

Conference Report

# Americans and Return Migrants in the 1881 Scottish Census

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**Abstract:** This article reveals basic demographic information on Americans and Scottish return migrant parents of the 1321 American children listed in the 1881 Scottish census and investigates reasons for return migration from America to Scotland. Census information was downloaded into an Excel spreadsheet and data including occupation, age, relation to head of household, place of residence and length of time back in Scotland, were counted and listed. General causes of return migration are explored and specific reasons for migrants, especially coal miners, to return to Scotland are briefly touched upon; covering the economic downturn in America during the mid-1870s and tensions towards immigrants in the United States during this period. The results of a deeper genealogical study of four families are reported. More than two-thirds of the parents of American children listed were Scottish with others primarily Irish and English. There was a wide range of occupations with construction and coal mining having the greatest numbers. Most families were living in Lanarkshire and Midlothian but 28 other Scottish counties were found as places of residence. Further research is needed to identify whether American children and their Scottish families are represented in other census years.

**Keywords:** return migration; immigration; United States of America; genealogy

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## 1. Introduction

This research began with a throw-away comment in a lecture during the early stages of my work towards a postgraduate degree in genealogical studies with the University of Strathclyde. The point was made that Americans (the term ‘Americans’ has been used throughout to indicate people born in the United States of America) comprised the largest non-UK/Irish cohort in the 1881 Scottish census—larger numbers than the French, Germans and so on and this caught my imagination.

As an American immigrant to the UK living in Scotland, I am curious about my fellow compatriots; why they were here, what their lives were like and if and how they affected their adopted country and I decided to focus on these Americans for the research aspect of my degree.

What does this type of enquiry have to do with genealogical practice? Well, part of genealogical research is being able to answer broader questions on what life was like for our ancestors and not just to know when and where they lived. This type of enquiry helps to put flesh on the bones of our family trees as it gives possible insights into motivations and the reality of day to day life. Undertaking an academic research inquiry also affects my professional practice by providing a broader understanding of the social and economic issues of the time but also by increasing my knowledge of the relevant datasets and skills in using them.

The paper which is based on a presentation at the 32nd International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences in August 2016 is structured as follows (McCabe 2016). First, I discuss stage one of the research which was a demographic survey of all Americans identified in the 1881 Scottish census, half of whom were found to be children under the age of fifteen. Secondly, I focus on stage two of the

research which surveyed these children in an attempt to discover if their parents were Scottish return migrants and I provide a short discussion of major areas of concern in the study of return migration along with some thoughts on why these particular migrants may have chosen to return to Scotland.

## 2. Literature Review

Are there any great trends in history that can explain the numbers of Americans living in Scotland in 1881? After investigation of the period from 1870 to 1881, no one reason stood out for the presence of the adult Americans in Scotland. On the whole, the United States seems to have been the more promising country, with rising real wages and better living conditions even given its unequal society, labour unrest and resentment towards immigrants. There was widespread tension in the United States at this time period between workers and management around the issue of employing immigrants, who it was felt, led to lower wages and the reduction of the number of jobs for Americans (Tindall and Shi 1997, p. 618).

During the 1870s America was recovering from its Civil War, industrializing quickly and growing massively in population, mainly through immigration. Scotland had also been industrializing; after 1830, and especially in the last half of the 1800s, there was a tremendous increase in development in Scotland particularly in coal, iron, textiles, steel, shipbuilding and engineering. There was also a huge Scottish population rise and the period from 1830 to 1911 saw a doubling in population (Devine 2006, p. 252). This rise is incredible as it is estimated that just under one million Scots migrated to the United States between 1853 and 1914 (Anderson and Morse 1990, p. 16).

Some of the Americans in Scotland were probably coming to further trade between Scotland and the United States. In 1877, at a New York City Chamber of Commerce meeting, half of the U.S. Cabinet, including the President and the Secretary of State, extolled the virtues of expanding trade overseas (LaFeber 1963, p. 40). The first U.S. Consul to Scotland had been appointed on 14 July 1798 to Leith and the consular system gradually spread throughout Scotland. This would have begun the processing of emigrants to America and also supported Americans resident in Scotland (U.S. Consulate General in Scotland 2007).

### *Return Migration Issues*

As around half of the Americans in the census proved to be children of Scottish return migrants, a review of the literature was carried out. There are five major areas of concern in the study of return migration identifiable through scholarly literature:

- The difficulty in discovering rates of return. This is largely due to the lack of documentation and, where there is documentation, the inclusion of return migrants with visitors, tourists and others;
- Defining return migration. Different definitions revolve around length of stay and the motives behind the migration;
- Why do people return? There are many reasons people have for returning to their country of origin. Those discussed in the literature include political and/or economic climate in home and/or host country, the saving of enough money for successful return, family ties, retirement, homesickness;
- What type of impact do returnees have on their country of origin? Most researchers find both positive and negative impacts in the home country. Some researchers claim that impact seems to be diluted due to low numbers of return migrants in any one area whereas others find important local impacts through the enrichment of the economy.
- Gaps in research. Researchers all agree that there are many gaps in the topic area of return migration and much more work needs to be done.

Unfortunately, until the last decade, most published works on British return migration did not touch on Scotland at all beyond a few statistics or sentences. The editor of a recently published book combining essays on different aspects of return migration to Scotland, Varricchio (2012), provides a valuable review of the extant literature on return migration to Britain generally and Scotland more

specifically. He highlights four essays on Scotland in a volume edited by Marjory Harper published in 2005; one of which, Alexia Grosjean's article 'Returning to Belhavia, 1593–1875: the impact of return migration on an Aberdeenshire parish' is the only one to discuss nineteenth century migration (Grosjean 2005). She looks at the impact of resources brought back by emigrants from the Baltic region and Indian subcontinent through the endowment of churches and schools and funding of roads and poor relief.

Varricchio also discusses Harper's book *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (2003) which includes an overall portrait of Scottish return migration and Angela McCarthy's work from 2007 in which she focuses on various factors bringing people to return during the early twentieth century (McCarthy 2007). Overall he finds that, 'only a few aspects of the complex historical reality of Scottish return migration have been described satisfactorily until now . . . it is simply too early for more than a sketchy description of this important phenomenon' (Varricchio 2012, p. 18). His work, *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecomings from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, expands the literature available through studies on return migration from France, Germany, India, Canada, Australia and to a small extent the United States, and provides a welcome focus on a range of time periods and types of return migrant.

Return migration has been defined as 'people return[ing] to their country or region of origin after a significant period abroad or in another region' (King 1986, p. 4). Distinctions are made between different types of return migration such as temporary migration, circular migration, and ancestral return migration or second generation return and the families in the 1881 census probably represent all of these types.

Temporary migration is used to describe individuals who migrated with the goal of making money that could be used in the ultimate return to the home country. This type of return migration was particularly prevalent among emigrants from southern and eastern Europe to the United States in the early twentieth century. Baines estimates that 30–40% of northern Portuguese, Croats, Serbs, Hungarians and Poles returned and 40–50% of Italians did so (Baines 1991, p. 39). He thinks that temporary migration did occur from Britain in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but that it was never as important as that from other areas of Europe (Baines 1985, pp. 137–38).

Circular migration involves the repetitious movement between areas dictated perhaps by the availability of certain types of work and is really a type of temporary migration. There are well-documented cases of circular migration in Scotland. Marjory Harper has recorded a well-established seasonal migration route by granite masons, quarrymen and general labourers between Northeast Scotland and America. She says, 'during the 1870s and 1880s it was by no means unusual for around 200 granite tradesmen to be lured away from Aberdeen each spring to the American quarries and stoneyards' (Harper 1988, p. 255). While there are 36 masons of various types among the fathers in the study, only three of them are living in Aberdeenshire and there are only three granite stone-dressers listed.

The American children born to non-American families could be described as ancestral return migrants. Ancestral return migration is defined by King as, 'the return of people to a homeland that their ancestors came from but which they themselves were not born in. These include second generation children born in a host country who return with their parents' (King 1986, p. 6). In a more recent publication, King and Christou have suggested the terms 'counter-diasporic migration' and 'second-generation return' to describe the phenomenon of second-generation 'return' to the country of their parents' birth (King and Christou 2010). King and Christou in a slightly later paper (King and Christou 2011) describe a typology of returns particularly as they relate to second and subsequent generations. These include short-term return visits, return mobilities of childhood, second-generation return as adults and ancestral return. They also consider the link between return visits and longer-term relocation and the problems around the nature and location of return.

Many of the studies described above rely heavily on letters and diaries and are thus largely qualitative by design. This study is quantitative so is different from most of the literature found.

Some of the major issues in return migration will be explored through the data gathered but concrete inferences from the statistical data will be avoided. I may speculate over an individual's motivation for return migration but there is no way to know for certain why someone moved back to Scotland through such a limited source as the census returns.

However, as found in the literature, there are many reasons for people to return to the home of their birth. Among them are homesickness, family ties, an economic downturn and simply making enough money to return 'home'. It is difficult to pinpoint why the families in this study returned to Scotland but probably all of these factors played a part. Thankfully, the experiences of return migration do seem to be largely universal as accounts from people returning home to various countries from a wide range of places have many similarities.

### 3. Materials and Methods

I began by downloading transcribed 1881 Scottish census information from the Ancestry website, used as it allows a search on censuses limited by place of birth, sex and relationship to head of household ([Census 1881](#)). Once an individual's record is accessed, others in the household are available through links and are easily viewed. The birthplaces of the parents of an American child were ascertained, as were the birthplaces and dates of any other siblings. Sibling birthplace can give information on the amount of time the family was back in Scotland and any other places of residence both before and after the American child's birth. Parent age and occupation were also noted. Batches of names were downloaded into a MS Word document table, unnecessary columns and images removed, data was cleaned to remove incorrect matches (non-US places of birth) and data was then exported into a MS Excel spreadsheet.

I chose to use MS Excel as the initial analysis was not complex and its sorting, filtering and charting functions were adequate to my needs for this one census year study. Future research developments will require a more robust relational database allowing for patterns and relationships across different datasets to be revealed.

Included in these results were many individuals listed as being born in *America—Canada* or *S. America—beunos ayres* (sic) and these along with any shown as born in *America—S* or *S. America* (which could be the southern states of the USA or South America), were removed to err on the side of caution. The initial search results gave a grand total of 2167 individuals born in America to work with. As each individual was viewed, his or her data was entered into the spreadsheet. Data collected included: Parent(s) American? (yes/no—American Father), (yes/no—American Mother); Father place of birth; Father date of birth; Father occupation; Mother place of birth; Mother date of birth; Mother occupation; Mother head of household?; Estimated time in Scotland (based on siblings born in Scotland birthdates). The filter tool gave the ability to sort individuals by various datasets.

One of the problems with using census data is that stepfamilies are not often identified as such, thus children showing two Scottish parents may in fact have had an American parent who died and a Scottish parent who has remarried. Some of the families with American children are clearly stepfamilies; identifiable by duplicate ages of children born in several countries. These families have had the 'blood' parent listed, when this person was identifiable, and the other parent ignored. There were not many of these families, perhaps 20 at most.

Five families representing different types of household and parent and child origin were then briefly researched in an attempt to discover their circumstances in America and in Scotland, both before and after the return to Scotland. Some of these families are also used to illustrate particular research findings. Their American children were checked for any return migration to the United States. This work was done by searching standard genealogical sources, which are detailed further in the case studies section of this report.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Initial Research Aims and Results

My initial aims were to:

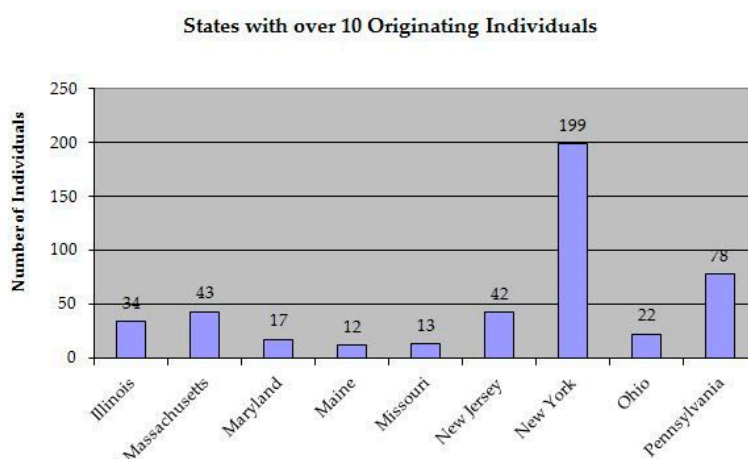
- (1) Gather basic demographic data on the 2167 Americans in the 1881 Scottish census to include:
  - Age;
  - Sex;
  - Occupation;
  - Birthplace in USA.
- (2) To consider why these people were bucking the overwhelming trend of migration to the United States and moving in the opposite direction—to Scotland.

#### 4.1.1. Sex

There was a fairly even balance between the sexes with 1149 males (53%) and 1018 females (47%) listed. This population of migrants shows a slightly greater number of males than the Scottish population as a whole which in 1881 had 1,799,475 males (48%) and 1,936,098 females (52%) ([Census Office Scotland 1882a](#), vol. I, p. xv). However, this balance of males to female migrants is broadly similar to other countries' gender ratios which show, for the year 1880, female immigrants at 45% of the foreign born population ([Alexander et al. 2008](#), p. 26).

#### 4.1.2. U.S. State of Origin

A small number of the individuals had a state of origin listed in the census (543) so these results are only indicative. There were 32 states listed as places of birth and the bias towards area was very strong with New England, the Mid-Atlantic states and the industrial heartland of the Midwest (Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania) making up all but one of the nine states with more than 10 originating individuals. Missouri was the sole exception. New York, with 199 people, had more than half as many more people originating from it as Pennsylvania, the next ranked state which had 78 individuals (Figure 1).

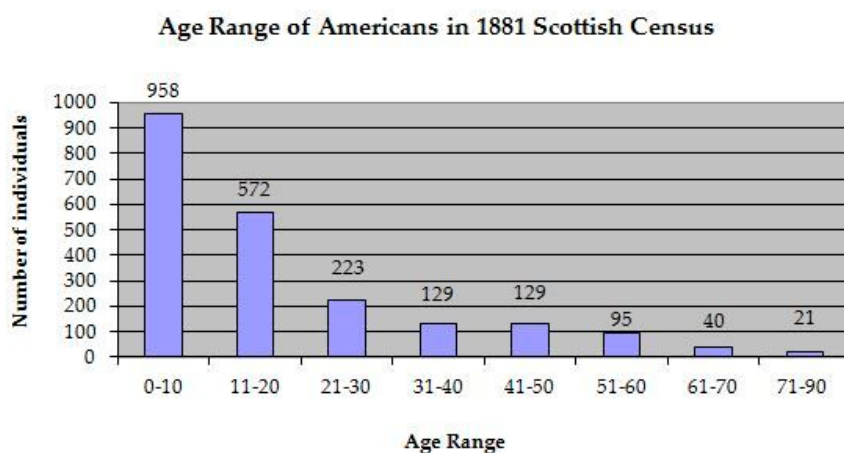


**Figure 1.** The nine states with more than 10 originating individuals by place of birth.

#### 4.1.3. Age Range of Americans in 1881 Scottish Census

The age range of the individuals indicates that just over half of the Americans listed (1321) were children up to the age of fifteen. This percentage is fairly close to that of the Scottish population at the time with the 1881 census showing that 47% were less than 20 years of age ([Census Office Scotland](#)

1882b, vol. II, p. x). Individuals from 21 to 30 represent 10.3% (223) of the total; the 31–40 and 41–50 age ranges each have 129 people or 5.6%; 51–60 year olds represent 4.4% (95); 61–70 year olds represent 1.85% (40) and finally the 71–90 age range had 0.96% (21) of the total (Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Americans found in the 1881 census grouped in ten year age ranges (aside from 71 to 90 year olds who are grouped together).

#### 4.1.4. Occupations of Adult Americans in the 1881 Scottish Census

There was a very wide range of occupations listed and of the 846 people over the age of 16, 525 (or 62%) of them had an occupation stated. This number does not include 17 annuitants (people living off investments or other private means). Occupations have been listed broadly by category and more generic occupations such as ‘labourer’ kept together with any place of work given. Thus an ‘Iron labourer’ was listed under the Iron Industry instead of a more general ‘Labourer’ heading.

The two categories with the most individuals were servants with 86 people listed, giving a total of 16%. This is a higher percentage than the Scottish population as a whole where 11% were engaged in domestic offices or services. The textile, clothing and shoemaking category had 70 people listed, being 13% of the total number. This is a lower percentage than the Scottish population as a whole which had 19.5% involved in the textile and dress industries.

#### 4.1.5. Discussion of Initial Research Results

The main finding of the initial research was that almost half of the Americans in the 1881 Scottish census were children between the ages of zero and fifteen and almost half of those were between five to ten years old. The next phase of the paper discusses these children and their parents.

Noteworthy Americans in the 1881 Scottish census include Caroline Soule, who in 1880 became the first woman to be ordained as a minister in the United Kingdom (in the Universalist Church) (Peart 2008); John MacArthur, the Provost of Inverary; and Bret Harte, an author who specialized in stories of the California gold rush of 1848 and who was the U.S. Consul to Glasgow from 1880 to 1885 (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014).

#### 4.2. Expanded Research Aims and Results

Once the first round of results were completed, a deeper survey of the American born children aged 0–15 with the primary question being, ‘were they the children of returned Scottish migrants?’ was undertaken. Aims with this phase were to:

- (1) Gather basic demographic data on the parents in the 1881 Scottish census to include:
  - Nationality;

- Scottish county of residence by number of American children;
- Occupation of parent;
- Number of years in Scotland since return.

(2) To consider issues around return migration found in the literature.

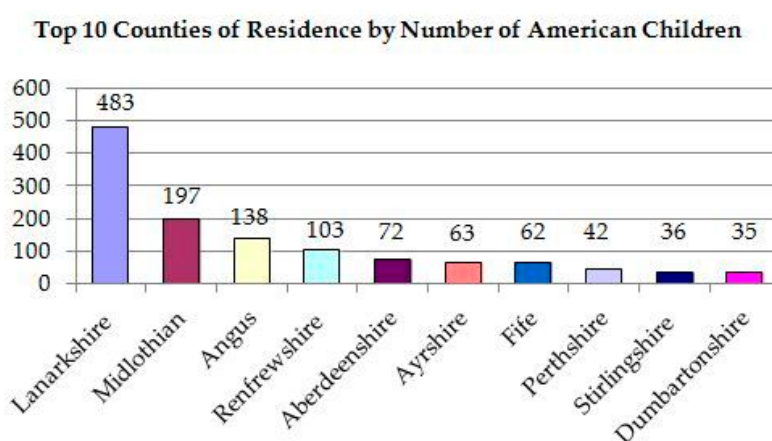
While the 1195 Scottish parents found in this study can be identified as return migrants, there is no way of knowing how many other return migrants from America there were in Scotland. Before 1878 when incoming passenger lists began to be kept of people entering the United Kingdom from ports outside of Europe and the Mediterranean, it is difficult to identify where people were coming from and in what numbers. Anderson and Morse believe that around one third of those who left eventually returned to Scotland, however they do not give much evidence to support this (Anderson and Morse 1990, p. 16).

The U.S. government attempted to count both immigration and emigration from 1908 to 1923; the grand totals were 9,949,740 immigrants from all countries and 3,498,185 leaving, 88% of those returning were Europeans. The return rate among all nationalities was 35% for the period. Scottish specific numbers are 301,075 immigrating and 38,600 emigrating, giving a return rate of 13% (U.S. Secretary of Labor 1923) (Wyman 1993, pp. 9–11). These figures are from a later period than this study but may be indicative of overall trends of return migration.

#### 4.2.1. Top 10 Scottish Counties of Residence

There were families with American children resident in 30 Scottish counties in the 1881 census. The areas with the greatest number of families were urban in nature; Dundee in Angus, Paisley and Greenock in Renfrewshire, Edinburgh and its suburbs in Midlothian and, with the highest concentration of all, Glasgow in Lanarkshire with 37% of the total (Figure 3). This agrees with general populations trends as Lanarkshire had the largest percentage of separate families of any area in Scotland in 1881 at 24% (Census Office Scotland 1882b, vol. II, p. xxviii).

These families were joining a great wave of Scots living and working in cities. J.M. Brock states, 'By 1850, [Scotland] was the second most urbanised country in Europe, exceeded only by England and Wales' (1999, p. 11). There were, of course, families found living in rural counties, such as Ross and Cromarty showing 10 American children in the census and Orkney having four.

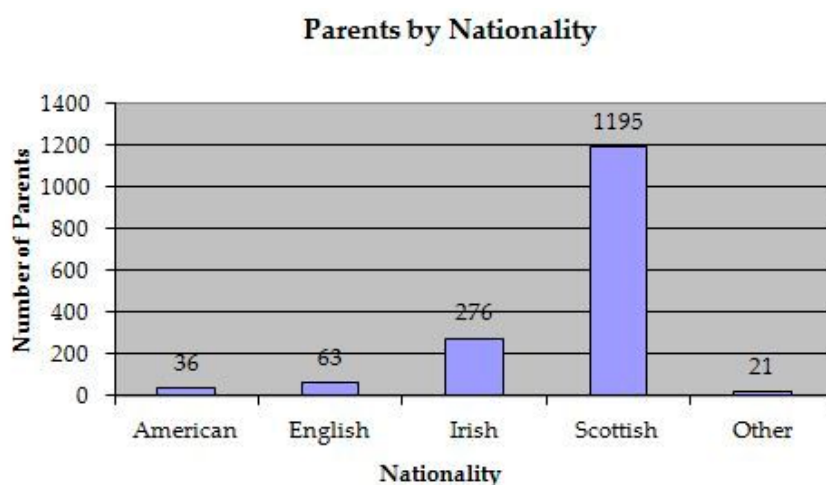


**Figure 3.** Scottish counties with the greatest number of resident American children.

#### 4.2.2. Parents by Nationality

There was a total of 1570 parents of American children listed in the 1881 Scottish census (Figure 4). Of these, the dominant nationality was Scottish with 1195 individuals; there were 276 Irish, 63 English,

36 Americans, six Germans, six Polish, four Canadians and one each of Hungarian, Maltese, French, Australian and Welsh birth.



**Figure 4.** Parents of American children grouped by nationality.

#### 4.2.3. Number of American Children in Two-Parent Households Grouped by Parental Nationality

The dominant nationality of parents in both two-parent and one-parent household is Scottish. A total of 74% of children lived in Scottish two-parent households with the next highest percentage being 14% of children who had Irish parents. Children in single parent families had the same type of spread with 63% of the children living with Scottish mothers and 14% with Scottish fathers. There were five children found living in a two-parent household with an American mother and father, 28 in an American father-led single parent household and six in an American mother-led single parent household.

#### 4.2.4. Probable Year of Migration to Scotland

This information was found by looking at the age of the youngest American child in a family and the age of any younger siblings born in Scotland. Barring any missing siblings due to child mortality, the family must have returned (or come) to Scotland between the births of the two children, thus giving the number of years the family had been resident. The largest peaks of migration to Scotland occurred between 1873 and 1881 with 305 families arriving in those years. However, not all of these parents will be Scottish return migrants as they include Irish, English and individuals of other nationality.

#### 4.2.5. Number and Type of Occupations of Parents of American Children

There was a wide range of occupations listed and of the 1570 parents of American children, 638 of the fathers and 169 of the mothers had an occupation listed.

Among the mothers, the two categories with the most individuals were the textile and clothing industry with 61 people listed and servants and cleaners with 44 people listed. One of the case study families was headed by a textile worker, Mary M. Mechan, mother of Rose Mechan (born about 1874 in New York). Mary was a power loom weaver and a single mother born in Glasgow. The individual occupations with the highest numbers were housekeeper (20) and dressmaker (15) (Figure 5).

Among the fathers, the two categories with the most individuals were construction with 121 people listed and the coal industry with 89 people listed. The individual occupations with the highest numbers were coal miners (75), general labourers (35) and masons (27) (Figure 6).

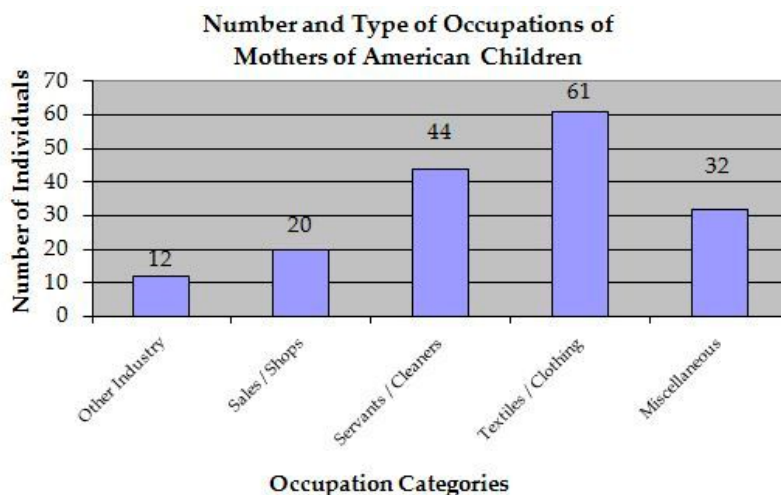


Figure 5. Occupations of the mothers of American children.

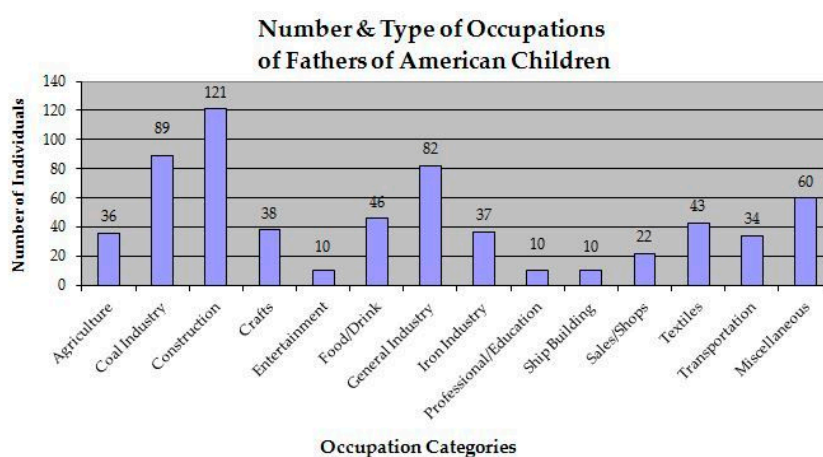


Figure 6. Occupations of the fathers of American children.

As noted, the most prevalent occupation among the fathers was that of coal miner (75 individuals) with a further 14 involved in the coal industry. Colliery owners in Britain were using blacklists and lockouts during the 1800s in an effort to thwart both the creation and power of unions in the mines and rebellion against the use of ‘Yearly Bonds’. A Yearly Bond gave a bounty to miners who would bind themselves to an employer for a year and a day; it did not provide for the payment of wages when the pit was idle for fewer than three days at a time. Apparently, this clause was often abused in slack times when mines were briefly closed in the interest of economy; miners were not allowed to accept work at other mines during these times of closure and infringement of the terms left them liable for prosecution and imprisonment (Gottlieb 1978, pp. 360–61).

After the National Association of Coal, Lime and Ironstone Miners of Great Britain was formed in 1863, union leaders quickly began to sponsor emigration of miners as a way of reducing problems of excess labour. The coal industry in the United States had begun a long-term expansion after the Civil War and the early 1860s were also years of full employment in collieries in the United Kingdom. Scottish and English unions saw these factors as an opportunity to enhance their wage negotiating position through the control of coal output and a reduction in the size of the labour force by the encouragement of emigration. Union leaders cooperated with agents for American coal companies in their recruitment efforts and ‘it was not an unusual sight to see parties of as many as a hundred miners or more sailing down the Clyde’. It was reported in *The Glasgow Sentinel* that Scottish emigration

societies assisted forty to fifty miners and their families to leave for America weekly (Gottlieb 1978, pp. 364–66).

Some of the families studied may have decided to return as the result of an economic downturn in America caused by the 'Panic of 1873', which set off a depression that lasted six years. The economic slowdown in the United States corresponded with a demand for iron in the early 1870s in the United Kingdom that brought coal miners' wages far above normal levels (Gottlieb 1978, p. 357). The American panic was caused by the contraction of the money supply due to the U.S. Treasury's post-Civil War withdrawal of dollars and the overexpansion of the railroads. During 1873, twenty-five railroads defaulted on their interest payments, causing a prominent investment firm to go bankrupt. The ensuing 'stampede of selling' forced the stock market to close for ten days. The depression was marked by widespread bankruptcies, unemployment and a drastic slowdown in railroad building (Tindall and Shi 1997, pp. 559–60).

These economic factors may very well have provided reasons for migrants to return in general and more specifically the 75 coal miners and their American children found in the 1881 census. One of the fathers in the case studies, James Fisher, was a coal miner; the American child of this family was born about 1875 and based on the birth of a younger son in Scotland, the family returned to Scotland by 1879. This family also shows signs of temporary or circular migration patterns as in the 1891 Scottish census there are a number of children born in both Scotland and America in various years. By the 1901 Scottish census, the American born child is living in Lanarkshire and has become a coal miner thus illustrating the continued importance of this industry to this family. Migrants may have also wanted to return due to widespread tension in the United States between workers and management around the issue of employing immigrants who, it was felt, led to lower wages and the reduction of the number of jobs for Americans (Tindall and Shi 1997, p. 618).

## 5. Conclusions

This research offers a clearer picture of the Americans and parents of American children in the 1881 Scottish census including demographic details and some information on their migration events, how long the families had been in Scotland and where in Scotland they were living. The initial research phase found that that almost half of the Americans in the 1881 Scottish census were children between the ages of zero and fifteen and almost half of those were between five to ten years old. The most important finding of the second research phase was that the parents of American children were overwhelmingly Scottish and thus return migrants, 1195 out of 1570 being of that nationality. The Irish had the next greatest number with 276 and American parents only accounted for 36 of the total.

Most of the families were living in urban areas with Lanarkshire and Midlothian having the greatest number. Scottish coal miners and their families may have been tempted to immigrate to America due to the encouragement of their unions and poor working conditions in Scottish mines. The economic downturn in America during the 1870s combined with relatively high wages in the United Kingdom could have contributed to their return. Other workers probably returned to escape the effects of the depression but factors such as homesickness and family pressures may have played their part as well.

Unlike the studies identified which look at ancestral return migrants (King 1986, p. 6) or counter-diasporic migrants (King and Christou 2010), this study provides a body of historic quantitative data instead of providing in-depth qualitative insights from letters or interviews. The data shows that the bulk of the children identified are under the age of 16 and thus would fall into the category of those whom King and Christou call 'trailing travellers' who presumably had minimal input into the family decision to return. Some of these children decided to either return to America later in life (along with the family group as with the Waterstons) or move to a new country, Australia (as with the Hay family). Research in other census years may clarify how many of these children experienced familial or individual re-migration and thus would help an overall understanding of the commonality of this type of migration.

The human experience described in the literature helps to illumine what may have motivated the Scottish parents of the American children to return to Scotland. However, determining how the parent cohort might fit into the various distinctions of types of return migration is difficult given the data available comes from only one census year. The case study families do illustrate possible cases of circular or temporary migration (the Fisher, Hay and Waterston families) and at any rate they show how nomadic some family units could be. For example, the Mechan family had an impressive level of mobility; the birth places of their children show that between 1865 and 1878 the family moved from Ireland to America, back to Ireland, then to the Isle of Man and finally to Wales.

More research is needed in other years of the Scottish census to identify whether or not Americans in those years are also predominantly children of return migrants and if not, their demographic profile. The issue of return migration among coal miners and familial circular migration is also of interest. Identifying Scottish/American trading partners would be helpful as growing development in trade between America and Scotland probably accounts for some individuals and a study of the role of U.S. consular offices in Scotland would be of interest as well. Some of these research points will be undertaken by the author as part of a PhD study studying Americans in Scotland resident during the nineteenth century.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The author declares no conflict of interest.

## Appendix A. Case Studies on Individual Families

Five families were chosen by type as part of the research process: (1) a family with more than one American child present; (2) Scottish parents only; (3) a single parent family; (4) non-Scottish or American parent(s); and (5) American and Scottish parents. The goal was to see if the family circumstances in America could be uncovered and if any re-migration to America occurred; families were also used to illustrate particular research findings. Sources used to complete these included passenger lists (UK and American); birth, marriage and death records (Scottish and American); immigration records and census records (USA and UK).

(1) The Hay family (more than one American child present in the household).

Family one was the Hay family, living in Alyth, Perthshire, who had three American children present in the 1881 census. The children were:

- Catherine M.H. Hay, born about 1865, America. There is a possible death registration record for her in Queensland, Australia on 21 January 1953; the parent names match the census information quite closely;<sup>1</sup>
- George H Hay, born about 1862, America. George appears in the 1891 Scottish census and the 1901 English census (where his birthplace is given as Scotland). It appears he immigrated to Australia as he can be found on a passenger list with his wife and children arriving in Brisbane on 5 February 1902<sup>2</sup>, in the Australian electoral rolls from 1913 to 1954<sup>3</sup>, finally dying on 27 October 1956 in Queensland;<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Death Index. (CR) Australia. Queensland. 21 January 1953. HAY, Catherine Margery. Reg. No. B041909, p. 1013. [Transcription] Collection: Australia, Death Index, 1787–1985. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Passenger List for S.S. Duke of Argyll departing London 5 December 1901, arriving Brisbane, Australia, 5 February 1902. HAY family. p. 355. Collection: Assisted Immigration 1848–1912. Available online: <https://www.qld.gov.au/recreation/arts/heritage/archives/immigration/> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Australian Electoral Commission. Queensland Electoral Rolls. 1913–1954. HAY, George Halkett. Collection: Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1903–1980. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Death Index (CR) Australia. Queensland. 27 October 1956. HAY, George Haleburton Halkett. Reg. No. B016779, p. 1103. [Transcription] Collection: Australia, Death Index, 1787–1985. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

- Grace Caroline Halkett Hay, born about 1860, America. She was married in 1885 in Alyth, Perth to Caleb Joseph Pamily, a Welsh 36 year old mining engineer.<sup>5</sup> She appears on the 1901 Welsh census living in Chepstow, Wales with Caleb and their three Welsh children. In this census, she is shown as having been born in Minnesota, U.S.A.<sup>6</sup> The family also appear in the 1911 living in Bristol<sup>7</sup> and Grace's probate entry shows her death on 26 October 1940 in Bristol.<sup>8</sup>

The father, Charles H. H. Hay, was born about 1821 in Coupar Angus, Forfarshire in Scotland. He is shown as a landowner on the 1881 census. A death record was found for him on 9 May 1883 in Alyth, Perthshire.<sup>9</sup> The mother, Carolina H. H. Hay, was born in England about 1837 and there was no further information found for her. Australian born siblings: The 1881 census showed that the Hays had four other children all born in Queensland, Australia. The eldest of these was 13 and the youngest a five-year-old son meaning they would have arrived in Scotland no earlier than 1876.

### (2) The Fisher family (Scottish parents only).

Family two was the Fisher family, living in Dalziel, Lanarkshire, who had two Scottish parents of an American child present in the census.

- James Fisher, born about 1875, is a British subject born in America, a scholar. See below for further details.

The father, James Fisher, was born about 1853 in Old Monkland, Lanarkshire in Scotland. He is shown as a coal miner in the 1881 census. The mother, Jane Fisher, was also born in Old Monkland in about 1852. He has two Scottish born siblings: Matthew, born about 1879 in Monkland, Lanarkshire and Jessie who is five months old and was also born in Monkland.

The family must have gone back to America as they appear on the 1891 Scottish census in Old Monkland, Lanarkshire with a 2-year-old son born in America; they must have returned to Scotland by December 1890 as they have a 6 month old daughter born in Dalziel. It is assumed they were living in Scotland at least at certain points between 1879 and 1886 as there are four children born in Scotland in these years.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1901 Scottish census, the father has become a dairyman and is working on his own account while his two eldest sons, including James, born in America in 1875 are coal miners.<sup>11</sup>

### (3) The Mechan family (single parent family).

Family three was the Mechan family, living in Hutchesontown, Glasgow, a single parent household.

- Rose Mechan, born about 1874, in New York, America. No further information could be found for Rose.

<sup>5</sup> Marriages (CR) Scotland. Alyth, Perthshire. 14 October 1885. PAMELY, Caleb Joseph and HAY, Grace Caroline Halkett. 328/A0 15. Available online: <https://www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Census. 1891. Wales. Chepstow, Monmouthshire. PAMELY Family. PN: RG 13/4917. FL 61. ED 20. p. 33. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Census. 1911. England. Bristol, Gloucestershire. PAMELY family. RD 319. ED 9. SN 429. Piece: 15067. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Testamentary Records. England. 20 January 1941. (Death date: 26 October 1940). PAMELY, Grace Caroline. Principal Probate Registry. Calendar of the Grants of Probate. p. 177. Collection: England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858–1966, 1973–1995. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Deaths (CR) Scotland. Alyth, Perthshire. 9 May 1883. HAY, Charles Halkett. 328/A 36. Available online: <https://www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>10</sup> Census. 1891. Scotland. Dalziel, Motherwell, Lanarkshire. FISHER Family. ED 14. SN 211. [Transcription] Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Census. 1901. Scotland. Old Monkland, Lanarkshire. FISHER Family. ED 1. SN 100. [Transcription] Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

The mother: Mary M. Mechan, was born about 1845 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Scotland. She is a power loom weaver and is shown as the head of the household. No further information was found for her. Rose has two Scottish born siblings: James Mechan, a scholar, born about 1870 in Glasgow and Annie Mechan, a thread winder, born about 1868, in Glasgow.

There is a possibility that James, a coal miner born in Glasgow, appears on a passenger list from Glasgow to New York in 1906 in order to stay with his brother in law, William Maxwell in Spring Valley, New York State.<sup>12</sup> Nothing was found in the 1900 or 1910 U.S. census for William Maxwell and either Rose or Annie Maxwell, or on the 1910 U.S. census for James Mechan.

(4) The Morrisey family (non-Scottish or American parents).

Family four was the Morrisey family, living in Fowlis Wester parish, Perthshire who had non-Scottish or American parents.

- Margret Morrisey, born about 1869, in Vermont, USA, is a scholar. No further information could be found for Margret.

Her father: Thomas Morrisey, was born in Ireland about 1844, and is a slatemaker. Her mother: Margret Morrisey, was also born in Ireland, about 1844. Margret has five siblings born in a variety of places showing the family moved quite often. Siblings: Patrick, born about 1865 in Ireland, a slatemaker; Aliz[?], born about 1871 in Ireland, a scholar; Thomas, born about 1873 in Ireland, a scholar; Helen, born about 1876 in the Isle of Man, and Briget, born about 1878 in Wales.

Given the common names with a large number of spelling variations possible for this family and their Irish origins providing a dearth of records, no further records were found which could be identified as truly belonging to them.

(5) The Waterston family (American and Scottish parents).

Family five was the Waterston family, living in the parish of St James (Landward), Forfar and have an American mother and a Scottish father present in the household. The household had four American children present and one Scottish born child.

The entire family did return to America as in November 1889, the Waterstons appear on a passenger list leaving Glasgow and arriving into New York City.<sup>13</sup>

- Alfred Waterston, born about 1872 in Ralls County, Missouri, America. He married Allie M. Stuart on the 8 January 1899 in Perry, Monroe County, Missouri.<sup>14</sup> A farmer, Alfred died in Salt River, Ralls County, Missouri on the 18 April 1929;<sup>15</sup>
- Elizabeth Waterston, born about 1870 in Ralls County, Missouri, America and returned with the family to America in 1889. She married William A. Martin on the 22 September 1897 in Ralls County, Missouri.<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth died in 1958 in New Mexico where she is buried;<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Passenger list for S.S. *Columbia* departing Glasgow December 1906, arriving New York City, USA, 24 December 1906. MECHAN, James. p. 22. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 29 April 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Passenger list for S.S. *Furnessia* arriving New York City, USA. WATERSTON, Jno E. 30 November 1889. National Archives and Records Administration (United States). Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 17 November 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Marriages (CR) USA. Perry, Monroe County, Missouri. 8 January 1899. WATERSTON, Alfred and STUART, Allie M. p. 159. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 27 June 2017).

<sup>15</sup> Deaths (CR) USA. Salt River, Ralls County, Missouri. 18 April 1919. WATERSTON, Alfred. RD: 727, State file No. 15656. Available online: [http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1929/1929\\_00016076.PDF](http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1929/1929_00016076.PDF) (accessed on 27 June 2017).

<sup>16</sup> Marriages (CR) USA. Ralls County, Missouri. 22 September 1897. WATERSTON, Elizabeth F. and MARTIN, William A. Record number: 4400. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 27 June 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Monumental inscriptions. USA. Mission Garden of Memories Cemetery, Clovis, Curry County, New Mexico. 1958. MARTIN, Elizabeth W. Transcribed by Michael Trower. Find A Grave Memorial: 65163700. Available online: <http://www.findagrave.com> (accessed on 27 June 2017).

- George Waterston, born about 1874 in Ralls County, Missouri, America. He married Eva Dooley Wills on the 7 July 1915 in Mexico, Monroe County, Missouri.<sup>18</sup> He registered in the WWI draft on 12 September 1918 at the age of 45 residing in Perry, Missouri.<sup>19</sup> George died in Olmstead County, Minnesota on the 21 April 1923;<sup>20</sup>
- Oly May Waterston, born about 1876 in Ralls County, Missouri, America. She married Thomas A. ROSELLE on the 9 February 1904 at the 'bride's home' which was in Perry, Monroe County, Missouri.<sup>21</sup> She appears in American censuses residing in Missouri through 1940 and died in December of 1954 in Palmyra, Missouri.<sup>22</sup>

The father, John Edmund Waterston, was born about 1844 in Forfarshire, Scotland. He is shown on the 1881 census as a farmer of 175 acres of which 170 acres are arable, employing 3 men and 2 women. The mother, Jemima Waterston, was born about 1847 in Ralls County, Missouri, America.

The Scottish born son was named John Jackson and was born in Forfar around 1878 which gives a migration period to Scotland for the family (as Oly May was born in the USA in 1876) between 1876 and 1878.

The Waterstons then appear in the 1900 American census living in South Fork Township, Monroe County, Missouri.<sup>23</sup> There are three Scottish born siblings on this census record (John (born December 1877), Jennella (born October 1883) and Willie (born June 1889)) and Oly May and George are still living at home.

Jemima and John E. also appear in the 1910 American census and are still in Monroe County, Missouri<sup>24</sup> with George and two of the Scottish born siblings. In the 1920 American census, John E. Waterston is a widower, living alone in the Salt River Township, Ralls County, Missouri.<sup>25</sup>

What these case studies showed was that some families did return to America or emigrated to other countries but also that tracing these individuals takes a considerable amount of time. It is not impossible in many cases but is challenging and time consuming.

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<sup>19</sup> Selective Service System (USA). World War I Draft Registration Card. 12 September 1918. WATERSTON, George Fenton. Residence: Monroe County, Missouri. Available online: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 27 June 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Deaths (CR) USA. Olmstead County, Minnesota. WATERSTON, George Fenton. State file number: 010006. Record number: 376595. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 27 June 2017).

<sup>21</sup> Marriages. (CR) USA. Perry, Monroe County, Missouri. 9 February 1904. WATERSTON, Ollie May and ROSELLE, Thomas A. p. 42. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 26 February 2014).

<sup>22</sup> Deaths (CR) USA. Palmyra, Marion County, Missouri. 23 December 1954. ROSELLE, Oly Mae. RD: 209, State file No: 41731. Available online: [http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1954/1954\\_00041731.PDF](http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1954/1954_00041731.PDF) (accessed on 26 June 2017).

<sup>23</sup> Census. 1900. USA. South Fork Township, Monroe County, Missouri. ED 121. p. 5A. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 26 February 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Census. 1910. USA. South Fork Township, Monroe County, Missouri. ED 127. p. 7B. Available online: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed on 26 February 2014).

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