ABSTRACT

COLLINS, ANDREW PHILLIP. From Clansmen to Statesmen: The Scottish Highlander Community in Revolutionary North Carolina. (Under the direction of Dr. Megan Cherry).

In the second half of the eighteenth-century, Scottish Highlanders suffered from high rents and few opportunities for work. Meanwhile, North Carolina’s royal governors were working to attract Protestant settlers that could help boost North Carolina’s economy. The royal governors of North Carolina consistently offered land grants to prominent Highlander families, which ultimately promoted the migration of desperate Highlanders to North Carolina. By the 1770s, a unique Highlander community had formed in the Upper Cape Fear region of North Carolina, where both merchants and laborers created a prosperous trading center. At the outset of the American Revolution, the royal governor, Josiah Martin, built a loyalist militia to defend the royal government in his colony. He recruited the Highlanders, who were loyal to the governor for his gracious land grants to the Highlander community. After the war, loyalists were subject to punishments, such as property confiscations and banishment. While many loyalists in the thirteen states fled to Canada or elsewhere in the British empire, the Highlanders in North Carolina chose to remain in North Carolina. Highlander merchants were pressured to leave during the war and were most targeted in loyalist punishments, but the non-merchant Highlanders were able to remain in North Carolina without suffering from loyalist punishments. Those Highlanders that remained gave oaths of allegiance to the state and became active participants in the new state government. The Highlanders that fled North Carolina maintained their connections with those that remained and were eventually allowed to return to North Carolina peacefully. The Highlander community, despite their loyalism, were able to reopen their doors for more Highlander emigrants to settle in North Carolina and become citizens of the United States.
From Clansmen to Statesmen: The Scottish Highlander Community in Revolutionary North Carolina.

by
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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of North Carolina State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

History

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BIOGRAPHY

Andrew Collins was raised in Wake County, North Carolina. He attended Apex High School and graduated in 2008. While in high school, Andrew worked on the yearbook staff and helped create his junior and senior yearbooks. His interest in graphic design led him the School of Communication Arts in Raleigh where he studied advertising and design for one year. After a change of interests, Andrew transferred to Wake Tech Community College where he first focused on biology courses, but eventually focused on studying history. After six years of studying part-time at WTCC, Andrew transferred to North Carolina State University where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in History degree. Andrew graduated in December, 2016. While studying history at NCSU, Andrew began researching the Scottish Highlander settlement in colonial North Carolina and completed an undergraduate honors thesis. In 2017 Andrew returned to NCSU for the MA in History program, in which he continued to research the Scottish Highlanders in early North Carolina. Andrew plans to graduate with a Master of Arts degree in History in May, 2019.
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Introduction: The Scottish Diaspora and Revolution

Between the 1730s and 1770s, colonial North Carolina received a large migration of Scottish settlers, particularly from the Scottish Highlands, into its interior. The eighteenth century was a difficult century for Scotland’s Highland population. Major shifts in the Highlands’ culture, economics, and politics forced many Highlanders to look elsewhere for better living. The economic shift for the Highlanders was most obtrusive. Systems of renting land changed as Highlanders shifted away from clan-based economies, resulting in most Highlanders paying significantly higher rents without an increased income to compensate.\(^1\) As many Highlanders looked outwards, North Carolina became a beacon for opportunity. Beginning in the 1730s, colonial governors of North Carolina gave many land grants, often tax-free, to Scots willing to settle in North Carolina’s interior. Approximately 350 Highlanders settled there in the late 1730s.\(^2\) From that point, the number of Scottish settlers in North Carolina grew exponentially until the American Revolution.\(^3\)

The American Revolution brought a temporary halt to Scottish migration to North America. The Scottish community in the Upper Cape Fear region had grown significantly and like most communities in the thirteen colonies, it was drawn into the war. Scottish Highlanders that fought in the war notoriously and almost unanimously fought on the side of the British. This

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\(^1\) For scholarship on social and economic changes in the Scottish Highlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1996).
\(^3\) The precise number of Highlander emigrants settling in North Carolina throughout the eighteenth-century is nearly impossible. According to Governor Josiah Martin’s estimates, there could have been 12,000 Highlanders living in the Upper Cape Fear by the 1770s. Duane Meyer has researched the number and size of known land grants to, and land purchases for families with Highlander names. Although his research is not precise, as he acknowledges, he concludes with several maps and graphs showing the exponential rate of growth in the Upper Cape Fear area. The number of land grants and purchases in the 1730s and 40s roughly averaged at twenty, but in 1774, there were around 150. Robert Calhoon estimated that there were 10,000 Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear by the 1770s. He also claims that the population of North Carolina rose from 70,000 in 1750 to 180,000 in 1770, thanks to the Highlanders and the Ulster Scots that settled farther west. Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 91; Robert Calhoon, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc, 1965) 442-43.
was largely true across the thirteen colonies. In 1776, a large force of Highlander loyalists assembled in Cross Creek, North Carolina with plans to march to Wilmington where they would meet colonial governor Josiah Martin and be outfitted with guns in preparation to fight the American rebels. Unfortunately for the Highlanders and Governor Martin, they never arrived in Wilmington. Along the march, they were forced into engaging a patriot militia at Moores Creek Bridge. The Highlanders were not properly armed and needed to cross a dismantled bridge to engage the enemy. The Highlanders charged regardless and were easily defeated. Over seventy loyalists died at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, according to one patriot estimate. The victorious patriots rounded up many surviving Highlanders as prisoners, and those who managed to escape being shot or captured were forced to hide in the swamps of the coastal plains for months and even years.

Many of the Scottish loyalists that were defeated at Moores Creek Bridge continued to fight alongside the British in other parts of the war. Loyalist petitions to London show repeated cases of Highland men rejoining other British companies or militias after escaping the Battle of

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4 Ruma Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution*, (Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011) 13; Ruma Chopra’s research on loyalists in New York City claims that 35,000 Scots emigrated to North American colonies, 20,000 of them arriving between 1768 and 1775. Chopra suggests that because of Scottish commercial interests and their unique blend of culture, tradition, education, and outlook on empire, the Scots were more likely to support a trans-Atlantic union between the peripheries and the metropole in Great Britain.

5 I have chosen to keep “loyalists” lowercased throughout this thesis to partially emphasize the ambiguity of a loyalist category. I do not see all loyalists as a uniform political group or body. The term “loyalist” can be used in various ways to describe individuals who did not physically or ideologically rebel against Great Britain’s authority over the American colonies, or additionally it can describe people that did physically take up arms in support of Great Britain. In the case of the Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina, not every single Highlander took up arms as loyalists, yet the community was viewed by non-loyalists as one loyalist group. Many of the archival sources synonymize Tories with loyalists. I will use the term Tory when it directly relates to a quotation, but otherwise I have chosen to use the term “loyalists.” The Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina did not uniformly identify with a British political party. Additionally, I will use the term “patriot,” rather than “Whig” or “rebels” to generally describe those that physically or ideologically rebelled against Great Britain and I will keep “patriots” lowercased for the same reasons.

6 Hugh F. Rankin, “The Moores Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, January 1953, (Reprint, Currie, NC: Eastern National, 2009), 40; Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC; Seventy deaths was a revised estimate from patriot Colonel Richard Caswell.
Moores Creek Bridge. Many other Scottish loyalists, who chose not to continue to fight, fled to New York during the war. New York was a British garrison town and a safe haven for loyalists for most of the war. After the Peace Treaty of 1783, many of New York’s loyalists fled to Canada. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were popular destinations for loyalists that wished to remain in North America and the British Empire, but not all migrating loyalists traveled north. Some loyalists, including some Scottish loyalists, traveled south into the East Florida or the Caribbean. Lastly, numerous Scottish loyalists, as the loyalist petitions to London show, returned to Great Britain. According to Maya Jasonoff, 60,000 loyalists chose to take their chances elsewhere in the British Empire. That number increases to 75,000 when counting the black slaves and loyalists that joined them. These numbers suggest one in forty members of the American population left the thirteen states to remain under British imperial rule.

A letter written in Cross Creek in 1777 claimed that two-thirds of the people of Cumberland County, who refused to take oaths of allegiance to the state, were preparing to leave North Carolina that summer. Despite eventually losing the thirteen North American colonies, Britain had several options for resettlement for their loyal colonists. Still, many other Scottish settlers remained in North Carolina and became citizens of the new United States. Historians have considered the loyalist diaspora in British territories after 1783, but they have failed to

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7 Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series 1, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
11 Multitudes of evidence exist that show Scottish Highlanders remaining in North Carolina after the war, which includes known loyalists, however it is impossible to determine exactly how many remained. The current historiography has only attempted to count the number of Highlanders or loyalists that fled to Canada.
consider the numbers and experiences of loyalists that stayed in the United States, with only a few exceptions. The current historiography has failed to ask why did the Highlanders in North Carolina support Great Britain in the Revolution, and furthermore, how and why did some Highlander loyalists remain in North Carolina after the war? The Scottish Highlander community in North Carolina’s Upper Cape Fear region fought as loyalists because of a feigned feudal relationship that ultimately attached the Highlander emigrants to the colonial government in North Carolina. After their defeat at Moores Creek Bridge, the Highlanders chose to stay in North Carolina peacefully, but because of their former loyalty and because of growing tensions in eastern North Carolina towards merchants, Scottish Highlander merchants were pressured to flee the state. Most of the Scots in the Upper Cape Fear were divided into two economic spheres; merchants and skilled or unskilled laborers. Merchants were generally targeted as partisan and threatening to the state, thus Scottish merchants were the primary group to leave North Carolina or suffer from loyalist punishments. A separate, laboring class of Scots were able to remain in North Carolina and work themselves into the new political system to ultimately defend and preserve their rights as citizens of the United States. Non-merchant Scots eventually took oaths of allegiance to the state government and proved to the new state government that they were not only willing to live peacefully but that they would become active supporters of, and participants in, the new state government. With support from Scots in local government, the Scottish community was able to protect itself from loyalist punishments, encourage the safe return of Scottish merchants, and reopen the doors for continued Scottish immigration to the area.

The emigration of Scottish Highlanders from their native lands in the eighteenth century was largely the result of economic changes within Scotland. Changes in agricultural and economic practices after the Jacobite uprising of 1745 produced excessive rents on land, which

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led to evictions. Chapter one will go into further details of the economic changes in Scotland that led to many Highlanders leaving for America. Those Highlanders that suffered from such changes were desperate and looked elsewhere for better opportunities. Meanwhile, in North America, the North Carolina colony and its royal governors were looking for ways to encourage settlement of Protestants in their colony. The Scottish Highlanders quickly satisfied both their own desires for new opportunities and the governors desires for more settlers in North Carolina’s backcountry.

North Carolina was one of slowest North American colonies to develop and was the poorest because of its lack of deep-sea ports. Offering land to Scottish families was the colonial governors’ best plan for populating North Carolina and building its interior economy. A flyer published in 1772 suggested that North Carolina and New York were popular and ideal choices for recently arrived Scottish and Irish “farmers and tradesmen” to settle with their families.13 Colonial North Carolina ultimately developed the largest Scottish community and became the most popular choice for resettlement amongst the thirteen colonies. In North Carolina, family connections were largely responsible for spreading the word in Scotland that North Carolina would be happy to receive more Scottish emigrants. Many Scottish settlers in North Carolina wrote back and forth with family in Scotland, describing the colony and convincing more emigrants to come to North Carolina. Alexander McAlester in Cumberland County encouraged his family and friends to join him when he described North Carolina as “the best poor man’s country” of which he had ever heard.14

Highlanders that crossed the Atlantic to North Carolina typically landed in Wilmington, North Carolina’s only major port town. Wilmington is situated on North Carolina’s southeastern

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13 “To All Farmers and Tradesmen,” Printed by John Dunlap, at the newest printing-office in Market-Street, Philadelphia, 1772. Early American Imprints. First series; no. 12574.
14 Alexander McAlester to John Boyd, November 29, 1770, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
coastline on the opening of the Cape Fear River. After arriving in Wilmington, many Highlanders made a week-long trip up the Cape Fear River to settle in an area that became known as the Upper Cape Fear, and specifically in a town called Cross Creek. Cross Creek became the center for the Highlander community as well as a center for backcountry trading in North Carolina. Thanks to the connections between Scottish merchants in Wilmington and in Cross Creek, Atlantic goods were able to make their way into North Carolina’s interior through these Scottish trading networks. As Scots began settling in the Upper Cape Fear region, they encouraged friends and family in Scotland to join them. With cheap land available along the Cape Fear river and family connections that encouraged migration, the Upper Cape Fear region and the town of Cross Creek swelled with both laboring and mercantile Highlanders, creating a prosperous Scottish community.  

At the outset of the American Revolution, the royal government in North Carolina immediately looked to recruit loyalists. Governor Josiah Martin was familiar and friendly with the Highlander settlers on the upper Cape Fear, and made significant efforts to attract them into military service. Governor Martin insisted to his superiors that with the help of several thousand troops, he could arm the North Carolina loyalists and pacify the rebellion in the southern colonies. In 1776, a large force of approximately 1,500 Highlander loyalists assembled in Cross Creek with plans to march to Wilmington where they would meet colonial governor Josiah Martin and be fitted with guns in preparation to fight the American patriots. Martin’s loyalist campaign failed after the devastating defeat at Moores Creek Bridge. This moment effectively ended the chances of a loyalist victory over North Carolina. After many of the officers were either killed or captured, the remaining Highlander loyalists either left North Carolina or gave up the idea of fighting for the Crown. The nearly unanimous support from the Highlanders in the

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15 For estimates on the growth of Highlander populations, see footnotes 3 and 4.
Upper Cape Fear region caused non-Highlanders to define the whole Highlander community as loyalists and as enemies to the state. Those Highlanders that remained in North Carolina needed to find a way to live in North Carolina peacefully and avoid loyalist punishments.

The current historiography says very little about Scottish settlers in North Carolina after the American Revolution. The most significant scholarship on the Scottish Highlander settlers in North Carolina comes from Duane Meyer. His book *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776* examines the creation of a Highlander community and begins to question why they fought as loyalists. The chronology of his book implicitly assumes that any significance of the Highlander community ended in 1776 after the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge.\(^\text{17}\) Ned Landsman’s book, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765*, shows how Scottish entrepreneurs in New Jersey spurred a Scottish commercial world in America, as well as a Scottish Presbyterian world. Landsman argues that Scottish identity and sense of community declined around the American Revolution as Scots intermarried with English settlers and became “elitist.” For Landsman, Presbyterianism was the only principle source of a Scottish community or a Scottish-American identity in America after the Revolution.\(^\text{18}\) Presbyterianism was the dominant religion in the early formation of North Carolina’s Upper Cape Fear region, showing a connection to Landsman’s research, yet in North Carolina the Scottish community was held together long after the war and by more than Presbyterianism.

More broadly, the historiography of the Scottish diaspora has shown the impact of Scots across North America but they too have said little about the unique communities of Scots in the thirteen colonies that survived past independence. David Dobson’s *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* is one of the first comprehensive surveys on the Scottish Diaspora


in North America. Dobson examines general migrations of Scots prior to 1660, and then separates the emigration of Scots to America into three periods: 1660-1707, 1707-1763, and 1763-1785. These periods, as the dates indicate, are separated first by the Act of Union of 1707, then the end of the Seven-Years War, and finally the end of the American War for Independence. As the American War for Independence grew, some Scottish settlers left New York and North Carolina, which helped the Scottish diaspora reach into Florida, the West Indies, and Canada. Dobson briefly discusses how the War for Independence impacted the diaspora in each region, but his conclusions suggest that the Scottish diaspora simply left the thirteen new states and went to Canada in the 1780s.\(^{19}\)

A more recent survey of the Scottish diaspora than Dobson’s is T.M. Devine’s *Scotland’s Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*. Although Devine’s work takes a different perspective and methodology than Dobson’s *Scottish Emigration*, he too hardly considers the Scottish diaspora that initially settled in the thirteen colonies and remained in the thirteen states after the Revolution. Instead of breaking narratives down to periods and colonies, Devine focuses on larger thematic elements of the Scottish diaspora, such as empire, trade, and military involvement. Within these chapters, various colonies are addressed with similar claims as Dobson and others, such as the fact that before 1776, New York and North Carolina were the target destination for most emigrating Highlanders. Devine takes these claims a step further, however. He argues that the various settlements of Scotsmen, particularly those of Scottish Highlanders, share a pattern of placement on Britain’s American frontiers as military defense settlements. Furthermore, Devine suggests that as Highlander emigration shifted in favor of Canada after the 1780s, a “chain of migration” was renewed in Canada that mimicked the chains

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created in pre-war North Carolina and New York.\textsuperscript{20} Another theme Devine brings to life is the
cultural mark Scotland’s diaspora left on North America that was exacerbated during the
American Revolution. Those who sought independence were often influenced by prominent
Scottish individuals and the Scottish Enlightenment. On the other hand, Scottish loyalism during
the war occasionally encouraged violence and xenophobia against Scottish settlers, particularly
in the southern states.\textsuperscript{21} Devine’s research is the most provocative survey of the Scottish diaspora
as it highlights the legacy that Scots left on North America while beginning to suggest possible
theories regarding Scots that stayed in the thirteen states. In both Dobson and Devine’s surveys,
the Highlander settlement in North Carolina is treated as one of the most significant Scottish
settlements in America before the Revolution, but its significance after the war seemingly
vanished. Both of these scholars have contributed greatly to the historiography of the Scottish
diaspora but they both put minimal research into understanding those Highlander communities
that remained in the United States after the war. According to these scholars, Canada dominated
the new Scottish diaspora after 1783.

Several other scholars have written about Scottish Highlanders in North America with
chronologies that overlap the colonial period and the early Republic period of the United States,
but these works often aim to highlight Highlanders’ success in frontier enterprising.\textsuperscript{22} Although
this historiography extends the history of Scots into the early Republic period, it focuses on new
Highlander communities and individuals outside of the original thirteen colonies. Jenni Calder’s
Lost in the Backwoods: Scots and the North American Wilderness argues that Scots were hardy

\textsuperscript{21} Devine, Scotland’s Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 182-83.
frontiersmen in North America. Their survival in rough terrain turned into opportunities for
take part in the western expansion of the United States. Alexander Murdoch’s *Scotland and America, c. 1600 – c. 1800* makes a similar argument that Scotland helped form the United States through a series of cultural and economic shifts. Murdoch argues that after the failed colony of Darien, Scottish merchants took significant roles in tobacco and sugar trades in America. As these trades also grew in Glasgow, the Scottish Enlightenment spurred a cultural shift in Scotland towards abolition of slavery. The cultural and economic changes in Scotland eventually transferred to America where they helped found the political system of the United States. Finally, the romanticizing of Scots tied the political, economic, and cultural influences from Scotland together within America.23 Murdoch, however, failed to see the uniqueness of the Highlander communities in the south that needed to overcome loyalist stigmas after the Revolution, and that ultimately supported slavery. Many of the Scots in North Carolina fought in, or otherwise supported, the Confederacy in the 1860s. The Highlander community in colonial North Carolina certainly thrived with the help of Scottish merchants that were politically and economically connected to Glasgow, however these Scots ultimately supported slavery and their descendants fought to maintain slavery in the South.24 These scholars show the continuation of a Scottish legacy through other aspects of United States history, but like Dobson and Devine, they forgot about the Scottish community in North Carolina. By ignoring the Scottish communities that became “American,” these scholars have missed an opportunity to examine the process of Americanization that caused many unique communities to come together and form a

24 Documents of the Colin Shaw family at the Southern Historical Collections and the State Archives of North Carolina both indicate that three generations of Colin Shaw living in Cumberland County, the first being a Scottish Highland emigrant, owned slaves. The third generation Colin Shaw joined the Confederate Army at the outset of the American Civil War; Colin Shaw Papers, 1735-1883, PC.20.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC; “The Rev. Colin Shaw, Preacher and Patriot,” in the Colin Shaw Memorial Collection, #2980, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
new sense of nationality in the United States. The current scholarship on Scots in post-
Revolution North America generally only recognizes Scots on the United States’ frontiers or in
Canada, thus assuming that Scots who migrated before the Revolution and remained in the
United States were no longer a unique ethnic community. Furthermore, by ignoring Scottish
communities in the southern states, statements about the Scottish diaspora, such as those that
suggest Scots were abolitionists, lead to a misinterpretation and inaccurate generalization of the
entire diaspora. This research aims to open conversations about communities or ethnic groups in
the early Republic that have been forgotten historiographically but could help explain how the
United States, and particularly the South, was formed culturally, socially, economically, and
politically.

A similar issue appears when examining the scholarship on loyalism, although the
historiography of loyalists has certainly grown at a faster rate than that of the Scottish diaspora in
the United States. Scholarship on loyalism is currently in an upwards trend with scholars turning
towards themes of loyalist refugees, loyalist reintegration, and black loyalists. New scholarship
on loyalists is also expanding on the historiographical theme of loyalist ideologies, which
became prominent in the 1960s and 70s. North Carolina’s loyalists have received some
scholarly attention but not since the 1960s and 70s despite the broader growth in loyalist
studies. In all of these works, the Scottish Highlanders of early North Carolina are described as

25 For scholarship on loyalist refugees, see footnote 10. For scholarship on loyalist reintegration, see Rebecca
Brannon, From Revolution to Reunion: The Reintegration of the South Carolina Loyalists, (Columbia: University of
South Carolina Press, 2016); For scholarship on black loyalists, see Cassandra Pybus, Epic Journeys of Freedom:
26 For a historiographical essay on loyalist studies, see Ruma Chopra, “Enduring Patterns of Loyalist Study:
Definitions and Contours,” History Compass 11, no. 11 (November, 2013): 983-993; For scholarship on loyalist
ideologies, see Robert M. Calhoon, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781, (New York: Harcourt Brace
of Harvard University Press, 1974); Wallace Brown, The King’s Friends: The Composition and Motives of the
American Loyalist Claimants, (Providence: Brown University Press. 1965); Donald Johnson, “Ambiguous
Allegiances: Urban Loyalties during the American Revolution,” in Journal of American History 104, no.3 (Dec.,
27 For scholarship on North Carolina loyalists, see Robert O. Demond, The Loyalists in North Carolina During the
a significant loyalist force. Some historians put a stronger value on the Highlanders as a fighting body of loyalists while others use the defeat at Moores Creek Bridge to suggest that the Highlanders were not very significant for the outcome of the war in North Carolina. Regardless of which conclusion is reached, all of these works have only drawn connections between the Highlanders and the Revolution. The independent United States required much social, economic, and political rebuilding, all of which the Scots in North Carolina took part in. Unfortunately, the current scholarship has not yet identified what happened to the Highlander loyalists that stayed in North Carolina after the war and how they continued to impact North Carolina’s development as a state. They overwhelmingly accept the broad conclusion that Highlander loyalists relocated to Canada.

There have been a few historians that have mentioned, often subtly, that Highlanders experienced ethnicity-based prejudice from non-Scottish settlers in America. These claims are not at the forefront of most arguments, but if any evidence proves that ethnic prejudice against Scots existed in North Carolina, it further begs the question of why would some Scots choose to stay in North Carolina? It is true that many settlers in eastern North Carolina quickly associated Scottish settlers with the loyalist Highlander militia, despite the quick defeat at Moores Creek Bridge. Reaching back to the social dynamics of Great Britain, Scottish Highlanders were often treated as barbarians and socially backwards from their English and even Lowland Scots counterparts.

In North Carolina, Scottish settlers were occasionally forced to deal with similar prejudice and discrimination from other backcountry settlers. In 1775, before the first Highlander militia rose in North Carolina, Ann Pollock’s husband was attacked by nearby soldiers. Her

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husband was not Scottish, but a personal enemy of her husband publicly called him a
“Scotchman and an Enemy to America” to invoke violence against Mr. Pollock. In 1777, Allen
Jones held twelve Highlander prisoners in Halifax, North Carolina when he declared “I could
wish to remove them from this place, having scoundrels enough of our own.” In the same year,
William Kenan described the high salt prices in Cross Creek as “invigorated by the cursed
Scottish race.” Whether it came from loyalist actions or prior stigmas against Highlanders,
Highlanders faced varying levels of prejudice in North Carolina.

Non-Scottish North Carolinians undeniably combined negative connotations of Scottish
Highlanders with their actions as loyalists. These connotations existed in other colonies as well.
John Witherspoon, one of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence, and a
Scottish-American was sympathetic to the unfortunate Scottish reputation growing during the
war. In a sermon he wrote in 1776, he attached an address to the “Natives of Scotland residing in
America.”

It has given me no little uneasiness to hear the word Scotch used as a term of reproach in the
American controversy, which could only be upon the supposition that strangers of that country
are more universally opposed to the liberties of America than those who were born in South-
Britain, or in Ireland. … There are many natives of Scotland in this country, whose opposition to
the unjust claims of Great-Britain has been as early and uniform, founded upon as rational and
liberal principles, and therefore likely to be as lasting, as that of any set of men whatever… It is
therefor at least very disputable, whether there is any just ground for the distinction between
Scots and English on this subject at all. Witherspoon does not provide supporting evidence to back his claim that many Scots in America
sided with the American patriots, but his passionate address shows how common the negative
reputations of Scots as loyalists were in American public discourse. This subject of prejudice has
been briefly mentioned by a few scholars, but it has not been fully explored. Jenni Calder

32 An Address to the Natives of Scotland, published within The dominion of Providence over the passions of men. A
sermon preached at Princeton, May 17, 1776, Early American Imprints. First series, no. 15224.
explores the mocking and boasting of Scottish-Americans in nineteenth century American pop-
culture, particularly in America’s growing interest in the western frontier. Her work, once
again, does not make any direct claims regarding the social experience of Scots in the earlier
eastern communities.

Lastly, several historians have written about the southern backcountry during the
American War for Independence. Although some historians might argue that the Upper Cape
Fear region is not part of the backcountry, the narratives of civil unrest in the backcountry
become intertwined with groups in eastern North Carolina. Furthermore, if the Upper Cape Fear
region is not considered part of the backcountry, it is also certainly not part of the “east.”

A collection of essays on the southern backcountry during the revolution has been published in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert. The essays in this collection all focus on the
notoriously violent social conflicts in the southern backcountry. Essays by Roger Ekirch and
Jeffrey Crow offer a better understanding of how civil unrest manifested and how Whig or
patriot elites in North Carolina were able to establish and legitimize their authority in North
Carolina after the war. These authors do not make direct claims about the Scottish Highlanders

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34 This thesis acknowledges the uniqueness of piedmont settlements in a period when many North Carolinians often
came divided by east and west. Although some historians might differ, I have chosen to view the Upper Cape Fear
region as part of the backcountry. The distinction between east and west has primarily been based on the English
towns along the coast, which had been built upon for nearly a century by the American Revolution, and the rest of
North Carolina that was “unsettled.” The Upper Cape Fear region, despite the growth of Cross Creek throughout the
eighteenth-century, was significantly more connected to the rest of the backcountry, and its surroundings were as the
easterners might describe as “unsettled.” The only connection that Cross Creek had to the “east” was the Cape Fear
River, which connected Cross Creek to Wilmington.
35 A. Roger Ekirch, “Whig Authority and Public Order in Backcountry North Carolina, 1776-1783” in *An Uncivil
War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and
Peter J. Albert, (Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society, Charlottesville VA: The University Press
Backcountry” in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, edited by Ronald
Hoffman, Ronald, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert, (Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society,
Charlottesville VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1985.)
in North Carolina, but their arguments regarding shifts in authority and local law after the war can help contextualize the new political environment that the remaining Highlanders lived in.

This thesis will hopefully open doors for a better understanding of the idea of a Highlander “community.” Darrett B. Rutman’s essay, “Community Study,” has provided an intellectual examination of community studies and definitions of community. Rutman distinguishes the study of “community” in two ways; the first is to view the community as an ideal, which can be the historical actor’s or the historian’s. This ideal can be a “mythical state of social wholeness in which each member has his place and in which life is regulated by cooperation rather than by competition.” The second distinction is to study the community as a “field of social interaction,” which is more simply defined as “a group of people living together in some identifiable territory and sharing a set of interests embracing their lifeways.”

The Highlander community in North Carolina, as this thesis will begin to show, can be understood within both of these definitions of community. The Highlanders likely viewed themselves as an ideal community, in which they shared a Gaelic language, a Presbyterian faith, and multitudes of other Scottish customs. Although this thesis has not focused on the cultural aspects of the Highlander community, it will show that the Highlanders were cooperative economically and politically, and not competitive. Two distinct economic spheres existed within the Highlander community, but they relied on each other, and after the American Revolution, they continued to cooperate in order to restore their opportunities for the community to grow in North Carolina.

This thesis will continually refer to Cross Creek and Cumberland County, but it will focus

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37 The Presbyterianism church was the prominent form of Christianity throughout the Scottish Lowlands and by the eighteenth-century it had crept into the Highlands, particularly in counties like Argyll. As the Highlander community grew in the Upper Cape Fear, only Presbyterian churches were built, which further assumes that the Highlander community was Presbyterians. There is no precise way, however, to confirm that all of the Highlander emigrants in North Carolina were Presbyterian. Many parts of the Highlands were still Catholic and Episcopalian, thus it is very likely that some of the Highlanders in North Carolina disagreed about their forms of Christianity. Regardless, it was the Presbyterian church that sent ministers to the region and hosted sermons for the whole community.
primarily on the Upper Cape Fear region. Although much of the research for this thesis has been on Cumberland County, this thesis will purposefully refer to the Upper Cape Fear region to encompass the Highlander community. Although Cross Creek became a noticeable center for the community, its geographical placement on the northern reaches of the Cape Fear River are what caused the Highlanders to settle there. The river provided the transportation into the colony and by settling along the northern branches of the river, the Highlanders formed a unique community, thus prompting a distinction between the Upper Cape Fear and the Lower Cape Fear.

This research will bridge the historiography of the Scottish community in North Carolina before and after the American Revolution. As noted earlier, the current historiography of Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina largely ends at the American Revolution. Understanding how and why Highlanders remained in North Carolina after the war will open doors for understanding how the Highlander community took part in building the American South and eventually became Americans. More broadly, this study will contribute to the larger Scottish diaspora in the Atlantic world. Recent studies on Scottish heritage and genealogy in North Carolina and the United States show the growing interest in North Carolina’s Scottish past, but these anthropological histories focus on the “explosion of new Scottish Games from the 1970s to the present” and other resurfaced movements that emphasize Scottish cultural heritage in America. The Highlander community that remained in North Carolina after the Revolution will

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38 After the Revolution, Cross Creek changed its name to Fayetteville, but it remained the central town for Cumberland County and the rest of the Upper Cape Fear region. Highlanders certainly settled outward from Fayetteville and in neighboring counties, but much of this study will focus on archival materials from Cumberland County where Fayetteville is located. Wilmington and the Lower Cape Fear is where most of the Scottish merchants either operated out of or had direct business connections to. Many of the lumber mills, which will be discussed in chapter one, were along the lower reaches of the Cape Fear River. Although the Highlander community existed along the Cape Fear River, from the coast to the backcountry, the Cumberland County area remained the center for Highlanders, particularly after the war. Despite the geographical expansion of Highlanders at the end of the eighteenth-century, the economic and political dominance of Fayetteville over the Cape Fear region, and what is now called the Sandhills region, makes Cumberland County the most important county for understanding the larger social and political advances of the Highlander community.

also serve as an example for the growing academic interest in loyalist reintegration. This study will highlight the significance of small and unique communities in the early Republic, as well as groups of loyalists, that contributed to the process of creating an American nation. Broadly, this thesis will consider how the American Revolution affected the Scottish-Atlantic world.

The Scots that remained in North Carolina during and after the war are often evasive in the archives. The Scottish merchants that fled North Carolina created much of the personal records available in North Carolina. They left behind ample evidence of the business opportunities in North Carolina and they show the level of communication Scottish families had across the Atlantic before and during the war. Furthermore, when these individuals fled North Carolina to New York or Canada, they often wrote back to family and friends still in North Carolina. It is very difficult, however, to understand the motives some Scots had for staying in North Carolina based on direct evidence from those individuals. To understand the experiences and opportunities of the laboring Scots that remained, I chose to expand my research to both the royal government and the state government that oversaw North Carolina during the 1770s and 1780s. Letters from royal governor Josiah Martin and state governor Alexander Martin have been crucial for understanding how the royal government and the state government understood the Highlanders in North Carolina before, during, and after the war. These sources also depict the political environment that Highlanders lived in, and how that environment changed from a colonial government to an independent state government. This thesis utilizes the available records from known Highlanders and loyalists, as well as from the governments that the Highlanders worked with, before and after the war.

Scottish names have often been used as the key to unlock the Scottish diaspora in America, and this is certainly true for many past studies of North Carolina’s Scottish population. Highlanders in Scotland often share similar last names that extend from the Highland’s former clan system. Names beginning with “Mc” or “Mac” are simple indicators of Scottish ancestry, but this is an imperfect science. Several notorious Highland clans did not feature a “Mc” or “Mac” such as the Campbells, who were prominent Highlanders in North Carolina. Determining if a Scottish individual was initially from the Highlands or Lowlands of Scotland is difficult to do with certainty. Highland clan names are easy to identify but given the social and economic changes of Scotland in the eighteenth-century, many Highlanders relocated to the Lowlands for industrial jobs or entrepreneurial opportunities. This not only makes determining if an individual was from the Highlands difficult, but also makes determining the significance of an individual being from the Highlands in North Carolina even more difficult. As this research will show, the Highlander community in North Carolina consisted of many known Highlanders, but this thesis will recognize all Scottish people in the community as sufficient to understanding the Highlander community in North Carolina. The use of “Highlander community” rather than “Scottish community” is primarily useful for separating these Scots with the Ulster Scots, or Scots-Irish, that settled across the western half of North Carolina. In the seventeenth century, many Scottish Lowlanders migrated to Northern Ireland and settled in the Ulster Plantation. These same peoples then migrated to North America in the eighteenth century, many of which settled in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. These Ulster Scots often have similar names to the Highlanders, and it is often impossible to distinguish them from Highlanders in the archives when based solely on names. It is important, however, to distinguish that during the Regulator Rebellion and the American Revolution, the Ulster Scots in North Carolina were more

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40 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 229.
likely to rebel against royal government, which meant they typically opposed the Highlanders.\footnote{Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 134.}
The Ulster Scots in North Carolina did not have the same economic and political ties to royal government that the Highlanders did. For this reason, it is important to distinguish the “Highlander” community from the rest of North Carolina’s Scottish settlers, although the Highlander community contained some Scots not from the Highlands.

This thesis will explore the reasons the Highlanders in North Carolina fought as loyalists and try to uncover the political environment they lived in to better understand how and why they were able to stay in North Carolina, despite the community’s presumed loyalty to Great Britain. Given the recent Jacobite uprisings in Scotland and then the British Army’s dominance over the Highlands that contributed to the decline in the Highland’s economy, it may seem surprising that the Highlanders that emigrated to North Carolina would turn around and support Great Britain in the American Revolution. Chapter one will introduce the Highlander community in North Carolina and explain why the Highlanders unanimously supported Great Britain at the outset of the Revolution.\footnote{It is impossible to say that all Highlanders in North Carolina supported Great Britain during the Revolution, but this thesis will suggest a near-unanimous loyalty from the Highlander community because that is how the community was viewed and treated, based on extant records. Chapter one will show that the recruitment of a loyalist militia was dependent on the structure of the Highlander community. Once a loyalist militia was formed, it predominantly consisted of Highlanders who had previously remained culturally and politically distinct from the rest of North Carolina’s population. The result of a unique community contributing most of the soldiers towards the loyalist cause meant that the rest of North Carolina’s population associated the whole Highlander community with loyalism, regardless of who actually fought at Moores Creek Bridge. Chapters two and three will examine the different economic groups of Scots and how they reacted to defeat, which included individuals that may not have taken up arms as loyalists. Because of the presumed unanimity of the Highlanders loyalism, Highlanders were forced to react as former loyalists, even if they did not actually fight.}
The Highlanders found many ways to replicate their Highland traditions in North Carolina, which included their feudal associations with land and landholders. The land distribution by the royal governors in North Carolina essentially made the royal governors pseudo-lairds for the Highlanders. The royal governors functioned as Scottish lairds by giving out land grants to the wealthy Highlander emigrants, who then functioned as tacksmen that
encouraged migration of more Highlanders to North Carolina and redistributed land to incoming Highlanders. The laird-tacksmen relationship in the Highlands had typically involved obligatory military service that trickled down to non-land holders. Although this system was in decline in Scotland by the middle of the eighteenth century, this obligatory military service was replicated in North Carolina through the royal governors’ pattern of land grants to prominent or wealthy Highlander emigrants. Additionally, the bulk of the Highlander community by the start of the Revolution were from Argyll, where commercialism and British loyalty were more common than in the rest of the Highlands. At the start of the Revolution, the royal governor, Josiah Martin, requested military service from the prominent Highlanders, just like lairds in Scotland used to request from their tacksmen. The recruitment that trickled downward from Josiah Martin replicated the clan-based military recruitment that was prevalent in the Highlands in the previous centuries. Chapter one will argue that economic and commercial ties to Great Britain, an eagerness to accept high ranks in a royal militia, and a sense of loyalty to the royal governor, the prominent Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear took up arms as loyalists. Josiah Martin relied on those Highlanders who were loyal to him and who held influence over the rest of the Highlander community to further recruit the laboring and otherwise neutral Highlanders into the loyalist militia.

Chapter two will show that merchants in North Carolina were often targeted as punishable loyalists, and most of the Scots that fled North Carolina were merchants and heavily involved in British-Atlantic trading. Merchants all over the state more commonly suffered under the confiscation and banishment laws. Concentrated areas of merchants, such as Wilmington, also saw higher partisan tensions with more examples of merchants fleeing North Carolina, often leaving their families behind. As chapter one explains, many of the community leaders that helped Josiah Martin recruit a loyalist militia were merchants. This chapter will argue that many
North Carolinians linked individual merchants to the British tyranny that many colonists had just fought against. In other words, North Carolinians feared British commercialism and mercantilism as a vestige of British tyranny. Scottish merchants were particularly targeted for their unanimous support of Great Britain during the war and for their obvious business connections to the British Empire. Furthermore, because Josiah Martin often used Scottish merchants to recruit and lead the loyalist militia, the provincial government of North Carolina aimed to remove Scottish merchants or anyone who could build another loyalist militia. Additionally, this chapter will show how Scottish merchants in North Carolina remained part of the Scottish community, even when living outside North Carolina as loyalist refugees. Since their families typically remained in North Carolina and since their business interests were still in North Carolina, many of the exiled Scots found ways to peacefully come back to North Carolina at the end of the war. After independence, North Carolina’s new General Assembly and state governor, Alexander Martin, continued to target merchants as threats to the new state, but otherwise the Assembly allowed local governance to oversee and manage loyalist punishments. This essentially gave the Scottish community a chance to accept themselves back into society.

The third chapter will uncover how the non-merchant Highlanders were able to stay in North Carolina without suffering from confiscation laws or other loyalist punishments, despite an overwhelming association of Highlanders with loyalty to Great Britain. Chapter three will argue that oaths of allegiance to the state, evidence of peaceful behavior, encouragement of clemency from the state governor, and self-representation in the state government ultimately helped the Highlander community remain peacefully in the Upper Cape Fear region after the Revolution. The devastating loss at Moores Creek Bridge effectively ended any serious ability for Highlanders to form a loyalist militia again. Although some North Carolinians were skeptical that the Highlanders were no longer a threat, those Highlanders that remained peacefully proved
to the state government that they were not a violent threat. After the war, the new state government demanded that people, particularly those deemed threatening to the state government, took oaths of allegiance to the state. Anyone that refused to take the oath was labeled as a loyalist and subject to confiscations, imprisonment or banishment. Highlanders that remained in North Carolina after the war were pressured to take the oaths of allegiance to the state because of their initial support for Josiah Martin and Great Britain. Some Highlanders refused to take such oaths, but as chapter two shows, these Scots were typically protecting their attachments to the British Empire or were forced to flee because of their status as merchants. Many other Scots, however, did take the oaths of allegiance. The primary interests of the Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear were to continue living peacefully within their Scottish community. Since the initial loyalty of the Scottish community was to their colonial governor rather than their king, it was not difficult for the Scottish community to accept a new government, especially when the new state governor showed leniency and support for North Carolina’s backcountry communities. Some Scots went beyond simply taking oaths to the state and actually began to take part in the new state government, which gave the Scottish community some legal representation over its own social and political reintegration.

Chapter three will highlight the new state governor, Alexander Martin, and the new General Assembly, and how both the governor and the General Assembly prescribed a safe environment for the Scottish community, excluding Scottish merchants. Governor Alexander Martin expressed an interest in supporting the poorer backcountry Presbyterians after the war, and the General Assembly, being primarily focused on loyalist merchants in the east, found little reason to disagree with Martin’s feelings towards the backcountry. In Cumberland County, where Scottish loyalists had been the strongest during the war, several former loyalists and Scottish individuals with connections to loyalists were elected as representatives in the General
Assembly. Former loyalists who eventually served in the state government emphasized the willingness of Scottish loyalists to participate in and support the new government, as well as the influence of Scottish loyalists that remained in the Upper Cape Fear region. Scottish representation in the state government also assisted Scottish merchants that wished to return to North Carolina after the war. The resilience of the Highlanders that remained in North Carolina after the war ultimately preserved the opportunities for Scottish Highlanders to continue living, working and trading in North Carolina, and even reopened the doors for more Scottish emigration to North Carolina.
Chapter 1: Highlander Loyalism and Governor Josiah Martin

Clanship had been in decline in Scotland for nearly a century before the American Revolution. Nevertheless, in the middle of the eighteenth-century a pseudo-clan formed in the Upper Cape Fear in North Carolina with the royal governor, Josiah Martin, as the clan’s new laird. Under the old feudal systems of land ownership in the Scottish Highlands, lairds served as both the clan leader and the primary landholder. Tacksmen were important middlemen in these feudal relationships. Tacksmen were intermediary landholders that were given land from the laird, and then subdivided that land out to the tenants. Tacksmen were responsible for giving military service to the laird when called upon, which also meant recruiting the tenants for military service. This system of landholding and required military service was declining in the Scottish Highlands during the eighteenth century, which led to many Highlanders emigrating to North Carolina. Once settled in North Carolina, Highlanders experienced a familiar system of land distribution that the royal governors of North Carolina built to encourage loyalty of the Highlanders.

The royal governors in North Carolina had been giving land to select Highlanders, typically those of commercial wealth or those with any influence over other Highlanders. Those Highlander men that received land grants encouraged more Highlanders to come to North Carolina and settle on their newly granted land. This process mimicked the feudal system of landownership in Scotland where the royal governor acted as the laird and the land-grant recipients acted as tacksmen. Much like the feudal relationship in the Highlands, this relationship in North Carolina eventually involved military service as well. The royal governors believed that they could call upon the Highlanders to fight whenever necessary, and in the Regulator Rebellion as well as the American Revolution, this proved to be true.

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43 Meyer, The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 31-32; Macinness, Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 210, 221.
In North Carolina, many Highlanders shared a sense of loyalty to the royal governors and particularly to Josiah Martin, as well as economic ties to Great Britain and an eagerness to accept high ranks in a royal militia. Josiah Martin actively recruited those Highlanders that were loyal to him and who held influence over the rest of the Highlander community to further recruit the otherwise neutral Highlanders into the loyalist militia. The recruitment that trickled downward from Josiah Martin replicated the military recruitment that was prevalent in the Highlands in the previous centuries. Although clanship and feudal landownership was in decline in the Highlands by the late eighteenth-century, the Highlanders in North Carolina were able to imagine Josiah Martin and their local community leaders as military leaders, to whom they could justify giving military service. The type of recruitment that Josiah Martin used was recognizable to the Highlanders in North Carolina, and Josiah Martin found success recruiting a loyalist militia from the Highlanders.

The emigration of Scottish Highlanders from their native lands in the eighteenth century was arguably the result of severe economic changes within Scotland. At first glance, the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 seem to be responsible for a massive emigration of native Highlanders from Scotland, but the more realistic explanation is the economic changes that came secondary to the Jacobite uprisings. Changes in agriculture after the ’45 Jacobite uprising produced rack rents (excessive and extortionate rents) and eventual evictions. One of the parliamentary changes that ensued after the ’45 uprising was the Turn Pike Road Act of 1751. This act, along with dissolving clanship ties, gave Highlanders more mobility within Scotland. Agricultural methods from the Lowlands began moving into the Highlands, and the entire system of land owning changed. Most importantly, the former system of using tacksmen, or middle men, to distribute land from lairds to tenants came to an unfavorable end for many tacksmen and

tenants, but provided a chance to improve agricultural methods simultaneously. Tacksmen were formerly used to ensure military service from tenants could be gathered for a laird when necessary. The laird would give the tacksmen land, and then the tacksmen would then divide it amongst tenants in exchange for promised service. After the ’45, the lairds no longer needed military service from the tenants, so instead they requested higher payments for their leases with the tacksmen. This demand trickled down to the tenants who were already at their expenditure capacity. The inability of tenants to pay the higher rents forced tacksmen to make up the difference, thus resulting in impoverished tenants and tacksmen alike, who looked to migration as a solution.\textsuperscript{45} William Tryon, the Royal Governor of North Carolina from 1764-1771, commented on the Highlanders in his critique of an “An Act to encourage the further settlement of this Province,” agreeing that “the reason they alleged for coming to America was that the rents of their lands were so raised that they could not live upon them.”\textsuperscript{46} Additionally, Highlander emigration came after the decay of clanship ties that would have previously kept Highlanders in their native land.\textsuperscript{47} In 1746, shortly after the ’45 uprising, Parliament created policies that cut the judicial and military ties between chiefs and clansmen. This breakup was intertwined with the change in land distribution. Once the lairds no longer required tenants to provide military services, they forfeited their responsibilities to protect, feed, and provide judicial rulings for the tenants.\textsuperscript{48} These tenants and tacksmen looked to North Carolina for a chance to once again own or work land under new types of lairds.

Changes in agricultural practices in the Highlands directly contributed to the rise in rents. The Highlands previously used an agricultural “run-rig” system, in which tenants under a

\textsuperscript{45} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 30-33.
\textsuperscript{47} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 41; Macinness, \textit{Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart}, 211-12.
\textsuperscript{48} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 41.
tacksmen would draw for lots of land to till. Since a tenant was not guaranteed to be tilling the same land the next season, there was no incentive for “liming, draining, or otherwise improving fields.” After depleting tacksmen from the system of land distribution, the lairds were able to give longer leases directly to tenants who then became more inclined to upgrade farming techniques.49 Since the Highlanders were considered late to upgrade to modern farming techniques, it came as no surprise to hear Josiah Martin, Royal Governor of North Carolina from 1771-1775, say in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth that the Highlanders in North Carolina “are absolutely penniless, many of this People are said to have perished in this Country of late years and few of them are thought likely to become profitable Settlers, being for the most part unskilled in the Arts of Agriculture.”50 Fortunately for many of the Highlanders that emigrated to North Carolina, they had experience in commercial trading that most other Highlanders lacked.

In addition to agricultural changes and a decline in clanship, a significant increase in Scotland’s population during the eighteenth century also contributed to Highlander emigration. A significantly higher population in the Highlands made it more difficult for the Highlands to bear these post-’45 social and economic changes. The shift towards modern agricultural techniques in the eighteenth-century, along with new roads from the post-’45 parliamentary acts, made food more dispersible. In previous years, if one crop or farm had a poor season, nearby Highlanders might starve. New crops such as potatoes and kale became popular staples in the Highlands, which were more dependable and productive than commonly farmed oats. With roads and better farming, starvation was greatly reduced. The 1760s and ‘70s saw an introduction of smallpox inoculations to the Highlands, which also contributed to the population boom.51 According to Allan Macinnes, the Scottish population grew 43% in the latter half of the eighteenth century due

51 Meyer, The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 44-46.
to agrarian changes, the introduction of the potato, the industrialization of the lowlands, and inoculations against smallpox.\textsuperscript{52} This population increase overwhelmed the economic changes caused by agrarian changes and dissolved clanship ties. With better farms, fewer employees were necessary, and the high rents did not decrease. Tenant farmers became overwhelmed and indebted with rack rents, and could not find enough employment to satisfy their debts. As the Scottish population in the eighteenth century grew, so did the poverty that provoked emigration.\textsuperscript{53}

Commercialism, a practice not largely used by Highlanders before the eighteenth century, took a stronger hold in Scotland, and particularly in Argyll, after the decline of chiefdom. The lowland urban centers, like the port city Glasgow, became larger and more industrial. Many Highlanders moved south and took up careers as merchants in the port cities. Many of those who were not interested moving south for work moved west across the Atlantic.\textsuperscript{54} Argyll, the closest Highland county to Glasgow was one of the first Highland counties to adopt English capitalism and become involved in Atlantic trading.\textsuperscript{55} Across the Highlands, including Argyll, lairds did not benefit from laboring Scots migrating to America and they worked hard to oppose it. Lairds intentionally oppressed people any way they could to maintain their dominance in Scotland, according to John Boyd in his letter to North Carolina.\textsuperscript{56} Hector McAllister wrote to his brother in North Carolina that his daughters had no future in an “appressed country, reduced to beggary.”\textsuperscript{57}

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\textsuperscript{52} Macinnes, \textit{Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart}, 221.
\textsuperscript{53} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 51-53.
\textsuperscript{54} Dobson, \textit{Scottish Emigration to Colonial America}, 153.
\textsuperscript{55} Chapter two will further explore the nature of commercialism in Argyll and how that commercial behavior impacted the Highlander community in North Carolina.
\textsuperscript{56} Letter from John Boyd to Alexander McAllister, in the McAllister Family Papers, Sept 29, 1774, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
\textsuperscript{57} Letter from Hector McAllister to Alexander McAllister, in the McAllister Family Papers, May 31, 1774, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
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Scottish Highlanders who emigrated from Scotland in hopes of finding a better life blamed greedy lairds for the unhappiness and failures of the Highland economy, which strongly contrasted with the pleasant feelings many Scots later held for the royal governors in North Carolina who gave land and economic freedom to almost any Scot willing to settle in the backcountry. Scottish settlers in North Carolina saw the land grants and graciousness from the royal governors as a larger solution to the widespread poverty in the Highlands as well as a chance to build a new Scottish clan. Some Highlander emigrants encouraged other Highlanders to settle in North Carolina in order to “make the clan numerous in that part of the world.” In 1770, Alexander McAllister sent a letter to Scotland claiming that North Carolina “will soon be a new Scotland for within these three or four years there is an immense number come to this place.” Scottish migrations to North Carolina were dependent on promises of land in North Carolina, and the royal governors replaced the former lairds by giving the Highlander emigrants land in North Carolina and a place to build a new Scottish community.

The royal governors of North Carolina noticed the economic desperation of Highlanders and offered many of them tax-free land grants along North Carolina’s Cape Fear River. In the first half of the eighteenth century, several British colonies were calling for Scottish Highlanders, or more broadly, white protestants, to populate their frontier settlements. North Carolina, Georgia, and New York were the most prominent destinations for the Highlanders, and of the three, North Carolina was the most successful at creating new homes for migrating Highlanders. Highlanders chose North Carolina for an assortment of reasons at various times,

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58 Letter from Angus McAllister, Scotland, to Alexander McAllister, Cumberland County, 1770, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
59 Letter from Alexander McAllister, Cumberland County, to his cousin, Alexander McAllister, 1770, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
60 For scholarship on the Highlander settlement in colonial Georgia, see Anthony W. Parker, Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735-1748, (Athens GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1997). Primary and secondary sources repeatedly suggest that New York was also a popular destination for Highlander emigrants, however there is no monograph specifically on Highlanders in New York. See Devine and Dobson for brief accounts of Highlanders settling in New York.
but the most significant factor in calling the Highlanders to North Carolina’s backcountry were
the land grants that royal governors offered. The royal governors of North Carolina became the
gracious heroes for many of the desperate Scots looking for a new start in America. Gabriel
Johnston, governor of North Carolina from 1733-1752 and a native of Scotland, initiated the
trend of giving Highlanders land in 1732-1733 when he granted nearly 4,000 acres of land to
three Scottish immigrants: James Innes, William Forbes, and Hugh Campbell. These men
transported with them approximately nineteen Scottish families that would work for several
years as indentured servants. All three men took up land along the northern Cape Fear River,
which eventually became the center of the Highlander community.61 Johnston’s donation of land
to these Highlanders came at a time of tension between Jacobites and the supporters of the House
of Hanover, and Johnston received some criticism for it.62 Despite the political controversy,
Johnston directly and openly supported Highlander emigrants, which ultimately taught future
generations of desperate Highlanders to look to North Carolina’s royal government for
assistance.

The method of giving large plots of land to select headrights was very successful in
recruiting Scottish Highlanders and it continued for several decades. In 1740, large land grants
were given to twenty-two Scottish individuals from Argyllshire, who in return brought many
immigrants with them to fill out the land. All of these immigrants settled along the Cape Fear
River with an agreement of no land taxes for ten years. This agreement was made to encourage
the Highland Scots and “foreign protestants” to keep coming.63 The preference for filling the

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62 Petition from Francis Corbin and Isaac Arthand concerning Gabriel Johnston's government, December 14, 1748,
*Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV:926; After the Jacobite uprising of 1715, some social and political tensions
between supporters of the House of Hanover and supporters of the House of Stuart still remained, particularly in
Scotland. Johnston was criticized for placing Scottish Jacobites after the '15 uprising in “chief offices” and for
giving land grants in North Carolina to Highlanders. Johnson was criticized for turning North Carolina into an
“Asylum for Fugitives, and Persons of desperate Fortunes and Characters.”
63 Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 79; Minutes of the Upper House of the North Carolina General
upper Cape Fear River with Highlanders lasted for several decades. In 1771, James MacDonald and Norman MacDonald filed a petition on behalf of themselves and a few fellow Scotsmen, natives of Skye and Inverness, to be granted 40,000 acres of land in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. The petition was encouraged by the Board of Trade because the Board believed that emigration to the American colonies “cannot fail to lessen the strength and security, and to prejudice the landed interest and manufacturers of these Kingdoms.” Royal government in North Carolina desired to fill out its territory with British citizens and promote economic growth, which justified giving access to the backcountry to any Briton who was willing to occupy it.

Governor William Tryon granted more land during his seven-year governorship than any other royal governor of North Carolina. Tryon granted 1,208,269 acres of land during his reign over North Carolina, which was 1.7 times more land than his predecessor Governor Dobbs, and 12.7 times more than his successor Governor Martin. This land was not entirely granted to Scottish immigrants, but Governor Tryon was sympathetic to Highlanders and developed a positive relationship with them. In 1768, Governor Tryon petitioned the Upper House of the North Carolina General Assembly to provide financial relief to several Scottish families that had recently arrived in the port city of Brunswick. These families were destined for Cumberland County, and upon Tryon’s request, fifteen pounds were disbursed to the families to help them travel up the Cape Fear River. By graciously supporting Scottish Highlanders that were trying to settle in North Carolina, the royal governors believed that they could call upon the

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64 Petition from James McDonald and Normand McDonald concerning land grants in North Carolina, 1771, Colonial Records of North Carolina, VIII:620.
65 CO 5/305, Board of Trade, DRAFTS, 1765-1775, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, NC.
66 Account of quit rents due in North Carolina, January 1, 1773, Colonial Records of North Carolina, IX:368.
Highlanders to fight whenever necessary, and in the Regulator Rebellion as well as the American Revolution, this proved to be true.

During North Carolina’s Regulator rebellion (1765-1771), William Tryon faced a rebellion of self-titled Regulators in North Carolina’s backcountry. The Regulator rebellion is often seen as a parallel or even a precursor to the American Revolution, as a “revolution from below” that was initially meant to correct government through legal action but eventually turned violent. Marjoleine Kars compares the political movements of the Regulators to the Sons of Liberty who led the revolutionary movement throughout the colonies.68 The tensions between Regulators and government officials were highly indicative of the same tensions that would eventually spread across the thirteen colonies and turn into a violent revolution. In the 1760s, Tryon’s selected officials who handled granting, selling, and taxing land in North Carolina were notoriously corrupt. Some officials charged backcountry settlers additional and repeated taxes, among other offenses. Additionally, William Tryon began building a palace in New Bern shortly after he was appointed governor. His palace was funded by public taxes causing unfairly taxed settlers in the backcountry to further resent Tryon’s administration. Unhappy settlers in the backcountry began organizing themselves as Regulators as early as 1765, and initially tried to find justice through legal protests. Once their peaceful protests failed, they turned to attacking government officials as well as riots and illegal assemblies. By 1770, government officials were expressing concern for their safety. Tryon’s refusal to compromise with the settlers boiled down to the Battle of Alamance in 1771, in which the Regulators fought against William Tryon and his royal militia. During the escalating Regulator rebellion, Tryon gathered men for his militia on his march into the backcountry, but despite offering some supplies and a small payment, Tryon had

difficulties gathering as many men as he hoped for in the western and northern counties.\textsuperscript{69} Even in the east where his support was the strongest, Tryon had some difficulty recruiting a militia. At a militia muster in New Bern, where Tryon’s palace was built, militiamen expressed great reluctance to fight the Regulators.\textsuperscript{70} Scottish Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear region, such as Alexander McAlister of Cumberland County, however, answered his call.\textsuperscript{71} One of Tryon’s armed columns marched through Anson and Cumberland counties where they were able to increase their numbers of soldiers with better success than elsewhere in the colony.\textsuperscript{72} Although the Highlanders in the Cape Fear region initially showed sympathies for the Regulators, in 1771 Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear gave their loyalty to William Tryon.\textsuperscript{73} When a royal militia was summoned from each county, Highlanders responded in a similar manner to the feudal military service that was expected in Scotland. Tryon had become a pseudo-laird for the Highlanders through land grants and other forms of support, and when he requested their military service, they gave it. In 1771, the Regulators lost the battle of Alamance and were forced to submit to the royal government. The Highlanders in Tryon’s militia won an easy victory over the backcountry rebels, which strengthened the Highlanders attachment to North Carolina’s royal government. Later that year, however, Tryon was repositioned as the Royal Governor of New York. His replacement in North Carolina was an Irish-born Josiah Martin, who would become the last royal governor of North Carolina.

Governor Josiah Martin continued the pattern of granting land to Scottish immigrants and counted on their loyalty, just as Tryon had. In 1775, a ship arrived from Scotland carrying an “upwards of one hundred and thirty Emigrants Men, Women and Children.” Governor Martin

\textsuperscript{69} Kars, \textit{Breaking Loose Together}, 197-199.
\textsuperscript{70} Kars, \textit{Breaking Loose Together}, 193.
\textsuperscript{71} Letter from Alexander McAllister to his brother, in the McAllister Family Papers, March 15, 1769, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
\textsuperscript{72} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 135.
\textsuperscript{73} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 134.
wrote of these Scottish immigrants, stating “I shall think it proper (after administering the Oath of Allegiance to the Men) to give permission to settle on the vacant lands of the Crown here on the same principles and conditions that I granted that indulgence to the Emigrants lately imported in the ship George.” The ship George had arrived in North Carolina one month earlier and had delivered 172 Highlanders to the colony, all of whom, Governor Martin argued, should be granted land for “their readiness to lay down their lives in the support and defence of his Majesty's Government.” Governor Martin eventually proved to be the most favorable governor for the Scottish settlers in North Carolina as he continued giving land and offering passage into the Upper Cape Fear region. These favors, along with other benefits that Governor Martin offered the Scots, inspired the Scottish settlers to remain loyal to his authority during the American Revolution.

In addition to the settlement of North Carolina’s backcountry, the royal governors of North Carolina recognized the Highlander’s ability to promote and develop export industries and backcountry trading. The Highlanders, both those with commercial backgrounds and those with laboring backgrounds, found economic success in the Cape Fear Region. The British colonies in North America, particularly the southern colonies, shared a tendency to focus their economic gains on cash crops or staples for export trade, yet North Carolina stood out from its neighbors as a having a lack of a staple. While tobacco, rice, and indigo provided Virginians and South Carolinians with profitable exports, North Carolina’s only major natural resource and export industry came from pine trees. The Cape Fear region exported sawed lumber and “by 1766 about fifty sawmills were in operation.” The longleaf pine trees in the coastal plains allowed the lumber products such as tar, pitch, and turpentine to be more valuable than the lumber, especially in the Cape Fear region. Unfortunately, producing lumber was an expensive venture and despite

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initial profits from exporting lumber products to England, when the value for these products in London declined, many North Carolinians gave up the profession. Some individuals remained in the trade and found enough success to encourage others to work in the lumber industry, such as Dudley Clark of Cumberland County. Clark discussed getting involved in a mill and admitted in a letter to his brother, “the costs are a great deal of money, but thank God I can now afford it.” Clark also requested his brother to instruct a man named James in the “carpentry line.” While only some of North Carolina’s settlers could afford to build and own a lumber mill, those that could afford it could easily find other Highlanders to work in it. As chapters two and three will further explore, the Highlanders in North Carolina fit into two distinct, yet connected, economic spheres. Many of the Highlander emigrants from Argyll came to North Carolina with experience in commercial trading, and ultimately became leaders in export industries. Meanwhile, many other Highlanders came to North Carolina as skilled or unskilled laborers and were looking to take up work wherever they could. Industries like the lumber industry reflected the economic duality of the Highlanders in North Carolina, where both commercial and laboring Highlanders could take part. Highlanders occupied themselves in the lumber industry along the Cape Fear River, from Wilmington to Cross Creek. Janet Schaw, native of Scotland, wrote a detailed description of her experience visiting a sawmill run by her Scottish relatives in Rocky Point, approximately twenty miles from Wilmington. She expressed her desire to learn how to make tar and turpentine and later described the methods of the sawmill that is “adopted by all the people up the country.”

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75 Correspondence from Dudley Clark to Andrew Clark, September 23, 1796, CR.029.928.4, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.

While many Highlanders took occupations in the lumber industries, Highlanders began careers in other industries as well that ultimately led to a prosperous trading center in Cross Creek and the Upper Cape Fear region. Governor Josiah Martin accredited the “prosperity and strength” of the Cape Fear region to the Highland Scots as “such a number of hardy laborious and thrifty people.” Highlanders settling in North Carolina occasionally brought trades with them, but some Highlanders came with an open mind, willing to take any work that would provide a better life than they had in Scotland. A letter from Alexander McAlister in North Carolina to his brother in Scotland requested that he “will bring some tredsmen with you for thy will be of servis to you such as a wivers a blacksmith a shumaker a carpinter an indeed all sorts of treedsmen is very servisable for if you are not in want of them every body is in want of such as you may hire them out.” Imported finished goods that traveled by land from neighboring colonies were too expensive, and roads connecting traders to Cross Creek helped reduce dependency on other colonies. The royal governors encouraged and financially aided the construction of new roads that would help improve trade across North Carolina’s backcountry, and each new road extended outwards from Cross Creek. Some North Carolinians, however, were still pressured to make their own finished goods or live without them. Scottish settlers in the Upper Cape Fear filled the demands for skilled and unskilled labor that could ultimately produce the various goods that the colonists needed. The loyalist petitions filed in London from Scottish inhabitants of North Carolina include a sawmill owner, a cooper, a blacksmith, a tailor, six merchants/store owners, a reverend, a Justice of the Peace, a surgeon, nine plantation

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77 Letter from Josiah Martin to Wills Hill, Marquis of Downshire, March 1, 1772, Colonial Records of North Carolina, IX:259.
78 Letter from Hector McAllester to Alexander McAllester, May 31, 1774, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
79 Letter from Alexander McAllister to his brother, in the McAllister Family Papers, nd, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
owners/planters, and sixteen individuals who did not specify their trade. Col. Robert Gray commented on the growing prosperity of North Carolina during the Revolution, claiming, “all the inhabitants seemed intent upon cultivating their farms and making money.” Governor Martin recognized the economic benefit of Highlanders settling in Upper Cape Fear for they not only helped to populate the backcountry with Protestants, but they grew North Carolina’s budding industries and created a trading center on the Cape Fear River.

In addition to economic motives for loyalty to royal government, many Highlanders in North Carolina shared a political pattern of defending royal government. For many North Carolinians, politics and economics became intertwined. The economic interests of the Highlanders were being satisfied in North Carolina, in large part due to opportunities presented by the royal governor. Therefore, the political interests of the Highlanders remained aligned with the royal government even as social and political unrest grew across the thirteen colonies. Also, many of the North Carolina Highlanders were former residents of Argyll, home of the “most powerful” and “staunchest Whig” clan, the Campbells. Historians still debate over the size and prominence of Clan Campbell in Highland economics and politics, particularly during the Jacobite uprisings. In North Carolina, the Highlanders who migrated from Argyll consisted of former Jacobites and non-Jacobites, yet determining the number of former Jacobites and non-Jacobites within North Carolina is nearly impossible. It is very likely that some of North Carolina’s Scottish newcomers may have fought against the each other in the ‘45 uprising.

81 Evidence [of Property Losses]: North Carolina, 1785-90, AO 12/34-37, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
82 “Observations of the War in Carolina” by Col. Robert Gray, officer of provincial troops, nd, Military Collections, War of the Revolution, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
84 Macinnes, Clanship, Commerce, 191-92.
85 North Carolina also contained many Highlander clan names from counties other than Argyll and clan names that were notorious for supporting the Jacobite cause, yet it was the Argyll merchants and military leaders that ultimately influenced North Carolina’s Highlander population to support their royal governors during the Revolution.
The Campbells of Argyll held a long history of social, political, and economic opposition to the rest of the Highland clans, especially before the Jacobite uprisings. The system of land ownership had been changing in Scotland and the Campbells took a different approach to land ownership from the other, more traditional, clans. While many of the clans were affixed on “rights of kinship” and “patrimonialism” for land ownership, the Campbells in Argyll took a feudal approach.\(^{86}\) The chiefs of Argyll began to favor becoming mere landowners, instead of clan chiefs. This became harmful for the residents of Argyll and “rents on the Argyll estates were raised and tacks went to the highest bidder, regardless of clan or family.”\(^{87}\) Argyll was one of the first Scottish counties to exhibit this change in land ownership. These differences in land ownership caused a rivalry to form between the clans. Additionally, during both major Jacobite uprisings in the eighteenth century, the Campbells were loyal to the House of Hanover. Once in America, the Argyll settlers continued to show favor towards the Hanoverian government, particularly towards the colonial governor. For many of the Argyll settlers, the royal governors in North Carolina replaced their former chiefs that had transitioned into landowners and caused the rise in rents. The land grants and graciousness from the royal governors in North Carolina allowed many Highlander emigrants, and particularly those from Argyll, to imagine the royal governor as their new chief and laird.

Furthermore, the loyalty of Argyll to the House of Hanover meant that many Argyll Highlanders had either experienced fighting with the British Army or were prepared to accept high ranks in the British military. In 1775, when war in North Carolina seemed eminent and Martin was calling for help, Highlanders with fighting experience in the British Army answered the call. Major Alexander McLean was a merchant, peacefully settled in Wilmington, and a retired officer of the British Army. Being on half-pay since 1763, he offered his services to

\(^{87}\) McLynn, *The Jacobites*, 54-55.
Governor Martin in 1775.\textsuperscript{88} With a history of Highlanders being recruited in the British army after the Jacobite uprisings, it is not surprising that some Highlanders in North Carolina had previous non-Jacobite, military experience and could lead Highlander militias in North Carolina.\textsuperscript{89}

At the outset of war in the American colonies, the royal government in North Carolina immediately looked to recruit loyalists from all economic and ethnic backgrounds. Governor Josiah Martin had successfully followed the pattern of creating friendly relationships with the Highlander settlers on the upper Cape Fear and made significant efforts to attract them into military service.

Governor Martin insisted to his superiors that with the help of several thousand troops, he could arm the North Carolina loyalists and pacify the rebellion in the southern colonies.\textsuperscript{90} The British government was still recruiting soldiers from the Highlands of Scotland, just like in the Seven Years’ War, and Governor Martin urged his superiors to send the Highlander regiments to North Carolina. In one of his requests, he specifically asked that the Highlander regiments be sent to North Carolina because they would have “success with the dormant Scots in North Carolina.”\textsuperscript{91} Martin recognized that some poorer Highlanders might be inclined to remain neutral during the war. Martin’s recruitment strategy was meant to ensure that the whole Highlander community was loyal and willing to fight for him. Recruiting the Highlanders in North Carolina was one of Governor Martin’s most urgent concerns and he focused his recruitment tactics on bringing all of the Highlander men into his royal militia.

\textsuperscript{88} Evidence [of Property Losses]: North Carolina, 1785-86, AO 12/34, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
\textsuperscript{89} For scholarship on Highlanders participating in the British military during the eighteenth-century, see Matthew P. Dziennik, \textit{The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
Governor Martin was confident that the Highlanders in North Carolina would be loyal and willing to fight for him. Despite having an urgency to recruit them, his confidence is repeatedly stated in his professional correspondence. In the early months of 1775, as Governor Martin was preparing for the rebellion to spread to North Carolina, he wrote, “with the aid of a considerable Body of Highlanders in the midland counties who have already given me the best proofs of their attachment to Government and in whose zeal and steadfast loyalty I can safely confide... I will be answerable to maintain the Sovereignty of this County to his Majesty.”

Martin’s confidence in Highlander loyalism was repeated as Martin continuously assured his commanders in Britain that he could lead the war in North Carolina by recruiting Highlanders to fight. Martin claimed that among the loyalist forces in North Carolina is “a body of Highlanders whose principles have given me the fullest assurance of their loyalty and attachment to his Majesty and on which I am persuaded I could firmly rely...I have no doubt that I could form a very useful and serviceable Corps out of the Highlanders in this Country.”

Martin’s goal in making these claims about the Highlanders was to stress his ability to command the loyalist forces in North Carolina and to convince his commanders to send additional troops and supplies to North Carolina. Martin believed that the war in the southern colonies could be won by securing the colonies that already held a large loyal population, such as North Carolina. Once secured with armed troops, the colony could become a base for expanding operations into the more rebellious colonies. This strategy was not exclusive to Governor Martin. British garrison towns were common during the war, but according to Robert Calhoon, North Carolina loyalists “arose prematurely” and were defeated before reinforcements could arrive and secure a loyalist

92 Letter from Josiah Martin to Thomas Gage, March 16, 1775, Colonial Records of North Carolina, IX:1167.  
Despite the unfortunate timing for Governor Martin, he showed a strong expression of faith in the Highlanders, and even bolstered the number of Highlanders available to fight, so that he could reinforce his role as a commander in the war. Governor Martin relied on the strength of Highlanders to support his requests for additional British military aid, such as weapons and additional soldiers.

Governor Martin believed the Scottish people to be more committed to royal government than other groups of settlers. Martin treated the Scottish loyalists as the primary loyalist force that other non-Scottish loyalists would merely contribute to. When recruiting former Regulators, Governor Martin wrote in early 1776 that, although they are without guns, the former Regulators “will be found to resort to [joining the loyalists] besides the Scotch Emigrants.” This statement implies that Martin was lacking other, non-Highlander, groups of men for support. Additionally, one earlier letter from Martin suggested that he once considered the Highlanders the only group capable or available to fight for him. In attempting to defend Fort Johnston by filling it with a garrison, he proclaims he “could now only collect out of the Highlanders.” Governor Martin was successful in recruiting the Highlanders into fighting service, but he may have focused on recruiting them because he felt they were his only serious option for a loyalist army. Governor Martin did, however, successfully recruit some former Regulators by showing a similar compassion that he gave the Highlanders.

Governor Martin extended forgiveness to the former Regulators that had fought against Governor Tryon, and Martin was able to recruit some of those former Regulators into his loyalist

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militias. Much like the Highlanders that initially seemed unlikely to support Great Britain, Martin was able to encourage loyalty from some of the Regulators by offering them pardons for their actions in the Regulator rebellion. By the start of the Revolution, the Regulators’ disputes with the royal government had ultimately dissipated. Governor Tryon forcefully ended the Regulator rebellion and his predecessor, Governor Josiah Martin, went a step further to offer forgiveness to the former Regulators. Unsurprisingly, the Regulators continued to hold a grudge against the wealthy elites in North Carolina after the Regulators were defeated at the Battle of Alamance. Many of these eastern elites eventually supported the patriot cause, and thus former Regulators were inclined to act as loyalists, purely as opposition to their former enemies in North Carolina. Furthermore, when Martin took over Tryon’s position as governor of North Carolina, he acknowledged that the Regulators were “greviously oppressed by the Sheriffs, Clerks and other Subordinate officers of Government,” and requested to pardon those who surrendered and promised loyalty. Martin extended a forgiving and sympathetic hand towards the Regulators, which helped to disconnect their bitter feelings from royal government and in turn, he was able to recruit some of them as fighting loyalists. Although Regulators and Highlanders had once fought against each other in North Carolina, the graciousness of Governor Josiah Martin brought the two groups together to support the royal government. This example of loyalty from the former Regulators emphasizes how much of the Revolution was determined by local situations and local loyalties, as well as larger ideological reactions.

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97 The Battle of Alamance was the official end of the Regulator Rebellion in North Carolina. On May 16, 1771, Tryon’s militia of nearly 1,000 men faced off against approximately 2,000 Regulators in Alamance County. Although more numerous, many of the Regulators came out simply to bolster the appearance of the Regulators. After the first shots were fired, many of the Regulators fled. Tryon’s militia won the battle and captured many of the remaining Regulators. Most of the captured Regulators were pardoned in exchange for allegiance to the Crown, however six Regulators were executed by hanging.

98 Kars, Breaking Loose Together, 212.


100 For additional scholarship on loyalties and local experiences in the southern backcountry during the Revolution, see An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Thad
the Regulators showed direct loyalties to their royal governor, rather than the King of Great Britain.

As Governor Martin had planned, he brought in additional Highlanders that would serve in his royal militias and would hold some influence over the rest of the Highlander community. Martin dispatched two British officers originally from the Scottish Highlands to North Carolina to aid in recruiting Highlanders as loyalists. Brigadier General Donald McDonald and Colonel Donald McLeod aided in the recruitment of Highlander loyalists and led the march towards Wilmington that ended at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge in 1776. These men heroically, but foolishly, led the futile charge against the patriot forces at Moores Creek Bridge. General Donald McDonald was taken prisoner after the skirmish and Colonel Donald McLeod was killed during the fight, ending their short streak of Highlander leadership in North Carolina.¹⁰¹ These men, despite leading a short campaign in the War for Independence, represent the connection between the soldiers from the Scottish Highlanders and the Highlander loyalists in the American colonies.

In addition to Gen. McDonald and Col. McLeod, two other important Highlanders were given high-ranking military status in North Carolina to woo the support of the Highlander community. Governor Martin appointed Allen McDonald the rank of Major, and made Allen McDonald’s son-in-law, Alexander McLeod, first Captain of the North Carolina Highlanders. Governor Martin believed these men had “good worth and good character” but more importantly, they had “extensive influence over the Highlanders here, great part of which are their own names and families.”¹⁰² Unlike Gen. McDonald and Col. McLeod, Allan and Alexander’s influence over the local Highlanders came from Allan McDonald’s wife, Flora McDonald. Flora had

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¹⁰¹ Rankin, “The Moores Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776,” 38.
developed her own fame during the Jacobite rebellion in 1745. After the Jacobites were defeated at the battle at Culloden, Flora McDonald helped Prince Charlie escape by disguising him as her Irish maid.\textsuperscript{103} This event was romanticized in the Highlands and Flora was considered a heroine amongst many Highlanders. Flora and Allan eventually resettled in North Carolina, and when the American Revolution reached the Highlanders, Governor Martin knew that “Flora McDonald had been so greatly admired in the Highlands, it was not unusual that many of the Gaels looked to her husband for leadership in this crisis.”\textsuperscript{104} Flora McDonald was also a member of the Presbyterian Church and attended the Barbecue Church on the upper Cape Fear, one of the three main churches serviced by Gaelic speaking Reverend James Campbell.\textsuperscript{105} Flora McDonald’s heroic fame, local involvement, and family name made her and her family very respectable amongst the North Carolina Highlanders. Governor Martin knew her fame, particularly amongst former Jacobites, and capitalized on it by promoting her husband and son-in-law in military ranks.

Governor Martin purposefully requested that General McDonald and Colonel McLeod come to North Carolina for their specific military experience as well as the plethora of shared characteristics they shared with the Highlanders that settled in North Carolina. In the personal manifesto from General McDonald, he discussed the honor in erecting a standard in Cross Creek and his desire to “be ranked in the list of friends and fellow-soldiers.”\textsuperscript{106} Most notably, their names gave the appearance of being directly related to many of the North Carolina Highlanders. Allen and Flora McDonald share the same name, and served a similar purpose. The loyalist petitions in England from North Carolina claimants contain at least ten McLeods and eight

\textsuperscript{104} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina}, 155.
\textsuperscript{106} Manifesto by Donald MacDonald concerning recruitment of loyalist troops in North Carolina, 1776, \textit{Colonial Records of North Carolina}, X:429-430.
McDonalds, the most commonly repeated surnames in the petitions. Even the first name, Donald, is repeated in the petitions over seven times.\textsuperscript{107} As mentioned earlier, the McDonalds and the McLeods were notorious Jacobites earlier in the century.\textsuperscript{108} Despite the Highlander settlement being largely from a pro-Hanoverian county during the Jacobite rebellion, some of the military leaders of the North Carolina Highlanders represent the rival, Jacobite, clan names. General McDonald and Colonel McLeod were former servants of the British military and were used to recruit Highlanders of the same or related clan names, leaving Jacobitism and political concerns behind. Flora and Allen McDonald were glorified by former Jacobites and used by Governor Martin for the same purpose. Governor Martin strategically promoted certain individuals to positions as officers to perpetuate a common Highland heritage and loyalty, regardless of past experiences in Scotland or clan rivalries.

Governor Martin took it upon himself to directly promote Highlanders, although some higher ranked officers were able to promote Highlanders to captain or lieutenant as well. Many of the North Carolina Highlander officers in the loyalist petitions from London mentioned either who the officer served under or who promoted the officer to his highest rank. Of these men, at least thirteen mentioned either serving under Gov. Martin, being promoted by Gov. Martin, or being requested by Gov. Martin for a particular service.\textsuperscript{109} Governor Martin successfully recruited the majority of North Carolina’s Highlander men into loyal service by partially returning chieftain leadership to the Highlanders. The Highlander captains and lieutenants used family connections and Highland traditions to unify the fighting-capable men into militias, as was custom in Scotland.

\textsuperscript{107} Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
\textsuperscript{108} McLynn, \textit{The Jacobites}, 66.
\textsuperscript{109} Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Captains and lieutenants were used specifically for recruiting and leading small companies of men. Captain Colin Shaw exemplifies the function of the Highlander Captains in North Carolina. Although Shaw’s promotion was given earlier than the War for Independence, Governor Tryon appointed Shaw as a captain during the Regulator Rebellion, with the authority to train a Cumberland militia. The ranks of captain and lieutenant provided the Highlanders with the right amount of authority to fulfill Governor Martin’s request and recruit small companies of men. According to Matthew Dziennik, Highlanders were familiar with military recruitment through most of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The recruitment methods for the British army in Scotland had a unique but crucial impact in getting the Highlanders involved in British military activities. Bagpipes and whisky were used for “rousing the martial spirit” and after a noncommissioned officer collected approximately twenty recruits, they would be marched to an urban center, such as Inverness or Stirling, and joined with larger battalions.

This is almost precisely how the Highlanders were gathered in North Carolina for the Moores Creek Bridge campaign. As mentioned earlier, documentation of the some of the imprisoned Highlander officers in Halifax shows that most of the officers were responsible for a number of men, mostly around twenty or thirty. The loyalist petitions in London contain at least twelve Highlander men who mentioned raising a company of soldiers in their petitions. Most of these small companies marched to Cross Creek, the nearest urban area and the central point for the loyalist recruitment before the Moores Creek Bridge campaign. When Col. MacDonald marched the loyalist army out of Cross Creek, he led approximately 1,500 men. The campaign even included bagpipers who played during the battle at Moores Creek Bridge.

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110 Colin Shaw Papers, PC.20.6, Militia Records folder, 1776-1806, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
112 Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
113 Rankin, “The Moores Creek Bridge Campain, 1776,” 30.
estimated in a letter that non-Highlanders were more likely to abandon the militia and that the ratio of Highlanders to non-Highlanders in the militia was six to one. The proportion of Highlanders willing to fight for Governor Martin was made possible by dozens of companies, gathered by influential Highlanders in the community. The overwhelming majority of Highlanders in the loyalist militia that fought at Moores Creek Bridge was a result of Governor Martin’s decisive promotion of Highlanders.

Highlanders were familiar with recruitment methods from political sources and North Carolina resembles a colonial transition of this tradition. North Carolina governors in the colonial era had a trend of supporting and promoting the Highlander settlers in the colony, going back to Governor Gabriele Johnston. In 1748, a petition was filed against the governor because he “notoriously countenanced and favoured Scots Jacobites, by placing them in Chief Offices of Trust and Power.” As already discussed, Governor William Tryon gave officer ranks to Highlanders during the Regulator Rebellion, and lastly, Governor Josiah Martin promoted dozens of men into officer positions during the War of American Independence. During the war, it was so evident to the patriot forces that the royal governor of North Carolina was promoting and commanding the Highlander officers that the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina issued a resolution in 1779 requesting that the governor command his officers to disarm themselves and turn their weapons over to the state’s soldiers. Governor Martin was directly responsible for the growth of the Highlander forces by appointing Highlanders as officers and leading the movement of Highlander recruitment.

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115 Petition from Francis Corbin and Isaac Arthand concerning Gabriel Johnston's government, December 14, 1748, Colonial Records of North Carolina, IV:926.
116 State Records, General Assembly Record Group, Jan-Feb, 1779, Box 1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Governor Martin’s recruitment tactics resembled some of the military recruitment evident in the Highlands in earlier centuries. Martin acted as a pseudo-laird for the Highlander community, first by distributing land and offering economic prosperity, then secondly by showing military leadership. Governor Martin knew that promoting individual Highlanders would allow recruitment to spread across the entire community. Military recruitment in the Highlands, prior to the eighteenth century, was a matter of clanship and chieftains, and men were expected to fight for their chief when called upon. Governor Martin replicated this familiarity by appointing Highlanders as officers to function as analogous to local chiefs or tacksmen, and bring fighting men together. Hugh Douglas reflects on Allan McDonald’s promotion by saying, “Governor Josiah Martin accepted him not just as a leader, but as the principal Highlander in the community – chief of the clansmen.”

Governor Martin decisively promoted more Highlanders into officer ranks to promote clanship-like recruitment.

Despite Governor Martin’s success in recruiting a loyalist militia, the Highlanders were quickly and easily crushed at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. Most of the officers were captured and imprisoned, including General Donald McDonald and Allen McDonald, Flora McDonald’s husband. Several prominent Highlander officers, such as Colonel Donald McLeod, were shot down at the very outset of the battle. The military leaders for the Highlander militia were removed from the war, either by death or imprisonment, and thus the remaining Highlanders fled. Some returned home, others hid in the swamps of the coastal plains for months and even years. Some Highlanders who remained dedicated to serving Great Britain traveled to South Carolina to join the British Army stationed in Charleston. Because of the notorious

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118 Rankin, “The Moores Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776,” 40; Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
119 Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
loyalism of the Highlander community, those that returned home and even those that did not
fight at all became easy targets for loyalist punishments and retributions. Across the thirteen
colonies, loyalists were pressured to flee towards New York, a British garrison, and eventually
again to Canada. Towards the end of the war, the Highlanders in North Carolina responded
differently from the majority of other loyalists. Some fled and some stayed, and the distinction
between the two says much about the economic and political background of the Highlander
community in the 1770s and 80s. Chapters two and three will examine the distinct, but
connected, economic spheres that determined who stayed in North Carolina and who fled, and
how the two groups both ensured that North Carolina could remain a prosperous state for
Highlanders to live in.
Chapter 2: Scottish Merchants and Loyalist Punishments

After the peace treaty in 1783, anxieties over British tyranny were still prevalent across the thirteen states. British dominance over Atlantic trading loomed over Americans who continued to feel threatened by the British, despite winning their independence. Aedanús Burke, a South Carolina legislator, argued in 1786 that Americans had no room to make trade with British merchants except with the “few old merchants we have.” Burke expressed public concerns about British merchants taking over American markets, claiming “the mercantile war that now wages against us” could ultimately restore British tyranny. Burke equated those loyalists that fought for Britain during the war with those British merchants that continued to haunt the American economy after the war. In 1786 he wrote, “if we did not fight to get rid of them for good and all, to what end that Heaven inspired us with a detestation for their King, and that we slew or exiled so many of his friends who endeavored to restore royal tyranny?” Such feelings of anxiety over the return of British tyranny was held in the American marketplace, and particularly in the southern states. Burke reminded his readers that the southern states relied on exporting agricultural products, and that British dominance over shipping was pitting the southern states and the northern states against each other over trade rates. Scottish merchants in North Carolina controlled most of the trade industries that operated out of North Carolina’s only major port town, Wilmington. Just as Burke continued to suggest after the war, it was the British or specifically Scottish merchants in North Carolina that caused such anxieties in the 1780s.

120 For additional scholarship on commercialism and the American Revolution, see T.H. Breen, The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Breen argues that the colonists’ shared experience as consumers provided cultural resources to protest against Great Britain, as well as trust and solidarity across colonies. Breen’s argument is not directed at understanding the motives of loyalists, but it helps understand how non-loyalists in eastern North Carolina may have felt threatened by Scottish merchants that controlled the importation of British goods.

121 “A few salutary hints,…Addressed to those who either risqued or lost their all in bringing about the Revolution.” Published in Charleston, SC, by Aedanús Burke: reprinted in New York, NY by S. Kollock, corner of Wall and Waters streets, 1786. Early American Imprints, First series, Evans 19645.
At the start of the American Revolution, Scottish merchants had become leaders of the Scottish Highlander community in North Carolina and were partly responsible for the community’s loyalty to Great Britain at the outset of the war. Towards the end of the American Revolution, when loyalists were most threatened, they either fled North Carolina or they found ways to prove that they could remain in North Carolina peacefully. The Scottish Highlander community in North Carolina became associated with loyalty to Great Britain in 1776 when hundreds of Highlander men took up arms in support of the royal governor Josiah Martin. After the Highlanders suffered defeat at the battle of Moores Creek Bridge, many Highlanders fled North Carolina, while others returned to their community in the Upper Cape Fear region. The difference between the Highlanders that fled and those that remained ultimately came down to different economic spheres of the Highlander community. Merchants were overall the most common North Carolinians to flee the state and were the most vulnerable to loyalist punishments, particularly in the east. Scottish merchants along the Cape Fear River regularly felt the wrath of loyalist punishments because of their early loyalty to Great Britain in the war, as well as their obvious connections to British-Atlantic trading. North Carolinians’ anxieties over loyalists and British tyranny in the 1780s were channeled towards British merchants rather than communities or groups that had previously taken up arms as loyalists. Instead of punishing the entire Highlander community for their unanimous loyalty to Great Britain, the state government pressured Scottish merchants to leave the state and targeted them in the confiscation laws. State Governor Alexander Martin encouraged this behavior as a political response to public anxieties over British commercial tyranny threatening North Carolina’s statehood and economy. Merchants were seen as a larger threat to the stability of North Carolina’s new statehood than the revival of loyalist militias or other armed forces. Consumer politics that spread across the British North American colonies, as well as the geographical and class divisions still prevalent from
North Carolina’s Regulator Rebellion caused many North Carolinians to feel anxious towards merchants and any individual that controlled North Carolina’s growing, but still fragile, economy.122 In the 1760s and 70s, a thriving mercantile community developed amongst the Scottish Highlanders that settled along the Cape Fear River. Compared to its neighboring colonies, North Carolina had a much younger and weaker economy. North Carolinians were aware of their fragile economy and recognized the royal government’s attempts to boost the economy through Scottish merchants. When anxieties over British taxation and dominance over trade turned into open rebellion, North Carolinians lost trust in their royal government as well as the Highlanders that were seemingly hired by the royal government to boost North Carolina’s economy or at least North Carolina’s access to Atlantic trading. Therefore, it was the merchants within the Scottish Highlander community, and not the entire Scottish community, that experienced the wrath of loyalist punishments.

During the middle of the eighteenth-century, Scottish Highlanders emigrated to North America exponentially. Although Scots from every part of the Highlands emigrated to America and specifically North Carolina, it was the Highlanders from county Argyll that began cultivating a Highlander community in North Carolina. The Scottish colonists from Argyll came to North Carolina with experience in commercial trading that was unique to those Argyll Highlanders. According to Allan Macinnes, “the commercial advantage enjoyed by Argyllshire, where younger sons of the clan elite who had no immediate prospect of acquiring land were actively encouraged to accumulate capital through trade as well as the law and military service, was undoubtedly enhanced by the exemplary influence of the chiefs of Clan Campbell as Whig grandees.” Argyllshire was the neighboring Highland county to Glasgow, Scotland’s leading city.

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122 For scholarship on consumerism and colonial anxieties, see T.H. Breen, (footnote 1); For scholarship on North Carolina’s political and economic turmoil in the 1760s and 70s, see Roger A. Ekirch, “Poor Carolina”: politics and society in colonial North Carolina, 1729-1776, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981).
for industrialization and trade. Landowners from Argyll joined elite societies in Glasgow that “brought together aspiring and established entrepreneurs among the landed and commercial classes.” Residents of Argyllshire were some of the earliest Highlanders to shift away from feudal landownership as the sole means of production and towards commercialism. Macinnes argues that “Glasgow not only exerted a greater commercial drawing power than other Scottish cities for the Gael, but also became the principle city facilitating consumerism among the clans.” As leaders from Argyll promoted commercialism for its residents, some of the newly formed Argyll trading companies promoted direct trade with the American South. Meanwhile, hundreds of Argyll Highlanders were emigrating to North Carolina and settling along the Cape Fear River. Argyll’s shift towards commercialism meant landowners were also moving away from clanship as an economic system towards capitalism. Landowners increased rents to such exorbitant rates that many Highlanders from Argyll and other parts of the Highlands looked elsewhere for better opportunities. Many of the early settlers from Argyll came to North Carolina in the late 1730s looking to form small plantations that would exploit tar, turpentine and tobacco as well as the more familiar cattle, flax and timber. Although these plantations were supported by Highlanders who lost out in competitive bidding for land in Scotland, this colony was principally an entrepreneurial undertaking of landlords from mid-Argyll and Kintyre who were frustrated by the restrictive feudal superiority in Argyll.

Eventually, the commercially motivated Highlanders from Argyll became integrated in much of North Carolina’s Atlantic trading. By the 1770s, hundreds of Highlanders from Argyll were pouring into North Carolina, led by former landowners in Scotland who were enticed to come to North Carolina with large land grants from North Carolina’s royal governors. In order to

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123 Macinnes, Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 225.
124 Macinnes, Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 226.
125 Macinnes, Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 229.
encourage settlement in North Carolina’s backcountry, the royal governors of the colony offered large land grants, often tax free for several years, to loyal Scottish Protestants. Thanks to the competitive situation in the Scottish Highlands and particularly in Argyll, many leaders came to North Carolina and took the governor’s offer. Not all Argyll Highlanders that came to North Carolina were entrepreneurs or former landowners, however. Most of the individuals that came to North Carolina were poor farmers and laborers who had learned to value commercialism but did not yet have the means to engage in trade. These people came to North Carolina looking for any work that could support themselves and their families, which typically meant taking up skilled and unskilled labor.

Highlanders that came to North Carolina quickly found success in both commercial industries and skilled or unskilled labor. Settlers in both economic spheres sent personal invitations back to Scotland that boasted of the economic opportunities in North Carolina, and encouraged their family and friends to join them in the new world. Those Scots that came without promises of land grants took up all sorts of skilled and unskilled occupations. A letter from Alexander McAlister in North Carolina to his brother in Scotland requested that he “will bring some tredsmen with you for thy will be of servis to you such as a wivers a blacksmith a shumaker a carpinter an indeed all sorts of treedsmen is very servisable for if you are not in want of them every body is in want of such as you may hire them out.”126 Alexander’s cousin wrote back to North Carolina and asked that Alexander help find work in North Carolina for their relative Angus whose “employment was mostly in the sea fairing way but is fitt for any other business that may cast up to him in Carolina.”127 This flexible mindset was one of the

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126 Letter from Alexander McAllister to his brother, in the McAllister Family Papers, nd, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
127 Letter from Hector McAllester to Alexander McAllester, May 31, 1774, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
contributing factors towards the Highlander’s ability to establish a strong community and trade center for North Carolina’s backcountry.

The Highlanders that settled in Cross Creek reflected the diverse occupations taken up by North Carolinians, thanks to a combination of Atlantic trading and skilled labor. The Scottish inhabitants of North Carolina that filed loyalist petitions in London after the Revolution were sawmill owners, blacksmiths, tailors, store owners and merchants, reverends, surgeons, and plantation owners or planters. The planters were by far the most common, although unsurprising since the petitions were primarily claiming compensation for land.\footnote{Evidence [of Property Losses]: North Carolina, 1785-90, AO 12/34-37, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.} In addition to the planters and some of these skilled trades, many Highlanders took up work in North Carolina’s pine industries, which in itself was a trade-based entrepreneurial endeavor. North Carolina, thanks to the sawmill owners and laborers living along the Cape Fear River, became the leading colony in exporting lumber and pine products. Royal Governor Josiah Martin accredited the “prosperity and strength” of the Cape Fear region to the Highland Scots as “such a number of hardy laborious and thrifty people.”\footnote{Letter from Josiah Martin to Wills Hill, Marquis of Downshire, March 1, 1772, Colonial Records of North Carolina, IX:259.} According to Ann Smart Martin, Scottish Merchants in the North American colonies had several advantages over other merchants; one of which was the availability of cheap Scottish labor.\footnote{Ann Smart Martin, Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008) 15.} Governor Josiah Martin recognized the influence Highlanders had on North Carolina’s economy through both commercial and agricultural spheres. Although much of the extant records in North Carolina suggest that farming or planting was the most common occupation for Scottish settlers in North Carolina, it was the Scottish merchants that became the most important to the American government in the second half of the eighteenth century.
Scottish merchants made the Upper Cape Fear region and Cross Creek specifically a prosperous trading center for North Carolina. The Argyll Highlanders in North Carolina brought with them a spirit of commercialization that rivaled all other European settlers in North Carolina. Despite settling in the backcountry, the Highlander merchants created a trading network that connected Cross Creek to Wilmington, North Carolina’s most productive port, via the Cape Fear River. Scottish merchants in Wilmington oversaw shipments of goods in and out of North Carolina, and then with trade partners in Cross Creek, they would ship goods up and down the Cape Fear River. Thanks to these Scottish merchant connections, Cross Creek became North Carolina’s most important backcountry trading center. The colonial government recognized the productivity of Cross Creek for North Carolina and they built roads to ensure the productivity of North Carolinians and to reduce dependency on other colonies. The colonial government “built roads to the Cape Fear from Orange County (1775), from the Catawba River (1763), and from the Dan River in northern North Carolina (1773),” all of which ended in the Cross Creek vicinity.\(^{131}\)

Thanks in part to the Argyll merchants in North Carolina and the royal governor Josiah Martin, the Highlanders unanimously fought as loyalist at the start of the American Revolution. Some Highlanders felt loyal to Martin for his continued land grants to incoming Scots. Others, who preferred to stay neutral were eventually drawn into the fight through Martin’s successful recruitment tactics of Highlander leaders. On the surface, one might think that the Highlanders would show little affection toward Great Britain, given the economic and cultural upheaval that the British army forced on the Scottish Highlands earlier in the eighteenth century. The influence from the Argyll Highlanders, however, dominated and spread throughout the Highlander community in North Carolina. During the Jacobite rising of 1745, Argyll clans notoriously stood

apart from most other Highland clans in their support for a Stuart restoration. Leading clans in Argyll actually supported the Hanoverian throne, partly due to their economic transformation that became increasingly interested in British commercialism and trade. Additionally, the Argyll merchants in North Carolina were highly connected to British trading and thus had economic reasons in America for supporting the Crown. The influence of these Scottish merchants trickled down into the laboring sphere of the Highlander community to create unanimous support for Great Britain at the outset of the Revolution. Unfortunately for the Highlander loyalists, in 1776 they were quickly and easily defeated at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. Despite their epic defeat early in the war, North Carolinians that supported independence continued to identify Scottish merchants as the leaders of the Scottish loyalists for the rest of the war.

After Moores Creek Bridge, Highlanders were forced to decide how they would respond to their local defeat. Scottish merchants that took part in the loyalist militia were initially inclined to remain loyal to Great Britain, with or without additional military service. Some of the Scottish merchants that were deeply connected to British-Atlantic trade owned property outside of the thirteen colonies. These Scottish merchants saw loyalty to Great Britain as the only way to protect their property elsewhere in Britain. In America, property could be confiscated for refusing to join the American cause, and so too could property in Britain be confiscated for not supporting Great Britain. A letter from Dugald Campbell explains that he chose to support Great Britain to preserve his property in Great Britain. Campbell told his friend,

you saw by a factory I left with my friends at home that all the property I have is in Great Brittain and that holding of the Crown. You know and is sensible there are many of my Country people here that wou'd be very Glad of an opportunity to inform again me were they to know I took up Arms for this Country—then my property wou'd be immediately Confiscate to the King—The consequence must be my ruin.\textsuperscript{132}

Dugald Campbell then asked his friend for advice. Dugald showed some signs of guilt and distress for not joining the American cause, but he stated “I'll only ask you or any Gentleman of sense and property in America what wou'd they doe in my situation.” Supporting Great Britain, or at the least, distancing himself from the American cause was his only hope of preserving his remaining property. In 1778, Martha Gilchrist petitioned to the state government, requesting that her husband Thomas be allowed to return to North Carolina. She argued that Thomas owned significant property in Bermuda and was unable to pledge an oath to the Continentals because he feared losing his property in Bermuda. At the beginning of the war, Thomas left for Scotland and while he was away, the Continentals destroyed part of his estate in North Carolina. Martha was left in North Carolina to protect what remained of their estate and her only hope of bringing her husband back was to explain his only reason for choosing to refuse taking the oath to the state. Martha defended her husband’s character, “whose conduct had never been inimical,” and argued that he “should be again restored to his Family and Friends.”

Oaths of allegiance eventually became a tool that both sides of the conflict used to condemn their enemies. Shortly after the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, those Highlanders that returned home, and even some that did not fight in the battle, were targeted and forced to take oaths of allegiance to the state. Initially, most of the Highlanders refused to take the oaths. They did not foresee an American victory and were not ready to switch sides. Refusing to take the oath typically equated an individual with the rest of the loyalists and often resulted in some of the same punishments that known loyalists suffered. In the summer of 1776, a man named John Auston was sentenced to imprisonment in Salisbury for an indefinite amount of time simply for refusing to take an oath to the state. A newspaper article from 1777 claims that “Tories,

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134 Petition from Martha Gilchrist, August 1, 1778, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XIII:466.
135 Instructions to the Salisbury Jail keeper concerning the imprisonment of John Auston, July 9, 1776, Colonial Records of North Carolina, X:661.
chiefly Scotch Gentlemen, that refuse to take an oaths of Government of the State, are leaving with wives and family and their property.”136 The Scottish “gentlemen” were typically wealthier emigrants, and in the case of the Scottish Highlanders, were typically merchants. That same year, a letter written to James Murray lists “several Scotch” that are obliged to leave Carolina because they refused to take an Oath to the state.137 The claims or witnesses of Scots leaving North Carolina because they refused to take the oaths consistently imply that it was the wealthier and commercial Scots who refused the oaths so ardently. After the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the state government created an official oath to be issued to loyalists, and then a year later the government issued a revised and more direct version. The new law accompanying the revised oath directed that the oath be administered specifically to crown officials and merchants trading directly with Britain, but eventually it was used by the militia and applied to any adult male.138

After the battle of Moores Creek Bridge in 1776, the North Carolina Assembly began plans to punish loyalists and prevent further uprisings of loyalist militias. State Governor Alexander Martin and a number of other assembly representatives were heavily involved in this process. Loyalist merchants became easy targets for confiscations and banishments, and those that tried to defend the right for merchants or loyalists to stay in North Carolina took their argument directly to the new government. A group of women in Wilmington petitioned directly to Governor Alexander Martin and the Assembly to allow their husbands to return to North Carolina, and for the women and children to avoid further punishments. The women wrote their petition as a direct response, not just to the actions taken against their husbands, but to the harsh attitudes towards merchant exiles that Governor Alexander Martin encouraged. Martin supported punishments for the “dangerous” loyalists that might have brought harm to North Carolina. The

137 Letter to James Murray [unknown author], June 19, 1777, James Murray Papers, PC.71.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
dangerous loyalists that Martin spoke of, however, were not the violent loyalists, but rather they were the merchants that could bring British tyranny back into North Carolina through trade and commercialism.

The sincere threat of Highlanders turning into a significant fighting force ended in 1776. After the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, many of the Highlander loyalists never took up arms again. Over seventy were estimated to have died in the battle. Most of the officers were taken prisoner and held for the duration of the war. A letter from the royal governor, Josiah Martin, confirms the intentional imprisonment of the officers, as he proclaims that a group of loyalists, “the greater part Highlanders, which being misconducted was defeated by the Rebels and the Officers made Prisoners and sent to Philadelphia, where they remained long in Gaol; suffering every species of insult and hardship.” Some tried to return home, but fear of capture convinced them to hide in the swamps and woods for months and sometimes years. There were still some that escaped and desired to keep fighting. Those ambitious Highlanders typically fled to South Carolina where they could join up with the British Army in Charleston. The loyalist petitions filed in London provide an idea of how many men continued to fight for Great Britain, but more importantly they show how frequently they did not continue fighting in North Carolina. After the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the Highlanders of North Carolina were effectively removed from the war as a serious fighting threat to North Carolina.

To guarantee that the Highlanders were no longer a violent threat, in 1779 the General Assembly passed a law that allowed the state government to build a militia of two hundred fifty men for the purpose of invading Cumberland and surrounding counties. The purpose was to

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140 Letter from Josiah Martin to Welbore Ellis, Baron Mendip, March 7, 1782, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XXII:616-618.
141 Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series 1, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
remove anyone “known to be disaffected to the American Cause and believed to be Ringleaders amongst the people called Highlanders.” The bill also permitted the militia to “disarm all persons in the Counties of Cumberland, Anson, Guilford, Tryon and elsewhere from whom any injury is to be apprehended to the American Cause from thus being suffered to continue possessed of their Arms.” As the war continued, the General Assembly and the state governor, Alexander Martin, focused on removing all other loyalist threats. Once the Highlanders had been successfully subdued, the government turned its attention toward what it saw as a more serious threat, loyalist merchants.

During the war, the state government sought to discourage loyalty to Great Britain and punish those that had already fought as loyalists by stripping away and selling the property of anyone deemed traitorous to the American cause. Scottish merchants, unlike the rest of the Highlander community, were directly targeted in these punishments. Whig leaders in government wrote and passed Confiscation Laws that gave the state government a legal claim to seize a loyalists’ property and then sell it. Confiscation laws had a dual purpose. Loyalists were forced to leave the state and the state often sold the property and used the revenue to pay for war debts. Like hitting two birds with one stone, the state was able to remove its enemies while making those enemies pay for the war. Since many Highlanders chose to emigrate to North Carolina because of the opportunity for land and business, losing that land had dire consequences. Patriot forces frequently and legally confiscated the property of known loyalists. Loyalists that traveled to England to petition for compensation of lost property emphasized the significance of property loss that many loyalists experienced.¹⁴² For many settlers, especially those who intended to stay in North Carolina after the war, preserving property was the most important goal.

¹⁴² Exchequer and Audit Department, Claims, American Loyalist Series 1, AO 12, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Merchants were easy targets for loyalist punishments throughout the colonies or states. In North Carolina, Scottish merchants, particularly in the Wilmington area, made up the mercantile community and thus were pressured to leave the state. Scottish merchants in Cross Creek had some chance of remaining in North Carolina without suffering from confiscation laws because of their distance from the mercantile community in Wilmington. One exception, however, was that many of the Scottish merchants in Cross Creek took up arms at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. Colin Shaw, the Highlander merchant in Cross Creek that served as a captain in the loyalist militia, is one example. Shaw’s business connections in Wilmington implicated him as a British merchant, but it was likely his participation at Moores Creek Bridge that prompted his evacuation to New York. Shaw was promoted to captain in the Highlander militia by royal governor Josiah Martin. As chapter one has shown, Colin Shaw exemplified the type of loyalist recruitment that Governor Josiah Martin set in place. Military service for Great Britain was the most obvious implication of loyalism and thus many of the Scots that served in the Highlander militia as officers were forced to either hide in the swamps, flee to New York, or join the British army in South Carolina after their defeat in North Carolina. Those that returned home did not stay long before patriot opponents found them and subjected them to loyalist punishments.

Scottish merchants from Wilmington and the Upper Cape Fear region often chose to take temporary refuge in New York during the war. As a British garrison town, New York provided physical safety and opportunities for loyalist merchants to continue some of their business operations. In 1778, after the colonial governor Josiah Martin had fled to New York, he commented on his fellow North Carolinians that eventually followed him. Martin wrote, “Many Refugees not less than one hundred and fifty, have arrived here from North Carolina since the month of August last being for the most part mercantile people and natives of Scotland.”

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Josiah Martin knew almost better than anyone the degree of commercialism that came out of North Carolina’s Highlander community. Martin directly associated the Scottish community in along the Cape Fear River as the wealthier and most loyal sorts, partly due to their mercantile habits.

Many Highlanders that fled to New York and other parts of the British Empire had every intention of returning to North Carolina after the war. A newspaper article from the North Carolina Gazette informs that a “Scotch Transport, having on Board a Number of Gentlemen of that Nation,” just departed for Jamaica. The transport carried many “Gentlemen that have long resided in America, and, with great Reputation, acquired very considerable Fortunes.” The article made an obvious connection to the Scottish merchants in North Carolina that left to protect their businesses and property. The newspaper article also encouraged feelings of safety as it suggested that the loyalists would not find success in their plan. The author of the article wrote that “the Chance is much against them, that they experience a Completion of Churchill's Prophecy, before they see the triumphant Day when they may return to America in Safety.” The author’s reference to Churchill’s Prophecy came from a poem written in 1763, *The Prophecy of Famine*. A Scots Pastoral. The author of the poem, Charles Churchill, was a contemporary satirist. His poem, *The Prophecy of Famine* mocked the Bute administration and all things Scottish. The poem told a story of two Scottish shepherds that contemplated moving southward into England in search of better fortunes. A figure representing famine appeared before the two men and delivered a prophecy of the rich things that awaited the two men as well as the English Tories in the coming Bute administration. The poem showed the beginnings of anti-Scottish attitudes becoming associated with Scottish ventures and overseas commercialism. Written from the perspective of one of the Scottish shepherds, Churchill wrote,

TRADE shall for us exert her utmost pow'rs,
Her's, all the toil; and all the profit, our's;
For us, the oak shall from his native steep
Descend, and fearless travel thro' the deep,
The sail of COMMERCE for our use unfurl'd,
Shall waft the treasures of each distant world;

Churchill’s poem argued that Scots “Shall waft the treasures of each distant world,” such as the economic opportunities in North Carolina, through “The sail of COMMERCE.” The author of the North Carolina newspaper article referenced the patriot fear of Scottish loyalists claiming power in North Carolina through politics and economics. However, the author argued that these wealthy Scottish gentlemen were planning to return to North Carolina after “the sure and Certain Subjugation of America by the British Troops.” The author of the article showed the fear that many patriots felt towards the exiled loyalist merchants. The article claimed that if the loyalists returned, they will “not only re-possess their own Estates, but, for their Loyalty, share among them those of their Neighbors, the rebellious Americans.” Many Americans who pushed for confiscation of loyalist property were concerned that if the Americans were to lose, the loyalists would return and enact the same confiscations against the rebels. It is impossible to determine if the loyalists actually planned to confiscate rebel property after a British victory, but this article emphasized that some North Carolinians feared the eventual return of loyalists to North Carolina regardless of the war’s outcome.

One indication that Scottish merchants planned on returning to North Carolina were the family members that did not flee. Those Scots that fled North Carolina were typically men who left their families behind in an attempt to preserve as much property as possible and to keep their foot in the door for returning to North Carolina. Josiah Martin commented on the Highlanders


146 Article from the North-Carolina Gazette concerning the departure of loyalists, October 31, 1777, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XI:790.
that fled North Carolina, stating they “had wives and families, dwellings, and means of living in
North Carolina, all of which they abandoned.” In many cases, leaving family behind was a
way of ensuring that property was not confiscated and that the family remained connected to
their community in North Carolina. If a wife could maintain property in her husband’s absence
then perhaps she could prevent it from being confiscated or at least prevent all of it from being
confiscated. Some of the legislation regarding property confiscations offered some protection to
the wives and children of loyalist men. The North Carolina General Assembly issued an Act in
1779 that stated one third of the money earned from confiscating and selling any loyalists
property shall go to that loyalists wife “for and during her natural life.” Furthermore, the General
Assembly stated that the commissioners overseeing confiscations shall not “take into their
possession any household furniture or provisions belonging to the aged parents, wives, children,
or widows, of any person whose estate is confiscated.” Colin Shaw wrote letters to his wife in
North Carolina while he was exiled in New York, showing his agony over leaving the family. He
intended on returning to North Carolina as soon as it was safe, and he wrote to his wife
requesting that she rely her community in Cross Creek to protect her from any punishments.

Colin Shaw wrote to his wife,

> Ever since I left you I was fully Bent to go for you in this flagatruce only being advised
not to go [back to North Carolina] as yet as matters is so lucky that peace will be made up
between great britain and these colloneys very soon… I must gow for you before long at
aney rate for you most know that I am troubled in mind to be from you and the children
for so long. But I sollicit you to use all lawful means to support your self and the children
and give my kind love to everyone that do you any kindness.\(^{149}\)

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\(^{147}\) Letter from Josiah Martin to Welbore Ellis, Baron Mendip, March 1782, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, XXII:616-18.


\(^{149}\) Letter from Colin Shaw to his wife Salley, October 18, 1778, Colin Shaw Papers, 1735-1883, PC.20.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Colin Shaw relied on his family to protect his property in North Carolina and he relied on the Scottish community in North Carolina to protect his family. While in New York, Colin Shaw continued to correspond with his business partner in North Carolina. Merchants in New York City had profited greatly during the Seven Years’ War, and Scots in New York City during the Revolution continued to imagine themselves in an expansive British commercial empire. Colin Shaw continued to conduct trade while in New York and he continuously anticipated and planned his return to North Carolina. In 1782 Colin Shaw sent a formal petition to the North Carolina state government requesting that he be permitted to return to North Carolina. The date that Colin Shaw returned to North Carolina is unknown, but by 1785 he was back in North Carolina and proposing to build meeting houses along the Cape Fear River.

In some cases, Scottish merchants did return to North Carolina during the war to continue trading, and in doing so, they risked subjugation and punishments. In 1778, three gentlemen from Wilmington wrote a letter to Richard Caswell, informing him of the arrival of Major McLeod from New York. The letter informed that Major McLeod claimed to have come to North Carolina to buy cows and other goods, yet the authors of the letter were skeptical about the Major. They informed Caswell that Major McLeod had formerly fought with the Highlanders at Moores Creek Bridge, and that despite his claims to only conduct trade in North Carolina, they believed “his views may be to renew a disturbance in the State.” McLeod came to North Carolina under a flag of truce and with enough gold and silver to prove he wished to make purchases, yet the gentlemen who wrote the letter removed the sails from his ship, forcing McLeod to remain in North Carolina until his intentions were proven. Furthermore, the authors questioned whether or not the flag of truce was broken by McLeod coming ashore. These

151 Colin Shaw Papers, 1735-1883, PC.20.1-7, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
gentlemen showed the degree to which Scottish merchants were accused of being a disturbance and a danger to the state.

While many North Carolinians expressed concern over merchants being a threat to North Carolina’s fragile politics and economy, the state governor emphasized similar concerns. Governor Alexander Martin publicly expressed his views on the punishments and treatments of loyalists in North Carolina, as well as previously exiled loyalists. Martin issued a proclamation on July 28, 1783 that proposed strict banishments for all those “ill-disposed persons” who “attached themselves to the King of Great Britain.” Martin listed those “ill-disposed” persons as anyone who served as an officer under the King of Great Britain; any loyalists charged under the confiscation acts; any loyalists that murdered, raped, robbed, or burnt houses; and any loyalists that fled North Carolina. According to Martin, any loyalists in these categories should be removed from the state or not permitted to return to the state, at least “until the Legislature shall please to determine on this subject.” Most importantly, Martin’s proclamation showed an intense skepticism of anyone returning to North Carolina to trade. The proclamation argued that

[any] ill-disposed persons, late inhabitants of this State, or some one of the United States, who withdrew from the same, and attached themselves to the K. of G. Britain, in the late war, or were expelled for being obnoxious to the laws; since the suspension of hostilities between Britain and America, are daily introducing themselves into this State without any authority, under color of carrying on trade, and various other pretences, to the great uneasiness and disturbance of the good and virtuous citizens thereof: (a lie!).

Martin’s expressions of frustration toward mercantile loyalists seemed to supersede his fears and frustrations over the violent loyalists “guilty of deliberate and wilful murder, robbery, rape and house-burning.” Martin’s proclamation reiterates a common view in North Carolina,

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that the most serious threat to the new state were the loyalists of wealth and commercial power that controlled North Carolina’s economy, and could link it back to Great Britain.

Governor Alexander Martin frequently spoke on behalf of the “evolving but immature majority” in North Carolina’s backcountry. The eastern elite that had maintained political and economic dominance in North Carolina over the past century viewed Martin as a “pariah speaking for the ignorant farmers.” Many of these eastern elites believed the farmers’ right to participate in the state government was debatable and that Martin served as “an educated and cultured voice that could be a link to obstreperous neighbors.”

Charles D. Rodenbough’s recent biography of Alexander Martin suggests some of the wider views Martin held, and how those views reflected the shifts in North Carolina’s society. Rodenbough argues that “the passage of colonial North Carolina from the domination of tidewater, mercantile elite to reflect the insular demands of an impoverished frontier majority materialized as a political reality in the course of the rebellion against British colonial rule. Martin’s emergence as a politician was a reflection of this metamorphosis of North Carolina.”

As governor, Martin worked to earn and maintain support in the east, while also supporting those in the backcountry, which often meant condemning Scottish merchants in the east regardless of his personal views on loyalist punishments.

Despite the differing opinions over the growth of North Carolina’s rural backcountry, Martin stood firmly against eastern loyalists while also showing a strong support for many of North Carolina’s Protestant backcountry population. Alexander Martin was born into a Presbyterian family and eventually moved to Salisbury, North Carolina where he was surrounded by many Scots-Irish Presbyterians. Martin was able to gather support from his fellow

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155 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 6.
Presbyterians in the backcountry and in return he represented the Scots-Irish backcountry as a politician. On November 12, 1776, the fifth provincial congress of North Carolina convened in Halifax. In this meeting, Reverend Caldwell proposed that an exclusionary clause on religion be added to the state constitution that permitted only protestants to take office in the state. The exclusionary clause was influenced by the rigid Scots-Irish Presbyterianism in the backcountry. Although Martin was not at the meeting in Halifax, he and Caldwell were both working to gather support of the “righteous, rigid, and self-absorbed attitude of the Scotch-Irish frontier,” as Whigs and Patriots.  

While Caldwell represented the Scots-Irish in the Halifax meeting, Martin was growing the patriot militia in Salisbury and the western counties to ultimately stabilize the west. Martin became an officer and led his western militia but after defeat at the battle of Germantown in 1777, Martin was accused of cowardice. Although he was eventually acquitted of the charge, he resigned from the Army and chose to only serve as a politician.

Coming on the heels of his failed military career, Martin’s political career gave him an opportunity to take part in creating the Confiscation laws and “test oaths” for loyalists. Martin helped create “test oaths” for loyalists which required loyalists to take an oath of allegiance to the state or accept banishment. Loyalist merchants were directly targeted and were given three months to sell their goods and depart the state. At one of the Hillsborough assemblies, Martin was added to a committee to review the Confiscation Act passed by the first assembly in 1774.  

The original act was written by some of the more radical patriots looking to make profits from confiscated property. Martin was faced with defining the enemy, which was not a simple task. In the eastern towns like Wilmington, definitions of loyalty were often applied in the structure of the community. Although inevitably partisan, law could be sustained. The assembly seemingly

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157 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 49.  
158 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 57.  
159 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 42.
recognized the trouble in pinpointing a definition of the enemy, with one exception. Merchants known to be Tories, loyalists, or generally attached to Great Britain were subject to confiscations and banishments without much question.

Letters between Archibald Maclaine and George Hooper contextualized Martin’s definitions of loyalists and his opinions towards merchants. George Hooper was a loyalist merchant in Charleston, South Carolina and in 1782 he petitioned to live and trade in North Carolina as a British merchant. Archibald Maclaine, lawyer and legislator in Wilmington wrote to Hooper, informing him of the situations that loyalist merchants in North Carolina faced. He also gave Hooper advice on how to protect himself as a former loyalist that wished to live and trade in the Carolinas. Maclaine initially showed disappointment when Hooper petitioned to North Carolina as a British merchant, claiming that Hooper is “now in a disagreeable predicament.”

Maclaine explained Governor Martin’s position on merchants and loyalists, arguing that “his understanding is not of the first-rate.” Maclaine recognized Martin’s negative views towards merchants and told Hooper, “there can be no expectation that [Martin] will do anything that will be finally conclusive in your favour.” Maclaine added that Martin “cannot however, and indeed does not, consider citizens in your situation as British subjects; but whether he will, in a proper manner, declare so much, is the question.” According to Maclaine, Martin’s views towards loyalists were more of a political gesture rather than a genuine disapproval of all British merchants and loyalists. Maclaine claimed that he tried to speak with Alexander Martin in Hillsborough about the situation but Martin “declined entering into conversation about people in [Hooper’s] situation.” Maclaine suggested that Martin wanted to give clemency to non-threatening or non-violent loyalists, but in order to maintain popularity in eastern North Carolina, he would not offer any clemency to loyalist merchants. Alexander Martin had previously earned

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much of his support from North Carolina’s backcountry, but as governor, he refused to aid loyalist merchants, even those that Martin believed deserved clemency, in order to preserve his political power in the east. Despite the awkward situation Hooper was in, Maclaine encouraged Hooper to come to North Carolina anyways and present himself to the court. Despite the lack of faith in Martin to assist a merchant’s petition, Maclaine claimed he could convince the governor to “take security for [Hooper’s] appearance when called upon.”

One year later, after the Treaty of Paris, Maclaine informed Hooper that he had not heard any rumors of banishment that would harm Hooper, but “those who have profited or expect to profit by confiscations, are for holding what we have got.” Maclaine warned Hooper that confiscations are still possible despite the recent treaty of peace, and that violence may still occur in some areas. Maclaine claimed that “the Cape Fear people will not be affected by this if the violent party should succeed. There have been no confiscations but in Bladen county (except such as are named in the act.)” Archibald Maclaine suggested that the people in the Upper Cape Fear, namely the Scottish loyalists, proved that they could avoid large scale punishments and confiscations and that they would continue to avoid such so long as the “violent party” or Scottish loyalists continue to maintain power over their community. Furthermore, Maclaine argued that Wilmington was still showing signs of discontent over the former loyalist merchants that resided in the area. Maclaine told Hooper that “all who went away at the evacuation of Wilmington may return in safety unless they may have done something to exasperate the people; in which case, there is no answering what violences may be committed.”

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at the end of the war. Wilmington continued to feel anxiety over loyalist merchants that tried to return to North Carolina, whereas the Upper Cape Fear community managed to avoid such pressures except for select merchants that were directly targeted in the confiscation acts.

Another letter from Archibald Maclaine to George Hooper reiterated the punishments that many loyalist merchants were suffering in 1783. Maclaine told Hooper, “you must become a citizen of S. Carolina as soon as possible. As you intend to stay there it will be a thing of course; but in any certificate which you may produce here I hope I shall see nothing of your having been a British merchant.”

Maclaine encouraged Hooper to avoid informing anyone that he had been a British merchant during the war in his attempts towards becoming a citizen of South Carolina. Based on the actions people took against merchants in North Carolina, Maclaine saw no hope for his friend George Hooper to regain his status in the Carolinas if he made it known that he was a merchant during the war.

Governor Martin’s expressions regarding loyalist merchants represented a shared feeling across North Carolina that merchants were the biggest threat to the new state. In 1777, William Kenan wrote to Richard Caswell, one of Martin’s predecessors, complaining of the high salt prices in Cross Creek. Kenan argued that Caswell should support Kenan in importing salt for the coming winter season. According to Kenan, “there is no circumstance under which so much or even any danger may be apprehended as the want of salt.” Kenan directly blamed the Scottish merchants that controlled the trade of salt in the backcountry. He argued that “the real distress and usual complaint of the commonalty is artfully heightened and invigorated by the cursed Scottish race. This I affirm of my own knowledge, for they are now sneeringly threatening that salt will be at a dollar a bushel at Cross Creek by the last of October.” Salt, like most imported goods, was crucial for all settlers. Since Scottish merchants controlled most of the trade of

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imported goods through Wilmington and Cross Creek, they could significantly impact the nature of the war in North Carolina. Kenan suggested using General Washington’s cargo ships to import salt into North Carolina as an effort to evade the commercial tyranny of the Scots in Cross Creek. Kenan showed desperation in his complaint as he argued that the issue of salt prices was worthy of military and governmental support. To men like Kenan, withholding salt in times of war clearly defined the Scottish merchants as an enemy to the state. Scottish merchants in Wilmington as well as Cross Creek were seen as the powerful leaders of the Highlander community economically and militarily. After the failed military campaign of the Highlanders in 1776, it was the economic dominance of the Scottish merchants that alarmed the patriot forces.

The Scottish Highlander community in the Upper Cape Fear region was mostly able to avoid suffering from the confiscation acts, except for select Scottish merchants. The confiscation acts were the primary method of threatening and punishing Scottish merchants, yet the extant records indicate that there were very few confiscations made in the Upper Cape Fear region. A 1788 recorded list of confiscations across North Carolina showed no confiscations in Cumberland County, and individual observers in North Carolina indicated that the Upper Cape Fear was hardly affected by confiscations. As chapter three will show, the Highlander loyalists that remained in the Upper Cape Fear eventually became participants in the new state government and were able to represent and protect the Highlander community from post-war loyalist punishments. They were even able to prove to the rest of the state government that the Highlander community was harmless and ready to give allegiance to North Carolina. During the war, and shortly after, patriots feared economic and commercial tyranny in North Carolina’s early statehood, caused by British merchants. In Wilmington and along the Cape Fear River, it

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was Scottish merchants that caused such anxieties and fears. Many of these Scottish merchants were pressured to leave, yet they found ways to keep their feet in the door for returning to North Carolina. They left families in North Carolina and they continued to trade with, or in, North Carolina when possible. By the end of the war, they even started taking oaths of allegiance to the state in order to safely return. Furthermore, Governor Alexander Martin’s encouragement of punishments for loyalist merchants was likely a political gesture that reiterated popular attitudes in the east. Chapter three will further show that his position against loyalists was primarily a political tactic, and other than exiling merchants, Martin actually encouraged clemency for non-merchants and backcountry communities like the Highlanders.
Chapter 3: Peaceful Behavior, Clemency, and Good Citizens in the Backcountry

In 1736, Alexander McAllister came to Wilmington, North Carolina from Argyll, Scotland. By 1740, Alexander had permanently settled near Cross Creek. For the next several decades, Alexander McAllister sent letters back and forth to his family still living in Argyllshire, encouraging them to emigrate to North Carolina and join him in the Upper Cape Fear. Alexander Martin firmly sided with the royal governor, William Tryon, during the Regulator Rebellion and he reported to his family that his fellow Scots were willing to aid the governor in suppressing the Regulators.\[^{167}\] At the outset of the American Revolution, McAllister commented that North Carolina saw as much protest against the “acts of the Mother Country” as any other colony.\[^{168}\] In 1775, Alexander McAllister served the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, but in 1776, after the battle of Moores Creek Bridge, he resigned from serving the provincial government. His personal and political opinions, evident from his personal letters, were directed towards supporting the royal government along with his fellow Highlanders. To preserve his political career, however, he resisted participation in either side of the conflict.

After the Revolution, McAllister returned to encouraging fellow Scots in Argyll to emigrate to North Carolina.\[^{169}\] He also returned to politics, and from 1787 to 1790, McAllister served as Senator for Cumberland County in the North Carolina General Assembly.\[^{170}\] While some loyalists suffered from confiscation laws or were banished from North Carolina, McAllister evaded complications in his career despite having close associations with those Highlanders that fought at Moores Creek. Furthermore, his resignation from the Provincial

\[^{167}\] Letter from Alexander McAllister to his brother, in the McAllister Family Papers, nd, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
\[^{168}\] Letter to Alexander McAllister from his brother, Argyllshire, March 15, 1769, in the McAllister Family Papers, nd, #3774-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
\[^{169}\] Letter from Hector McAllister to Alexander McAllister, NW Cape Fear River, February 14, 1784, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Congress in 1776 would seemingly be a red flag for anyone looking to criticize loyalist sympathizers. Despite McAllister’s attachment to the royal government and to the known loyalists, he managed to prove himself harmless to the state and remained a political leader in Cumberland County and the Upper Cape Fear region. His position in the Provincial Congress and in the General Assembly reflected his authority and leadership in the Upper Cape Fear region, which gave McAllister an opportunity to represent and protect his fellow Highlanders before and after the war. McAllister was one of several Highlanders that oversaw the reintegration of loyalists in the Upper Cape Fear, which ultimately helped former loyalists, including the Scottish merchants, live in North Carolina safely. McAllister and several other Highlanders like him reopened North Carolina to Scottish emigration and created a stable environment for the Highlander community in North Carolina to continue thriving in despite its loyalism during the Revolution.

The Highlanders that fled North Carolina during the war were typically merchants with commercial ties to Great Britain. Although nearly all settlers in the British colonies were in some way tied to British commercialism, non-merchant Highlanders, however, were not as directly tied to Great Britain as the merchants and chose to remain in North Carolina during the war. The Highlanders that remained in the Upper Cape Fear region after the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge were initially targeted as loyalists and enemies to the new state government, just like the Scottish merchants that typically fled North Carolina. They suffered from plundering and attacks from various groups in the backcountry. Unlike the merchants from Argyll that came to North Carolina with large commercial ambitions, the laboring Highlanders that settled in North Carolina were economically tied to the land in North Carolina upon which they lived, worked and built a Scottish community. At the start of the Revolution, they gave their allegiance to the royal government that had granted their new lives in North Carolina. Despite their initial
loyalism at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the laboring, or non-merchant Scots, eventually proved to no longer represent a violent threat to the state, despite the violent tensions that surrounded them in the backcountry. Oaths of allegiance to the state, evidence of peaceful behavior, encouragement of clemency from the state governor, and self-representation in the state government ultimately helped the Highlander community remain peacefully in the Upper Cape Fear region after the Revolution. The Highlanders that chose to stay in North Carolina were often able to avoid persecution by taking oaths of allegiance to the state, although they were initially reluctant. Some Highlanders went beyond simply taking oaths to the state and actually began to take part in the new state government. With former loyalists representing the Highlander community in North Carolina’s government, and with the state governor, Alexander Martin, encouraging clemency for poor backcountry Presbyterians, the non-merchant Highlanders were able to oversee their own social reintegration and avoid suffering from confiscation laws or banishment.

After the defeat at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, Josiah Martin’s ability to reform the Highlanders into a significant fighting force was destroyed. The officers had either died or been taken prisoner. Some fled North Carolina, taking refuge in New York. Without these individuals to recruit and lead a loyalist militia, the pseudo clan that had formed under Governor Josiah Martin had fallen apart. Martin also was forced to leave North Carolina. After the Battle of Moores Creek, Martin remained stationed off the coast of North Carolina. He eventually assisted in a loyalist campaign in South Carolina but by 1781 he joined the other loyalist refugees in New York. Martin and the community leaders in the Upper Cape Fear left North Carolina, some by choice and some by force, leaving the laboring Highlanders in North Carolina. The Highlanders that remained in North Carolina experienced the instability of North Carolina’s backcountry for the rest of the war, and because of the community’s unanimous support of Josiah
Martin and the royal government, the Highlanders in the backcountry were prone to attacks and plundering. Despite the violent tensions throughout the backcountry, the Highlander community remained peaceful after their failed campaign at Moores Creek Bridge.

During the Revolution, North Carolina’s backcountry experienced severe civil unrest from plundering and violent attacks by people on both sides of the revolutionary conflict. The Scottish Highlanders were particularly prone to plundering after their failed loyalist campaign. In 1777, a concerned citizen in Cross Creek wrote to Governor Caswell, pleading for protection from the “evil conduct of our militia officers and Justices.” The writer claimed that a Mr. William Rand made a reputation for himself throughout North Carolina by “plundering the poor ignorant Scotch people after their defeat at Moores Creek.” The writer explained that the administrators that came to Cross Creek acted with prejudice and he argued that “the behaviour of these men last Court was truly arbitrary, they paid not the least regard to the Act of Assembly, but summoned the people indiscriminately before them.” The writer told Governor Caswell that he was a loyal citizen of the state but he was prepared to take matters into his own hands if the tyranny continued in Cross Creek. This letter emphasized the chaos and complexities prevalent in the backcountry and specifically in the Upper Cape Fear. People on both sides of the revolutionary conflict used the situation to take advantage of those around them, yet because of the Highlanders actions at Moores Creek, they were frequently victimized by corrupt officials in the Upper Cape Fear.

Although Highlanders often suffered from plundering and civil unrest, instead of turning towards retaliation, they avoided conflict as much as possible. A letter written to General Horatio Gates of the Continental Army confirmed the timorousness of the Scottish settlers in the backcountry. Matthew Ramsey wrote to Gates, telling him of the war-time conditions in North

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Carolina’s backcountry. Ramsey visited a small town of Scottish settlers, looking to collect cattle. When he arrived, he noticed that the “Scotch was all lying out.” He claimed to have visited fifty houses and “have not found one Man at home.” The Scots in this town hid in the nearby creek and refused to show themselves. Ramsey claimed to have done “every thing in My power to induce them to Come in, ashuring them that if they assisted Me in collecting cattle they would be admitted to Remain at their homes & be Entitled to Your Leanient protection, which is More than the Rascal Deserves.” Ramsey implied that the Scots were being stubborn in their refusals to help him despite being offered clemency or protection. Plundering and violence turned the North Carolina backcountry into an arena of distrust. According to Ramsey’s letter, the Scots that he eventually spoke with “swore that if ever we came in their parts again that they would ly in the Swamps & Shoot us as Soon as a Dear.” These Scots did not appear to be active participants in the war, yet they stood to protect their town from anyone coming in to plunder or attack them. Ramsey claimed to have acted peacefully and generously. As an outsider trying to collect cattle, the Scots resisted engaging with him regardless if his intentions were peaceful. The Highlanders avoided any conflict that could further jeopardize their community in any way.

During the American Revolution, both sides of the conflict relied on oaths of allegiance for ensuring loyalty and peace. At various points in the conflict, Highlanders took advantage of these oaths from both sides to better their chances of prosperity and peace in North Carolina. At the outset of the war, Josiah Martin required new Scottish emigrants arriving in North Carolina to take oaths of allegiance to the Crown, or more practically, to him. In a personal letter, Josiah Martin commented on the oaths to the Crown that he forced the Scottish emigrants to take:

A ship is this moment arrived from Scotland with upwards of one hundred and thirty Emigrants Men, Women and Children to whom I shall think it proper (after administering

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the Oath of Allegiance to the Men) to give permission to settle on the vacant lands of the
Crown here on the same principles and conditions that I granted that indulgence to the
Emigrants lately imported in the ship George.¹⁷⁴

Martin recognized the value oaths to the Crown, given the current political atmosphere in the
colonies. Martin initially used oaths to ensure that any new Scots in North Carolina were to
remain loyal and not be swept up in the spirit of revolution. The Highlanders, in return, were
happy to take the royal governor’s oaths because the oaths ensured that the Highlanders would
receive any benefits that the governor could offer.

During the war, patriot forces were also pressuring North Carolinians to take oaths of
allegiance, but to the state government instead. After the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, men in
every neighborhood were expected to muster and take a prescribed oath to the state. The initial
state oath was worded vaguely and did not specify a stance against Great Britain, which gave
some loyalists a chance to take the oath without feeling disloyal to Great Britain. In 1777,
however, a new oath was written that changed the tide for loyalists that were hesitant to support a
permanent state government. The new oath stated:

I will bear faithful and true allegiance to the State of North Carolina, and will to the
utmost of my Power, support and maintain, and defend the independent Government
thereof, against George the Third, King of Great Britain, and his Successors, and the
Attempts of any other Person, Prince, Power, State, or Potenate, who by secret Arts,
Treason, Conspiracies, or by open Force, shall attempt to subvert the same, and will in
every Respect conduct myself a peaceful, orderly Subject; and that I will disclose and
make known to the Governor, some Member of the Council of State, or some Justice of
the Peace, all Treasons, Conspiracies, and Attempts, committed or intended against the
State, which shall come to my Knowledge.¹⁷⁵

This official oath eventually earned the nicknamed “the black oath” by those who rejected it.

According to Caroline Troxler, some loyalists in North Carolina actually bounded together even

¹⁷⁴ Letter from Governor Josiah Martin to William Legge, November 1775, Colonial Records of North Carolina,
X:327.
¹⁷⁵ Troxler, The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina, 9.
more for protection from the black oaths and from plundering.\textsuperscript{176} Both sides of the conflict were using oaths of allegiance to secure authority over the various peoples in North Carolina and the Highlanders were eventually caught in the middle.

Oaths of allegiance often caused further social tensions and divisions amongst North Carolinians. In some cases, those that did take oaths to the state became wary of associating with others that had not taken it. James Kerr lost his property under the confiscation laws because he refused the oath to the state. He later pleaded with his friend Griffith Rutherford for help regaining his property. Rutherford was military and political leader in the backcountry, and could have potentially helped his friend out of the confiscation law. Rutherford, however, refused to help Kerr, saying “As for the Latter where you say you Expect a Friend in General Rutherford Surely Sir you know that I tuck an Oath of Alejance to this State & Hops to keep it unviolated, you cannot expect That at this Time I would Turn Trator to my Country.”\textsuperscript{177}

Although the oaths of allegiance caused turmoil and distrust, the primary objective of the oaths was to encourage peace and good behavior amongst North Carolinians. After the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the North Carolina Council of Safety offered forgiveness to those Highlanders that fought as loyalists, so long as they gave an oath to the patriot government and were willing to take up arms as patriots. The Council of Safety in Wilmington issued a statement claiming that,

all such outlying Malcontents in the said [Bladen] County as have been concerned in the late Insurrection, and will take an Oath before the Chairman of the Committee, to submit themselves to such Regulations as are or may be established for the Government of this Colony; and when required will take up Arms in defence thereof, shall be permitted to return to their respective Habitations unmolested.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{176} Troxler, \textit{The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina}, 11.
\textsuperscript{177} Letter from Griffith Rutherford to James Kerr, a cape fear loyalist, July 2 1783, Griffith Rutherford Papers, PC.1097.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
The Council of Safety offered to give the loyalist Highlanders clemency for their actions at Moores Creek, as long as they take an oath to the state and give service to the state military if called upon. In other words, the statement offered total forgiveness to any Highlander that switched sides and renounced their loyalty to Great Britain.

Initially, the Scottish Highlanders refused to take oaths of allegiance to the new state government. Captain Robert Rowan of the Cumberland County patriot militia observed in 1777 that “The Scotch have refused taking the oath almost to a man.” The Scots in Cross Creek and the rest of the Upper Cape Fear often feared taking oaths of allegiance to the state because of the chaos and corruption throughout the backcountry. Rowan argued in letter to Governor Richard Caswell that state officials and justices in the Cross Creek area had been imprisoning men without charges and were acting “like a Tyrant.” Rowan and several others were falsely accused of being Tories and placed in jail under false or nonexistent crimes. Rowan later argued that these tyrants were “worse than Tories.” Rowan’s letters emphasized the cruel treatment from the corrupt officials, who unfairly punished Highlanders in Cross Creek. Rowan described the officials putting an innocent seventy-year-old farmer in jail simply for refusing to take an oath to “the tyrannical measures they were pursuing.”

Highlanders that experienced such treatment were not quick to give their loyalty to those tyrants. Their initial reaction was to hide and avoid these individuals at all costs.

Despite their initial reaction, Scottish Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear eventually started taking oaths of allegiance to the state in order to protect their right to stay in North Carolina. Between 1779 and 1786, Highlanders in Richmond County were brought to court to

prove their loyalty to the state. The Court of Pleas and Quarter Session records contain dozens of court cases that involve groups of men with Highlander names being sued for treason. In each court case, the Highlanders either took an oath to the state or showed proof that they had already taken an oath. In this formulaic process, the Highlanders were repeatedly found not guilty.\textsuperscript{182} These records indicate a clear pattern of Highlander names being summoned without any evidence or other cause for the summoning. Furthermore, none of these court cases resulted in any punishments. The Richmond County court was ensuring through legal documentation that the Highlanders living in Richmond County were no longer a threat to the county or the state. Highlanders eventually realized that giving an oath of allegiance the state was the easiest way to live peacefully and safely in the state, or for some, to reenter North Carolina safely. Some of those Highlanders that eventually took oaths to the state were even allowed to participate in the state government.

Despite issuing confiscation laws and oaths of allegiance, the overall process of determining loyalist punishments and reintegration was not consistent during and after the war. The General Assembly of North Carolina oversaw the process of loyalist reintegration and decided how to punish loyalists and which loyalists would be allowed to remain in North Carolina. Some loyalists realized this and tried to petition directly to the General Assembly for their clemency. Henry McCulloh, a loyalist sympathizer, had his property confiscated in North Carolina for his support of the loyalists in North Carolina. Knowing that the General Assembly had authority over such matters, he wrote to his cousin, James Iredell, who held a good reputation with the members of the General Assembly. Iredell was a lawyer and in 1777, the General Assembly elected James Iredell to the Superior Court. McCulloh pleaded to Iredell that he was “ready to submit [himself] in all things to the Wisdom and Goodness of the General

\textsuperscript{182} Court of Pleas & Quarter Session, 1779-1786, Richmond County, CR.082.301.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Assembly.” Furthermore, McCulloh asked Iredell to circulate his message around the General Assembly members. The loyalists that wished to regain full status in North Carolina knew they needed to win over the General Assembly. After the peace treaty in 1783, the North Carolina General Assembly and the state governor, Alexander Martin, oversaw the building of an independent state government that included the processes of loyalist reintegration.

Alexander Martin, North Carolina’s state governor from April 1782 to May 1785, supported clemency for poorer communities in the backcountry, and particularly for backcountry Presbyterians. Although the General Assembly led North Carolina in loyalist matters, his position as governor allowed him to express popular views towards loyalist treatments. Additionally, Martin was a former member of the North Carolina General Assembly, and he was able to work with the General Assembly on laws regarding loyalists. Martin’s role in North Carolina’s early statehood is particularly important, largely because he was the acting governor in 1783 when peace was declared, and the United States had officially earned its independence. Martin served North Carolina before, during, and after the Revolutionary War, and his leadership had significant impacts on how North Carolina reconciled the war. As chapter two has shown, Alexander Martin’s actions and statements towards former loyalists were sometimes confusing as he notoriously made claims to earn support from both sides of the political spectrum in North Carolina. He publicly supported clemency for poor, backcountry loyalists while condemning loyalist merchants in the east. In doing so, he won over the majority in the backcountry as well the Whig political leaders in the east.

Alexander Martin’s personal background helped him connect with many of the settlers in the backcountry. Martin was born in New Jersey in a Presbyterian household. He was educated

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at Princeton and eventually moved to Salisbury, North Carolina where he started his political career. While living in the North Carolina backcountry, he developed a strong reputation with the growing number of Presbyterians living in western North Carolina. Scots-Irish settlers frequently migrated from northern colonies and settled across the North Carolina backcountry, and as far west as the Appalachian Mountains. The Scots-Irish typically brought Presbyterianism into the backcountry and helped it spread in western North Carolina. During the Revolution, Martin spoke for the “evolving but immature majority” in the backcountry. Unlike most politicians in North Carolina during the eighteenth century, he was not originally focused on eastern towns. Some of the eastern politicians even criticized Martin for being “a pariah speaking for ignorant farmers whose right to the franchise was debatable or as an educated and cultured voice that could be a link to obstreperous neighbors.”\textsuperscript{184} Despite the views from the eastern elites, Martin gained popularity and support by representing the backcountry farmers and specifically the growing number of Presbyterians.

Alexander Martin’s political career and reputation eventually grew among eastern politicians, and in 1778 he was elected to the General Assembly where he could further represent the backcountry in North Carolina’s state government. The American Revolution certainly helped Martin’s career since he was devoted to supporting the American cause and could lead the backcountry Presbyterians. Before his election to the General Assembly, Martin took part in creating “test oaths” for loyalists. Additionally, he was eventually added to four different committees, one of which was assigned to review the Confiscation Acts passed by the first assembly. In 1777 he prepared a bill to enforce the Confiscation Act but he included a provision protecting poor family members of loyalists. He also gave pardons for loyalists that agreed to join the Continental Line.\textsuperscript{185} Martin believed loyalists that presented a threat to the state should

\textsuperscript{184} Rodenbough, \textit{Governor Alexander Martin}, 6.
\textsuperscript{185} Rodenbough, \textit{Governor Alexander Martin}, 107.
be punished or removed from the state entirely, such as loyalist merchants, but he extended sympathy to the family members of loyalist as well as poor loyalists that Martin believed were simply pressured into supporting Great Britain. These sympathies kept Martin distinct from some of his eastern counterparts because of their total lack of concern for backcountry settlers.

One of the struggles that the new state government faced was defining its enemy. It became clear to Alexander Martin that the eastern towns and the backcountry held different definitions of the enemy. In the backcountry, the enemy was defined by families, religion, or ethnicity, and not by the political affiliation that easterners had used to define the enemy. As chapter two has argued, the political partisanship in the eastern towns was much easier to identify. Merchants in the east that showed obvious connections and loyalties to Great Britain were identified and targeted as threats to the state. In the backcountry, however, political affiliations and loyalties to either Great Britain, the United states, or neither, was typical decided by individual communities. Alexander Martin recognized this, and in revising the Confiscation Acts, Alexander Martin notoriously defended small towns and communities in the backcountry that other politicians were ready to punish. During the war, Martin bought goods and supplies from the Moravian community that settled near today’s Winston-Salem. The Moravians, however, refused to fight on either side of the revolutionary conflict for religious reasons. Some politicians tried to include them in the Confiscation Acts and others tried to apply extra taxes to their community for not supporting the patriot cause. Alexander Martin, however, did not see the Moravians as a threat and defended them from such laws. Although Martin notoriously withheld public support for loyalist merchants in the east, he did openly support loyalists and vulnerable communities in the backcountry.

186 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 57.
187 Rodenbough, Governor Alexander Martin, 77.
Although Martin did not make as direct claims for protecting the Highlanders as he did for the Moravians, he did publicly advocate for moving the state capital to Cross Creek. Immediately after the peace treaty in 1783, one of the big hot topics in North Carolina politics was a debate over where the state’s “seat of government” should be. Governor Martin publicly supported moving the state capital to Cross Creek, which earned him even more support from the Upper Cape Fear peoples.\footnote{Letter from Richard Caswell to William Caswell, May 4, 1783, \textit{Colonial Records of North Carolina}, XVI:959.} Other contending sites were Wake County and New Bern. Wake County eventually became home to the new capital with the birth of the city of Raleigh. When Martin was elected governor, he ran against the first state governor, Richard Caswell. Caswell commented on his defeat in personal letters to his son William. He claimed the western men voted for Martin “from interested Motives as well as some Cape Fear Men who suppose from Joining the Western Men they shall be able to establish a District Court at Cross Creek and fix the seat of Government there.” Martin’s support of placing the new capital in Cross Creek shows that Martin did not view Cross Creek and its inhabitants as a threat to the state. The reputation of Highlanders in that area and their loyalties to Great Britain were so non-threatening by the end of the war that the state governor was willing to move the capital to the area. It also shows that despite the Highlanders loyalism early in the war, by the end of the war Cross Creek was still the thriving and popular backcountry trading town that it had been before the war.

Alexander Martin was not the only politician in North Carolina to show support and encourage clemency for backcountry communities and former loyalists. James Iredell, a friend of Alexander Martin, was a known patriot and Whig but he notoriously maintained friendships with several loyalists during the war. He even advocated in the state government leniency towards their punishments.\footnote{The Papers of James Iredell, ed Donna Kelly and Lang Baradell, vol 3, 1784-1789, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 2003) xxxi.} Iredell and Martin were cousins and like-minded politicians. They both
respected backcountry communities and defended them from unfair punishments. In 1781, James Iredell wrote a letter to his wife that argued the Tories in Cross Creek were not dangerous anymore. Additionally, Iredell wrote that the governor will disconcert the Tories in Cross Creek “by offering pardon to all who maybe supposed to have adhered to them from fear and in consequence of the distraction of the times.” Iredell supported Martin’s views that Cross Creek had moved away from being dangerous. According to Iredell, any remaining Tories in Cross Creek were either giving oaths of allegiance or were being pushed out by growing numbers of Whigs. Alexander Martin and James Iredell wrote to each other, sharing their concern over the executions of loyalists. Martin wrote to Iredell in response to the sentencing of Middleton Maubly to death. Maubly was a known loyalist and was sentenced to death in Wilmington for treason. Martin expressed his feelings of regret over the death sentence with Iredell. Martin wrote that if the prosecution had not been for treason, but perhaps for “robbing or horse-stealing, or a less offence that might have been proved against him,” Martin could have prevented the man’s death. However, Martin argued that he was not able to stop “those wretches from committing those common atrocious offences” because he could not interfere “when public justice calls for satisfaction.” Martin wrote that “every tender feeling [he] possess for humanity revolts at the idea [of a death sentence]” but he knew that interfering would severly hurt his political position. Martin was still working to maintain his popularity among the eastern towns and the backcountry, which meant he needed to support the rigid attitudes towards loyalists in the east, despite his general passion for restoring humanity in North Carolina. In the backcountry, where social damnation of loyalists was not as severe, Martin was able to save some loyalists from the noose. In Salisbury, a few men were tried for treason but Martin defending them saying “their characters were generally good, and they had committed no

offense, but in the military line only.” Martin encouraged the General Assembly to allow these men to be exchanged as prisoners, which ultimately spared them from execution. Martin believed that men who fought in loyalist militias deserved fair treatment as soldiers, and he tried to prevent the social repercussions of a civil war.

Despite Governor Martin’s public and private expressions over the treatment of loyalists, he publicly accepted the General Assembly’s authority to decide who deserved clemency and who did not. Martin recognized the role the General Assembly played in establishing the new state government and he agreed that representatives from across the state should take part in judging loyalists. In 1782, Martin addressed the General Assembly with instructions to consider those citizens that have surrendered and offered to give allegiance. His address stated,

> Many of our late revolted Citizens having surrendered themselves to the Justice of the State, supplicate for mercy, and offer to return to their allegiance; your interposition is necessary to discriminate the classes of those deluded people who may be the proper objects of clemency. Let not rapine and licentiousness, under the garb of Liberty, stalk around and triumph amongst us with impunity, revive your dormant Laws to chastise the offenders and stamp them with infamy.\(^{193}\)

In this address to the General Assembly, Martin reminded the members that they are responsible for judging loyalists, and he encouraged them to be lenient towards North Carolina’s “Citizens.” Martin lacked a fear of loyalists becoming a threat in the backcountry, which meant he made no efforts to prevent former loyalists from becoming leaders of their communities once again. Martin gave his blessing for representatives in the Upper Cape Fear to oversee matters of loyalist reintegration within the General Assembly, just as he had allowed in Wilmington despite his personal opposition to some of Wilmington’s actions. Representatives from Cumberland County, the home of Cross Creek, or Fayetteville, were able to directly take part in the state government’s

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concern over loyalists, and they were essentially able to decide for themselves how former loyalists in Cumberland County would be treated.

The representatives for Cumberland County in the General Assembly after 1783 were frequently both Highlanders and former loyalists. One man in particular, Farquard Campbell, provides an example of how Highlander loyalists were able to maintain leadership in North Carolina after taking oaths of allegiance, proving that they would live peacefully, and becoming good citizens. Farquard Campbell exemplified the authority that Highlanders and former loyalists had over their community during and after the war. Farquard Campbell was a Scottish Highlander emigrant living in Cross Creek during the Revolution. At the start of the revolutionary conflict, Campbell served in the Provincial Congress, but at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge he betrayed the patriot government. His treachery to the patriots made himself a known loyalist and a particularly despised loyalist within the state government. Despite his notorious treachery, however, Campbell continued to lead the Highlander community after the war and eventually served in the state government. Farquard Campbell’s story proved that with good behavior and oaths to the state, loyalists were able to return to their communities and in Farquard’s case, continue to lead the Highlander community within the United States of America.

In 1775, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina assigned Campbell to a committee, along with several other Highlander gentlemen, to persuade their fellow Highlanders in the Upper Cape Fear to ignore the pleas of Great Britain and instead support the “American cause.” The Provincial Congress recognized the influence Farquard Campbell had over the Highlander community and they asked him to serve the North Carolina Provincial Congress on a special assignment to discourage Scottish loyalty to Great Britain.194 By October, 1775, Farquard and his

committee were showing signs of success keeping the Highlander community neutral. Royal Governor Josiah Martin wrote a letter showing surprise and frustration that many Highlanders in North Carolina had declared neutrality. Josiah Martin informed that “the Scotch Highlanders on whom I had such firm reliance have declared themselves for neutrality, which I am informed is to be attributed to the influence of a certain Mr Farquhard Campbell.” Martin further claimed that Farquard Campbell was an “ignorant man who has been settled from his childhood in this Country, is an old Member of the Assembly and has imbibed all the American popular principles and prejudices.” Martin was frustrated by Farquard Campbell’s disservice to the Crown and directly blamed him for trying to pull the Highlanders loyalty away from the royal governor.

Farquard’s position in 1775 was clearly on the side of the patriots, however, while serving the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, Farquard was also maintaining correspondence with the royal governor, Josiah Martin. Letters between Farquard and Martin suggest that the two men shared some form of political friendship before the war. By the end of 1775, political tensions had grown towards violence in North Carolina, and Josiah Martin moved himself and much of his personal belongings onto a Man of War for protection. In September, the Provincial Congress received news that Martin had requested safe passage for some of his personal belongings, including a horse and carriage, to Mr. Farquard Campbell’s residence in Cross Creek. The Congress approved the request, but Campbell “expressed a sincere desire that the Coach and Horses should not be sent to his House in Cumberland and is amazed that such a proposal should have been made.” Josiah Martin and Farquard Campbell had some form of friendship, exemplified by Martin’s trust in Campbell to house his personal belongings. Campbell, however, rejected this friendship as a political tactic. He turned down Martin’s request

and then offered to the Congress any information that Martin had shared with him. The Congress declared,

That Farquard Campbell, Esquire, hath, in the opinion of this Congress, conducted himself as an honest member of Society and a friend to the American Cause; and that any Confidential Expressions that have been dropped by Governor Martin, or any of his Friends, with respect to any reliance they may have upon the Services of the said Farquard Campbell against the American cause have been without any encouragement from the said Farquard Campbell, but have been made use of in Order to bring his character into distrust. 197

The Provincial Congress defended Campbell’s honor as a loyal servant to the state, and they discredited any rumors about his loyalty to Josiah Martin.

Despite the praise given to Farquard Campbell for his service to Congress, Campbell later surprised Congress when he was captured at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. After the battle, he was caught and imprisoned with the rest of the Highlander officers. Two months after the Battle of Moores Creek, a list of prisoners that were captured at the battle and sent to Philadelphia, was released. On that list was Farquard Campbell, who was labeled as “a late delegate in provincial Congress – Spy and Confidential Emisary of Governor Martin” 198 News of Campbell’s actions at Moores Creek reached the Provincial Congress shortly after the battle and he was immediately deemed a traitor to America. The Provincial Congress issued a report stating that the “Committee are of Opinion that Farquard Campbell disregarding the sacred Obligations he had voluntarily entered into to support the Liberty of America against all usurpations has Traitorously and insidiously endeavored to excite the Inhabitants of this Colony to take arms and levy war in order to assist the avowed Enemies thereof.” 199 Farquard Campbell became an

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enemy to the state and his betrayal became known across the Provincial Congress and eventually the General Assembly.

By the end of 1776, Farquard Campbell and other loyalist prisoners had begun petitioning to the Provincial Congress for their legal return to North Carolina. Farquard Campbell sent personal letters to leading politicians in North Carolina, pleading to be allowed back in North Carolina. He attempted to address his recipients as friends in hopes of appealing to their sense of friendship and leniency. Campbell wrote letters to Richard Caswell, as well as Congressmen Thomas Burke, Cornelius Harnett, and John Penn. These personal letters claimed that Farquard Campbell and his fellow prisoners had shown good behavior and had no desire to cause any more trouble. By October, 1778, the North Carolina state government allowed Farquard Campbell to return safely to North Carolina and petition to stay in North Carolina. The state government reviewed his petition and determined he had “not been guilty of breaking his parole,” and he had “given bond and security for his good behavior and peaceable demeanor.”

Despite the hostilities still prevalent in North Carolina, the state government was primarily concerned in ensuring good behavior and allegiance of all of its citizens. Even someone as traitorous as Farquard Campbell was allowed to return to North Carolina after proving their good behavior and loyalty to the new government.

After the peace treaty in 1783, Farquard Campbell returned to his political career in North Carolina. In 1784, Farquard Campbell was elected to the North Carolina General Assembly as Senator for Cumberland County. Unfortunately for Campbell, the Senate deemed his election illegal and expelled him from the Assembly. Campbell’s reputation as a former

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loyalist and traitor initially, although not permanently, impacted his ability to participate in the state government. Archibald Maclaine commented on Campbell’s attempt to take office in the General Assembly. Maclaine wrote, “some things appeared against his political character, which occasioned the resolve for expulsion.” The illegality of Campbell’s election was not further discussed, however Campbell’s reputation and character appeared to be the basis for denying him a seat in the General Assembly. Maclaine further commented there “there is scarcely a man in the Senate who does not view Campbell with a mixture of indignation & contempt.”

Campbell’s betrayal at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge left a temporary mark on his political career that initially kept him out of the state government, but his failed placement in the Senate showed that Campbell still maintained political influence over Cumberland County.

Farquard’s political career did not end in 1784, however. In 1790, the North Carolina Senate received a memorial that testified for Campbell’s good behavior since the war. Farquard Campbell took an oath of allegiance to the state and “behaved himself afterwards as a friend to the interest of the United States, and as a good citizen thereof.” The Senate approved and agreed with the memorial and permitted Farquard to run for office again. The Senate committee granted “that he be entitled to all the privileges and immunities that other good citizens of this State are entitled to.” Farquard was elected to the Senate representing Cumberland County in 1791 and served until 1794. Campbell’s reputation as a former loyalist hindered his ability to participate in the state government immediately after the peace treaty in 1783, but by the 1790s, former loyalists like Farquard Campbell were free to engage in politics so long as they could prove their good behavior since the war.

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202 Letter from Archibald Maclaine to George Hooper, April 21, 1784, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XVII:134-5.
Farquard Campbell’s position as a former loyalist that eventually represented Cumberland County was not as unique as it might seem. Cumberland County’s representatives for the next several decades were Scots, and Farquard Campbell was not the only representative associated with wartime loyalty to Great Britain. Alexander McAllister supported the royal government and resigned from the Provincial Congress after the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge had identified the Highlanders as enemies to the new state government. McAllister’s resignation tactically separated him from both sides, thus despite his obvious connection to the loyalists, he was able to continue serving in the state government after the war without condemnation. McAllister served as Senator for Cumberland County from 1787 to 1790 and was replaced by Farquard Campbell in 1791, another Highlander and known loyalist.\textsuperscript{204}

Colin Shaw, the Highlander merchant that fought at Moores Creek and subsequently spent the rest of the war exiled in New York, eventually returned to North Carolina after the war. In 1806, his son, also named Colin Shaw, became a representative in the House of Commons for Cumberland County. Like Farquard Campbell and Alexander McAllister, Colin Shaw was associated with the Highlander community and the loyalists that fought at Moores Creek. Colin Shaw’s son, also like Farquard Campbell and Alexander McAllister was able to serve the in the state government, representing Cumberland County, despite his family history with loyalism. Colin Shaw (II) led the Cumberland County militia in 1804 and was elected in 1806, 1807, and 1808 to the House of Commons. In 1810 he was elected to the North Carolina Senate.\textsuperscript{205} The Highlanders and former loyalists in Cumberland County were able to lead themselves and protect themselves from loyalist punishments as North Carolina formed its state government.


Even the second generation of Highlanders in North Carolina after independence were able to maintain their political power in the Upper Cape Fear region. Farquard Campbell’s career was temporarily halted by his loyalism, but by the 1790s and early 1800s, loyalism to Great Britain was an issue of the past for the remaining Highlanders in North Carolina.

Despite the social and political chaos that ensued across much of North Carolina’s backcountry during the war, by 1783 the state government no longer considered the Highlander community a violent threat to the state. The laboring Scots in the Upper Cape Fear were neither commercially nor ideologically tied to Great Britain, and only took up arms as loyalists to their immediate leaders and the royal governor. After defeat at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, Highlander officers were imprisoned or killed, leaving the rest of the Highlanders without military leadership. Those Highlanders that returned home, and even those that avoided the fight altogether, were still suspected threats to the state and often suffered from plundering and social chaos in the backcountry. Although they were reluctant at first, Highlanders that were willing to live in North Carolina as peaceful citizens gave oaths of allegiance to the state and found ways to prove to the state government that they were willing to maintain good behavior. The state governor, Alexander Martin, encouraged clemency from the General Assembly for loyalists, particularly for the backcountry loyalists. The Highlanders were given opportunities to represent their community in the state government, and ultimately proved that the whole community was not a threat to the state. With Alexander Martin’s encouragement for peace and harmony for non-violent communities, and with Scottish loyalists representing the Upper Cape Fear in the General Assembly, the Highlander community was able to outlive its reputation for loyalism and become part of the United States of America.
Conclusion: “The Door that God has Opened for Them.” Renewed Migrations and Scottish-American Communities

Colin Shaw was born in Scotland in 1720 and emigrated to North Carolina in 1744.206 Shaw grew up on the isle of Jura, one of the large islands in Argyllshire, Scotland.207 After settling in Cross Creek, North Carolina, Shaw had six children; Colin Shaw (II), John Shaw, Mary, Catherine, Ann, and Christian.208 For most of the American Revolution, Colin Shaw (I) lived in New York, but he eventually came back to North Carolina and died in Fayetteville, 1791. His first son, Colin Shaw (II) was born sometime before 1783 in Cross Creek, North Carolina.209 Colin Shaw’s (II) brother, John Shaw, eventually had four children; Colin Shaw (III), Mary Ann, Elias and Henry.210 Colin (III) grew up in Bladen County but stayed close to his family members still living in the neighboring Cumberland County. The third generation of Colin Shaw died July 8, 1905, at the age of 92.211 These three generations of Colin Shaw have served as an example of how the Scottish Highlanders that settled in the colonial North Carolina transformed over three generations into more than just a Scottish community, but also an American and a Southern community.

206 Find A Grave, memorial page for Colin Shaw (1720–1798), Find A Grave Memorial no. 22383117, Cross Creek Cemetery #01, Fayetteville, Cumberland County, North Carolina, maintained by Tom Todd (contributor 46900975); David Dobson, Directory of Scots in the Carolinas, 1680-1830, vol 2, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2004) 140.
209 “Colin Shaw Jr., 20 December 1791” in “North Carolina, Land Grant Files, 1693-1960,” digital image, Ancestry.com (accessed 12 November 2018), Cumberland County, North Carolina, 2397-2684, (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016); This is the earliest document I have found for Colin Shaw (II). The grant was entered 16 November 1783. I can only conclude he was born before this date.
These three generations of the Shaw family offer excellent examples of how Scottish settlers in colonial America, and particularly the South, became Americans in the first century of United States history. Two of the three generations fought in wars against the United States, yet they remained participating citizens after defeat. Colin Shaw (I) fought as a loyalist during the American Revolution and Colin Shaw (III) fought in the Confederacy during the American Civil War. Their choices to fight, and fight against a unified America, come from their experiences and their community. The early Scottish settlers had many reasons to support Great Britain, but at the end of the day, they simply wanted to live amongst their kin in a land of opportunity. For many of the Southern Confederates, they wanted the same thing, to preserve the community and mercantile life that their ancestors built for them. These three generations of the Shaw family demonstrate how a loyalist family in colonial America eventually became active participants in the United States, and how that participation changed over time for a Scottish family and a southern family.

The first generation of Colin Shaw was a successful merchant in Cross Creek. Thanks to merchants like Colin Shaw, British goods could be shipped to Wilmington, and then shipped again up the Cape Fear River to be sold in North Carolina’s backcountry. His business letters implied that he often imported rum and corn, and possibly enslaved people. Like many of the Highlander merchants in North Carolina, Colin Shaw was promoted to Captain in the Highlander militia by royal governor, Josiah Martin, and was responsible for creating his own company of loyalist soldiers. Thanks to the recruitment strategies set in place by Josiah Martin, Shaw and other officers like him were successful in recruiting other Highlander loyalists. The Highlanders eventually created a large body of about 1,500 Highlander loyalists, that marched out of Cross Creek.212 Unfortunately for Colin Shaw and his fellow Highlanders, the Highlanders were

212 Rankin, “The Moores Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776,” 30.
defeated at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. Colin Shaw avoided capture, but he quickly fled to New York where he spent the remained of the war as a loyalist refugee. While in New York, Colin Shaw maintained his business connections in North Carolina and sent letters to his wife who stayed in North Carolina. By the end of the war, Colin Shaw petitioned to the state of North Carolina for his safe and legal return, which was eventually approved. Colin Shaw returned to Cross Creek, continued his business, and watched his children become the first generation of Scots to grow up in the United States of America.

From the 1730s to the mid-1770s, Scottish Highlanders emigrated in growing numbers to North Carolina. After several decades of migration, the Highlanders formed a unique community in North Carolina’s Upper Cape Fear region. Throughout this period of Scottish migration to North Carolina, the royal governors of North Carolina gave out land grants to prominent and wealthy Scottish Highlanders and encouraged Scottish families to settle in North Carolina’s interior. These royal governors created a familiar structure of hierarchy that mimicked the Highland’s older ideas of clanship. As the Highlanders settled and prospered in North Carolina, they began to see their royal governors as their pseudo lairds. When the royal governors came to the Highlanders asking for military service, the Highlanders gave it. In the mid-1770s, Governor Josiah Martin recreated a military recruitment structure that was familiar to the Highlanders. He promoted community leaders, and particularly the wealthy merchants, to officers in the loyalist militia. Colin Shaw was one of those successful merchants who was promoted to Captain by Governor Martin. Those prominent Highlanders then recruited family and friends that might have otherwise been neutral. Martins’ recruitment strategies worked, and in 1776 a large Highlander militia formed in Cross Creek.

213 Colin Shaw Papers, PC 20.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
214 Colin Shaw Papers, PC 20.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
Most of the Scots that settled along the Cape Fear River were divided into two economic spheres; merchants and skilled or unskilled laborers. These distinct, but connected, economic spheres were important in Governor Martin’s recruitment tactics, but even more important towards the end of the war. After the Highlanders defeat at Moores Creek Bridge, the two economic spheres highlighted two very different responses to defeat, and ultimately showed the different experiences of loyalists at the end of the war. Merchants were generally targeted as partisan and threatening to the state, thus Scottish merchants were the primary group to flee North Carolina or suffer from loyalist punishments. A separate, laboring class of Scots were able to remain in North Carolina and work themselves into the new political system to ultimately defend and preserve their rights as citizens of the United States. Non-merchant Scots eventually took oaths of allegiance to the state government and proved to the new state government that they were not only willing to live peacefully but that they would become active supporters of, and participants in, the new state government. With support from Scots in local government, the Scottish community was able to protect itself from loyalist punishments, encourage the safe return of Scottish merchants, and reopen the doors for continued Scottish emigration to the area.

Migrations of Scots to North Carolina and the rest of the colonies stopped during the Revolution, but this was only temporary. Letters sent between North Carolina and Scotland hinted at the idea of war bringing a close to Scottish migrations. In 1770, Alexander McAllister wrote, “there is a rummor of war wither it is so or not I can’t say al[!] I’m sorrie is that it will be a means of hindering the poor from entering the door that God has opened for them.”215 Another letter written in Scotland in 1775 argued that “many from Arran [Argylle] were determined to emigrate this season, but the troubles in Boston frighten them.”216 Immediately after the war,

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216 Letter from Hector McAllister to Alexander McAllister, August 22, 1775, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
however, Scottish Highlanders began emigrating to the United States and North Carolina once more. In 1784, Alexander McAllister’s brother Hector wrote a letter from Scotland claiming that “emigration is begun from all countrys in Europe to America; especially from Scotland and Ireland and will no doubt continue if lands turn not cheaper here.”\(^{217}\) This proved that not only did the Highlander community in North Carolina remain intact but that the community remained attractive for new Scottish emigrants. For the next few decades after the Independence, the Scottish community in the Upper Cape Fear continued to flourish with many Scottish merchants returning to the area. In 1790, the *Fayetteville Gazette* featured a poem by an unknown author, titled “The Fayetteville Merchant.” The poem was written entirely in a Scottish dialect and emphasized the prevalence of merchant stores in Fayetteville.\(^{218}\) In 1798, Alexander McNeill wrote a letter to his father in Cumberland County, talking about his other family members living in Cumberland County. McNeill mentioned his newly acquired access to credit in London and access to West Indian goods that he received from his wealthy friends.\(^{219}\) Alex McNeill’s letter emphasized the significance of family connections and Atlantic connections for many Scottish merchants trading in North Carolina. These expressions resonated with the same notions of family and commercialism in the Highlander community before the Revolution.

Colin Shaw (II) studied law and eventually became a licensed lawyer in North Carolina. His personal letters indicate close friendships with other college students and often referenced the classic texts they read together. In the early Republic period, Americans became increasingly focused on instilling republican virtues in their children through higher education. Elite, educated men learned to read and understand Greek and Roman philosophy and literature to better connect

\(^{217}\) Letter from Hector McAllister to Alexander McAllister, February 14, 1784, The McAllister Family Papers, PC.1738, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.

\(^{218}\) The North-Carolina Chronicle; or Fayetteville Gazette, September 13, 1790, 18th Century North Carolina Newspapers collection, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.

\(^{219}\) McNeill-Ayres Collection, 1768-1883, PC.1425.1, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC.
themselves to the new republican ideals of the United States. Colin Shaw (II) was trained to be a good American citizen that would uphold the republican ideals of the young United States. As a lawyer in Cumberland County during the early decades of the United States, Colin Shaw (II) witnessed some of the growing pains of a booming, but still backcountry town. The backcountry of the Carolinas and Virginia were often sites of “rough” behavior and occasionally unchecked violence. During the American Revolution, the backcountry of the southern colonies and states turned into a place of chaos. Groups of people murdered and pillaged each other, often under the name of patriotism or loyalism, even if their actions did not serve one of the Revolutionary causes. After the American Revolution, some of this behavior carried over into the new Republic. Lawyers like Colin Shaw (II), that worked in ethnically and politically diverse places like Cumberland County, witnessed much of the social disruption that came with the Revolution. Much like his father, Colin Shaw (II) also served as captain of the Cumberland County militia in 1804-1805. Unlike his father, however, Colin Shaw (II) served the United States instead of Great Britain. Colin Shaw (II)’s legal career eventually turned into a political career. In 1806, 1807 and 1808, Colin Shaw (II) was elected to represent Cumberland County in the North Carolina, House of Commons. In 1810, he was elected to the North Carolina Senate, also representing Cumberland County. As a lawyer, captain in the county militia, and politician, Colin Shaw (II) was an American patriot and a true North Carolina statesman. Following in his

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220 For more scholarship on the Republican education of southern men, see Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007).
222 Colin Shaw Papers, 1735-1883, PC.20.6, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC; Within the Colin Shaw Papers is a brief summary of one court case that Colin Shaw (II) judged. In this case, an English man tried to shoot a Scottish man because the Scottish man had performed a wedding between the English man’s fourteen-year-old daughter and another Scottish man. In a rage, the English man went to the Scots and tried to shoot them, endangering his own daughter in the process.
father’s footsteps, Colin Shaw (II) became an educated and wealthy elite in the Upper Cape Fear region and ultimately became a military, economic, and political leader for the Highlander community in North Carolina. Despite fighting against the “American cause” early in the Revolution, the Highlander community proudly supported the United States in the early decades of the new republic.

Colin Shaw (III) grew up on the Cape Fear River in Bladen County. Like his uncle, Colin Shaw (III) received a higher education. At the age of twenty-one, he began his studies at Davidson College, a newly formed Presbyterian college. He eventually studied at the University of North Carolina where he graduated in 1838. Immediately after that, Colin Shaw (III) attended the Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. In 1840, he attended the Columbia Theological Seminary, and in 1841, he returned to the University of North Carolina where he earned a Master of Arts degree. Colin Shaw (III) studied to become a Presbyterian minister, and in 1841 the Fayetteville Presbytery at South River Chapel, near Garland, North Carolina, licensed Colin Shaw (III) to preach. When Scottish Highlanders emigrated to North Carolina in the eighteenth century, they brought the Presbyterian Church with them. In Scotland, the Presbyterian Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was responsible for spreading Presbyterianism from the lowlands into the highlands during the eighteenth century. Presbyterianism had been the dominant Church of Scotland for over a century, but much of the Highlands clung to Roman Catholicism or the Episcopal Church. The SPCK pushed Presbyterianism northwards, and one of the first and most receptive areas was Argyll. The Argyll Highlanders that settled in North Carolina built the first churches in the Cross Creek area. Naturally, they built Presbyterian Churches and recruited Presbyterian ministers to preach in the

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Upper Cape Fear area. Presbyterianism became a popular faith in the North Carolina backcountry, even outside of the Highlander community. Scots-Irish settlers commonly settled in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains where they, too, supported the Presbyterian faith. State governor, Alexander Martin, earned his place in the North Carolina government by gaining the support of the growing Presbyterian population in North Carolina. Colin Shaw (III) represents the continued practice of Presbyterian worship in the Upper Cape Fear region, more than a century after the Scottish Highlanders and Scots-Irish peoples brought Presbyterianism to America. In 1861, North Carolina joined its Confederate neighbors in seceding from the United States of America. Colin Shaw quickly joined the Confederate army as a Presbyterian chaplain. Despite having a religious role in the war, Colin Shaw some combat in North and South Carolina. His memorial claims that after seeing battle in South Carolina, he eventually returned to North Carolina to defend his property from the Union soldiers in Sherman’s famous march through the South. Colin Shaw successfully defended his home from the first Union soldiers that tried to plunder his home, but unfortunately for Shaw, the soldiers returned and burnt down his house. After the American Civil War, Colin Shaw (III) continued to preach and remained a prominent religious and community figure until his death in 1905.

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In addition to Scottish merchants settling in post-independence, the Upper Cape Fear continued to exhibit Highland culture across the region. William Dawson visited Fayetteville in 1788 and complimented the town for being “one of the most agreeable Towns in this State,” and for its plays “performed by the most eminent Actors, on an elegant Theatre.” His letter goes on.

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to describe his landlady as a good woman, “but nothing uncommon she speaks a Scotch Irish most divinely and scolds like the devil.” Dawson’s observations highlight both the development of Fayetteville and the normality of Scottish folk living there. The Gaelic language continued to be spoken in North Carolina for almost another century before it eventually dwindled into obscurity. Most of the Highlanders that settled in the Upper Cape Fear before the Revolution spoke Gaelic and only a few educated Highlanders could speak English as well. The Gaelic language was so common in the Upper Cape Fear that some African slaves in the area were known to speak Gaelic. The Gaelic language survived in North Carolina throughout the nineteenth-century. The last known Gaelic sermon in North Carolina was preached in 1860. Although the Gaelic language eventually dwindled in North Carolina, the Presbyterian community in Cumberland County and across North Carolina continued to grow after independence, even as it competed with other evangelical denominations. Presbyterianism was seen as an indicator of the Scottish community in the Upper Cape Fear, as well as in other states. The third generation of Colin Shaw (1812-1905) represented the continued practice of Presbyterian worship in the Upper Cape Fear region, more than a century after independence.

With Scottish merchants and laborers living in North Carolina after independence, the Scottish community continued to take part in North Carolina’s growing agricultural and commercial industries. With the growth of agricultural industries in the southern states, so too did the institution of slavery grow. All three generations of Colin Shaw were slave owners. The early commercialism of the Colin Shaw (I) and other Scottish merchants like him created a network of trade that relied on agriculture, Atlantic shipping, and slavery. Many historians have

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credited Scottish emigrants for their pro-abolition stance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not all Scots supported abolition, however. According to Douglas Hamilton, despite the common view that Scots and Scotland supported abolition, “other Scottish voices, which argued for the retention of the trade and slavery, remained audible throughout the fifty-year long abolition campaigns.”

The Shaw family, while initially part of a unique Scottish community, eventually became part of a southern elite community. According to Duane Meyer, one in four Highland families owned slaves in North Carolina. Highlander slave-owning families in the Lower Cape Fear averaged near 10 slaves per plantation, whereas the Highlander slave-owners in the Upper Cape Fear tended to have between one and four slaves. The difference in slave ownership clearly leaned towards the larger plantations in the east, but the Highlander community, nonetheless, supported slavery in North Carolina. By the 1860s, many North Carolinians with Scottish heritage and ancestry fought against the United States to defend the institution of slavery in the South.

This thesis will hopefully open doors for scholars interested in the Scottish diaspora, community studies, and loyalist reintegration. Many questions regarding Scottish-American communities still exist. This thesis has begun to show how the colonial settlement of Highlanders became Americans, politically and economically, but how did the Highlanders become American, culturally? What impact did language have on their community and their neighbors? How did the Highlander community impact North Carolina’s religious history? What does it mean that these Highlanders practiced and defended slavery while other parts of America celebrated Scottish abolitionism? How does this community in North Carolina relate to Scottish communities in other states? Some scholars have already begun looking at other unique Scottish

communities in the United States. Amanda Epperson published an article in 2009 that examines a particular Highland community in Ohio, established in 1802. Her article focuses on Highlander migrations to the United States, with particular emphasis on the economics of the areas in Scotland they emigrated from, as well as role of networks in their migrations.232 The Scottish region of her research in some ways contrasts those Highlanders from Argyll that came to North Carolina. The Highlanders that migrated to Ohio after the Revolution were from the upper reaches of the Highlands, near Inverness, where commercialism had not reached in the same manner as in Argyll. Epperson’s research is one example of the continued interest in Scottish migrations and ultimately the interconnectedness of the Atlantic world. Something as small as one economically weak region in Scotland caused a whole new community to form in the early decades of the United States.

Today, many Americans have shown interest in reconnecting with their ancestry and genealogy. In North Carolina, Scottish Highland heritage has exploded across the state. Between “Tartan Day” celebrations and Highland games competitions, there are eight scheduled Highland-themed events in North Carolina for 2019. The number goes up to fourteen if including events in South Carolina. These events take place across the state, as far east as Wilmington and as far west as Linville.233 Of the multitudes of Highland games and Scottish festivals hosted in North America, the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in North Carolina is the oldest and best-known Scottish festival with over 30,000 attendees each year.234 Highland games and clan reunions have spread across the state since the Grandfather Mountain games broke ground in 1956, which when paired with the growth of genealogical studies, caused an obsession with

232 Amanda Epperson, “‘It would be my earnest desire that you all would come’: Networks, the Migration Process and Highland Emigration,” *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol LXXXVIII, 2: no. 266: October 2009, 313-331.
tracing and understanding the Scottish heritage and ancestry present in North Carolina.

Hopefully, this thesis will contribute to North Carolina’s and Scotland’s history by provoking a deeper discussion on Scottish communities in early America, through a larger global context as well as through local history.
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