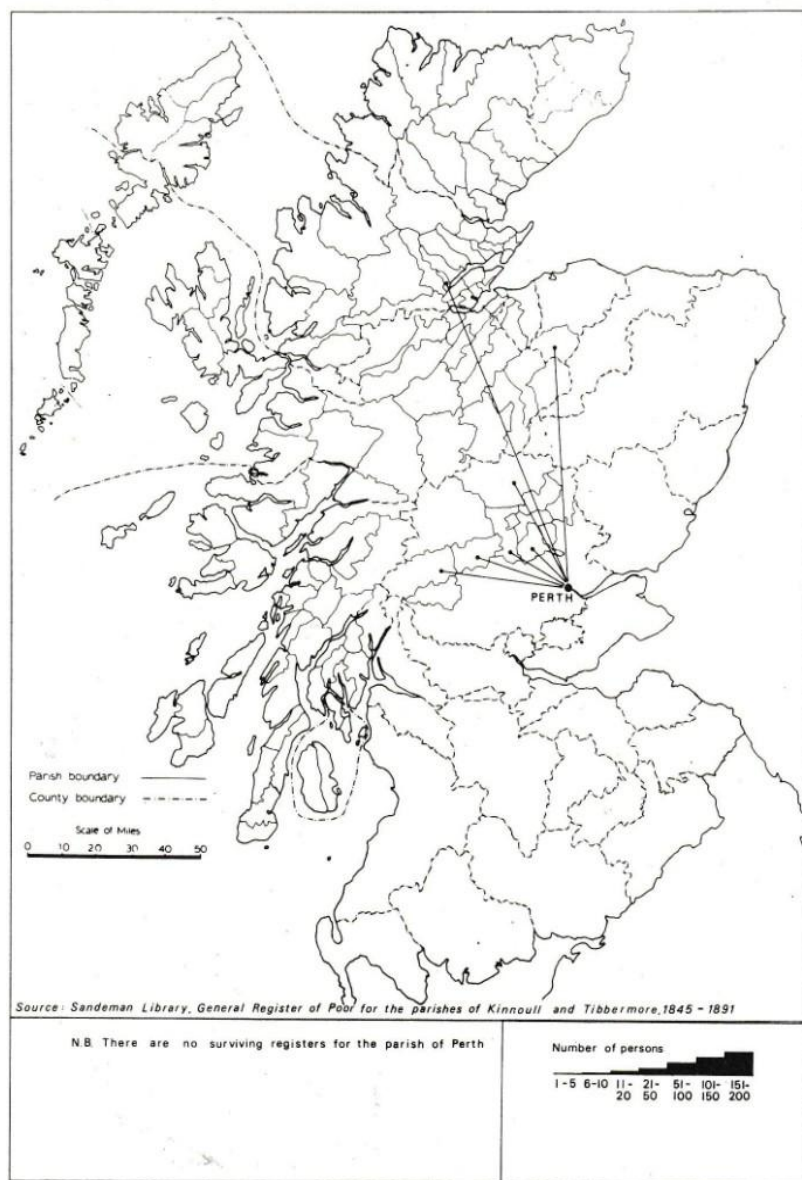
Fig. 9. Patterns of Highland Migration to Perth, 1845-1891:
the Evidence of Tibbermore and Kinnoull General Register of Poor.

As we have noted, the vast majority of Perth's Highlanders came from the parishes of Highland Perthshire. Dull, Fortingall, Killin and Kenmore were more important as source areas to Perth than they were to Dundee (Figures 2, 3). This evidence suggests that Perth, like Dundee, had a particular hinterland from which it drew the great majority of its Highlanders, and that although there was some 'overlap' in the Highland source areas of the towns, distinct patterns of Highland population movement characterised each of the two places (cf. Figures 2-9). Evidence that the more northern and western mainland parishes of Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland and the more remote island parishes played an increasingly important role as places of origin during the second half of the nineteenth century supports the work of Lobban on Greenock's Highland population.

Examination of the census enumerators' books not only reveals a considerable amount of detail in regard to who was moving from where but also whether Highlanders moved as a family or as individuals. Distinctions can be drawn between what may be called 'wholly-Highland families' where both parents and all recorded children were Highland-born and 'part-Highland families' where both parents were of Highland birth but none of the children were Highland or where one parent and the eldest child were Highland-born. In addition, we should note the presence of the Highland man or woman married to a non-Highland partner with no Highland-born children recorded; and the unmarried Highland-born male or female. In the case of Dundee in 1891, the great proportion (35.4 per cent) of the Highland immigrant population were e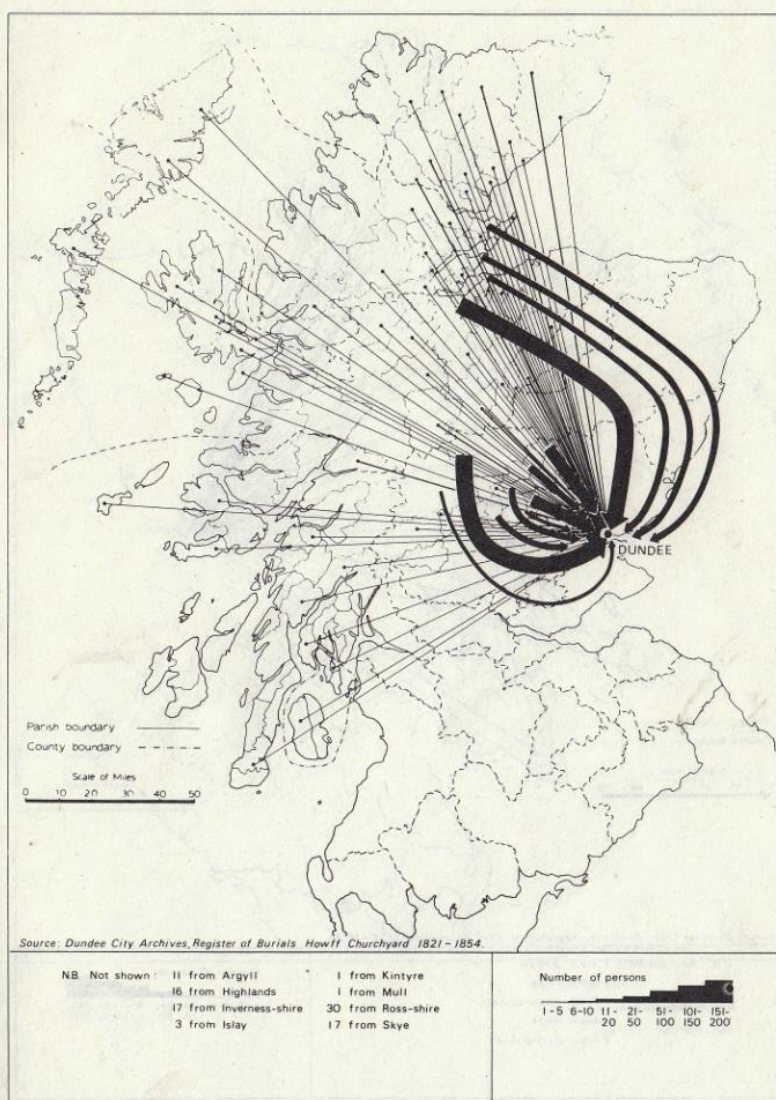ither Highland-born females married to a non-Highlander (or recorded as widowed), or unmarried Highland women (20.4 per cent). This latter category of course includes Highland girls, daughters and sisters in wholly or part-Highland families, but in Dundee in 1891, only thirty-two of the 235 Highland women recorded as unmarried were part of a Highland family in either of its two categories. Highland-born males married to a non-Highland wife (or widowed), also formed a large proportion of the Highland element in Dundee in 1891 (25.45 per cent), followed by unmarried Highland men (12.6 per cent) in which those included within a part or wholly-Highland family formed a similarly low proportion as in the case of unmarried Highland females. Only a little over six per cent of the Highland-born population in late nineteenth-century Dundee are represented in the enumerators' books as a family and may be presumed to have moved as such from the Highlands, though not necessarily from the same parish.

Detailed breakdown for other sources and dates serves only to obscure the main points: suffice it to say that similar divisions characterise the earlier census evidence for Dundee and of Perth for 1851 and 1891. In broad terms, what such divisions indicate is that the vast proportion of the Highland population in these two towns moved as single men or women and married non-Highlanders, and that the great majority of their partners were themselves born in the town in question or in adjacent Lowland parishes. Such a conclusion is perhaps not surprising given what is known about the migration patterns, particularly temporary migration, of 'the South country lads and girls' in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The relatively low proportion of Highlanders

moving as part of wholly-Highland families is noteworthy as is the large number of unmarried Highland men and women. It is reasonable to suggest that migration south to Lowland towns and cities was an experience shared more widely by individuals linked through occupation or a common place of birth than by membership of an immigrant family.

Although the census evidence is generally quiet on patterns of movement of single individuals between place of birth and residence in Dundee or Perth, the birthplace of children can reveal for some of the Highland population that the move south was made in 'stages', rather than in one movement and at one instant in time. Table 11 shows two families for whom the birthplace of the children indicate a sequence of moves rather than a single journey south by the whole family. The case of the Grant family and the indication of counter-migration is much less usual than the evidence of families like the Campbells, whose series of moves through several Perthshire Highland parishes recorded in the census (and there may have been other moves not recorded) seems to have been quite common.

### TABLE 11
**Evidence for Stages in the Migration Patterns of Highland-born Migrants In Dundee and Perth, 1851 and 1891[1]**

**(i) Wholly-Highland family the Birthplace of whose children indicates mobility within the Highlands prior to residence in Perth**

| Name of Street | Name and Surname of each person | Relation to head of family | Age | Occupation | Where born |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 North Methuen St | George Campbell | Head | 45 | Agent | Duthil |
| 3 North Methuen St | Jessie Campbell | Wife | 49 | - | Fortingall |
| 3 North Methuen St | Alexander Campbell | Son (unmarried) | 19 | Clerk | Killin |
| 3 North Methuen St | Robert Campbell | Son (unmarried) | 17 | Clerk | Killin |
| 3 North Methuen St | John Campbell | Son (unmarried) | 16 | Joiner | Killin |
| 3 North Methuen St | Bessie Campbell | Daughter (unmarried) | 12 | Scholar | Dunkeld |

**(ii) Highland-born parents the birthplace of whose children indicates return migration to the Highland parishes from Dundee[2]**

| Name of Street | Name and Surname | Relation | Age | Occupation | Where born |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 North Erskine St | Alexander Grant | Head | 42 | Railway Porter | Cromdale |
| 12 North Erskine St | Emily Grant | Wife | 42 | - | Duthil |
| 12 North Erskine St | Margaret Grant | Daughter (unmarried) | 16 | Jute Weaver | Dundee |
| 12 North Erskine St | Elizabeth Grant | Daughter (unmarried) | 14 | Clerkess | Duthil |
| 12 North Erskine St | Mary Grant | Daughter (unmarried) | 13 | Messenger | Dundee |

[1]ED2 Perth 1891    [2]ED28 Dundee 1891

For some, their appearance in Dundee or Perth masked an involved series of moves prior to settlement. The 'Widow MacDonald', a Highland-born woman living in Perth, was questioned by members of the parochial board in that parish on 1 November, 1843 on the matter of receiving poor relief. She was born in Kenmore parish in 1793, and married in Crieff parish in 1823. In about 1823-1824, they moved to Edinburgh where they remained for ten years before moving to Denny in Stirlingshire for a further period of three to four years. From Denny they moved to Cardross for eight years, and, following the death of her husband there, to Perth in the summer of 1836.[23]

Mary McDougall, also examined on 1 November, 1843, was born in Fortingall in 1753 and worked in Little Dunkeld as a servant for forty years. She left the parish and her job when she was over sixty years old and moved to Auchtergaven where she worked for eight years before making the final move to Perth in 1841.[24] The case of Donald McDonald a sixty-two year old from Fortingall is more simple: he was 'put out of his farm where he lived all his life, for being unable to pay the rent, 7 years ago'. He and his wife and six children moved directly to Perth.[25] The 'Widow McLean', aged fifty-eight and born in Dornoch parish, had been brought up in Fort George in Ardersier parish where her father was a soldier. She married a labourer there,, and, in 1835, at the age of fifty, moved to Dundee 'in search of work'. Her two daughters were immediately employed in the flax mills, and although they provided some support, their mother had received parochial relief since the death of her husband in 1839.[26]

Given these examples and the lives full of incident they reveal, it is difficult to generalise upon the migration patterns of the Highlanders resident in the urban Lowlands and at what stage in life they moved as is demonstrated in Table 12.

**TABLE 12**
**Age at Arrival and Length of Residence in Dundee of Fifteen Dundee Highlanders†**

| Name of Individual | Age | Length of Residence in Dundee | Approx. at arrival in Dundee | Occupation | Parish of Birth |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mary Ann Cameron | 29 | 19 | 10 | Seamstress | Inverness |
| James Douglas | 77 | 60 | 17 | Shoemaker | Logierait |
| Mary Fraser | 36 | 16 | 20 | Not Given | Inverness |
| Mary Fraser | 37 | 16 | 21 | Mill Worker | Inverness |
| Hugh Grant | 71 | 60 | 11 | Tailor | Kilchoman |
| Cath. Hutchinson | 60 | 29 | 41 | Not Given | Cromarty |
| Flora MacDonald | 83 | 33 | 50 | Servant | Ross-shire |
| Isabella MacKenzie | 84 | 70 | 14 | Not Given | Blair Atholl |
| Jane McKillock or Owen | 46 | 7 mths | 46.5 | Not Given | Campbeltown |
| Mary McMillan | 47 | 9 | 38 | Mill Worker | Oban |
| Ann McNulty | 32 | 4 | 28 | Not Given | Ardiseier |
| Ann Morrison | 26 | 17 | 9 | Mill Worker | Inverness |
| Mary Morrison | 70 | 34 | 36 | Not Given | Kilmartin |
| Margaret Smith | 35 | 16 | 19 | Mill Worker | Inverness |
| Ann Stewart | 60 | 30 | 30 | Not Given | Fortingall |

† From: Register of Inmates Dundee East Poorhouse 1856-1878

The age at arrival and length of residence in Dundee of a selection of Dundee's Highland population likewise indicates not only that, for many, the experience of urban life was a long one, but also that the age at which Highlanders arrived, although within the younger age groups, varied considerably.

When William Arnot of Marshall Place, Perth, noted, under examination in 1843 by Lord Belhaven, that 'This city has, for a great many years back, been completely inundated from the surrounding rural, especially Highland parishes',[27] he was referring in quite simple terms to processes that we have seen to be socially and geographically

complex. Certain parts and even particular parishes in the Highlands were important areas or origin of the Highland population in Perth and Dundee; not everyone moved directly; the age and background of immigrants — what has been called 'their stage in the life-cycle' — has been shown to have differed greatly. And once settled in the towns, they took up widely ranging jobs and positions in local urban society.

# NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[1] J.A. Rollo *Dundee Historical Fragments* (Dundee, 1911) 40.

[2] Perthshire Constitutional 16 June 1924.

[3] Dundee City Archives *Howff Burial Ground Burial Register Vol.1, 1772-1801*

[4] *Dundee Register 1782-1783* 8

[5] NSA 10 (1837) 117-118

[6] All the Census information has been derived from an analysis of the census enumerators' books for the wards and districts constituting the towns of Perth and Dundee.

[7] *APS* I (1704) 179 2 *(Memorandum upon the Scottish Army by Lieutenant General George Ramsay of Carriden)*

[8] Particularly in the textile industries: see, for example, N. Murray *The Scottish Handloom Weavers 1790-1850* (Edinburgh, 1978): E. Gauldie *The Dundee Textile Industry 1790-1885* Scottish History Society (1969)

[9] M. Flinn (ed) (1977) *op. cit.* 466-8

[10] B. Lenman, C. Lythe, E. Gauldie *Dundee and its Textile Industry 1850-1914* Abertay Historical Society Publication 14 (Dundee, 1969) 57-102 and Appendix I

[11] *Ibid.* 77-102; E. Gauldie 'The Middle Class and Working-Class Housing in the Nineteenth Century' in A.A. MacLaren (ed) *Social Class in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976) 12-35

[12] B. Lenman *et. at.* (1969) *op. cit.* 82-83

[13] This, of course, was not unique to Dundee. Excellent contemporary accounts of nineteenth-century overcrowding and urban deprivation are to be found in the Parliamentary Papers: *Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland 1842; Select Committee on the Health of Towns 1840*

[14] B. Lenman *et. al.* (1969) *op. cit.* 58

[15] Comparatively little work has been done on the diet of the nineteenth-century urban poor. It is evident from contemporary sources that bread, tea, sugar replaced more traditional items such as oatmeal, potatoes, and bone broth during the late nineteenth century and apparent also that most of the lower paid workers seldom ate meat.

[16] By 'principal specific causes' of death is here meant the numerically most significant causes amongst those individuals for whom a specific cause of death is. given — cholera, smallpox, etc. — as opposed to such terms as 'general debility', 'enfeeblement', or the commonly-recorded 'old age'.

[17] B. Lenman *et. al.* (1969) *op. cit.* 77, 80: D U L M567/1/2/3 Typhus in Dundee since 1838

[18] Sandeman Library, Perth; Tibbermore Parochial Board Register of Poor PE 1 15/2, 51

[19] *SRO* CH3/697/9-15 *(Seat Rent Account Books 1856-1865, 1892-1896)*

[20] E. Gauldie 'Scottish Bleachfields 1718-1862' unpublished B. Phil, thesis (Queen's College, University of St. Andrews, 1966) 444

[21] P.M. Tillott 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' in E.A. Wrigley (ed) (1972) *op.cit. 112*

[22] *Ibid.* 112-1 16

[23] *Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) Appendix Vol. Ill, PP* (1844) XXII 259-260 (No. 10)

[24] *Ibid*. (No. 8)

[25] *Ibid*. (No. 6)

[26] *Ibid*. 175 (No.18)

[27] *Ibid.* 241 (Q.479)

## CHAPTER 3
### Patterns of Work and Residence
### Sources and Methods

Occupation is not the best or sole means of identifying the status of individuals or classifying groups of people into social classes, but it is the only one which allows us to consider all individuals within a given population, even though not everyone is recorded as employed in the enumerators' books.[1] For Dundee and Perth, we know, from the enumerators' books, the occupations of about seventy per cent of the Highland population in 1851 and 1891. A variety of other sources have also been used to examine occupations. Neither the census nor this other material are without problems. Local dialect names were sometimes used for particular occupations. There is also the problem of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' comparability: of knowing whether an occupation involved similar tasks and had the same connotations of status in different places and at different dates. For these reasons, reliance on the census enumerators' books should not be complete.

The classification here employed is an amended version of the Registrar-General's scheme for 1951.[2] In addition to household heads, the occupational classification of the Highland communities in Dundee and Perth has here incorporated adult males and females over the age of fifteen who were not head of family or household but for whom an occupation was recorded, and included also those persons under fifteen years of age for whom an occupation was recorded. The inclusion of these categories was felt necessary given the high proportion of unmarried men and women for whom an occupation is recorded; persons who were an important part of the Highland community but whose position as single men or women not as head of household would otherwise have excluded them. The fourth category for whom occupation is given here — persons less than fifteen years old — was not as informative about the employment of Highland children as had been hoped, since as the two Appendices illustrate, most were scholars. The Registrar-General's 1951 scheme proposed ten broad social classes based upon occupation: I Professional/managerial; II Intermediate non-manual; III Skilled manual; IV Semi-skilled manual; V Unskilled manual; VI Textile workers; VII Mine workers; VIII Agricultural workers; IX Scholars/students; X Occupation not given. Attribution of Highland-born individuals to a class presented few difficulties although several points should be noted. Employers of twenty-five or more persons were placed in Class I.[3] All those individuals listed without reference to a specific industry within textiles such as 'weaver', 'millworker', 'winder' were placed in Class VI, unless, like 'basket' or 'carpet weaver', a specific prefix denoted a particular trade. Very few of those listed under categories like 'mason' or 'joiner' were employers rather than employees: where this was the case, the distinction has been noted in the calculation of the percentages employed in each of the ten social classes in Dundee and Perth for 1851 and 1891, but has not been alluded to in the Appendices. Although the occupations given in the other

source material lend themselves to classification by social class, this has not been done to the small sample size. The information upon occupation has been presented in a series of tables. Given that it is selective, this material should be considered together rather than in isolation and in conjuction with the evidence of the census enumerators' books.

**Work Patterns**

It is clear from the available sources that there were Highlanders in virtually every occupation and level of employment in late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century Dundee and Perth. Although the *Dundee Register of* 1782 is of minimal use in considering the jobs held by the majority of the Highland population, the occupations listed for some suggest that Highlanders held positions of status within the local urban society, and may, as a result, have held enhanced positions as spokesmen and figures of prestige within the Highland population (see Table 13). The same range and relative status of occupations is apparent from the listed jobs of members of Dundee Highland Society (Table 14), the recorded employment of Highlanders buried in the Howff (Table 15) or registered in the East Poorhouse, Dundee, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Table 16). The evidence of these last two sources is perhaps of greater value. Both are less selective than the *Dundee Register* or Highland Society records. Even so, we should not assume them to be all-embracing. Nevertheless, the range of given occupation hints at the broad range of jobs taken up by the Highlander. Although large numbers of Highlanders were employed in manual tasks such as porters or labourers, we should be wary of regarding these men simply as unskilled labour since it is likely that these terms embraced different responsibilities if not also differences of status within the Highland population. Only occasionally are the sources misleading as in the case of those individuals listed as 'shoemaker and collector of petty customs' or 'sicknurse and yarnwinder' (Table 15). Relatively large numbers of Highland individuals were engaged in textiles -some ninety-seven of the 448 persons for whom an occupation is given in the Howff burial register and about fifty-four of the 163 Highland individuals listed in the East Poorhouse records (Table 16). To this picture we must add temporary labour from the Highlands engaged in the textile industries of Dundee and Perth. Many Highlanders, especially young women, spent the summer in the bleachfields, and in some mills, Gaelic-speaking foremen were employed to instruct the non-English-speaking element of the labour force.[4]

Some sources have considered that the Highland population was put off from migration and residence and employment in the Lowland towns 'from a want of knowledge of the English tongue',[5] but available evidence upon the employment of Highland labour in the textile industries in particular suggests that continued use of Gaelic and perhaps little knowledge of English had little effect upon the employment opportunities of migrant Highlanders.[6]

## TABLE 13
### Occupation of Persons of Highland Surname in Dundee, 1782†

| Occupation | Number | Occupation | Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| Butcher | 1 | Officer of His Majesty's Customs | 1 |
| Carrier | 2 | Schoolmaster | 4[2] |
| Gardener | 2 | Shipmaster | 1 |
| Hammerman | 1 | Shoemaker | 3 |
| Maltman | 1 | Slater | 1 |
| Member of dissenting clergy | 1 | Tailor | 2 |
| Merchant | 3 | Tavern and Inn Keeper | 1 |
| Milliner | 1 | Upholsterer | 1 |
| Officer of Excise | 2[1] | Not Given | 2 |
| | | **TOTAL** | 30 |

† From *Dundee Register* 1782 (Dundee Central Library, D2 (b)F)

[1] One, Donald Campbell, was Chief Collector to the Excise and his namesake Donald Campbell was Clerk to the Collector

[2] Two dancing masters, one schoolmaster, and one singing master

## TABLE 14
### Occupation of Members of Dundee Highland Society, 1814 and 1837†

**(i) 1814**

| Occupation | Number | Occupation | Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brush Maker | 1 | Sawyer | 2 |
| Banker | 1 | Shipmaster | 1 |
| Brewer | 1 | Shop keeper | 1 |
| Candlemaker | 1 | Spirit Dealer | 1 |
| Clerk | 1 | Smith | 2 |
| Collector of Excise | 1 | Tailor | 3 |
| Grocer | 1 | Vintner | 2 |
| Gunsmith | 1 | Wright | 1 |
| Plasterer | 1 | Not Given | 10 |
| | | **TOTAL** | 32 |

**(ii) 1837**

| Occupation | Number | Occupation | Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agent | 3 | Road Surveyor | 1 |
| Architect | 1 | Shipbuilder | 1 |
| Baker | 1 | Shipmaster | 1 |
| Confectioner | 1 | Shipping Company's Officer | 1 |
| Flax Spinner | 1 | Soldier | 1 |
| Grocer | 3 | Surgeon | 1 |
| Ironmonger | 2 | Tailor | 1 |
| Machine Maker | 1 | Tavern Proprietor | 1 |
| Manufacturer | 2 | Vintner | 4 |
| Merchant | 1 | Wright | 1 |
| Minister | 1 | Writer | 7 |
| Postmaster | 1 | Not Given | 2 |
| | | **TOTAL** | 40 |

† From Dundee Highland Society Cash Book, 1814-1868 [Dundee Central Library, 316 (1/2)]

## TABLE 15
### Occupation of Highland-born Individuals Entered in the Howff Burial Register
### Dundee, 1821-1854†

| Occupation | No. | Occupation | No. | Occupation | No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baker | 1 | Joiner | 1 | Sawyer | 7 |
| Blacksmith | 8 | Labourer | 86 | School teacher | 1 |
| Bleacher | 1 | Leather manufacturer | 2 | Seamstress | 2 |
| Bookseller | 2 | Linen merchant | 1 | Servant | 9 |
| Brewer | 6 | Lodging house keeper | 2 | Shoemaker | 20 |
| Carpenter | 2 | Manufacturer | 1 | Shoemaker and Collector of Petty Customs | 1 |
| Carter | 5 | Mason | 12 | Sick Nurse & yarn winder | 1 |
| Chain Maker | 1 | Merchant | 4 | Soldier | 11 |
| Coachman | 1 | Mill overseer | 1 | Solicitor | 1 |
| Coal Heaver | 2 | Mill worker | 13 | Spirit dealer | 10 |
| Cooper | 6 | Minister | 2 | Steward | 1 |
| Corn merchant | 12 | Nurse | 1 | Tailor | 15 |
| Dyer | 1 | Oakum seller | 1 | Tobacconist | 1 |
| Farmer | 2 | Officer of excise | 5 | Town Officer | 3 |
| Farm servant | 1 | Painter | 1 | Undertaker | 1 |
| Feather cleaner | 1 | Patternmaker | 1 | Vintner | 11 |
| Fireman | 5 | Pavier | 1 | Vintner & Tacksman of Petty Customs | 1 |
| Flax dresser | 14 | Pauper | 5 | Warper | 1 |
| Flesher | 2 | Pensioner | 6 | Watchman | 5 |
| French Polisher | 1 | Perfumier | 1 | Weaver | 50 |
| Gardiner | 4 | Plasterer | 4 | Wright | 3 |
| Grocer | 7 | Policeman | 2 | Yarn winder | 11 |
| Gunsmith | 1 | Printer | 1 | Not Given | 443 |
| Hatter | 2 | Quarrier | 2 | | |
| Hawker | 2 | Rat Catcher | 1 | | |
| Heckler | 4 | Rope spinner | 3 | | |
| Inn keeper | 1 | Sailor | 8 | **TOTAL** | **891** |

†From Dundee City Archives, Register of Burials Howff Churchyard 1821-1854

## TABLE 16
### Occupation of Highland-born Individuals on Register of
### Dundee East Poorhouse, 1856-1878†

| Occupation | No. | Occupation | No. | Occupation | No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baker | 2 | Hatter | 1 | Sawyer | 2 |
| Beggar | 3 | Hawker | 3 | Seamstress | 3 |
| Blacksmith | 1 | Labourer | 22 | Servant | 14 |
| Bleacher | 1 | Mill worker | 44 | Shoemaker | 2 |
| Boilermaker | 1 | Plasterer | 1 | Spirit dealer | 2 |
| Carter | 1 | Porter | 1 | Tailor | 1 |
| Dyer | 1 | Quarrier | 1 | Tinsmith | 1 |
| Fish cadger | 1 | Rope Spinner | 1 | Waste picker | 2 |
| Gravedigger | 1 | Sack-sewer | 1 | Weaver | 7 |
| Groom | 1 | Salmon Fisher | 1 | Not Given | 38 |
| | | | | **TOTAL** | **163** |

† From *Register of Inmates of Dundee East Poorhouse, 1856-1878*

The clearest picture of the jobs taken up by Highlanders in the two towns is provided by the census enumerators' books. For Perth, an occupation (including those recorded as 'scholar') is given for 880 of the 1851 Highland-born population of 1220; for 1891, the figure is 759 out of the total Highland population of 1117 (Table 17). If one considers the lower figures as the 'employed Highland population', the great proportion of Highlanders in mid and late-nineteenth century Perth fell into either of two skilled or unskilled manual categories (Class III and V), with relatively few in the managerial/professional class, and, in contrast to Dundee, a low percentage employed in Class VII, textile workers. In nineteenth-century Dundee, about one in four of all Highlanders were employed in the textile industry (Table 18), with the great majority employed in some aspect of the manufacture of linen and jute (Appendix II).

### TABLE 17
**Occupation of Highland-born Population of Perth, 1851 and 1891, as percentage of (a) Total Highland Population and (b) Total Working Highland Population[1]**

| Occupational Group[2] | 1851 | | 1891 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (a) | (b) | (a) | (b) |
| Managerial/Professional | 5.37 | 7.55 | 6.17 | 9.09 |
| Intermediate non-manual | 7.45 | 10.58 | 9.48 | 13.96 |
| Skilled manual | 20.40 | 28.96 | 21.35 | 31.35 |
| Semi-skilled manual | 10.49 | 14.88 | 10.65 | 15.67 |
| Unskilled manual | 15.57 | 22.09 | 8.14 | 11.98 |
| Textile workers | 3.36 | 4.76 | 4.56 | 6.71 |
| Mine workers | - | - | - | - |
| Agricultural workers | 1.14 | 1.62 | 1.25 | 1.84 |
| Scholars/students | 6.72 | 9.53 | 6.35 | 9.35 |
| Not given | 29.50 | - | 32.05 | - |
| **TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS** | **1220** | **860** | **1117** | **759** |

[1] Understood as all those individuals for whom an occupation is recorded in the enumerator's book.
[2] From the 1851 *Census*; List of Occupations and Industries

Though of particular importance in Dundee, textiles were important to both towns. By the late 1700s, there were over 1500 looms in Perth and its neighbourhood engaged in the manufacture of linen and cotton cloth and the town served as a central market for the distribution of cloth woven in the surrounding countryside.[7] Leather working, paper works, and the manufacture of lintseed oil, though in decline by 1800, were also important industries in Perth. The linen industry in the town was largely controlled by the firm of William Sandeman who regulated market prices and channelled distribution arrangements through Perth and who employed linen weavers on the 'putting-out' system in the Perthshire Highland parishes as far north as eastern Ross and Cromarty and the Black Isle because costs and wages were less in the Highland parishes.[8]

## TABLE 18
**Occupation of Highland-born Population of Dundee, 1851 and 1891, as percentage of**
**(a) Total Highland Population and (b) Total Working Highland Population[1]**

| Occupational Group[2] | 1851 (a) | (b) | 1891 (a) | (b) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Managerial/Professional | 7.14 | 10.27 | 5.16 | 7.47 |
| Intermediate non-manual | 5.68 | 7.87 | 7.20 | 10.41 |
| Skilled manual | 16.93 | 23.45 | 17.69 | 25.59 |
| Semi-skilled manual | 10.63 | 14.72 | 5.32 | 7.70 |
| Unskilled manual | 11.61 | 16.09 | 11.66 | 16.87 |
| Textile workers | 17.42 | 24.14 | 18.08 | 26.16 |
| Mine workers | - | - | - | - |
| Agricultural workers | 0.37 | 0.51 | - | - |
| Scholars/students | 3.33 | 4.62 | 3.99 | 5.77 |
| Not given | 27.81 | - | 30.85 | - |
| **TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS** | **809** | **584** | **1277** | **883** |

[1] Understood as all those individuals for whom an occupation is recorded in the enumerator's book.
[2] From the 1851 *Census*; List of Occupations and Industries

By the 1830's cotton and linen yarn spinning by hand in Perth was being superceded by machinery.[9] By the mid-nineteenth century, over 1300 people were engaged in the cotton industry throughout Perthshire and only slightly fewer in the working of flax (Table 19); by then the emphasis on textile production lay with Angus and Dundee.

## TABLE 19
**Number of Persons engaged in the Cotton, Woollen, and Flax Industries**
**In the Counties of Angus & Perth, 1847†**

| | | Aged under 13 years Males | Females | 13-18 Males | Females | 18 yrs + Males | Females | Total Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) | **Cotton** | | | | | | | | |
| | Angus | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Perth | 75 | 62 | 167 | 293 | 185 | 575 | 427 | 930 |
| (ii) | **Wool** | | | | | | | | |
| | Angus | - | - | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 3 |
| | Perth | - | - | 30 | 38 | 92 | 21 | 122 | 59 |
| (iii) | **Worsted** | | | | | | | | |
| | Angus | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Perth | - | - | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| (iv) | **Flax** | | | | | | | | |
| | Angus | 72 | 196 | 1069 | 1959 | 1622 | 6008 | 2763 | 8163 |
| | Perth | 1 | 7 | 92 | 150 | 167 | 630 | 260 | 787 |

† From *Parl. Papers*, 1847, XLVI, pp. 612-615

Although we cannot be sure of the exact nature of the jobs, it is clear that Highlanders were engaged in most stages of textile manufacture, and evident also that the Highlander shared with his Lowland counterpart in the years of profit, growth and decline and the changes attendant upon the introduction of power looms and the hardship of the handloom weavers.

Given that such a large proportion of Dundee's Highland population were employed in linen and jute manufacture, brief mention of the history of the industry and the processes involved helps to highlight the occupational experiences of this section of the population. The story of Dundee's textile industry in the nineteenth century is chiefly the story of linen and jute. In the working of both, hours were long, conditions poor, and the pay barely sufficient. We can only speculate about the work routines and ultimate cause of death of men such as James Mackay, a weaver, born in Inverness, who died on 27 May 1830 of 'asthma', aged thirty-seven, or Angus McPherson from Skye, a workman at Claverhouse Bleachfield who died of 'mill-fever', aged twenty-three, on 5 May 1836,[10] but the conditions of labour may well have contributed to their early death. Wages fluctuated with periods of boom or decline: particular occupations often suffered a reduction in wages with the introduction of machinery or increased foreign competition. Flax hecklers and hand-loom weavers both suffered in this way.[11] The fact that there were eleven hand-loom weavers amongst the Highland population in Dundee in 1851, and none in 1891, is a reflection of the impoverishment and gradual disappearance of this section of the labour force.[12] Hand-loom weavers survived 'on the margins' of Dundee industrial society:[13] seventy-year-old James Campbell from Glenelg, one of seven Highland-born weavers recorded in the East poorhouse and one whose last years were marked by a cycle of admission and dismissal from the register, bears testimony to this marginal position.

Although it is misleading to suggest that Dundee's textile trade shifted from the manufacture by hand of linen products in 1850 to the manufacture by machinery of jute fabrics by the end of the nineteenth century, the relative numbers of Highlanders employed in the working of flax and linen in 1851 and in the jute industry by 1891 would suggest that they held a more prominent position in the latter trade than in the former and that Highland women predominated over the men in several of the stages of jute manufacture. The main processes of production — preparing, reeling, weaving and finishing — had different rates of wages and within each process, wages differed between men and women and between the distinct occupations involved in each stage such as 'softeners', 'batchers', and 'rovers' in preparing, 'twisters' and 'shifters' in spinning, and the 'tenters' and 'weavers' in weaving or 'tappers' and 'lumpers' in finishing. Each stage had overseers, almost always men, who were paid the highest wages of all.[14]

There is no evidence to suggest that Highland labour concentrated in any particular occupation in the manufacture of jute. Of the 221 individuals listed in the Dundee enumerators' books of 1851 and 1891 as being directly connected with jute, eighteen are overseers (we are not told of which stage), twenty-two are spinners, thirty-six weavers, and thirteen preparers, in addition to small numbers employed as tappers, reelers, warpers or winders and a further 106 described simply as 'millworkers'. This evidence, the fact that wages were generally higher in finishing and weaving than in the other stages of production and that certain aspects of manufacture — drawing, feeding,

spinning, winding and reeling - were dominated by female labour suggests that differences of status, perhaps chiefly based on wages but also upon place in the processes of manufacture, were apparent within the Highland community. It is difficult to know how far the simple fact of being Highland-born would have lent itself toward a common identity or sense of community in the face of such differences amongst Highlanders employed in Dundee's flax or jute industry or those in other areas of occupation. For some, concentration in particular processes of production might have been reinforced by a shared use of Gaelic; for others, differences between the jobs they and other Highlanders did would have been enough to dissolve bonds of community based upon language or birthplace.

What is also difficult to know is the extent of part-time working, partly amongst those recorded as having an occupation in the census records, but perhaps particularly among the scholar population. In Perth in 1851, an occupation was listed for sixty-nine Highland persons under fifteen years of age, of whom all but four were scholars. Similarly high proportions characterise Dundee. If the Highland-born school-going population is expressed as a proportion of the total Highland-born population who were greater than four but less than fifteen years of age, the figures are as follows: Perth 1851, 66 per cent; Perth 1891, 81 per cent; Dundee 1851, 65 per cent; Dundee 1891, 79 per cent (Tables 2-5). Even allowing for some Highland children old enough to be at school but actually not attending, these figures probably over-estimate the numbers of school-going Highland children, or, at least, disguise the fact that a certain proportion, though of school age, found employment in the mills. Children were certainly employed on piece-work rates in a variety of menial but arduous manual tasks: the jobs followed by at least some Highland children who were not scholars in Dundee and Perth in 1851 and 1891 may be seen from the Appendices. Employment of children at low wage rates was profitable and hence widely practised. The 'half-time system' meant that children were either employed in the mills for ten Jiours every alternate day with the next day spent in the mill school, or for a period of six hours in the morning with the afternoon and early evening in school. John McEwan, a Perth mill-owner, giving evidence to the Select Committee on Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions in 1834, stated that 'the mills are occupied mostly by the children which come from the Highlands' and noted also that Highland children, being prepared to accept lower wages (or perhaps having to take what was offered), had kept out the local-born children.

Of the non-textile occupations in which Highlanders participated, relatively large numbers in Perth worked on the railways, and in both towns, many women and girls were employed as general domestic servants. Although Highlanders are not found equally in every job, and the proportion in Class in is probably over-estimated,[15] the range of occupations in which Highlanders are found suggests that the majority held positions within the lower-middle or middle classes with a small proportion in the upper classes and a number - hawkers, rag pickers and scavengers - on the fringes of society

altogether. This evidence is certainly an accurate reflection of the jobs held by the Highland communities in the two towns at the time of their enumeration in the census or registration in a burial register or on a poorhouse roll, but it tells us little about the occupational mobility of Highlanders within the labour force, little about their background and the jobs they had upon first arrival in the town and almost nothing on the processes making for occupational diversification. Some of the Highland-born vagrants in Perth in the early 1840s were tenant farmers fallen on hard times: the Superintendent of Police in Perth noted how 'A considerable number are from the Highlands. I understand they were small farmers; that was the current opinion here. It is said that they come here and settle. Having no trade, they take to begging. Many of them tell you that'.[16] Not everyone was in that position. For towns where the former occupation of Highland migrants is known,[17] the sources reveal a range of jobs and skills; Dundee and Perth are unlikely to have been any different. The greater range of occupations available meant that, for some, the move south involved a change of job, an improvement in earnings and a rise in social status, just as for others it meant only a new location in which to labour as they had done in the Highlands. Given that parishes like Cromarty, Tain, and Inverness were important source areas for Highlanders in Perth and Dundee and that these were also places with well-developed though small-scale textile industries, there is every reason to suppose that migrants from there were familiar with the processes of textile manufacture. It is likely that the employment opportunities presented by large-scale manufacture of linen, cotton and jute in Perth and Dundee were an incentive for the southward movement of men and women already conversant with textile production.

## Living Patterns

There is no evidence to suggest either that Highlanders congregated in any one district or street to the exclusion of other areas in the two towns during this period or to suggest that in any parts of Dundee or Perth where they did group together in any number they did so only because of a shared Highland background. What is more evident from the analysis of the enumerators' books and other sources is that Highlanders, like the great majority of the population, were limited in their residential location by their occupational status with the less well-off being forced, by a limited wage, into areas of cheaper rented accommodation in districts like the Scouringburn, the Overgate and the Hilltown in Dundee (Figure 10), and into the Meal Vennel and the closes off Canal Terrace in Perth (Figure 11).

For some, residential location was actually determined by the job, as in the case of Ina Fisher, Jane Mackay, Christina McInnes, Alex. Fraser, William Bethune, and Marion McDonald, all of whom in 1891 were servants in the Queen's Hotel on Dundee's Perth Road. On a smaller scale, this pattern is repeated in many of the large houses and private residences of the gentry in both Perth and Dundee where Highland servants were employed. Similar patterns were apparent for some other occupations: several Highlanders employed in shore-portering on Dundee's quays lived close to their work

and of those Highlanders employed in the textile industries, many of the unmarried women in particular were housed in purpose-built accommodation near to the bleachfields or mill.[18] Some of those listed as dressmakers, sewers, or even joiner or weaver, would have worked and lived in the one house. But for a number of Highlanders employed in the retail and distributive trades, there is evidence for both Perth and Dundee to suggest that living quarters and working premises were separate. The records of Meadowside Gaelic Church in Dundee and St. Stephen's Gaelic Chapel in Perth show a number of Highlanders with shops or workshops in the centre of the town and homes in the less central streets and districts. Peter Mclntyre, for example, is recorded in the communion roll for 3 April 1850 of the Gaelic Church in Meadowside in Dundee as resident at Perth Road: a cross-check with the *Dundee Directory* for that year, and with the census for 1851, reveals that his home address was 17 Thomson Street, Perth Road, and his business as a wine merchant and grocer was conducted at 95 Nethergate.

Many Highlanders lived as lodgers, often with Highland-born relatives but also with local non-Highland persons. Sub-letting was a common feature amongst those for whom rent was the greatest single expenditure and the wage barely adequate, and the shortage of housing in nineteenth-century Dundee, and, to a lesser extent, in Perth, made the problem more acute. Those unmarried Highland men and women moving to the towns who had relatives or friends there may have been able to move in as lodgers, though they may have been registered as 'visitors'; but for the great majority of migrants, the decision of where to live was made for them by the location of the job and the wage earned.
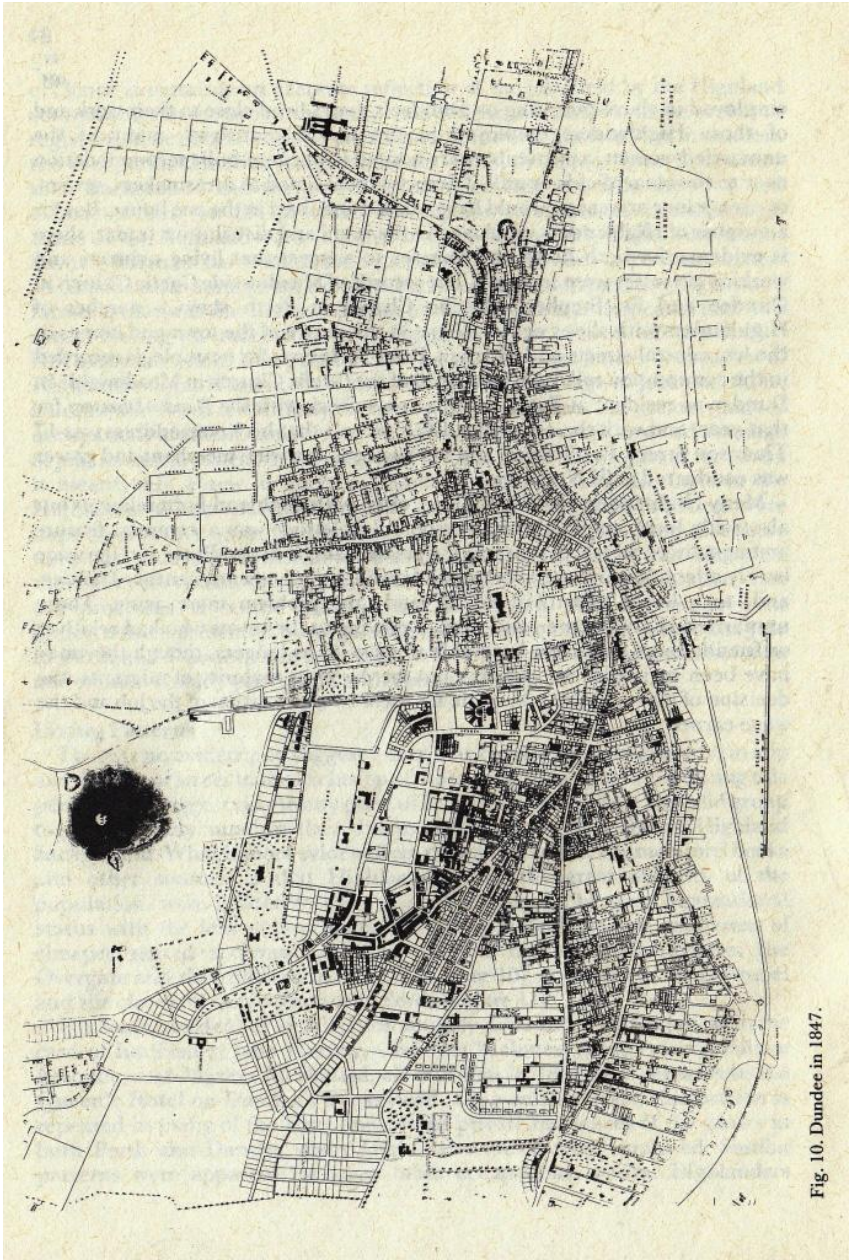
Fig. 10. Dundee in 1847.

Fig. 11 Perth in 1854.
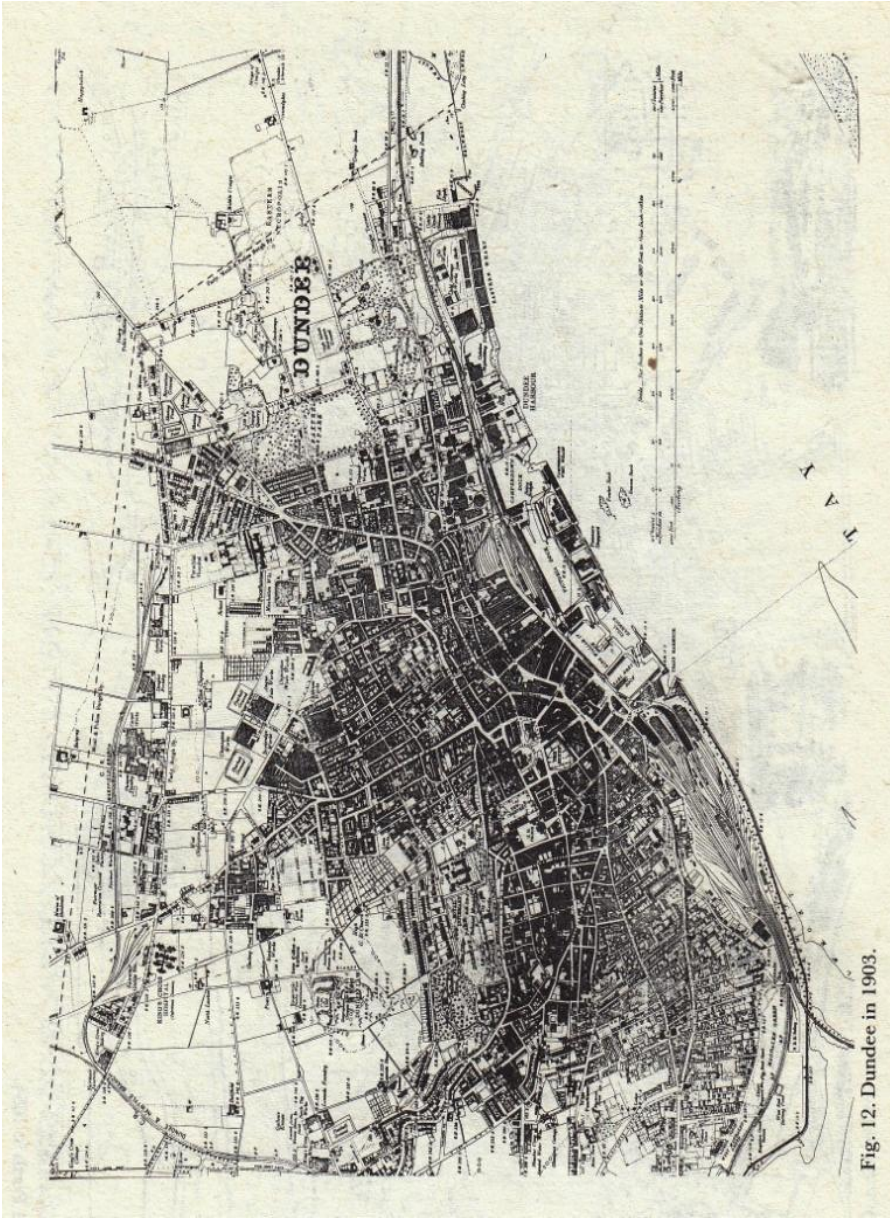
Fig. 12. Dundee in 1903.

# NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] W.A. Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation' in E.A. Wrigley (ed) *Nineteenth Century Society* (Cambridge, 1972) 191

[2] *Ibid.* 204-205 for a discussion of this system. See also *Classification of Occupations* (H M S O, 1951)

[3] W. Armstrong (1972) *op. cit.* 210

[4] E. Gauldie (1967) *op. at.* 444

[5] *Census of Scotland, 1871PP* (1873) LXXIII xx

[6] R. Hildebrandt (1979) *op. cit.* Chapters

[7] *OSA* XVIII (1796) 513

[8] I. Mowat (1981) *Easter Ross 1750-1850:the double frontier* (Edinburgh, 1981) 53-58. See also *SRO* NG 1/1/1 f 185. lOJanuary 1729, *SRO* NG 1/1/14 f 6. 18 November 1757, *SRO* NG 1/1/15 f 43. 10 January 1761

[9] *Report from Select Committee on Hand-Loom Weavers'Petitions PPX* (1834) 187

[10] *Howff Burial Register Vol. 31829-1835; Vol. 4 1835-1843*

[11] B. Lenman ef. *al.* (1969) *op. cit.* 30-32; Dundee University *MS* 15/41 f 8

[12] Dundee University MS 15/41 f 14: *Report from Select Committee on Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions PPX* (1834)231,241

[13] B. Lenman *et. al.* (1969) *op. cit.* 19

[14] Dundee University *MS* 15/41 f 14; see also Appendix III in B. Lenman *et. al.* (1969) *op. cit.* especially 108-109

[15] W. Armstrong (1972) *op. cit.* 213

[16] *Poor Law, Appendix, Vol.IIIPPXX.ll* (1844) 244

[17] See, for example, Charles W J. Withers 'Highland Clubs and Gaelic Chapels: Glasgow's Gaelic community in the eighteenth century' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 100(4) (1984) 176-190

[18] E. Gauldie (1969) *op. cit.* 449

# CHAPTER 4
## Gaelic Chapels and Highland Clubs

Gaelic church services had been given in Edinburgh from 1709 and in Glasgow from 1723, but it was not until the later eighteenth century that chapels of ease specifically for the Highland congregation were erected: in Edinburgh in 1769; in Ingram Street, Glasgow, in 1770 and Duke Street, Glasgow, in 1798; Aberdeen in 1781; Greenock in 1792; Paisley in 1793; and as we have seen in Perth and Dundee in 1787 and 1791 respectively. Other chapels were built in these towns and elsewhere in the nineteenth century.[1] In addition to providing a central focus for the use of the Gaelic language amongst urban Highlanders, these chapels also provided an opportunity for better-off Highlanders to support their less-advantaged kin with their Gaelic language services, and, a forum, through which to meet and assist persons of similar background or language.

### The Gaelic Chapels

Plans to erect a Gaelic chapel in Perth were begun in 1786. 'About the year 1786, a Feu was obtained from the Council, of a Spot of ground for the purpose of erecting a Chapel for Divine Worship, for the benefit of those who did not understand the English language'.[2] The title to the property was made out in favour of 'a certain number of Trustees, in trust and for behoof of the Congregation'. This policy of placing the title and procedures for management in the hands of trustees or a managing committee seems to have been common in Gaelic chapels in other towns in the same period.[3] In Perth, relationships within the Highland population, as expressed in the links between trustees and congregation at least, were often tense.

The first minister of the Gaelic chapel there, Duncan McFarlane, an Argyll-born man who had been acting as a missionary in Glencoe prior to his appointment in Perth in December 1787,[4] was paid an annual salary of £50.00 under the direction of the chapel's trustees. From the start of his tenure, the trustees were unsure that they could actually meet the salary — perhaps indicative of the relatively small numbers of Highlanders resident in Perth and attending chapel at that time - but promised '...as soon as the funds could afford, to augment the Revrs. Sallary to £100 yearly'. Over the course of the following three years, McFarlane's salary was increased by only £10. The congregation thought the trustees had paid McFarlane an increased stipend and were shocked to learn otherwise. Contemporary, sources reveal the resultant tensions within the Highland population: '[It is] ... the unanimous wish of the whole Congregation that the Trustees should fulfill their Engagement to the Rev. But they refuse to do it; and when requested to show a slate of their Intromissions with the Funds of the Chapel they have not only declined to do so But even pretend that they are not bound to do it, and, that the Chapel is their own, which they can convert into a Dancing School, or Stables, or to any other Purpose they please'. Their actions had '... created differences between

the Members of the Chapel and the Trustees that the former are determined to abandon the Chapel altogether if the Trustees do not comply with their wishes'.[5] Unfortunately, such sources as exist are silent on how the matter was resolved. McFarlane did present a petition to the magistrates and town council in 1795 asking that 'the chapel be taken under the management, patronage and protection of the council',[6] but nothing seems to have come of this action. He continued as minister there until the 1830s, and, upon his death, was succeeded by John Ferguson, who administered from 1835 until his translation to Kilninver on Mull in March 1837, and then by Charles Stewart, a native of Perthshire (he was born in Dull parish in 1800) who was minister until 1843.[7] We are told in sources of 1848 only that 'The Trustees of said Chapel or Church have all along had the management of the said. Subjects and have possessed the same up to the present time',[8] but no insight is given into the relationships between trustees and congregation in regard to the running of the chapels. What these events do illustrate, however, is the existence of a complex series of social relations within the Highland community as a whole, and in particular, between those who claimed to represent and speak for the Gaelic congregation and the congregation itself. These distinctions within the Highland-born population were, as we have seen, apparent in the occupational structures of Perth's Highland community and differences based on job or residence were, in turn, evident within the chapel in terms of the amount of seat-rent paid. Seat-rents seem to have varied according to occupation and social status: several Highland servant girls, living and working in poorer class lodgings off Canal Terrace, paid only 2/- (10p) seat-rent per annum in 1856, but for a number of Highlanders with their own business or trade, rents ranged from 3/9 (19p) up to 217- (£1.05). A number of those Highlanders paying higher seat-rents lived, according to the list of names and addresses given in the seat-rent roll for Martinmas in 1856, in the better houses in the High Street, in Canal Street and Almond Bank.[9]

A note inside the seat-rent roll for 1856 is rather contradictory as to how many persons St. Stephen's Gaelic Chapel in Perth actually held. One column notes that in the large seats in the chapel (of which there were forty-six, each of which held seven people), the sub-total came to 322 persons, and, together with the thirty-six small seats (each holding four persons), giving a sub-total of 144, the total chapel-going population was 466. In an adjacent column, the number of persons per large seat is given at eight and five per seat in the small seats: a total of 548 persons.[10] Earlier information gives the congregation at 400 in 1837 with a total seating capacity of 762.[11] No easy solution suggests itself as to the variation in seat or chapel size. Records from 1856 to 1865 on the number of people listed and the number of seats taken provide a more reliable guide. The 'number of seats taken' - those seats for whom a rent was paid in advance for a month or year — is perhaps a more certain guide to the numbers of Highlanders with a proven commitment to the chapel than 'the number of people listed' which documents the numbers of people present at any particular moment. From Martinmas 1856 to Martinmas 1865, the number of seats taken rose steadily each year; from 127 in 1856 to

460 in 1865.[12] But even these figures suggest that only between twenty and ten per cent of the Highland population had an established connection with the chapel in Perth, although others might have sought financial support or moral guidance without being regular worshippers. Though we cannot tell from the census evidence on language ability who amongst the Gaelic speaking population was a chapel-goer, it it likely that Gaelic became less and less commonly used as the language of worship in Perth during the second half of the nineteenth century.[13]

The same is true of Dundee's chapel in regard to language, and there, as in Perth, there were many who shared in the use of Gaelic but were not regular chapel-goers. Dundee's Gaelic chapel was opened in Long Wynd, Dundee, in 1791. The first minister, Mungo McFarlane, ministered over the first three years and was replaced in 1794 by Malcolm Colquhoun, an Argyll-shire Highlander, born in Muckairn in 1758.[14] Colquhoun was minister until 1819 and laboured 'with faithfulness, diligence and success among his congregation'.[15] He was replaced by Alexander Macleod who moved after only two years to the Gaelic chapel in Cromarty. He was followed by Charles MacAllister, the most famous of all Dundee's Gaelic clergy who was minister from 1821 to 1854. He led the Highland congregation in their support for the Free Church in the Disruption of 1843, and was the major influence behind the raising of the new church in Tay Square.[16] MacAllister was a capable figure and was held in high esteem by his congregation: 'He laboured with very great devotedness and zeal among his flock, who manifested the warmest attachment towards him. His pulpit addresses were able, earnest, and practical, and were delivered in an emphatic manner. He never ceased to impress upon his hearers the necessity of doing justly, loving merely, and walking humbly'. His private visitings were so regularly maintained that he made himself intimately acquainted with the state and circumstances of all connected with his church.[17]

As in the case of most other Gaelic chapels in Lowland towns and cities, financial shortage was a recurring headache. The Highland congregation paid only relatively small amounts in seat-rent or in collection and some of that total went for charitable purposes. MacAllister had begun negotiations for a new Gaelic chapel, to be built in South Tay Street, in May 1835. Collections were held, subscriptions raised and lectures were given to raise funds for the chapel —John Campbell, a vintner and member of Dundee Highland Society of which MacAllister was also a member was an important fund raiser.[18] In May 1838, the Earl of Airlie gave £20 in aid'... of the Gaelic Chapel now building in South Tay Street',[19] but lack of funds remained a major problem. A commentator writing in *the Dundee Advertiser on* 23 November, 1838 considered 'It is indeed lamentable to observe the state of the Gaelic Chapel. The mason and slate work are completed, and the inside fittings are all that are required to render the Church ready for the poor congregation'.[20] By the early 1840s, the chapel in Tay Street was complete, but for all his zeal and practicality, MacAllister had nearly bankrupted the Gaelic congregation. They were forced to sell the Tay Street chapel to Dundee Council in 1843 and to move back to the Long Wynd Church, Meadowside, which was reduced in status

to a *quoad sacra* charge only. A new Gaelic Church in Albert Square was opened in 1869, however, and became the religious focus for the Highland congregation.[21]

The troubled history of the Gaelic chapel disguises the important role it had for many Highlanders. Monies raised through collection were used to assist poor Highlanders in the town, though on one occasion surplus from the poor fund was set aside to pay the painter and wright — themselves both Highlanders — for their work in improving the church.[22] The list of names contained in 'the elders' roll books for 3 April, 1850 includes 104 Highland individuals from a wide variety of occupations and places of residence within the town. The list of deacons who formed the majority of the chapel's management committee had middle to high rank occupations: cabinetmaker, teacher of mathematics, brewer, shopman, banker, and included the vintner, John Campbell, of 34 West Port, who had earlier given lectures to raise funds for the chapel. A list of communicants drawn up on 23 November, 1859 enumerated 308 communicants on the roll, 'declared to be the correct list of the Communicants now belonging to the congregation'.[23] It is evident, however, that there were other Highlanders in Dundee less attached to the Gaelic chapel and clear also that the chapel authorities were concerned about those Highlanders in the city distant from the word of God. We are told in the same minute-book of the presence in Dundee of Highlanders '... resident both in town and suburbs, who have fallen into a neglect of the means off all', and were not attending chapel. A committee established to undertake the task of enumerating and visiting these people discovered about forty Highland families scattered throughout the town who knew and spoke Gaelic, and, we may assume, perhaps had other links with persons of Highland background elsewhere in the town, but for whom attendance at the Gaelic chapel was an infrequent occurrence. Distance from chapel, costs of seat-rent, dislike of the Gaelic or English services, or animosity towards other members of the Highland chapel-going population may all be advanced as reasons for the reluctance of these families to go to chapel.

What such evidence does suggest is that the chapel, with its Gaelic services and its committees of management made up largely of the better-off Highlanders, a number of whom were members of Dundee Highland Society, was not a central focus for *all* the migrant population. The chapel may, in a number of ways, have been important in providing the means of social advancement for Highlanders into the local urban society as well as, at the same time, allowing some Highlanders to meet together and worship and through the religious use of Gaelic, maintain a collective and separate identity within that same host society. But the chapels did not operate thus for all Highlanders. Gaelic became less used in the services during the second half of the nineteenth century in Dundee's Gaelic chapel as it did in Perth. When the management committee in Dundee were debating the successor to Neil Taylor in 1882, they noted only that the minister called to fill the charge '... should be required to give not fewer than One Gaelic Service once in four weeks and that during the intervening Sabbaths Gaelic should be

otherwise provided for'.[24] Despite the seeming lack of concern for the use of the Highland language in worship, the Gaelic chapels in Dundee and Perth remained for a good many Highlanders an important element within their lives: a source of financial aid, a meeting-place and perhaps as an unofficial labour-exchange, the means by which to maintain links with people of like background and language while at the same time facilitating incorporation into the host society.

## The Use of Gaelic

The 1891 census is the earliest accurate guide to linguistic ability. It asked questions on the ability to speak Gaelic and English or Gaelic only whereas the 1881 census asked only for indication on the extent to which Gaelic was used 'habitually'. In Dundee in 1891, there were 760 Gaelic speakers and in Perth at the same date, a total of 815 Gaelic-speaking persons. These figures are misleading, however, as to the strength of Gaelic amongst the *Highland-born* population since each town had several hundred Gaelic speakers who were born elsewhere in Scotland, or, in the case of a few, were born in England or even further afield. In both Perth and Dundee, the numbers of persons professing ability in Gaelic and English were inflated by numbers of Irish-born individuals, who, in recording their competence in Gaelic, may have been registering Irish not Scottish Gaelic. Detailed breakdown of the strength of Gaelic in 1891 amongst the Highland-born populations in Dundee and Perth and the number of persons born outwith the Highlands as here defined who also spoke the language is given in Tables 20-23.

Table 20 shows the numbers of persons in Dundee in each age cohort enumerated as speaking Gaelic, and that figure expressed as a percentage of the total Gaelic-speaking population by sex. The right, hand columns, again distinguished by sex, show the Gaelic-speaking population as a percentage of the total Highland population in each age cohort. In Dundee in 1891, 240 Highland-born males and 315 Highland-born females spoke Gaelic. In conjunction with information in Table 4, this suggests that forty-four per cent of Dundee's Highland population in 1891 of 1277 spoke Gaelic (555 out of 1277). In considering the strength of Gaelic amongst all Highland men, we should note that 240 of the Highland-born male population of 525: i.e. forty-six per cent, spoke Gaelic, and forty-two per cent of Highland women spoke the language (315 out of 75.2). These figures disguise variation in the strength of Gaelic by age and sex. In the younger age groups, Gaelic was less used than amongst the older and, as a percentage, men seem to have spoken it more than women although overall there were more female than male Gaelic speakers. In Dundee in 1891, over forty per cent of all Highland males aged between twenty and twenty-four spoke Gaelic and for Highland girls in the same age range, well over half spoke the language. In the age groups from age forty-five and older, Gaelic seems to have been more widely spoken by men than women: over seventy per cent of Highland males aged between seventy and seventy-four in Dundee in 1891 spoke Gaelic, for females in the same age cohort, the figure was only forty-six per cent (Table 20). Similar patterns are apparent in the numbers speaking Gaelic in

Perth in 1891. Of the total Highland-born population of 1117 in 1891 in Perth, 595 persons, fifty-three per cent, spoke Gaelic. Of the 452 Highland males, 240 or fifty-two per cent spoke Gaelic, and amongst the 653 females, the figure was 355 Gaelic speakers, fifty-four per cent (see Table 21).

What is also' interesting to note is the number of non-Highland Gaelic speakers in the two towns, particularly the large number of Irish-born Gaelic speakers (Tables 22 and 23). That these people spoke Gaelic, yet were not born in Highland parishes as here defined or in other parishes with particularly large numbers of Gaelic speakers earlier in the nineteenth century, is the result of two-factors in particular: the movement of Gaelic speakers to other locations and their having children there who then moved to Dundee or Perth, and the continuation of Gaelic amongst some Gaelic-speaking families resident in Perth or Dundee whose children were born in the two towns. The presence of non-Highland-born Gaelic speakers in Dundee and Perth inflating the numbers registered as Gaelic speaking in each place has important implications for other Lowland towns and cities and points also for the need to distinguish carefully between 'Highlander' and 'Gaelic speaker' for the two terms are not mutually inclusive.

It is difficult to know from census statistics how Gaelic was used in daily life, at home or work by those who knew and spoke it. It was used in some of the business of Dundee Highland Society, and employed also in the Gaelic chapels in the two towns. There is no way of knowing the extent to which Highland mill-hands or labourers used the language at work, but it seems reasonable to suggest that Gaelic would have been used in conversation in field or factory by a number of Highlanders. The fact that more women spoke the language than men (Tables 20,21), and that women did not engage in paid occupations to the same extent as males may suggest that the language was used more in the home than in the workplace. The relatively low proportion speaking Gaelic in the younger age-groups and the decline in the use of Gaelic in chapel services in the later nineteenth century may point also to the lack of transmission down the generations from a Gaelic-speaking grandparent or parent to a partly or only vestigially Gaelic-speaking child. This phenomenon is well known in contemporary Gaelic Scotland and it is probable that it characterised the late nineteenth century as well. Very few Gaelic speakers were recorded as monoglots: there were two Irish-born Gaelic-only speakers in Dundee in 1891 and a further monoglot born in Tomintoul in upland Banff. There were no Gaelic-only speakers recorded in Perth at this date.

## Table 20
**Numbers of Gaelic Speakers in Dundee, 1891 † (Highland-born population only)**

| Age Cohort | No. of Gaelic Speakers in Cohort | | % of Gaelic-speaking Population | | % of Total Highland Population | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** |
| 0-4 | 1 | 1 | 0.41 | 0.31 | 14.28 | 9.09 |
| 5-9 | 1 | 1 | 0.41 | 0.31 | 9.09 | 8.33 |
| 10-14 | 2 | 1 | 0.82 | 0.31 | 10.52 | 4.76 |
| 15-19 | 2 | 11 | 0.82 | 3.48 | 8.0 | 26.1 |
| 20-24 | 19 | 25 | 7.91 | 7.92 | 40.4 | 55.5 |
| 25-29 | 22 | 35 | 9.16 | 11.09 | 56.41 | 42.16 |
| 30-34 | 23 | 37 | 9.58 | 11.74 | 50.0 | 48.05 |
| 35-39 | 13 | 30 | 5.41 | 9.52 | 30.2 | 44.1 |
| 40-44 | 21 | 36 | 8.75 | 11.42 | 40.38 | 54.5 |
| 45-49 | 28 | 31 | 11.66 | 9.84 | 63.63 | 41.89 |
| 50-54 | 27 | 32 | 11.25 | 10.15 | 60.0 | 45.0 |
| 55-59 | 16 | 21 | 6.66 | 6.66 | 41.0 | 42.0 |
| 60-64 | 21 | 16 | 8.75 | 5.07 | 50.0 | 38.0 |
| 65-69 | 18 | 8 | 7.7 | 2.53 | 64.2 | 25.8 |
| 70-74 | 13 | 15 | 5.41 | 11.11 | 72.7 | 46.8 |
| 75-79 | 5 | 9 | 2.08 | 2.85 | 55.5 | 45.0 |
| 80-84 | 5 | 3 | 2.08 | 0.95 | 55.5 | 75.0 |
| 85-89 | 2 | 3 | 0.82 | 0.95 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 90-94 | 1 | - | 0.41 | - | 100.0 | - |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **TOTALS** | **240** | **315** | **100.00** | **100.00** | | |

† From the Census of Scotland. The figures here are based upon the Highland-born Gaelic speakers using the Highlands as here defined. For a list of the numbers of Gaelic-speaking non-Highlanders in Dundee in 1891, see Table 22.

## Table 21
**Numbers of Gaelic Speakers in Dundee, 1891 † (Highland-born population only)**

| Age Cohort | No. of Gaelic Speakers in Cohort | | % of Gaelic-speaking Population | | % of Total Highland Population | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** |
| 0-4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5-9 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | 1 | 2 | 0.41 | 0.56 | 4.34 | 10.0 |
| 15-19 | 9 | 13 | 3.75 | 3.66 | 20.93 | 40.6 |
| 20-24 | 11 | 21 | 4.58 | 5.91 | 39.28 | 48.8 |
| 25-29 | 18 | 27 | 7.5 | 7.60 | 48.64 | 45.7 |
| 30-34 | 24 | 33 | 10.0 | 9.29 | 60.0 | 55.9 |
| 35-39 | 28 | 37 | 11.66 | 10.42 | 66.6 | 61.6 |
| 40-44 | 24 | 39 | 10.0 | 10.98 | 66.6 | 60.9 |
| 45-49 | 20 | 35 | 8.33 | 9.85 | 57.1 | 66.0 |
| 50-54 | 28 | 31 | 11.66 | 8.73 | 73.6 | 63.2 |
| 55-59 | 16 | 18 | 6.66 | 5.07 | 59.2 | 58.0 |
| 60-64 | 22 | 27 | 9.16 | 7.60 | 64.7 | 67.5 |
| 65-69 | 10 | 26 | 4.16 | 7.32 | 66.6 | 70.2 |
| 70-74 | 11 | 22 | 4.58 | 6.19 | 78.5 | 57.8 |
| 75-79 | 13 | 17 | 5.41 | 4.78 | 81.25 | 70.8 |
| 80-84 | 4 | 6 | 1.66 | 1.69 | 100.0 | 60.0 |
| 85-89 | 1 | - | 0.41 | - | 50.0 | - |
| 90-94 | - | 1 | - | 0.28 | - | - |
| 95-99 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 100+ | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **TOTALS** | **240** | **355** | **100.00** | **100.00** | | |

† From the Census of Scotland. The figures here are based upon the Highland-born Gaelic speakers using the Highlands as here defined. For a list of the numbers of Gaelic-speaking non-Highlanders in Perth in 1891, see Table 23.

## Table 22

**Place of Origin and Numbers of Non-Highland-born Gaelic Speakers in Dundee, 1891**

**Elsewhere in Scotland.**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aberdeen | 7 | Dunning | 1 | Monifieth | 1 |
| Aberdeenshire | 1 | Edinburgh | 4 | Morayshire | 1 |
| Aberdour (Banff) | 1 | Forfar | 1 | Murroes | 1 |
| Alyth | 2 | Forres | 3 | Nairn | 4 |
| Amulree | 1 | Foyers | 1 | Newtyle | 2 |
| Arbroath | 2 | Glasgow | 4 | Perth | 11 |
| Auchterarder | 1 | Grantown | 1 | Perthshire | 16 |
| Auchtermuchty | 1 | Greenock | 7 | Redgorton | 1 |
| Auldearn | 1 | Halkirk | 2 | Renfrewshire | 2 |
| Bendochy | 1 | Kincardineshire | 3 | St Ninians | 1 |
| Blairgowrie | 1 | Kirkcaldy | 1 | Stonehaven | 2 |
| Boat of Garten | 1 | Kirkmichael (Banff) | 6 | Stonehouse | 1 |
| Caputh | 2 | Kirriemuir | 1 | Strathtummel | 1 |
| Claverhouse | 1 | Laurencekirk | 1 | Thurso | 1 |
| Carmichael | 1 | Longforgan | 1 | Tomintoul | 7 |
| Crathie and Braemar | 4 | Lundie | 1 | Wick | 1 |
| Dunbartonshire | 1 | Mains | 2 | | |
| Dundee | 25 | Meigle | 1 | **TOTAL** | **150** |

**Not in Scotland**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 1 | England | 3 | Ireland | 49 |
| Manchester | 1 | Montgomery | 1 | **TOTAL** | **55** |

## Table 23

**Place of Origin and Numbers of Non-Highland-born Gaelic Speakers in Perth, 1891**

**Elsewhere in Scotland.**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abernethy | 1 | Dallas | 1 | Moneydie | 2 |
| Alyth | 1 | Edinburgh | 5 | Muthil | 2 |
| Auchtergaven | 5 | Forres | 1 | Nairn | 1 |
| Bankfoot | 1 | Glasgow | 7 | Perth | 25 |
| Blairgowrie | 1 | Grantown | 3 | Perthshire | 6 |
| Caithness | 3 | Greenock | 1 | Pitcairngreen | 1 |
| Cardross | 1 | Kilspindie | 1 | Rothes | 1 |
| Comrie | 3 | Kincardineshire | 1 | Strathbraan | 2 |
| Coupar Angus | 1 | Kinfauns | 2 | Tannidice | 1 |
| Cowdenbeath | 1 | Kirkmichael (Banff) | 1 | Tealing | 1 |
| Crathie and Braemar | 1 | Leith | 1 | Wick | 1 |
| Crieffd | 4 | Logiealmond | 1 | | |
| Dalguise | 1 | Methven | 1 | **TOTAL** | **93** |

**Not in Scotland**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 1 | Cape Breton | 1 | Ireland | 129 |
| | | | | **TOTAL** | **131** |

**Highland Clubs and Societies**

Dundee Highland Society was set up in 1814. The rules and regulations of this society suggest that it mirrored similar bodies in other Lowland towns — including Perth — in being an institution that catered more for the better-off Gael with connections and status in the local urban society than for the poorer class Highlanders who were, to-various degrees, set apart from the social and economic structures of Lowland Scotland. This is not to deny the charitable intentions of Dundee Highland Society, or Perth Gaelic Society, Dundee Highland Association, the Dundee Ancient Caledonian Society or the Dundee Celtic Club, but these bodies had a membership largely drawn from the upper echelons of the local Highland community; they included many without Highland background or language, and their role as sources of financial assistance and support was secondary to their concern to provide a social *milieu* for only a small, elite section of the Highland population who sought cultural and social acceptance not within the Highland community but in the English-speaking circles of upper-class Dundee and Perth.

The chief object of the Dundee Highland Society was '... the preservation of the dress and antiquities of the ancient Caledonians, also for Raising a fund for relieving distressed Highlanders at a distance from their native homes and such other Benevolent purposes the Society may deem proper'.[25] Members were to be '... of Highland extraction', and were to pay an entrance fee of half a guinea (c. 53p) and a subscription of I/- (5p) four times a year. These sums would automatically have barred a good proportion of Dundee's Highland population from membership. The minister of the Gaelic Chapel in Dundee was chaplain to the society and several of the Highland Society's committee are listed on the elders' seat-rolls in the chapel in the 1850s. These connections between at least a portion of Dundee's Highland community were made closer by the fact that several Highland Society committee members were also on the board of management of Dundee's Auxiliary Gaelic School Society, the only Highland educational establishment in the town.[26] Links were strengthened still further by the establishment of the Dundee Ancient Caledonian Society on *2* February, 1822. This society also had a dual aim:'... the preservation of the dress and several of the antiquities of the ancient Caledonians ... [and] ... to afford relief to its members when necessity required'.[27] No minutes or other sources relevant to this particular institution survive and the extent to which it provided financial assistance regularly and on a sufficient scale to alleviate hardship is unclear. The Society did contribute to the erection of the Gaelic chapel in South Tay Street, but can have done so for only a limited period as it was dissolved in 1838.[28]

Financial difficulties hindered Dundee Highland Society throughout its fifty-five year history. The surviving cash-books of the society reveal the names and occupations of members for a number of years: even though the occupation of members in 1814 and 1837 (Table 14), and for other dates reveals the presence of quite wealthy Highland men

in Dundee - and, it must be noted, some with jobs in lower-paid occupations — the Society was never well off. The problem seems to have stemmed from members' subscriptions. Even in the year of foundation, 1814, over £12.00 was owed through arrears in subscriptions.[29] When Thomas Adamson died in 1839, his widow was faced with a debt to the Highland Society of £69. 12s. 9d. (£69.68). And at the meeting of 29 December 1846, the treasurer reported 'a considerable state of arrears of the half yearly accounts'.[30] But even when relatively large sums were in the hands of the Society, little seems to have been distributed among the poorer Highlanders. In 1824-25, when the balance in hand was £64. 13s. 6d. (£64.67½), only 1/- (5p) was given out to 'distressed Highlanders', although other contributions are also listed as going to the Dundee Infirmary and the Indigent Sick Society in Dundee.[31] As a member of the Dundee Highland Society and as minister to the Highland congregation, Charles MacAllister was in an important position to help less-advantaged Highlanders. He was influential in increasing the amounts dispensed to the Highland poor in 1842 and 1843 when typhus and fever were rife in Dundee.[32] His own family did not escape the epidemics: the death of his wife, Sarah McDiarmid, is recorded in the Howff Burial Register for 16 December, 1842: 'wife of Revd. Charles MacAllister, c. 58 years, Ardchattan [place of birth], Typhus'.

On 21 January 1868, the Dundee Highland Society was wound up and the remaining funds distributed amongst members. In its place, the Dundee Gaelic Club was established. This body seems to have differed little in constitution or membership from the Dundee Highland Society and, like its predecessor, held a number of Highland events and social meetings. The Dundee Highland Society had held a Dundee Highland Games in 1856, to which the Duke of Atholl had come and, with his followers in train, had processed through Dundee with the members of the society behind '... all being attired in full Highland costume'.[33] The Celtic Club organised a Highland Ball on 4 April 1871, and a Grand Highland Festival in April 1873, at which there was '... a large attendance of Highlanders and their friends'. And from April 1878, a series of 'purely Gaelic soirees' was held in Thorburn's Hall in the Wellgate '... with a most respectable company of true Highlanders, all of whom appeared to appreciate the programme, which was rendered from beginning to end in Gaelic'.[34]

These events seem to have been attended more by the better-off Highlanders and Lowland Scots with an interest in Highland Society than by those persons of Highland origin with a more lowly status for whom the price of entry was, in any case, a small fortune. This fact should not obscure the role played by such societies in maintaining at least some sense of Highland identity within the town and perhaps preserving Gaelic, if only for artificial ceremonial; but it is also true to note that these Highland institutions reflected, and to an extent maintained, differences of background, occupation, residence, and class within the Highland-born population. This may be less true of the Perth Gaelic Society. From its inception in 1880, this body was actively engaged in campaigning for reform of systems of land-tenure and land law and in the

modernisation of traditional agricultural practices in the Highlands.[355] But it cannot be-doubted that, for a number of Highland clubs and societies, the chief concern was more to provide a means of access into the class structures of Lowland society than a charitable institution for the support of all Highlanders in the town.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1]  On these chapels, see C.W.J. Withers *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981* (1984) *op. cit.*182-208

[2]  Sandeman Library, Perth *MS* B.59.28.183 (6 May, 1795)

[3]  *Extract of Regulations, by the General Assembly, for the Gaelic Chapel of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1820) 3-6,9

[4]  H. Scott *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Edinburgh, 1915-1961) IV, 240-1. (Hereafter given as *FES,* by volume and page reference). Prior to McFarlane's appointment, Gaelic services had been given on an irregular basis by Robertson MacGregor, minister of Edinburgh's Gaelic chapel.

[5]  Sandeman Library *MS* B 59.28.183

[6]  *Ibid*

[7]  FES IV 241

[8]  Sandeman Library *MS* PE1/54/5 f 261

[9]  *SRO* CH3/697/9-15

[10]  *SRO* CH3/697/9

[11]  *NSA* 10(1837)87,117-118

[12]  *SRO* CH3/697/15

[13]  This is evident in the place of birth of the ministers - increasingly non-Highland men by the latter part of the century — and by statements on decline of Gaelic in MS B.59.28.183.

[14]  *FES* V333

[15]  Dund. Cent. Lib. *MS* 190(10)

[16]  Dund. Cent. Lib. *MS* 419(56)

[17]  *Ibid.*

[18]  *Dundee Advertiser* 30 March 1838

[19]  *Dundee Advertiser* 4 May 1838

[20]  *Dundee Advertiser* 23 November 1838

[21]  Dund. Cent. Lib. MS 419 (56)

[22]  *SRO* CH3/322/2 f 39 7 September 1858

[23]  *Ibid,* f 50 23 November 1859

[24]  *Ibid.* f181 17 May 1882

[25]  Dund. Cent. Lib. MS 273 (5)

[26]  *Dundee Directory for 1818* 177,187

[27]  Dund. Cent. Lib. *MS* 118(2)

[28]  Dund. Cent. Lib. *MS* 55(26)

[29]  Dund. Cent. Lib. *MS* 316(1) (Cash Book of Dundee Highland Society) 1814-1815

[30]  *Ibid.* 1838 27; *MS* 316(3) 29 December 1846

[31]  *Ibid.* 316(2) 24-25

[32]  MacAllister released over £2.00 to indigent Highlanders — not a large sum, but a significant increase on the earlier figures of one shilling (5p).

[33]  Dund. Cent. Lib. MS 368(10) f 3,4

[34]  *Ibid*. f6

[35]  J. Blackie *Gaelic Societies, Highland Depopulation and Land Law Reform* (Edinburgh, 1880) 2

# CHAPTER 5

## Conclusion

Several points are valuable to note in regard to the Highland populations of Dundee and Perth. They were probably quite small in total number until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The formation of Gaelic chapels in both towns in this period reflects what was happening elsewhere in contemporary urban Lowland. The chapels and clubs are an indication of the permanency of a number of Highlanders, perhaps as many as 300 to 400 in both Dundee and Perth by the 1780s. The movement south of those Highlanders who formed the early congregations may have been occasioned by harvest failure in parts of the Highlands in the 1770s, or by the localised effect of a more widespread pressure upon resources in the parishes of the north and west, or, for some, may have been a deliberate locational displacement to take advantage of employment opportunities. The growth of the Highland populations in the two towns during the nineteenth century was likewise a reflection of both voluntary and involuntary migration: the desire, and the skills, to participate in the urban labour market of Lowland Scotland and the impelled move south as a result of agrarian transformation and rural hardship. The causes of the move to Dundee and Perth have not been of concern here and may be inferred from more general interpretations. The patterns of the movement are, however, of significance.

Both towns drew the great majority of their Highland population from the more adjacent Highland parishes — in central and north-west Perthshire, the southern and eastern Grampians, and from several locations in the eastern parts of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty. The census evidence of 1851 and 1891 on life-time migration is supported by several other sources, and the evidence taken together suggests that this pattern of migration persisted throughout the nineteenth century. It should also be noted, however, that by the end of the 1800s, Highlanders were coming in greater numbers from the more distant north and west than had earlier been the case.

In 1851, about one in every twenty persons in Perth was of Highland origin as here defined. In Dundee, where the actual number of Highlanders in the mid-nineteenth century was considerably less and the total population higher than in Perth, Highland men and women stood in a rate of about one to one hundred. In both towns, the temporary residence of Highland-born mill-hands or bleachfield labourers probably boosted the actual numbers of Highlanders, but there is no way of knowing the total number of those temporarily resident, how long they stayed, or the nature of their contribution to the Highland community and to the local urban society. For those who were permanently settled, a variety of sources have revealed their response to population growth, endemic fever, housing shortage, and poor quality living and working environments in the two towns. There is no evidence to suggest that the Highlander was any more or less advantaged than his Lowland counterpart in relation to such things as the housing-market or the demographic influence of typhus or

consumption. The poor and those living on the margins of society, Highlander or Lowland Scot or Irish-born, suffered because of their position within the division of labour and because of relative lack of control over customary necessities, not because they were Highland-born or shared a sense of community in other ways.

The great majority of Highlanders in both towns appear to have moved as single persons. Although the census evidence, is an uncertain guide to place and date of marriage, it is likely that very few Highland families made the move as a family, whereas many more individuals are given as either father or mother Highland-born with the children being born in Dundee or Perth. There is some evidence to suggest mobility within the Highlands prior to settlement in either of the two towns, and for some individuals such as the Widow MacDonald, born in Kenmore in 1793 and examined by poor law commissioners in 1844, the move from Highland parish to Lowland town involved a series of moves in east central Scotland. Just as it is difficult to generalise upon the migration paths of Highlanders, given the limitations of the census evidence and the complex nature of the moves of some Highlanders recorded in other sources, so it is also unwise to do anything more than speculate upon the length of residence of the Highland migrant population in Perth or Dundee and the average age at arrival of Highlanders. The limited evidence of Table 12 may suggest an approximate age at arrival of a little over twenty-six years, but this figure may have varied by sex and date over the period 1787-1891.

Highlanders in Dundee and Perth took up occupation in nearly every range and type of employment available. Though there were some in both towns who had, through length of residence, social contracts, or background distinctiveness, a secure place in the more elite social circles of Dundee and Perth, the great majority of Highlanders worked in lower to middle-class jobs and relatively few lived on the margins of society altogether. In the textile industry in Dundee in which large numbers of Highlanders were employed, there is no evidence to suggest the concentration of Highlanders in certain branches or stages of the industry or even in particular occupations such as carding, spinning, weaving, or twisting. Temporary migrants may have swelled the numbers of Highlanders in the bleachfields and perhaps in the factories as well, but there is no evidence to suggest that mill labour was predominantly or strongly Highland in particular places or at particular periods. Differences of status within the hierarchy of jute manufacture may have been reflected among the members of the Highland population involved in jute-making, but the sources are silent on the extent to which a shared background (and possibly a shared language) affected such distinctions.

Divisions within the Highland community were apparent in the membership and management of specifically Highland institutions such as the Gaelic Chapel, as well as at work and in terms of residence. The fact that some Highlanders in Dundee stayed away from Gaelic language services there and, in Perth as in Dundee, that language was used less and less by the end of the nineteenth century may hint at the weakening of the

bonds of 'Highland-ness' by the 1890s. Such dilution of group sentiment or feeling may well have occurred, but several points should also be noted. Firstly, all the evidence suggests that there have always been differences *within* the Highland-born population as well as *between* that population and the host society. Secondly, the Highland populations in both towns were being maintained by an in-movement from the Highland parishes of people who, as a result of education policies and associated anglicising influences, were more used to English than their earlier counterparts. And thirdly, both chapel and club did offer a social bond for many Highlanders at the same time as offering the means for the assimilation of some Highland-born individuals into the society and values of Lowland Scotland.

There can be little doubt that the Highland-born population of Dundee and Perth in the late-eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century constituted a distinct element within each town's society. In looking only at the experiences of those individuals born within an area of parishes in the north-west of Scotland, attention has been drawn away from detailed consideration of changes in population and economy, urban society, and the growth and development of the towns in question during the period 1787-1891. But in many ways, focusing upon the Highland communities in this manner has offered new perspectives: on these broader themes, population growth in the period is reviewed through detailed reference to a particular section of the population; the patterns of migration here described have important implications both for the study of other towns and for the background of the Highland section of the populations of Dundee and Perth; and, through consideration of the occupations followed by Highlanders, light is cast upon the lot of the mill-labourer, street porter, recipient of poor relief, and factory worker in the nineteenth century. This is not to say that similar insights could not have been gained from reference to Irish-born migrants — of which Dundee and Perth had large numbers — or to persons born elsewhere in Scotland, but it is to note that the examination in this way of Highland communities has a dual value: understanding broader social and economic changes as they are apparent in the experiences of a particular part of the population and, in turn, using such local studies in a comparative way to generalise upon larger-scale shifts.

# Appendix I

Listed occupations of the Highland-born population of Perth, 1851 and 1891
(number of Individuals in each category)

| Occupation | Head of Family/ household | | Adult Male >15 yrs. old | | Adult Female >15 yrs. old | | Persons less Than 15 yrs. old | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 |
| Accountant | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Agent | 2 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Annuitant | 8 | 4 | 2 | - | 3 | 7 | - | - |
| 'At home' | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Auctioneer | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Baker | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Banker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bargeman | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bird Stuffer | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Blacksmith | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Bleacher | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Boarding House keeper | 11 | 12 | 1 | - | 11 | 2 | - | - |
| Boatbuilder | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bookbinder | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Brassfounder | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bread seller | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brewer | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Butcher | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Butler | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cabinet maker | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cabman | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Candlemaker | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Carter | 8 | 6 | 4 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Cattle dealer | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cattle drover | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Cattle market manager | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cellarman | - | 4 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Chelsea pensioner | 17 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Chemist | 1 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Chimney sweep | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Civil engineer | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Civil servant | - | 8 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Clerk | 4 | 5 | 11 | 11 | - | 4 | - | - |
| Coach builder | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Coachman | - | 7 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Coal man | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Confectioner | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Cook | - | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - |
| Coppersmith | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cotton winder | 10 | - | - | - | 5 | - | - | - |
| Cowfeeder | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dairymaid | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Dairyman | - | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |

| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Doctor | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Draper | 1 | 3 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Draper's Assistant | 4 | - | 1 | 5 | - | - | - | - |
| Dressmaker | 5 | 8 | - | - | 21 | 17 | - | - |
| Dyer | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dye worker | - | 20 | - | 6 | - | 14 | - | - |
| Embroiderer | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Engine driver | - | 4 | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | - |
| Engine fitter | - | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Factory ironer | - | 2 | - | - | - | 4 | - | - |
| Farmer | 6 | 4 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Farm labourer | 23 | - | 9 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| 'Finisher' | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Fireman | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Fisherman | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Flax dresser | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Flesher | 5 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Forester | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| French cleaner | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Furrier | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gardener | 2 | 8 | - | 2 | 101 | 80 | 3 | 2 |
| General domestic servant | 9 | 8 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| General labourer | 55 | 22 | 23 | 12 | - | - | - | - |
| Glass washer | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Governess | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Grain miller | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Grocer | 16 | 10 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Grocer's assistant | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hairdresser | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hammerman | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hand loom weaver | 7 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Hotelier | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hotel porter | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Housekeeper | - | 6 | - | - | - | 7 | - | - |
| House proprietor | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Innkeeper | 9 | 6 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Ironmonger | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Jam maker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Joiner | 6 | 14 | 9 | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Laundress | 12 | 7 | - | - | 3 | 6 | - | - |
| Leather merchant | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Linen weaver | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Lint & yarn merchant | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Living on private means | 3 | 15 | - | 1 | 1 | 9 | - | - |
| Maltman | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Manager | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mason | 9 | 6 | 9 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Meal dealer | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Merchant | - | 5 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Messenger | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Miller | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Milner | 1 | - | 1 | - | 4 | - | - | - |

| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Minister | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Missionary | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nailmaker | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nurse | 3 | 2 | - | - | 4 | 10 | - | - |
| Ostler & farrier | 2 | 4 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Painter | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Parochial board inspector | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Photographer | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pipe maker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Plasterer | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Plumber | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Policeman | 3 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Power loom weaver | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Printer | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Printer's assistant | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Prison warder | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | -- |
| Prostitute | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Quarrier | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway brakemen | - | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway engine cleaner | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway engine driver | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway engineer | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway fireman | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway guard | 2 | 4 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway inspector | 1 | 7 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway labourer | 7 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway pointsman | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway porter | 2 | 8 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway shunter | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway signalman | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway stoker | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Railway watchman | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway worker | - | 8 | - | 6 | - | - | - | - |
| Rope spinner | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sailor | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Salesman | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Sawyer | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Scavenger/hawker/pedlar/ pauper | 25 | 3 | - | - | 5 | - | - | - |
| Scholar | - | - | 4 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 65 | 65 |
| Sewer | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 3 | 4 | - | - |
| Shepherd | - | 5 | - | 5 | - | - | - | - |
| Sheriff officer | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shoemaker | 11 | 6 | 10 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Shopkeeper | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Shirtmaker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Slater | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Soldier | 2 | 2 | 8 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Solicitor | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Spirit dealer | 16 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Stationer | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Stockingmaker | 2 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Street porter | 12 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Student | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Surgeon | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Surveyor | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tailor | 8 | 13 | 4 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Tailor's cutter | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - |
| Tanner | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tax inspector | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Teacher | 4 | - | 1 | - | 2 | 5 | - | - |
| Tea vendor | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tenter | - | 1 | - | - | - | 4 | - | - |
| Time keeper | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tinsmith | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tobacconist | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Toll keeper | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Traveller | 2 | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Twine spinner | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Umbrella manufacturers app. | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Vinter | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Waiter | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Watchman | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Weaver | 5 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Weigher | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Wine & Spirit merchant | - | 4 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Wood merchant | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Woollen weaver | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Wright | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| **TOTALS** | **439** | **357** | **166** | **148** | **186** | **187** | **69** | **67** |

# Appendix II

Listed occupations of the Highland-born population of Dundee, 1851 and 1891

| Occupation | Head of Family/ household | | Adult Male >15 yrs. old | | Adult Female >15 yrs. old | | Persons less Than 15 yrs. old | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 |
| Accountant | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Agent | 2 | 3 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Agricultural labourer | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Annuitant | 7 | 6 | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| Apprentice | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Baker | - | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Barmaid | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Basket weaver | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Billiard cue manufacturer | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Blacksmith | 2 | 9 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Bleacher | 2 | - | 8 | - | 5 | - | - | - |
| Boarding House keeper | - | 9 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Boiler maker | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Book binder | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bookseller | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 'Boots' in Hotel | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Boot merchant | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bottler | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brass finisher | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Brewer | 6 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Butcher | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cabinet maker | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cap maker | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Caretaker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Carpet weaver | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Carter | 8 | 12 | 4 | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Charwoman | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Chemist | - | - | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Civil servant | - | 7 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Clerk | 3 | 9 | 13 | 7 | - | - | - | - |
| Coach builder | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Coachman | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Coal merchant | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Confectioner | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cooper | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cow feeder | 3 | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Customs officer | 2 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Dairymaid | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Draper | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Draper's assistant | - | 1 | 3 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Dressmaker | 2 | 4 | - | - | 8 | 6 | - | - |
| Doctor | 2 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dyer | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engine fitter | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Factory worker | - | 5 | - | 1 | - | -- | - | - |
| Farmer | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Flax dresser | 2 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Flax heckler | - | 3 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Flax spinner | 1 | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - |
| Flesher | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fireman | 4 | 7 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fisherman | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gardener | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| General domestic servant | - | 2 | - | - | 62 | 83 | - | - |
| General labourer | 27 | 25 | 20 | 7 | - | - | - | - |
| Grain merchant | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Grocer | 12 | 11 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Grocer's assistant | - | 2 | - | 5 | - | - | - | - |
| Groom | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Haberdasher | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hammerman | 2 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hand loom weaver | 1 | - | 6 | - | 3 | - | 1 | - |
| Hemp dresser | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hemp spinner | - | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - |
| Hose knitter | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Housekeeper | 7 | 7 | - | - | 7 | 10 | - | - |
| House proprietor | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Inn keeper | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Iron Foundry labourer | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Iron turner | 1 | 8 | - | 5 | - | - | - | - |
| Jeweller | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Joiner | 10 | 17 | 6 | 9 | - | - | 2 | - |
| Jute mill overseer | 9 | 5 | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Jute mill worker | - | 41 | - | 12 | - | 53 | - | - |
| Jute preparer | - | 9 | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | 1 |
| Jute reeler | - | 2 | - | - | - | 6 | - | - |
| Jute spinner | - | 8 | - | - | - | 14 | - | - |
| Jute warper | - | 4 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Jute weaver | - | 14 | - | - | - | 22 | - | - |
| Jute winder | - | 4 | - | - | - | 7 | - | - |
| Lapper | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Laundress | 2 | 5 | - | - | 3 | 5 | - | - |
| Leather worker | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Linen warper | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Lint mill worker | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| Living on private means | - | 6 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Locksmith | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Machinist | - | 4 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Manager | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Manufacturer | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Marble cutter | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mason | 4 | 11 | 7 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Master builder | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mechanic | 5 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Messenger | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 3 |

| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Miller | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Milner | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mill worker | 7 | - | 1 | - | 15 | - | 4 | - |
| Minister | 1 | 4 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Moulder | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nailmaker | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nurse | 2 | - | - | - | 3 | 6 | - | - |
| Packing-case manufacturer | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Printer | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Pensioner | 6 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Plate layer | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Plumber | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Policeman | 6 | 11 | 2 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Polisher | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Porter | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Power loom weaver | 1 | - | - | - | 6 | - | - | - |
| Printer | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Provision manager | - | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Quarrier | 2 | 8 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway labourer | 4 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Railway porter | - | 13 | - | 7 | - | - | - | - |
| Rope maker | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Saddler | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sailor | 2 | 1 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Salt merchant | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sawmill worker | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Scavenger/Pauper/Hawker/ Pedler | 3 | 5 | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | 26 | 50 |
| Scholar | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - |
| Sewer | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Ship owner | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Ship steward | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Shipyard labourer | - | 12 | - | 6 | - | - | - | - |
| Shoemaker | 9 | 11 | 3 | 5 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Shopkeeper | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shop porter | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shore porter | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Slater | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Soldier | 14 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Solicitor | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Spirit dealer's assistant | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Spirit merchant | 16 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Stationer | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Street porter | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Tailor | 6 | 6 | 2 | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| Teacher | - | 4 | - | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Telegraphist | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Tenter | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tinsmith | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Tobacconist | - | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Toll keeper | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tramcar driver | - | 5 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Traveller | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| Turnkey | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Umbrella maker | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Van driver | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Waiter | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Warehouse man | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Watchman | 2 | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Water reservoir keeper | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Weaver | 13 | - | 3 | - | 2 | - | 1 | - |
| Wine merchant | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Wright | 3 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Yarn bundler | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Yarn reeler | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Yarn winder | 7 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| **TOTALS** | **288** | **449** | **137** | **146** | **134** | **232** | **35** | **56** |

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