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HIGHLAND SCOTS AND SCOTCH-IRISH

The British Isles lost by emigration about one and a half million persons during the eighteenth century. This was about three times the number that went out to the colonies in the preceding century. By 1775 the white people living in the colonies from Maine to Georgia were in number equal to about one-third of the total population of Great Britain.

This was an era of expansion for the British empire. One mark of it was the widening of opportunity for advancement in the economic scale. Scores of individuals, starting life in humble circumstances, achieved the wealth and the power then lodged in great employers. By contrast, the early stages of the industrial revolution produced thousands for whom bare existence was a bitter struggle.

A concurrent phenomenon was the rush of capital savings into speculative enterprises. It was characterized by the rapid multiplication of companies. In little more than a year, in 1719-20, nearly two hundred company organizations, both good and bad, were formed in England. The Bank of England had been founded in 1694, and its success aroused many imitators. Wild schemes were promoted, the most famous being those of John Law of Paris and the South Sea Company of England. The latter had even negotiated for the purchase of the holdings of the Carolina Proprietors. The "bubble" burst in 1720, entailing widespread panic. The speculative mania was halted for a time, but it continued to find outlets even though an act of Parliment required that stock companies should be given official sanction and some degree of public regulation. An echo of the current trend was the authorization of successive issues of bills of credit and treasury notes by the North Carolina government in spite of all the Crown could do to restrict such practices.

For all this shifting of money and credit from hand to hand, there occurred a substantial increment of real wealth in the English nation as a whole. Some of this wealth was turned into channels of reform and social improvement. The body of doctrine and formalism of the church was motivated by a spirit for humane helpfulness. The earliest and most important expression of this was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Due largely to the dynamic leadership of Dr. Thomas Bray, this society became something more than an instrument for ecclesiastic expansion. Practical benevolence and humanitarian ideals were emphasized; phil-

anthropy was linked with religion. Unfortunately some of the early representatives of this society in North Carolina were examples neither of tolerance nor of sincere piety, and kindled rather than quenched the fires of religious controversy. Their conduct, nevertheless, was not a criterion by which to judge the program and aims of the society and its great leader.

The religious benevolence of the time resulted in the founding of numerous charitable institutions at home and was also reflected overseas in colonial America. Religious denominations like the Baptists and Methodists developed not so much from creedal dissent as from a working organization among the lower and poorer classes. The outstanding product of this religious-philanthropic movement was the founding of the Georgia colony. This enterprise in its origin represented some of the cherished plans of Dr. Bray for the amelioration of the harsher aspects of colonial life. In its further development there were mingled other current reforms, especially those of James Oglethorpe, whose financial support and personal leadership insured the initial success of the undertaking. In the end Georgia was designed to provide a haven for the poor and oppressed, for imprisoned debtors, for the victims of political and religious persecution. All these classes were represented in the settlements, including groups of English, Irish, Scots, German Salzburgers, Moravians, and Jews; Papists only were barred. Two of the young men who attached themselves to Oglethorpe were John and Charles Wesley, only the former of whom had yet taken his church orders; and his first work among the poor and humble was done in the environment of the Savannah River. The mixing of so many diverse elements in this pioneer melting pot was the source of some of the unhappy experiences of the Georgia colony.

Settlements of the poor and oppressed and of "foreign Protestants" along the margins of the older colonies were also calculated as a means of accomplishing a definite policy of the British Board of Trade for the extension of the frontier and the raising of an effective barrier against the French in America. Reference to the Georgia experiment is justified not only because it illustrates a large number of the factors involved in the emigration to America but because some of the most important groups concerned in the large policy eventually found lodgement in North Carolina.

The exodus from Ulster after 1715, due to a combination of economic, political and religious conditions, brought fresh numbers of the "Scotch-Irish" to this country. The act of union of 1707 by which Scotland became an integral part of Great Britain, politically, followed by stern measures to enforce it, caused the emigration of thousands of Scots, both lowlanders and highlanders. North

Carolina was to benefit especially from the agrarian changes which evicted great numbers of highlanders from their ancient homes. Opposition to the act of union was strongest among the lowlanders and highlanders in west Scotland. This was the stronghold of the Covenanters, whose hatred of the established church made them irreconcilables until the security of the Scots kirk was formally assured.

A Scottish parliament in 1560 had decreed a "Reformed" or Protestant church to take the place of the Church of Rome. Andrew Melville, regarded as the founder of Scottish Presbyterianism, raised the question whether there was any Scriptural sanction for the office of bishop, and by 1581 a general assembly or presbytery expressly repudiated the episcopal office. However, a confession of faith adopted that year for king and people repudiated popery without an admission that the church was no longer subject to a supreme central authority. When King James of Scotland, in 1603, became king of England he successfully resisted any movement to lessen his absolute authority as the head of both church and state. Episcopacy was restored in essence a few years later when the organic features of the assemblies and the moderators were coordinated with the old episcopal machinery, in which authority was imposed from above. King James had "grafted the office of bishop on to a presbyterian system." Enough of the presbyterian ritual was preserved to satisfy the majority of the laity. But rebellion was aroused when in 1616 the king tried to assimilate the Church of Scotland to the Church of England. James did not succeed in promoting his cherished objectives of a complete political and religious union between Scotland and England.

Under Charles I the Puritan reformers in England discovered an affinity between themselves and the Presbyterians of Scotland. The episcopal authority was increasingly defied; few Scots at Edinburgh, it was said, obeyed the order to kneel at holy communion.

An outburst occurred in 1637 against the introduction of the new liturgy, which was denounced as a return to the forms of the old Roman church. In the following year a "National Covenant" was drawn up, and its terms accepted by King Charles. It was a moderate concession, limited chiefly to a protest against popery but was not an express confirmation of presbyterianism. Charles indicated an assent to its provisions. A few months later the members of a general assembly opened the entire issue of the episcopacy. The order of the king's commissioner that the assembly be dissolved was ignored, and before the session was ended the members had annulled all the legislation enacted by James and Charles for the setting up of episcopal machinery.

The rebellion of the Covenanters was a first phase of the civil war which ended with the beheading of King Charles. When the

forces of the Parliament and those of the king were actually arrayed in civil war, the Scots in 1643 agreed to send an army to the aid of the parliamentarians after a "solemn league and covenant" was ratified committing Parliament to ordain a reformed church for England, Scotland and Ireland. The Covenant expressly repudiated Popery, but in other respects the language was sufficiently equivocal to lead the Scots to believe that the new church establishment would be based on the presbyterian rather than the episcopal plan. The Scottish and English divines who had begun their labors as the "Westminster assembly," concerned themselves with many aspects of religious doctrine and church policy, but most of all with the theme as to how far the church should control the state and how far the state should control the church. When the assembly completed its work about 1647, that work was represented in the "Westminster Confession," designed to supplant the Anglican Confession of an older date as found in the English Book of Common Prayer.

The Westminster Confession became the creed of Scotland, formally approved by the Scottish Parliament, but it did not receive the sanction of the English Parliament and hence was not the official religion of all of Great Britain. Religious uniformity was the chief issue between the Scots and King Charles. In England, civil and political questions were involved in the quarrel between the king and the people. Furthermore, in England the contest over religion was not merely between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. The "Independents," from whom were recruited the choicest troops in Cromwell's army, demanded religious toleration, at least to the extent that they should enjoy equal privileges with the Anglicans and Presbyterians. Parliament was favorable to the carrying out of the Solemn League and Covenant, which would have imposed one uniform system of worship for all of Great Britain. To do so would offend the Independents and, likewise, the army, which just then was master of the situation in England. To save his position Charles seemed willing to promise anything, and in return for Scottish support agreed that the presbyterian system should be established throughout England. Cromwell quickly crushed the uprising in behalf of presbyterianism. Then followed "Pride's Purge," by which the membership of Parliament was limited to those who acknowledged affiliation with the Independent cause. It was this "rump" Parliament which decreed the death of King Charles. Scotland in 1650 recognized Prince Charles as rightfully entitled to the Crown, but only after the heir apparent had accepted all the implications of the Covenant, promising that as soon as he became king of England he would establish the presbyterian system in that country as well as in Scotland. In the successive battles of Dunbar and Worcester the Scottish royalists were completely crushed, but a large section of the Scottish people

persisted in believing that the house of Stuart would eventually confirm the presbyterian system throughout Great Britain. This belief was shattered after the Restoration when in 1662 the bishops were again in their places and it became evident that the modified episcopacy was but a prelude to complete supremacy of the Anglican church. The bulk of the Scottish people submitted sullenly to ministrations that involved some of the rituals long abominated; but in the western lowlands many of the Covenanters, in defiance of the law and in spite of persecution, continued their mode of worship in the open air and other places difficult of access. Hundreds of these dour Scots preferred to be described by the king's high commissioner as "damd Fules and incorrigeable phanaticks" rather than renounce the Covenant. The utmost rigor of persecution could not compel the Covenanters to recognize the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown.

The English revolution of 1688, which brought William and Mary to the throne, moderated the vindictive character of the religious dissensions. Neither the Covenant in its fullest implications nor the principle of royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was sustained. Episcopacy was abolished, the Westminster Confession was ratified, but the Church of Scotland, while presbyterian in form, was not coordinate with the Crown in controlling the nation, while the Toleration Act of 1689 had granted freedom of worship in England to all sects except Catholics and Unitarians.

The scattered elements that continued in rebellion against King William were adherents of the House of Stuart, known as Jacobites; they included many Episcopalians, and geographically they were for the most part highlanders. The inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands on the northern and western borders of that country had been most stubborn in resisting the influences of English language and customs; the Gaelic tongue of the Highlands was scarcely intelligible to the lowlanders. The cleavage between highlanders and lowlanders was the result of long continued causes, among which environment was perhaps the most important since at all times the people of the hill country have been different from those of the plains.

After 1700, episcopacy versus presbyterianism, the House of Stuart versus the House of Hanover, were no longer the all-important issues affecting the relations of England and Scotland. The rebuilding of Scotland on a sound basis required the development of commerce and industry. Scottish merchants could have no share in the colonial trade over which England maintained a strict monopoly. Between the two countries there were tariff barriers which shut out Scots cloth from England and English woolens from Scotland, and the Scots freely violated the prohibitions against the export of their wool and cattle across the North Sea. The obvious solution for this situation was constitutional and political union between the

two nations. This raised fears that such union might infringe the independence of the Church of Scotland, and there were also questions as to what would happen when the Scots were admitted to all the privileges of English commerce. A treaty providing for political and economic union was first agreed upon, and when the English Parliament assented to an act "for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government," the negotiations proceeded without serious obstacle until the Union became an accomplished fact in 1707.

Two generations passed before the violent emotions and antipathies generated by the civil war and the revolution subsided; and some of the hates and rabid partisanship of that era persisted even longer as traditions among the Scottish, English and Irish emigrants to the colonies. With the death of Queen Anne in 1714 the Jacobites were again rallied in a futile effort to place Prince James Stuart on the throne. Those who joined in armed revolt came mostly from northern England and from the Highlands of Scotland. The English Jacobites were decisively defeated in the battle of Preston, and while the highlanders were a match for the government forces in battle the presence of the young pretender did nothing to sustain their enthusiasm. The Highland armies in 1715 were not dispersed; they only disintegrated.

The English government did not find it easy to anglicize the Scotch Highlands. Exhibitions of loyalty to the House of Stuart did not account for all the turbulent relations of these people with either the lowlanders or the English. The strength of presbyterianism lay in the Lowlands; religious uniformity was not so conspicuous among the highlanders. The fundamental differences lay in the social system of the highlanders. This social system was that of the tribe and clan. Among the clans the elements of diversity were greater than those of coherence. The clans seldom for long presented an united front and a common purpose. Inveterate feuds separated them. The powerful Campbells in Argyll were hated and feared by the neighborhood clans, and because the Campbells were Presbyterians their enemies found it easy to favor episcopacy and to take the opposite side in any political controversy.

One of the powerful instruments used to break down the clan organization was improved transportation. The English government began in 1725 a systematic plan of road building. The highways which in a few years penetrated a region that had previously known only single-file trails were primarily military roads, designed for the swift movement of government troops, but they also became highways of commercial intercourse. That intercourse tended to break down the barriers between the Highlands and the Lowlands.

"Prince Charlie" and "Culloden" were words that stirred emo-

tions more deeply and for a longer time in North Carolina than perhaps in any other section of America. For two generations those words symbolized for the Scotch highlanders on the Cape Fear the last and most tragic experiences of themselves and their people in Scotland. The House of Stuart had brought untold woe and misfortune to its adherents in the British Isles for a century, and the cause still had sufficient vitality in 1745 to start an uprising among the sympathetic highlanders in behalf of the "young pretender," Charles Edward Stuart, a son of the Prince James whom the Jacobites had supported in 1715.

Prince Charles made a triumphant entry into Edinburgh, but soon discovered that the prejudices against the Roman Catholic influences with which he had been surrounded since birth were greater than the loyalties to his ancient house. Even a number of the Highland chiefs refused to join his standard. However, highlanders comprised the bulk of the army with which he inflicted a signal defeat upon a government force at Prestonpans. This was the climax of his campaign. His invasion of England brought him few recruits on that side of the border, and after a few weeks a retrograde march was begun, ending at Inverness. Meanwhile the government forces had been gathering and advancing under the Duke of Cumberland. At Culloden Moor near Inverness, on April 16, 1746, Prince Charles attempted to duplicate his surprise attack at Prestonpans. That was a day of final disaster for the Jacobite cause. Prince Charles a few weeks later escaped to France, while the Duke of Cumberland inflicted upon the Highlands a vengeance which well earned him the name of "butcher." The punishment of the highlanders did not end with these bloody reprisals. By systematic and rigorous measures carried out over a period of years, the clans were broken up and the characteristic costumes were forbidden. Through primary schools and enlarged intercourse English gradually displaced the Gaelic tongue. It was significant that as the patriarchal chiefs were deprived of their privileges and responsibilities they became "landlords." Control of lands that had formerly been regarded as communal property turned the Highlands into a vast grazing ground for sheep. "Sheep became devourers of men." The small agricultural holdings were abandoned, large districts were almost depopulated. The new economic system was probably the chief cause in driving thousands of Highland families to seek new homes and new opportunities in America.

North Carolina derived a large and important share of its early population either directly or indirectly from Ireland. Since it was the policy of the Proprietors and of the colonial authorities as well to seek only settlers of the Protestant sects, the early generations

of Irish in North Carolina were with few exceptions Irish Protestants. The term that has been most generally applied is "Scotch-Irish." Whether they were more Scotch than Irish or more Irish than Scotch has been a subject vigorously debated.

Both the Scotch and the Irish are descended from the Celtic peoples who inhabited Britain at the time of the Roman conquest early in the Christian era. The Gaelic spoken in the Highlands of Scotland and in western Ireland in recent centuries was basically the same language. For centuries one of the most difficult problems confronting the dominant peoples known as the "English" was the subjugation of these Celtic tribes, Welsh, Scots and Irish. The political union of Wales with England was enforced in the 13th century, but the people of the former country have remained Welsh to this day. English penetration of Scotland proceeded still more slowly, and complete union was not accomplished until 1707.

Ireland was won to Christianity under St. Patrick in the fifteenth 5th century, but seven centuries passed before the independence of the Irish bishops and the Irish kings began to yield to the English king. At the end of another two hundred years the only part of Ireland where English authority was respected was "the Pale," comprising the English settlements around Dublin. Rebellion against English control was chronic, and became particularly acute in the sixteenth century when, as had been done in England, attempt was made to extend the royal authority over the church and its property. Henry VIII was the first English sovereign to claim the title King of Ireland. The hostility of the Irish chiefs was not diminished by the distribution of great quantities of the church lands among the personal favorites of the king. This distribution of Irish land was not limited to the monastic holdings. The termination of the rebellion of the chiefs of the O'Neill and O'Donnell clans in 1603 resulted in the forfeiture of their lands to the Crown. It was determined that these great tracts, situated in Ulster in northern Ireland, should be colonized by loyal English subjects. The border counties of England supplied some of these Ulster colonists, but the bulk of these settlers were loyal subjects of King James from the Lowlands of Scotland.

The "plantation" of Ulster was therefore started by Protestants, most of whom were Scottish Presbyterians. Intermarriage occurred to some extent between the native Irish and the immigrants, but the newcomers were looked upon as alien invaders. They soon achieved a definitely superior economic condition, and this and other factors as well as differences in religion account for the inveterate division between Ulstermen and the inhabitants of the rest of Ireland. Migrations from Scotland, from the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, to northern Ireland continued through the greater part of the seventeenth century. This is a very brief description of the process that produced the blend of people known as Scotch-Irish.

The Scotch-Irish were almost uniformly Protestant and were residents of the North of Ireland. From north Ireland they came to America in great waves of emigration, and it is probable that more of the rough advance pioneering from the Atlantic piedmont to the Mississippi was done by those Scotch-Irish than by any other distinct class of Europeans.

Ireland had a succession of unhappy experiences during the seventeenth century: lands were confiscated; revolts were suppressed with great cruelty; Irish Catholics were forbidden to hold public office; discouragement of wool growing and fostering of the linen industry favored the prosperity of Ulster at the expense of other sections; a bloody civil war in Ulster between the Protestants and Catholics left in its wake hatred and intolerance that have not yet subsided; the Drogheda massacre perpetrated by the forces of Cromwell became another symbol which reinforced the hate of Englishmen by the Irish; economic conditions tended to grow worse rather than better after the Restoration, and the battle of the Boyne in 1690 was evidence that Ireland's destiny was controlled by its conqueror's will. The complete subjugation of Ireland was carried out by a series of acts and measures during the twenty years following the Boyne. The Catholic population, three-fourths of the total, were subjected to penalties and disabilities which made the exercise of their ordinary civil rights an almost unendurable test of their faith; they possessed less than a fourth of the land of the island. Worst of all, the restrictions, beginning in 1666, which were placed upon Irish agriculture, manufactures and commerce, blighted Protestant as well as Catholic Ireland. The Irish peasant, weaver and merchant, deprived of all opportunities at home, had no other course than to emigrate. This summary of conditions and causes explains the origin of the tremendous transplantation of peoples which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries added millions of Irish and Scotch-Irish to the population of America.

Gabriel Johnston, the governor of North Carolina after 1734, was a native of Scotland; and one of the charges brought against his administration was that he showed an inordinate fondness for Scots. In his sight any Scot who had been on the Jacobite side was a not undesirable citizen in North Carolina. The first arrivals of highlanders, by shiploads, occurred during his administration. A few Scotch families were settled on the Cape Fear by 1729, and it is likely that the favorable reports of the locality which they conveyed to their countrymen at home induced the organized emigration of the succeeding decade. In September, 1739, one ship brought 350 Scots, most of them from Argyleshire. A petition from these immigrants caused the governor and council, with the approval of the Assembly, in February, 1740, to grant them and similar bodies of "Protestants from foreign

parts" exemption from payment of "any Publick or County tax" for ten years after their arrival.

The first settlements of these and other pioneer Scots were along the Cape Fear River, chiefly in what was then Bladen County. This locality in a few years was identified as a Scotch community, and was an object of some particular patriotic interest to Governor Johnston. For this reason it became a focus for the Scottish settlements after 1745. Following the battle of Culloden the Scottish rebels were not only subjected to harsh cruelties and administrative regulations that broke up the clan system, but thousands were actually deported, their lives being held forfeit if they returned home. The trickle of emigration from the Highlands which had been increasing since 1715 suddenly was swollen to a tide in 1746-47. It continued with no marked interruption for thirty years. From the harbors on the coast of northern and western Scotland, from the Hebrides, the Isle of Skye and other marginal territories where the people retained the ancient Gaelic ways and language, ships departed every season, carrying groups of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred and even more; and while some of them landed in other colonies, from Georgia to New York, the favorite rendezvous of the highlanders after reaching America was the Cape Fear district in North Carolina. The commercial center of these settlements was at the head of navigation on the Cape Fear, a place called for a time Campbellton, then Cross Creek, but after the Revolution renamed Fayetteville. Prior to 1765 Cross Creek was a main source for the supply of merchandise to the backwoods settlements. The Moravian missionaries in 1752 mentioned an influential Scotch resident in what is now Alexander County, and representatives of the Scotch race were widely distributed. However, the typical highlanders were sufficiently alien in speech, manners and dress to be inclined to settle in distinctive communities, and they retained much of this insularity for many years.

The Scotch highlanders comprised the preponderant element in the early population of several counties. Cumberland County in 1753 contained a thousand highlanders capable of bearing arms, and the parish statistics of 1767 enumerated 899 taxable whites, "mostly Scotch," and supporting "a Presbyterian minister." Documentary records of emigration from the Scottish Highlands are mainly confined to the decade beginning about 1767. These records indicate that between 5,000 and 10,000 persons embarked from ports in northern Scotland, the destination of a large part of them being North Carolina. Of a total population of about 250,000 in the entire colony in 1775, it has been estimated that about 20,000 were Scotch highlanders, of the first and second generations. They impressed their character upon one of the most opulent sections during the late colonial era, and during the revolutionary era their alliance was considered vital to the patriot cause.