

2018

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Recommended Citation

McCausland, Annie (2018) "Worship Industry or Starve: The Improvement Policy on the Sutherland Estate in Scotland, 1812-1820," *Voces Novae*: Vol. 2 , Article 13.
Available at: <https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/vocesnovae/vol2/iss1/13>

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Voces Novae: Chapman University Historical Review, Vol 2, No 1 (2010)

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Worship Industry or Starve: The Improvement Policy on the Sutherland Estate in Scotland, 1812-1820

By Annie McCausland

The Scottish Highlands are world renowned for their natural beauty, legendary history, and unique culture. However, centuries ago, they were seen as alien, desolate, archaic, and barbaric.^[1] Since the time of the ancient Pictish civilization, the Highlands have always been divided from the rest of Britannia by dialect, culture, social structure, and customs.^[2] This division peaked during the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and manifested in a devastating chapter in Highland history, the Highland Clearances. The ancient structure of the Highlands experienced a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity. Not only was Gaelic culture almost completely destroyed, but thousands of native Highlanders were forced to emigrate from their ancestral lands. Many landlords during the Clearances were notoriously inhumane as they accelerated these social changes. They had full power and legal authority over their people and were able to transform their estates however they pleased. However, Lord and Lady Stafford of the Sutherland Estate claimed to be different. They relocated their tenants and attempted to integrate them into the new economy, with new housing and a new way of life. In their minds, their improvement policy benefited everyone. The Sutherland Estate management was determined to both give their tenants a more prosperous life and make a large profit. Yet, instead of improvements, there was violence, rebellion, famine, and mass emigration leading to the policy's failure. The improvement policy of the Sutherland Estate was unsuccessful because the cultural gap between the Highland tenants and the Lowland administrators of the estate was unbridgeable. They loathed one another, and the resulting mistrust made cooperation and success nearly impossible.

The most important modern historian of the Clearances, Eric Richards, while cognizant of this violent cultural gap, gives it insufficient weight in his analysis. Firstly, he admires "the remarkable demonstration of the uses of an aristocratic fortune in an age of economic revolution"^[3] seen on the Sutherland Estate despite the great inhumanity it procured. Secondly, he believes that the estate's activities did "not amount to genocide or extermination, nor even homicide. It is more certain that the people themselves reacted negatively to coerced economic change."^[4] There was a major cultural division on the estate as Richards himself writes, between "'traditional' and 'modern' society, or between Highland and Lowland; or between the forces of the Enlightenment and those of a pre-industrial community; or most broadly, between the power of 'capitalism' and the resistance of a romanticized agrarian oral culture on the fringes of an industrializing world."^[5] This division was optimized by the actions, behavior, and prejudices of Sutherland Estate administrators, Patrick Sellar, William Young, and James Loch, towards the Highland tenants. Richards praises Sellar in his biography. He believes Sellar "merits comparison with the great captains of industry who performed a parallel task in other sectors of British industrialization. Sellar carried the torch of economic change into one of the most remote regions of the British economy."^[6] In fact, the failure of the Sutherland Estate improvement policy rests on the shoulders of the management team. Some were highly violent, conniving, and aggressive, and all lacked understanding or compassion for the Highland tenants. Many were easily capable of atrocities, including homicide. For Richards to deny this possibility is wrong, and his tendency towards praise is even worse. Richards's view of Sellar and the Sutherland Estate profoundly ignores the actual failure of its improvement policy, which was caused by the cultural differences between the lowland administrators and the Highland tenants.

Highland society was based on clanship and had been since ancient times. In return for allegiance, military service, tribute and rental payments, the commons of the clans expected the ruling families to act as their protectors and guarantee secure possession of land. The loyalties inherent in clanship were matters of the heart and mind rather than the law. During the Clearances clan chiefs were replaced by commercial landlords, and clan loyalties were replaced with capitalism, revolutionizing the entire culture. Society was no longer based on loyalty, family, and service but, instead, on profit, competition, and economic growth. These lifestyles were profoundly different and it was very difficult for Highlanders to accept and understand the drastic changes being imposed on them.

Between 1807 and 1821, the Sutherland Estate removed between 6,000 and 10,000 people from the interior to fishing communities on the Helmsdale coast in order to make room for Cheviot sheep. This was the largest Clearance in the history of the Highlands. The enormous demand for Highland wool made the land more profitable when sheep lived on it instead of tenants. Rising rent totals, from 11,000 pounds to 20,000 pounds forced the Highlanders to move into small lots on the coast where they supported themselves through fishing.^[7] Lord Stafford's one great motive, the comfort of the people, he said, "would be fulfilled; the people would be happier on the coast; and moreover, there would follow an increase of rents and prosperity...beyond our most sanguine expectations."^[8] However, Lord Stafford, and the rest of management, was oblivious to the needs of the Highland people, and his optimistic vision failed due to ignorance and prejudice.

For the British elite, the nineteenth century was an era of grandeur, opulent lifestyles, foreign travel, and expensive architecture. The Staffords were the leaders of fashionable society through the Stafford House, the largest and most beautiful of the private palaces in London. Lord Stafford's sister-in-law, Lady Granville, once asked, "when will Lord Stafford buy the world?"^[9] The Stafford Collection of art was valued at 150,000 pounds and was one of the finest in Europe. As Eric Richards emphasizes in his book, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, "the Sutherland fortune was an unrivaled concentration of aristocratic wealth in the 'Age of Improvement'."^[10] Lady Granville described dinner with Lady Stafford in Trentham in 1810:

The dinner for us two was soup, fish, fricassee of chicken, cutlets, venison, veal, hare, vegetables of all kinds, tart, melon, pineapple, grapes, peaches, nectarines, with wine in proportion. Six servants to wait upon us, whom we did not dare, dispense with, a gentleman- in- waiting, and a fat old housekeeper hovering round the door to listen, I suppose, if we should chance to express a wish. Before this sumptuous repast was well digested, about four hours later, the doors opened, and in was pushed a supper of the same proportion, in itself enough to have fed me for a week. I did not know whether to laugh or to cry...^[11]

The House of Sutherland was one of the most powerful, richest, and most disliked great governing families of Great Britain. In 1785 George Granville Leveson-Gower married Elizabeth Gordon- Countess of Sutherland bringing about the convergence of two ancient families, one English, and the other Scottish.^[12] This Anglo-Scottish alliance of aristocratic connections had the largest income and land acreage in the country, at 800,001 million acres. The rents from their estates, their profits from the Bridgewater Trust, their shareholdings in canal and railway companies, and their government and private stock gave them a gross income of 200,000 pounds per year. Lord and Lady Stafford spent most of their time in England, but they involved themselves directly in the administration of the Sutherland Estate.^[13] It is hard to believe that this nineteenth century "power couple" managed a huge estate in the north western corner of the Highlands and governed the lives of over 20,000 Highland tenants. No other landlord spent as much capital in the Highlands as the Staffords. However, on the rare occasions that they visited Sutherland, they only stayed at Dunrobin Castle, at which all Highland tenants were forbidden. They only met and communicated with administrators, leaving them ignorant of their tenants' needs which they proclaimed to deeply care about. In fact, they only used modernized, rebuilt, improved, and refurnished Dunrobin Castle for entertaining their friends and family. They wanted to establish a fashion for the glories of the Highland summer, including grouse shooting, salmon and trout fishing, and deer stalking. They, like the rest of aristocratic Britain, were entranced by the Highland tartan frenzy of the nineteenth century even as they suppressed the Highland people.

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The Sutherland Estate participated in King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. He was the first monarch to step foot in Scotland since Charles II in 1651. Sir Walter Scott was in charge of the festivities and he put together an extraordinary show of Celtic and Highland pageantry. His Majesty was decked in kilt, plaid, bonnet, and tartan coat for the occasion and Sir Ewan MacGregor toasted him as "the Chief of Chiefs."^[14] This was the beginning of the "cult of Highlandism" which the Staffords greatly represented.^[15] However, out of the once proud, numerous and prosperous Sutherland Highlanders, only "two or three dozen squalid-looking, ill-dressed, and ill-appointed men made their appearance" in Edinburgh.^[16] In fact, they were given the worst of the available accommodations and were not allowed to participate in any formal processions. "They were huddled in an old, empty house, sleeping on straw and fed with the coarsest fare while the other clans were living on comparative luxury."^[17] Lord Stafford and James Loch were present and quite embarrassed because everyone wondered how the Sutherlanders could have developed into such a wretched state under the enthusiastic improvement policy of Lord and Lady Stafford?

Management on the estate was not from the Highlands and, thus, was heavily prejudiced against the Highlanders. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the English increasingly attributed their wealth and success to their Saxon ancestry.^[18] Meanwhile, Scotland was a country divided ethnically, culturally, and historically.^[19] The Scottish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century assimilated Lowland Scotland into English culture, politics, language, and identity.^[20] Many Lowland Scots came to think of themselves as Saxons and traded their "material Celticism for an artificial Gothicism."^[21] According to the proto-ethnologists of the time, Saxons were characterized as lovers of freedom and naturally destined for a commercial and manufacturing superiority. They were also described as "acute, industrious, sensible, erect, and free."^[22] The Celtic race, on the other hand, was "sunk in vice, indolence and slavery,"^[23] which explained their backwardness in an era of progress and improvement. This created a fear and loathing of the Celt which exacerbated the plight of the Highlanders in the nineteenth century.

The British elite, landed classes, and gentry had absorbed non-Gaelic values in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and "improvement" of the Highlanders was used as a justification for transforming their estates to make a larger profit. The Sutherland Estate's management proclaimed that they wanted to "improve" the lives of the tenants, but their strong prejudices revealed that this was not really the case. Hatred for the Celt was strong on the Sutherland Estate despite their seemingly humane improvement policy. None of management was from the Highlands and none wanted to preserve its culture and language. The Lowland administrative team, William Young, Patrick Sellar, and Commissioner James Loch, who carried out the improvements, had very negative relations with the tenants and when policy failed they always blamed the Highlanders. Loch declared that "in no other country in Europe, at any period in its history, did there ever exist more formidable obstacles to the improvement of a people arising from the feelings and prejudices of the people themselves."^[24] When the fishing communities did not prosper, the tenants were "for a military, but not a seafaring life."^[25] When there was a lack of employment opportunities it was said that the "people seem to be much more inclined to idleness than industry. They are extremely frugal of the little they have; but as to earning anything more, it is a melancholy fact, that a poor tenant, will rather saunter or sit idle at home, than work."^[26] When there was famine, Sellar believed that "they require to be convinced that they must worship industry or starve."^[27] A Highland peasant, he said, "followed his ponies, cocked bonnet on his head and a red top to it, and a ragged philibeg reaching halfway down his leg, afflicted I doubt not by a hereditary itch which all the brimstone in Scotland would be tardy to cure."^[28] This was not restricted to the administrators, however. Lady Stafford described her estate as "a wild corner, inhabited by an infinite multitude roaming at league in the old way, despising all barriers, and all regulations, and firmly believing in witchcraft."^[29] Her friend wrote that Lady Stafford "was doing all she could to make the people more comfortable by building better cottages and encouraging them to fish on the coast, but they are too much addicted to filth to enjoy the former, and too idle to attempt the latter."^[30]

All of management had clearly been infected by a sort of anti-Celtic "racism," and this influenced their treatment of the tenants and their harsh policy. As a result of this, the evictions were too rapidly implemented. Administrator William Young described them,

Our present hurry is beyond what any person who is not on the Spot can form any idea of, and I shall for the next 14 days be all together in Strathnaver and Brora where we have at least 430 [families] to arrange in different allotments, to double their present rents, and put them in a more industrious way of life.[\[31\]](#)

The Highlanders responded by initiating a war against the prejudiced treatment and the estate faced well coordinated and sophisticated opposition from its tenants. Beginning with the Kildonan riots of 1813 and ending with the trial of Patrick Sellar in the spring of 1816, a variety of tactics were used to resist the management. The way management handled these uprisings further confirms their inhumane motives.

The Kildonan riots during the winter of 1813 constituted the Highlanders' first tactical response to the prejudiced execution of the improvement policy on the Sutherland Estate. During these riots, the Highlanders began the process of uniting and acting cohesively. They severely harassed Patrick Sellar as he performed his duty of informing tenants about their removals by serving notices of eviction while collecting rents. In mid-January of 1813, two new sheep farmers, along with their shepherds, were chased off the land. On February 2nd, management, including Sellar, tried to persuade the tenants to sign a bond of peace.[\[32\]](#) This would have helped the improvements continue without conflict. Some complied, but many did not. On February 10th, one hundred and fifty men armed with staves and clubs confronted Sellar when he tried to collect the bond from the remaining tenants.[\[33\]](#) Many of the tenants possessed letters which had awarded them their land in return for military service in the 93rd Regiment. Families that had members currently serving in the military believed that the letters protected their land until their relatives came home. Sellar reported that

they were determined they Said to Stand as one man, in defense of their land and their property. On my endeavoring to point out the Folly of a handful of men pretending to fight against the Laws and Strength of the British Constitution and against Common Sense, they said they were *Loyal* men whose Brothers and Sons were now fighting Bonaparte and they would allow no Sheep to Come into the Country.[\[34\]](#)

However, these particular letters had expired in 1808, which was pointed out by Sellar. He wrote that "their answer was it may be so, but we will hold the land until [our] men are delivered to us again."[\[35\]](#) Sellar, in his anger, commented that "such a set of savages is not to be found in the wilds of America."[\[36\]](#) The tenants had banded together in opposition to the policy of the Sutherland Estate and Sellar could not understand why.

Whether these foolish men can be brought to order, there is, with Great deference, room for but one opinion; and, it may be proven, to the Satisfaction of every liberal and unprejudiced mind, that the removal of these men from Kildonan to Strathay, and the Growth of wool and mutton on the mountain of Kildonan, are measures calculated to add to the Comfort of the people and the Strength of the Country.[\[37\]](#)

He believed that the residents of Kildonan were irrationally refusing their own improvement. The military was brought in to quell and make the tenants perfectly submissive. This was exactly what management wanted, but the calm was only temporary.

Sellar became the target for the Sutherland tenants and, in March 1813, he wrote to Lady Stafford that he had no fear of death but he was liable to assassination.[\[38\]](#) He was targeted because, as an estate administrator and a Lowlander, he embodied the modern ideology of the capitalist south. Patrick Sellar was an entrepreneur with strict goals and beliefs. He was an Edinburgh trained lawyer, who had been reared in the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment. His father, Thomas Sellar, was the factor for the Russell of Westfield estate, and had resettled the tenants there efficiently and quickly. Following in his father's footsteps, Patrick was determined to reform the rest of Scottish Highlands in the same way. He was heavily influenced by Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus, and he truly believed in his role on the Sutherland Estate.[\[39\]](#) He found his niche as a sheep farmer and administrator and sought to bring capitalism, efficiency, and modernity to Sutherland, and to an ancient race on their traditional lands. However, he had no respect for or understanding of the Highland people and their culture. Sellar believed that the Gaelic language hindered improvement in the Highlands and he believed it was best to "suppress the reading of Gaelic and induce the study of English as much as possible."[\[40\]](#) He also declared that "debauchery and

beggary follow the total absence of principle, essential to [the Highlanders'] trade.[Their] children trained up in deceit, exceed their father in turpitude, and the virtue of a Scottish Highlander is exchanged for the vices of the Irish peasantry." [41] He compared them frequently in his writing to the "Aborigines of America; both are most virtuous where least in contact with men in a civilized state, and both are fast sinking under the baneful effects of ardent spirits." [42] Sellar continued his hostile treatment of the tenants despite their resistance, a tactic which would prove to be a major mistake.

The tenants responded to Sellar's disdain by campaigning against him in the pages of the *Military Register*, a small weekly newspaper published in London that reported news and opinion to the serving and demobilized soldiers. It was naturally sympathetic to the families in Kildonan connected with the 93rd Regiment. In its pages a sophisticated campaign against Sellar, the Sutherland Estate management, and the Stafford family was carried out on a weekly basis from 1815 to 1817. [43] This was what Lady Stafford and the rest of management feared most because it brought the estate and its actions before public opinion and set it up for rebuke. The articles and letters were read throughout the country and generated considerable sympathy for the Sutherland tenants' plight. Most of the articles on this issue came from a "Highlander of Sutherland," who wrote "in the name of the gallant men of Sutherland...the unfortunate [who] usually have but few friends." The identity of the "Highlander" remains unclear; though we know he lived in London and very likely depended on people in Sutherland for information. He was likely a literate expatriate who had gained experience in the army and the empire. [44] He had not been in Sutherland since 1803, but the fact that he was from there allowed the public to accept him as a representative for the tenants of Sutherland, who were otherwise unable to represent themselves. Using an eloquent and persuasive writing style and knowledge of the Highland regiments and their recent contribution on the battlefield, he pled the side of the tenants against Sellar, the Stafford Family, and the Sutherland Clearances specifically, as well as the Highland Clearances more generally.

In the articles in the *Military Register* two main arguments were used to support the Highlanders of Sutherland as well as all the Highlanders facing the Clearances. The first argument centered on the national consequences of replacing the Highlanders with sheep and the second on the moral problem of displacing an ancient and loyal race. The biggest consequence of losing the Highlanders to either starvation or emigration was their natural stock of peculiarly brave and effective soldiers. [45]

This Sir, is not the moment to lose such a race; a race who supply one of the choicest arms of our military force; a race containing a population of 16000 souls, and a people who are exemplary for their steadiness, sobriety, and intelligence, that it is a fact well known that in several corps, not Highland, all their staff sergeants are from Sutherland shore. [46]

Famous battles such as Waterloo were brought up in almost every article published on the Sutherland Estate, including war poems such as *The Warriors Return from Waterloo*, and *An Account of the Battle of Waterloo*. [47] A well-known poem by Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village*, was also used at the very beginning of an article on Sutherland titled "Local Tyranny".

Even now the devastation is begun,
And half the business of destruction done;
Even now, methinks, as pondering here I stand,
I see the rural virtues leave the land:
Down where yon anchoring vessel spreads the sail
That idly waiting flaps with every gale,
Downward they move, a melancholy band,
Pass from the shore, and darken all the strand.
Contented toil, and hospitable care,
And kind connubial tenderness, are there;
And piety with wishes placed above,
And steady loyalty, and faithful love. [48]

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This poem created a sympathetic image of the Highlanders that every reader could easily recognize. On May 23, 1815 the *Military Register* published a list of accusations against Sellar, including the burning of buildings leading to fatalities. Sellar was quoted as having said "dead or alive you must remove." [49] The campaign against Sellar was the most elaborate and effective form of resistance the tenants could devise. The "Highlander of Sutherland" made the case for some form of parliamentary intervention, at the very least, a parliamentary inquiry. After a long campaign, the *Military Register*, in alliance with the tenants of Sutherland, was able to successfully bring the issue of the Highland Clearances to national attention and Sellar into widespread opprobrium.

The tenants submitted a petition to Lady Stafford in early 1815 complaining of various acts of injury, cruelty, and oppression. She had already been aware of the complaints against Sellar and she wrote confidentially to her husband that Sellar was capable of such actions.

The more I see and hear Sellar the more I am convinced he is not fit to be trusted further than he is present. He is exceedingly greedy and harsh with the people, there are heavy complaints against him from Strathnaver in taking possession of his farm, not allowing the indulgence others have always done the first half of the year etc, etc. This is to be examined and I believe it will be necessary to bring him before Cranstoun. He is full of law Quirks and with a good-natured appearance is too much the reverse in conduct, besides having no judgment or discrimination. [50]

Sherriff Cranstoun was in London on business and the Sherriff substitute was Robert Mackid, a man whom Sellar hated utterly. It is important to note the personal grudge between Mackid and Sellar because it greatly affected Sellar's trial in 1816. Sellar and Mackid were both Edinburgh-trained lawyers who wanted to be sheep factors for the Sutherland Estate. Sellar utilized every opportunity to express his distaste for Mackid and his unsatisfactory work. This dispute began right after the riots of Kildonan and continued to grow. [51] Unlike Sellar, Mackid was a Highlander, which likely enhanced their rivalry. After the petition, Sellar was constantly worried about his future. He wrote a revealing self analysis that noted, "I fear I have been bred to too much precision, and possess too much keenness of temper to be so useful in my office as I ought and sincerely wish to be. A man less anxious might better suit the situation and the nature of the people." [52] This is the most revealing bit of writing that Sellar produced. In it he acknowledged his faults and his distance from the Highland people and recommended someone who could understand the tenants better. This was exactly the core reason for the failure of the Sutherland Estate improvement policy, and ironically, Sellar privately admitted to it.

In the spring of 1815, Mackid arrested Patrick Sellar. Inspired by the petition, he went around Sutherland and "examined about forty evidences upon the allegations stated." [53] He wrote to Lord Stafford on May 30, 1815 informing him that "the crimes of which Mr. Sellar stands accused, are,-

Willful fire-raising; by having set on fire, and reduced to ashes a poor man's whole premises, including dwelling-house, barn, kiln, and sheep cot, attended with the most aggravated circumstances of cruelty, if not murder!!!

Throwing down and demolishing a mill, also a capital crime.

Setting fire to and burning the tenants' heath pasture, before legal term of removal.

Throwing down and demolishing houses, whereby the lives of sundry aged and bed-ridden persons were endangered, if not actually lost!

Throwing down and demolishing barns, kilns, sheep cots, &c. to the great hurt and prejudice of the owners.

Innumerable other charges of lesser importance swell the list." [54]

This being the case, the laws of the country imperiously call upon me to order Mr. Sellar to be arrested and incarcerated, in order for trial. A more numerous catalogue of crimes, perpetrated by an individual, has seldom disgraced any country or sullied the pages of a precognition in Scotland!!![\[55\]](#)

Fellow administrator William Young went to the jail to offer bail but Mackid refused. Young asked Mackid what was to happen to Sellar, and Mackid replied, "if he is not hanged, he will certainly go to Botany Bay."[\[56\]](#)

Sellar was brought to trial on Tuesday, April 23, 1816, two years after the Kildonan evictions. The most serious charge against him was the culpable homicide of Margaret McKay. She was ninety-two years old and had been found dying in a small house with a burnt blanket around her. There are only two primary sources of these events, and unfortunately, they contradict each other. First we have the *Report of the Trial*, which self-proclaims that it was

published by the junior counsel for Mr. Sellar, [Patrick Robertson], from notes taken in Court, and omits nothing but the arguments of the Counsel, which are kept back, least it may be supposed that this publication was intended to convey anything beyond the mere facts of the case. The honor of Mr. Sellar, the purity of his intentions, his humanity of disposition, and the legality of his proceedings, must be clear to every person who candidly peruses this account of his trial; and if there still be nay who are prejudiced as to disregard truth and justice, when coupled with his name, or with the Sutherland improvements, their opinions can only treated by that gentleman with the contempt which they deserve.[\[57\]](#)

According to this document McKay's son-in-law, William Chisholm, one of the witnesses, testified that "the woman was not personally harmed by the fire, but the alarm and removal caused her death."[\[58\]](#) McKay and her family had had several hours to leave their house and remove their belongings before Sellar arrived. Chisholm declared that "he was prevailed on not to [do] so, in expectation that Mr. Sellar would not remove them when he came."[\[59\]](#) Chisholm freely admitted his refusal to move from his house. Henrietta McKay, Chisholm's wife, actually contradicted her husband in her testimony. It is apparent that she had made herself absent from the scene as a part of their plan to resist removal from their house. Sellar was, of course, upset that they had not left the house and ordered that it be burnt down once everyone was evacuated. Burning of houses during removals was lawful and a common practice at this time. Some of the Chisholms' belongings were burnt and Margaret McKay died of shock hours later. The most important document used in favor of Sellar was the Robert Mackid letter to Lord Stafford on May 30, 1815. Robert Mackid was the first witness for the Crown, but was made void for the trial after he was accused of personal malice towards Sellar. He had "struck [Sellar] off from the roll of procurators without a complainer, a trial, or any previous notice, -and afterwards wrote an inflammatory and false statement of the pretended circumstances of this case to the Marquis of Stafford, and stated to various persons, that the panel ought to be hanged -that Botany Bay was too good for [Sellar]; and that they, though willing to find bail for him, ought to have nothing to do with him."[\[60\]](#) The jury saw this as personal malice and believed that there was a conspiracy against Sellar. The judge, Lord Pitmilley, and the jury believed that there was a conspiracy behind the trial.

The contradictory testimonies, Mackid's letter and unprofessional actions of arrest, and the role of the *Military Register*, led to the conclusion of a conspiracy against Patrick Sellar. "Mr. Sellar, in particular, was selected as the victim of these disgraceful publications; he was branded with the names of tyrant, oppressor, and murder; exposed to public view as a man of the most atrocious character, and every sort of abandoned cruelty was laid to his charge."[\[61\]](#) "It is also a fact, that certain designing and malicious persons stirred up farther the deluded people, joined them in the plot formed for ruining Mr. Sellar, in order to gratify their own enmity, whilst they attempted to undermine the progress of improvement."[\[62\]](#) Sellar was the "victim, not only of the most unfounded local prejudices, but of long continued and active defamation, on the part of certain persons, who have made it their business to traduce the whole system of improvements introduced into the Sutherland Estate."[\[63\]](#)

Another source was Donald MacLeod's *Gloomy Memories of Sutherland*. This was first published as a series of letters in the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* in 1840. MacLeod was a Sutherland tenant who had witnessed the early

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Sutherland Clearances. His motive in publishing was to "vindicate [his] ill-used countrymen from the aspersions casted upon them, to draw public attention to their wrongs, and, if possible, to bring a fair inquiry conducted by disinterested men, as to the real causes of their long-protracted misery and destitution-in order that public sympathies may be awakened in their behalf and something effected for their relief." [64] He declared that Sellar's "appearance in any neighborhood had been such a case of alarm, as to make a woman fall into fits, and in one instance caused a woman to lose her reason, which, as far as I know, she has not yet recovered; whenever she saw a stranger she cried out, with a terrific tone and manner, 'Oh! Sin Sellar!' - 'Oh! There's Sellar!'" [65] In order to speed up the removals, Sellar burned down heath pasture on which the Highland cattle were completely dependent in the winter. Fences were also burnt down, allowing cattle to destroy crops which already could barely survive the wet and cold winter. Barns, kilns, mills, and houses were also burnt down, leaving the tenants' without shelter. The houses had been built by the tenants or their ancestors, and according to MacLeod were "their property by right, if not by law." [66] They were made out of valuable materials which the tenants had a right to keep, "but the devastators proceeded with the greatest celerity, demolishing all before them, and when they had overthrown the houses in a large tract of country, they ultimately set fire to the wreck. So that timber, furniture, and every other article that could not be instantly removed, was consumed by fire or otherwise utterly destroyed." [67] All of this, MacLeod wrote, was ordered and directed by Sellar. MacLeod declared that "these proceedings were carried on with the greatest rapidity as well as the most reckless cruelty. The cries of the victims, the confusion, the despair and horror painted on countenances of the one party, and the exulting ferocity of the other, beggar description." [68] Sellar's actions left people homeless, starving, and in a purely wretched state. MacLeod described men going insane and pregnant women giving premature birth because of intense stress. MacLeod was also present during the Chisholm removal where he told Sellar not to burn down the house because the old woman was inside. Sellar declared, "damn her, the old witch, she has lived too long; let her burn." [69]

Despite the horrific accounts of the tenants, Sellar was acquitted on April 23, 1816. According to the law of the land, Sellar was not guilty and the whole trial was a conspiracy, based on the Robert Mackid letter and Mackid's own actions. However, in the eyes of the tenants, Sellar was not only guilty for Margaret McKay's death, but also for all of their suffering. Their testimonies were not made verbatim, and since they were all through the same translator, a homogenized tone was created making them less powerful. "A number of poor illiterate Tenants, as we are, could have but a small chance of success in this manner." [70] Sellar was an expert of the Law and was well-prepared for this case. He hired the best lawyers and paid all his witnesses to make sure they played their part correctly. His main defense was based on vouches by other high class gentlemen on his humanity and personality. The cultural conflict was obvious to all, and was believed to be the root of the conspiracy against Sellar. David Monypenny, the judge, noted that "this was not merely the trial of Mr. Sellar, but in truth, a conflict between the law of the land and a resistance to that law: That the question at issue involved the future fate and progress of agriculture, and even moral improvements, in the county Sutherland." [71] Sellar believed Mackid was the leader of the conspiracy. Shortly after the trial he forced the sheriff into bankruptcy and on September 22 1817, Mackid painfully wrote a letter of apology to Sellar in order to escape a lawsuit against him for not offering Sellar bail. In the letter, Mackid stated that he "being impressed with the perfect conviction and belief that the statements to your prejudice contained in the precognition which I took in [Sutherland] in May 1815, were to be such an extent exaggerations as to amount to absolute falsehoods." [72] Mackid admitted to the conspiracy but denied any affiliation with the *Military Register*.

The way in which the estate's administrators reacted to Sellar's trial confirms their prejudices and inhumane motives. All of their efforts went into creating propaganda in order to restore their image and absolutely no effort was put towards bettering their relationship with the tenants. Sellar and Loch published profusely with the goal of justifying their actions and the estate's policy. In Sellar's article, *Sheep Farming in Sutherland*, he suggested a sympathetic understanding of the Highlanders. "I came to this country," he wrote, "full of the belief that the growth of wool and sheep in the Highlands of Scotland was one of the most abominable and detestable things possible to be imagined." [73] Sellar clearly believed that change was necessary to erase the "smuggling, indolence, malice, canting hypocrisy, envy, jack pudding confusion, all causing the poverty and begging of a savage country." [74]

Commissioner James Loch strongly sought to improve the reputation of the Sutherland Estate. That very year he dismissed Sellar, replaced him with Francis Suther, and slowed down the removal policy. He believed that these three changes would put the improvement policy on the right path, end the uncooperative attitude of the tenants, and, most importantly, restore the estate's reputation. However, these changes merely provided a temporary remedy, and failed to address the fundamental problems of the policy. Mass removals of the tenants continued, including the largest of the Clearances between 1819 and 1820. At the same time the estate advocated for emigration and the Highlanders starved. In Loch's publication, *Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford*, he created a façade of understanding for the plight of the Highland tenants. His true objective in publishing this pamphlet was only to promote a positive reputation for the Stafford family and the estate.

Loch used Sellar as a scapegoat and failed to address the fundamental problems of the estate's policy in his *Account*. He had witnessed Sellar's inappropriate behavior and rude personality since 1812, and had even written to Sellar to "let your orders be given directly and distinctly in firm but moderate language, without Taunt or Joke and whenever you can, let them be in writing which will avoid any danger of mistake which is particularly desirable where two languages are in use." [75] Loch reported to Lady Stafford that Sellar was a man "possessing less discrimination than it is easy to believe, and was really guilty of many very oppressive and cruel acts." [76] After the trial, Sellar wanted revenge, and his hatred of the Celtic tenants only intensified. [77] He urged more rapid evictions and the promotion of emigration. He also asked that two tenants be forced off the Estate for being "connected with the late occurrences." [78] Loch knew that Sellar would persist in "produc[ing] continual interference and insinuations to supplant the new management." [79] Sellar's removal was certainly popular with all concerned, but the fact that Sellar was used as a scapegoat for the estate's problems did not benefit the tenants in the long run. Loch believed that the way Sellar executed the policy was the foundation of all the problems so he only reformed the execution and not the theory on which the policy was based. In his eyes, this would end the "total disregard of Justice and regard for the people's feelings that characterized the whole management." [80] His main goal was to prove that improvement on the estate was necessary and humane, and he proclaimed that it would be "carried into effect with every regard to the feelings, the interest, and even the PREJUDICES of the people." [81] This was not true. Loch was furious when a large sum was spent on relief supplies and he wished the tenants "were safely in that beautiful country in New Holland." [82] Famine had hit Sutherland, and he believed that "if [the tenants were] supplied, they will never feel the inconvenience of their situation, so as to desire a change." [83] He failed to address the famine, the insufficient coastal lots, the promotion of mass emigration, and the true unhappiness of the people in his *Account*. [84] Indeed, Loch did not bring reform to Sutherland at all.

The "Highlander of Sutherland" of the *Military Register* recognized Loch's real intent in his *Account*. He criticized the factors' harsh and unsympathetic treatment of the tenants. He wrote that "the desolatory system of Sutherland [was] not an improvement" [85] and that, "with respect to the pamphlet, on my own local knowledge, and on the best information I can procure from persons on spot, that, with the exception of Geographical position of the county of Sutherland, and some agricultural improvements on the coast, and some facts of minor importance, that pamphlet from beginning to end, is a tissue of gross misrepresentation." [86] Further, he wrote that "a more fallacious, ungrateful, or more insulting doctrine, with application to a most deserving people, never was broached." [87] Of course, Loch condemned the "artful perversions of the truth which [had] been circulated" [88] in the *Military Register*.

The improvement policy remained unchanged and the tenants remained uninformed. The very idea of discussion between management and tenant was inconceivable. The factors of the estate were powerful and given unlimited discretion. Three factors administered one million acres with a population over 20,000. Half a century later, a minister told the Napier Crofting Commissioners that Lord Stafford's factors were "his hands, his eyes, his ears, and his feet, and in their dealing with the people they are constantly, like a wall of ice between his Grace and his Grace's people." [89] The tenants had no rights, no voice, and were literally starving. Even Sellar had sympathy for the "poor creatures in the interior who having begun to consume their potatoes before they were ripe and having had their Corn again affected by mildew live in squalid misery and wretchedness, and if Lord Stafford do not again Supply them with meal God only knows what the consequence is to be." [90] Before the Clearances, a factor of the estate admitted that, "the people certainly enjoyed, for nine months of the year, many comforts which the present

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race cannot attain. From June to February they were abundantly supplied with the produce of their crops and of the dairy, they had a profusion of milk, butter and cheese, and a few were so poor but they could provide sheep and goats for their winter feed."^[91] After "improvement" Highlanders were starving and many were forced to emigrate.

The Sutherland Estate policy and the actions of its factors were criticized by General David Stewart of Garth in his *Sketches of the Scottish Highlanders* in 1822. Stewart was a Gaelic-speaking military man from the Highlands and he strongly believed in the patriarchal-military traditions of Highland culture. *Sketches* was a highly romanticized history of the Highlands that condemned commercialization, the Clearances generally, and the Sutherland Clearances in 1814 and 1819-20 in particular. Stewart, like many before him, advocated that life in the Highlands had been better before improvements. He implied that Sellar was guilty of his crimes and that the trial of 1816 did not bring justice. When Stewart witnessed mass emigration he "wish[ed] he would keep them at any sacrifice in the glens and islands, for he was not a political economist but a Highland warrior."^[92] Stewart himself owned a Highland estate where he continued the Highland way of life, which he believed was more profitable.^[93] He referred to emigration from the Highlands as "the white slave trade." Ironically, Stewart's own estate failed and he was forced to turn to emigration. He declared that he was "hostile to the desolating system of turning out and extirpating a whole race- but without emigration to American or to the Lowlands, how can a man in this country provide for four or five sons when he has so many."^[94]

In 1826, Sellar published a justification of his actions and those of the Sutherland Estate in his *Statement*. Noting the attacks on his character, he claimed that "every reader unacquainted with the circumstances is cruelly left to [conclude] that I had committed the most atrocious acts."^[95] Sellar's main line of defense was the conspiracy theory, claiming that "the Sherriff Substitute was lying in wait to do me an injury; that he had learned this from the Sheriff himself, so far back as the month of July 1813."^[96] We may never be for certain of Mackid's true intentions or whether there was ever a real conspiracy against Sellar. However, one thing is definitely certain, that the intentions of Lord and Lady Stafford to improve the lives of the Highland tenants failed with or without the presence of violence. The Highland tenants were not happy in their new coastal lots, they were starving and ill, and they were being forced to emigrate from their ancestral home lands. Many became desperate to recreate their old way of life in a new land away from the industrialization of Europe in countries like Canada, the United States, and Australia.^[97]

Sellar's death in October of 1851 brought no end to his misery. In an obituary in the *Northern Ensign* a Highland correspondent who had recently visited Sutherland, wrote that he

saw the pleasant straths of Sutherland darkened with the smoke, as the houses of the once happy natives were being consumed to ashes. Ah! I saw Sutherland a happy country- a happy country indeed was before the names of Roy, Young and Sellar were ever heard of; but, alas! How changed. Instead of the voice of praise to which in my younger days I have often listened, I heard nothing but the bleating of sheep, and instead of the dwellings of these brave and worthy men, whose forefathers well showed themselves to be their country's stay, I saw the cots of a few border shepherds, cowering in the distance. Surely, then, this Mr. Sellar, who is thus held up so much praise, cannot be the same person who was the principal instrument of bringing about such revolting changes. And whose name will be remembered with sadness in Sutherland as long as it is a county.^[98]

In the 1880s Sellar's reputation continued to worsen and so that "in time, the verdict in Sellar's favor has been reversed, not in law, but in popular opinion."^[99] This transformation was ultimately enabled and caused by "the distorting and selective process of reminiscences filtered through years of telling and debating; transfers, oversimplifications, archetypal images take precedence over the lived experience and are telling indicators of the community's underlying values and beliefs."^[100] Donald MacLeod published his "Gloomy Memories" in 1841 and Alexander Mackenzie published his *History of the Highland Clearances* in 1883. Both blamed Sellar completely for the inhumanity that occurred on the Sutherland Estate and claimed that he had been acquitted exclusively because of his powerful class status, experience as a lawyer, and support from the clergy and gentry. Mackenzie asked "why rake up all this inquiry just now? We answer that the same laws which permitted the cruelties, the

inhuman atrocities, described in this book, are still the laws of the country, and any tyrant who may be indifferent to the healthier public opinion which now prevails, may legally repeat the same proceedings whenever he may take it into his head to do so."^[101] The same time Mackenzie was publishing, the Napier Crofting Commission was touring the Highlands to collect stories from "victims" "persecutors," and "witnesses." The commission determined that "there runs through Sutherland evidence... the impression that Mr. Sellar [initiated] the policy of the clearances carried out in that country, and that he alone was responsible for the execution of that policy. No other agent is ever referred to."^[102] Sellar was becoming the national scapegoat for the Highland Clearances. In response to this negative memory, Sellar's own son published a defense of his father's actions in 1883. His main argument was the beneficial economic change brought on by changes that Sellar implemented.

On the whole, who can question the immense benefits derived from the changes effected? And who can doubt, on the other hand, what the state of the population would have been, had they been left in the glens and on the hill-sides of the interior? These changes were carried out compulsorily; but they were not carried out with wanton or other cruelty. That, in particular, Mr. Patrick Sellar did not commit the acts of inhumanity, only to be characterized as stupid or reckless, which are sought to be fixed on him, it is the purpose of the following pages to demonstrate.^[103]

The images being produced in the 1880s turned Patrick Sellar and the Sutherland Estate into the primary examples of the entire Highland Clearances. It is important to understand the context in which these narratives were published. Anti-improvement sentiment was popular in the 1880s due to the economic recession that had occurred since the 1870s. This was also the same time that Celtic studies was making an impact in Great Britain. Professor John Stewart Blackie, creator of the department of Celtic Studies at Edinburgh University, strongly supported the Crofters Commission and spoke highly against Sellar.

The accounts and narratives published in the 1880s are highly biased and to the extent that "the strength of commitment in nineteenth century polemic accounts has weakened their validity as reliable resources of information."^[104] However this trend in Highland Clearance history continued to thrive through the 1960s and 70s with the publications; *The Trial of Patrick Sellar* by Ian Grimble, *The Highland Clearances* by John Prebble and *The Making of the Crofting Community* by James Hunter.^[105] All three authors strongly condemned Sellar and rely solely on secondary sources published in the 1880s. They did not provide any new insights or perspective but instead continued to display the same indignation and moral outrage. Their themes were the cultural subjugation of the Gaels and the destruction of Gaelic culture. Hunter applied Edward Said's orientalist model and stated that "just as racist gibes which were originally hurled against Celts could afterwards be directed against Africans and Asians, new and improved taunts were increasingly imported from overseas colonies to be targeted on Celts. Such practices are particularly evident, as far as the Highlands are concerned, in the career of Patrick Sellar."^[106] As already discussed, Sellar was prejudiced, but Hunter failed to apply this observation to the entire estate, limiting his perspective immensely.

The icon of Patrick Sellar has also become quite popular in literature. In *Consider the Lilies* by Ian Crichton Smith, Sellar is confronted by Donald MacLeod who warns Sellar about his future fate in popular history and culture which will be passed down to every generation.

There are some poets, we call them bards, who have written songs about you. Did you know that? Shall I quote a bit? 'Patrick Sellar, I see you roasted in Hell like a herring and the oil running over your head.' That, of course is only part of it. You see, Mr. Sellar, you will become a legend. Are you flattered? Is this perhaps what you wanted? You talk about the future. Yes, true enough, you too will have a future. Children will sing about you in the streets in different countries, countries you will never visit. They may even recite poems about you in schools. Yes, your name will be on people's lips.^[107]

Other works include the *Butcher's Broom* by Neil M. Gunn, *And the Cock Crew* by Finnoa MacColla, and *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* by John McGrath, all of which highlight Sellar as a main character and are largely based on Donald MacLeod's dramatic accounts in "Gloomy Memories."^[108] McGrath's play is a parody of Sellar's trial, in which Sellar is portrayed as arrogant and self righteous. All of the representations of Sellar in these works are consistent and coherent. Not all plots may include an eviction scene but the processes of improvement involve

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images and themes of destruction, arson, and hell. All of the blame falls on the shoulders of the character representing Sellar, since the landlord is apparently absent.

Laurence Gourievidis's article, *Patrick Sellar*, explores the cultural phenomena that Sellar has inspired and the "manufacturing of reputation [which] is on the one hand, the repetition of this image, and on the other the strength of its meaning and its unity through time." [109] Gourievidis analyzes how local museums portray Sellar and the Clearances. Patrick Sellar is featured at the Stathnaver Museum at Bettyhill and at the Timespan Heritage Center in Helmsdale. Ian Grimble was referenced as a source in establishing the Strathnaver Museum, raising major suspicions of bias. The Timespan display is a recreation of an eviction scene with sound effects and images from MacLeod's accounts. The "spine chilling scene" shows Patrick Sellar forcing a family to abandon their home. [110] The appraisal of the period and the conclusions that they display are identical in both museums. They used the same evidence and sources in order to create sympathy for the evicted tenants, denounce Sellar, and advocate that the trial in 1816 was a fraud.

The phenomenon of demonizing Sellar has continued into modern times. Historians Philip Gaskell and Rosalind Mitchison have both noted the "absurdity of the Sellar folklore which persists in Scotland" even today. [111] He has been promoted from the scapegoat of the Sutherland Estate to the national scapegoat for all of the Highland Clearances. As late as 1997, John MacLeod described Sellar's actions in *Highlanders*, a published history of the Gaelic people, as "violent assault: men, women and children beaten with staves, young women kicked in the genitals. Wanton destruction: the burning of houses and effects Grand larceny: the seizing of cattle and other livestock and murder." [112] Indeed Sellar's gravestone at Elgin Cathedral still attracts overseas visitors with Scottish connections who are eager to record their hatred. Entire families desecrate the grave on a daily basis. Monuments are also popping up internationally in honor of the Scottish emigrants who were forced to abandon their ancient home lands. Canadian mining millionaire, Dennis MacLeod, is sponsoring a campaign of Highland Clearance commemorative statues around the world. In 2007 the first statue, titled *Exiles*, was erected on the Sutherland shore along with a Clearance Center in Sutherland. At the unveiling, he announced, "it is my personal ambition to have the same statue erected in all of the areas where the Highlanders settled." [113] It was also his goal to knock down the statue of Lord Stafford gazing over the land, but this move was blocked. The next installation was erected in Winnipeg on the banks of the Red River, a popular destination in Canada for many evicted Highlanders. There is even a monument in Sutherland dedicated to John McLeod and his "Gloomy Memories."

It is clear that Sellar has become the international scapegoat for the entire Highland Clearances. Of course, this is historically incorrect because the evidence cannot prove Sellar's guilt or innocence. The events on the Sutherland Estate were a cultural war that was not created by the evil of one man, but by everyone. It was the cultural division between the estate management and the tenants that was truly to blame.

All of management was certainly unsympathetic, and prejudiced, and this loosened the reins on their avarice and limited the effectiveness of all humanitarian efforts. In response, the tenants used sophisticated forms of resistance and rebellion. They desperately fought back, and though they failed to stop the removals on the Sutherland Estate, they succeeded in making Sellar the most hated man in Highland history. [114] The Sutherland Estate policy has been described as "oppressive, class-orientated actions of an alien aristocrat who sacrificed a dependent peasantry in the ruthless pursuit of capitalistic profits." [115] It has also been seen as "the misinterpreted benevolence of an ideal landlord who was willing to forfeit his short-term ends in order to undertake his paternalistic duty of ameliorating the plight of famine-doomed tenantry." [116] Both perspectives could be well argued, but the first perspective will always dominate, likely because "it is disaster rather than the record of progress which leaves the deepest impression on the public mind." [117] Was another, happier end to this sad tale a realistic possibility? It seems unlikely. Only if prejudices could have been completely erased and replaced with respect, could management and the tenants have worked together and improvement been successful for both sides in this desperate struggle.

[1] Samuel Johnson used the words, "savage", "ignorant" and "uncivilized" to describe the Highlands in 1773 and this negative perspective continued throughout the nineteenth century. See Samuel Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland in 1773* (Gardner, 1906).

[2] Hadrian's Wall was built in 122 AD as a defense against the northern territory of Britannia occupied by the "barbaric" Picts.

[3] Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 18.

[4] Eric Richards, *Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances: homicide, eviction, and the price of progress*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 371.

[5] Eric Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 7.

[6] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 6.

[7] James Robert Adam, ed., *Papers on Sutherland Estate Management 1802-1816* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1972), 205.

[8] Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 174.

[9] Leveson Gower, ed., *Letters of Harriet Countess of Granville 1810-1845*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1894), 216.

[10] *Ibid.*, 3.

[11] *Ibid.* She also wrote a description of Lilleshall in Shropshire which was so beautiful that she "began to wish for something or someplace to dislike, as I think my eternal raptures much sicken all my friends and acquaintances. Lord Stafford is abominably rich, and there is so little to make one feel that his immense wealth is well lodged in his hand...when I see his canals, and his coals, and his timbers, and in short all his properties, I feel as I suppose Whittington's Cat did when she travelled over the Marquis of Carraba's territory" (*Ibid.*, 15).

[12] Lady Stafford grew up in Edinburgh in the care of her grandmother, Lady Alva. She was taken to London as a teenager in 1779. She visited her ancestral home at Dunrobin castle in Sutherland in 1782. "From this date the Countess took an active interest in her estates, and from time to time made representations to her tutors regarding them" (Richards, *Leviathan of Wealth*, 10). She was the most sought out woman in Great Britain, known for the "most striking personality of the day" (Richards, *Leviathan of Wealth*, 215). Her admirers included William Pitt, Huskisson, Canning, Sir Walter Scott, and Sir Talleyrand. When she was forty eight Lord Byron wrote that "she is handsome, and must have been beautiful, and her manners are princely" (Richards, *Leviathan of Wealth*, 10). She was much more manly than her husband. She was a chieftainess and never forgot it. However she lived in Edinburgh and London for most of her life and this attributed to her misunderstanding of her Highland tenants in Sutherland.

[13] Lord Stafford first visited Scotland in 1780. "He performed this tour on horseback, availing himself of the hospitality of the inhabitants, and he became thoroughly acquainted with the disposition of the people" (Richards, *Leviathan of Wealth*, 9). Until the death of Lord Stafford in 1833, they administered their Scottish and English estates as if they were a single property. From 1833 to Lady Stafford's death in 1839, the Scottish estates were made separate.

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[14] 300,000 people were present in Edinburgh for the occasion. The once banned tartan was worn by people who before would not be caught dead in it.

[15] See James M'pherson, ed., *A New and Complete Version of Ossian's Poems* (Morristown: Johnson, 1823); Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe: a romance*. (New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 1895); and, Sir Walter Scott, *Waverly Novels or Tis Sixty Years Since* (Edinburgh: Black, 1892). These and many other literary works romanticized the Highlands and integrated them into the culture of Britain.

[16] Alexander Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances: Containing a Reprint of Donald MacLeod's "Gloomy memories of the Highlands"; Isle of Skye in 1882; and a verbatim report of the trial of the Braes crofters* (Inverness: A & W. Mackenzie, 1883), 38.

[17] Ibid.

[18] See Henry Home Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (Edinburgh, 1778); H. Lonsdale, *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox the Anatomist* (London, 1870), 287; and John Pinkerton, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* (Edinburgh: 1787).

[19] See Colin Kidd, "Teutonist ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880," *Scottish historical review* 74, no. 197 (April 1995): 45-68.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See George Chalmers, *Caledonia* (London, 1807-24), viii-ix, 69, 305-8, 455-6, 497, 601, 612-3, 743, 775, 805. For Gothicism in general, see S. Klinger, *The Goths in England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952); and H. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History* (Montreal and Hanover, New Hampshire, 1984).

[22] John Pinkerton, *Enquiry into the History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814), 339.

[23] Ibid.

[24] James Loch, *An Account of the Improvements on the estates of the Marques of Stafford, in the counties of Stafford and Salop, and on the estate of Sutherland* (London: 1815), 4. A later edition was published in 1820.

[25] John Sinclair, *The statistical account of Scotland: drawn up from the communication of the ministers of the different parishes*, Volume 3 (Edinburgh: Creech 1792), 43.

[26] Ibid., 567.

[27] Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 184.

[28] Ibid., 187.

[29] Ibid., 171.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 120.

[32] Adam, *Papers*, 176.

[33] Ibid., 135-142.

[34] Ibid., 180.

[35] Ibid., 181.

[36] Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 179.

[37] Adam, *Papers*, 181.

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- [38] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 107.
- [39] See Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Collier, 1902). Also Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on Principle of Population*. (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1890)
- [40] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 78.
- [41] Adam, *Papers*, 177.
- [42] *Ibid.*, 176.
- [43] Articles were also published in the *Star*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Times*
- [44] Eric Richards, "The Military Register and the Pursuit of Patrick Sellar" *Scottish Economic and Social History* 16 (1996): 38-59.
- [45]
- [46] *Military Register*, 15 April 1815.
- [47] See *Ibid.*, 13; *Military Register*, September 1815; *Ibid.*, 29; *Military Register*, November 1815.
- [48] *Ibid.*, 14, June 1815. Poem by Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village*.
- [49] *Ibid.*
- [50] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 125.
- [51] Sellar particularly decried Mackid for poaching, the "killing of hares on the corn braid at breeding time: to shooting partridges by the covey, when sitting close together in time of snow: and to otherwise destroying the game, without license, or liberty from the Proprietor." Patrick Sellar, *Statement* (Russell, 1825), 3.
- [52] *Ibid.*, 129.
- [53] Sellar, *Statement*, 23.
- [54] *Ibid.*, 24.
- [55] *Ibid.*
- [56] *Ibid.*, 26. Mackid's unprofessional actions and comments would affect the outcome of Sellar's trial.
- [57] Patrick Robertson, *Report of the Trial of Patrick Sellar* (Edinburgh: 1816), 4.
- [58] *Ibid.*, 28.
- [59] *Ibid.*, 29.
- [60] *Ibid.*, 19.
- [61] *Ibid.*, 3.
- [62] *Ibid.*
- [63] *Ibid.*, 14.
- [64] Douglas MacGowen, *The Stonemason: Donald MacLeod's Chronicle of Scotland's Highland Clearances* (Westport: Praegar, 2001), 69.
- [65] MacGowen. *The Stonemason*, 14.
- [66] Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances*, 14.
- [67] *Ibid.*, 15.
- [68] *Ibid.*
- [69] *Ibid.*, 16.

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- [70] Ibid.
- [71] Robertson, *Trial*, 65.
- [72] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 210.
- [73] Patrick Sellar, Sheep Farming in Sutherland-Letter from Patrick Sellar, Esq. to James Loch, Esq. *Farmer's Magazine*, 21: 435.
- [74] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 203.
- [75] Adam, *Papers*, xciv.
- [76] Richards, *Leviathan of Wealth*, 195.
- [77] Sellar wrote, "whether the subject be received with relation to the people themselves, or to the influence their condition must have on the rest of society, certainly there is no one thing to be imagined more deeply affecting or afflicting then the absence of every principle of truth and candor from a population of several hundred thousand souls, the sad remnant of a people who once covered a great part of Europe, and who so long and so bravely withstood the invading strength of the Roman Empire" (Adam, *Papers*, 175).
- [78] Adam, *Papers*, 202.
- [79] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 221.
- [80] Ibid.
- [81] Loch, *Account*, 10.
- [82] Ibid.
- [83] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 228.
- [84] "Lord and Lady Stafford were pleased humanely, to order a new arrangement of this Country. That the interior should be possessed by Cheviot Shepherds and the people brought down to the coast and placed there in [lots] under the size of three arable acres, sufficient for the maintenance of an industrious family, but pinched enough to cause them [to] turn their attention to the fishing. I presume to say that the proprietors humanely ordered this arrangement, because it surely was a most benevolent action, to put those barbarous hordes into a position, where they could better associate together." (Adam, *Papers*, 156).
- [85] *Military Register*, 8 May 1816, 604.
- [86] Ibid., 10 April 1816, 469-470.
- [87] Ibid., 6 September 1815, 308.
- [88] Loch, *Account*, vi.
- [89] Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 248.
- [90] Ibid., 246.
- [91] Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 241.
- [92] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 258.
- [93] Ibid.
- [94] Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 264.
- [95] Sellar, *Statement*, 2.
- [96] Ibid., 4.

[97]The Highlander influence throughout these countries is very strong and helps to shape them as nations. For more information see B. Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West* (London: Vintage, 1986); J. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America 1770-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982); RA, Cage, ed., *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); M. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003); and M. Harper and M. Vance, eds., *Myth, Migration and the making of memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1990* (London: John Donald Publishers, 1999).

[98]Richards, *Patrick Sellar*, 360.

[99]T.C Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1969), 331.

[100]E. Cregeen, "Oral Sources for the Social History of the Scottish Highlands and Islands", *Oral History* 2, no 2 (1974):23-44.

[101]Mackenzie, *History of the Highland Clearances*, VIII.

[102]*Evidence Taken by Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highland and Islands of Scotland, vols. II, III, and IV* (Edinburgh: 1884), IV, 3179. This evidence is often referred to simply as "Napier."

[103]Thomas Sellar, *The Sutherland Evictions of 1814* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1883), 19.

[104]James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1976), 45.

[105]Ian Grimble, *The Trial of Patrick Sellar: the Tragedy of Highland Evictions* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1962); John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973); Hunter, *Crofting Community*.

[106]James Hunter, *On the Other Side of Sorrow. Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1995), 30. See also Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

[107]Ian Crichton Smith, *Consider the Lilies* (London: Gollancz, 1968), 144.

[108]The literary works included here are: Neil M. Gunn, *Butcher's Broom* (Edinburgh: The Purpoise Press, 1934); Fionn MacColla, *And the Cock Crew* (Glasgow: Souvenir Press, 1977); Ian Crichton Smith, *Consider the Lilies*; and John McGrath, *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* (Edinburgh: Eyre Methuen, 1973)

[109]Laurance Gourievidis, "Patrick Sellar" *Estudes escossaises*, vol 10, 231 March 31, 2005, 6.

[110]*Ibid.*, 8.

[111]P. Gaskell, *Morvern Transformed* (Cambridge: 1968), 38; and R.M Mitchison, "The Highland Clearances" *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 1 (1981): 4-24.

[112]John MacLeod, *Highlanders: a history of the Gaels* (London: Hodden, 1997), 199.

[113]"Memorial Statue marks Clearance". BBC News.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/highlands_and_islands/7342330.stm

[114]See Mackenzie, *History of the Highland Clearances*. Also John Stewart Blackie, *Altavona: Fact and Fiction from my Life in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1882); and Donald Sage, *Memorabilia Domestica* (Wick, 1889).

[115]Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, 160.

[116]*Ibid.*

[117]Raphael Samuel, *Theaters of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994), 16.

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