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"TO SECURE TO THEMSELVES AND THEIR COUNTRYMEN AN AGREEABLE
AND HAPPY RETREAT." THE CONTINUITY OF SCOTTISH HIGHLAND
MERCENARY TRADITIONS AND NORTH AMERICAN OUTMIGRATION

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Cameron Flint

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"TO SECURE TO THEMSELVES AND THEIR COUNTRYMEN AN AGREEABLE
AND HAPPY RETREAT." THE CONTINUITY OF SCOTTISH HIGHLAND
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Cameron Flint

Thesis

Approved:

Accepted:

Advisor
Elizabeth Mancke

Dean of the College
Ronald F. Levant

Faculty Reader
Michael Graham

Dean of the Graduate School
George R. Newkome

Department Chair
Walter Hixson

Date

ABSTRACT

This study considers and analyzes the motivations for Scottish outmigration to British North America during the eighteenth century from both an economic as well as cultural perspective. This paper posits that Scots utilized the mercenary profession that had long been a part of their way of life in order to achieve economic security and a degree of cultural preservation. It will also demonstrate that Scottish Highland Loyalism during the War of American Independence was not an abnormality, as some have suggested, but rather a continuation of certain Highland clans and families' adherence to a martial code of mercenary service for land. In order to arrive at this conclusion this study examines the history of Scottish mercenary service and Highland clan political loyalties beginning in the late medieval era through the formation of Highland regiments within the British army during the eighteenth century and culminates with these regiments' land grant based settlement of North America.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An issue of contention among historians is why formerly Jacobite Scottish Highlanders, who had fought the British state three times in 1688, 1715, and 1745, so visibly embraced the Loyalist side during the American War of Independence? Why, historians have asked, would a people bitterly fight against the House of Hanover and the British central government in the Jacobite wars, be defeated, have their wounded men butchered on bloody Culloden Moor, face appalling reprisals that included the proscription of their native language and cultural traditions, and then a mere thirty years later support and fight for the very same government that had intentionally destroyed central elements of their way of life? It would seem only logical once shots were fired between American colonial 'Minutemen' and British regulars at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1775 that Scottish Highlanders, both in Scotland and the large communities of the Highland diaspora in such places as North Carolina, New York, and Quebec, would have relished the opportunity to avenge the usurpation of 1688 and the slaughter at Culloden in 1746 by joining the rebellion against London. It is not difficult to imagine, or produce a plausible counterfactual scenario in which large portions of even the elite Highland regiments of the British army, such as the Black Watch, deserted the Union Jack and joined the rebels, considering that many Highland regiments became

infamous during the Seven Years' War for mutinies and desertions when serving in North America under English or Lowland officers.¹ After centuries of cultural incursions as Lowland and English institutions seeped into the Highlands, when Highland Catholics were forbidden worship in their own glens, and as their traditional livelihoods were sold from beneath them in favor of for-profit croft farming, it would seem only plausible that Highlanders in North America would seethe with resentment and join the colonial insurrection against London. This scenario, however, did not occur. Not only did the Highland population of the North American colonies not join the rebel or patriot cause in significant numbers, Highland soldiers, many of whom were veterans of the Jacobite clans and regiments at Culloden, played a major part in the Loyalist forces of the war and overwhelmingly supported, both through armed service and economic assistance, the British Crown. In fact, an examination of Loyalist claims submitted to the British exchequer following the American Revolution illustrates that Scottish Highlanders who had been residents of the British North American colonies before and during the war made more than a proportionate contribution to the Loyalist cause.² The degree to which 'Scottish' and 'Loyalist' became transposable terms during the crisis of 1775-1783 is an indicator of the extent of Highland Scottish Loyalism. Many American leaders viewed Scots, particularly Highland Scots that had formerly held Jacobite sympathies, as examples of an outmoded culture that had no place in a new America. Arthur Lee, the American representative to Parliament in 1774-1775 declared that the main proponents of perceived British coercion and repression of the colonies were "the Tories, the Jacobites, the Scotch...they see it as the old cause, though we cannot."³ In an early draft of the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson included a phrase, later removed at

the prompting of John Witherspoon, the Scottish-born president of New Jersey College, that condemned the “Scotch and other foreign mercenaries.” For years after the American Revolution ended Jefferson often referred to Highland Scots living in North America as “Scotch Tories.”⁴

In the past thirty years academic and popular historians have posited answers to the enigma of Highland Loyalism. Historians who have published works on Scottish Highland outmigration and Highland Loyalism generally fall into two historiographical camps. The first faction sees the prime motivation for Highland outmigration to British North America from an economic perspective. These historians, such as David Dobson, Ned C. Landsman, and John Prebble take a more empirical and less ‘romantic’ view on the Highland diaspora and assert that Highlanders were migrating to North America in search of economic wealth and occupational opportunities opening to them through the auspices of their mercantile activity of the British Empire.⁵ The collapse of the clan system after the failure of the 1745-1746 Jacobite rebellion along with the closure of past pan-Gaelic and pan-European commercial and occupational channels forced Highlanders to make a choice: starvation and poverty in Scotland or new opportunities in the Americas. These historians emphasize that the decisions for migrating to North America came down to simple economic decisions that would allow Highlanders to survive in the post-Culloden world. The only outlet available to Highlanders, as bitter a pill as it may have been, was the English-dominated British Empire in North America and, specifically, military service. Scholars favoring an economic interpretation argue that at the same time people of the Highlands faced a difficult shifting economic and political milieu, they began to come to the realization that the social welfare the chiefs had always provided

had become, after 1746, a thing of the past. Many Highlanders became alienated from their chiefs as it became apparent through rising rents and enforced enclosure of former communal lands that the paternal relationship of centuries past had expired.⁶

From the records of colonial land grants and indentures, it is clear that it is under these circumstances, and during this time period, that Highlanders began to contemplate migration to British North America. In 1764 Alexander MacAllister, a veteran of the 1745 Jacobite Rising acknowledged the economic and cultural changes that had beset his home and migrated to the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. Between the 1750s and 1770s thousands more Highlanders would do the same in an attempt to secure occupational opportunities no longer available to them with the closure of pan-Celtic and pan-Catholic outlets in the Highlands and Europe. MacAllister wrote home a year after settling in North Carolina and extolled the virtues of outmigration to British North America. North Carolina was, in MacAllister's words, "the best poor man's country I have ever heard in this age." He went on to urge his clansmen and family to follow in his footsteps saying, "you would do well to advise all poor people who you wish well to take courage and come to this country." Later in his letter the alienation he felt about the collapse of the traditional clan system and greed of the new generation of Highland chiefs was made clear. He noted that the only alternative to migration to North America would be to remain in an economically depressed and culturally damaged Highlands where "the landlords will sure be master and the face of the poor is kept to the grinding stone."⁷

The second camp of historians sees the primary motivation for Highlander outmigration to British North America as an attempt to preserve their Gaelic culture and way of life in a new land. Historians of this aspect of Highland outmigration place an

emphasis on exiled Jacobites who were transported to North America, or those who sought voluntary exile because their Gaelic way of life had collapsed after Culloden. These historians include Marianne McLean, William Gillies, Michael Newton, Duane Meyer, and James Hunter.⁸ Meyer, in his influential work, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina 1732-1776*, calls this the, “exile theory.”⁹ These historians of eighteenth-century Scottish outmigration to British North America emphasize the cultural and kinship ties that patterned Highlanders' resettlement. In addition to economic interests, these historians cite clan ties and cultural connections that assisted Highlanders to make the difficult decision to leave Scotland and settle in North America. Gaelic cultural historians maintain that to Gaelic Highlanders of the early modern era, *sliochdan*, or ‘lineage’ was more important than any other factor in their life. ‘*Cuimhnich ar na daoine bhon tanaig thu,*’ or “remember the people from who you descend,” was a saying taught to Highland children to emphasize the importance of the clan unity.¹⁰ Using the primary sources available, an argument can be made that following the final Jacobite defeat in 1746, and the ensuing harsh reprisals, Highlanders came to the British North American colonies primarily as ‘transported’ rebels or voluntary entrepreneurs seeking opportunities for cultural and economic survival. Historians of this school of eighteenth-century Highland outmigration do not deny that economics played a role in the Highland diaspora. But, they see the long-standing Highland migratory patterns shaped by clan and kinship ties as being a larger motivating factor than pure economics in explaining why Highland clans and regiments adhered to the Loyalist cause.

This study intends to illustrate how in the years 1750-1820 Highlanders utilized the British Empire, especially British North America, as a means of cultural preservation

and economic advancement via military service in the British army in North America. This thesis takes a position that links the two standard interpretations and rationales for Scottish Highland outmigration to British North America and Highland Loyalism during the era of the American Revolution and further contends that economic and cultural interpretations of this phenomena are not mutually exclusive, but rather deeply intertwined. For centuries, beginning in the fourteenth century with the Highland *galloclaechaib*, or 'galloglass' –mercenaries fighting along side the Gaelic chiefs of Ireland against the Normans and English –Scots and Irish Gaelic clan society was based upon the practice of clan chiefs rewarding military service with land grants. Traditionally Highland tenants paid for their farms and holdings by serving within the private clan army at the disposal of the chief. Although this practice was severely disrupted by the upheavals following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746, evidence shows that the system of land payment for military service to Highland chiefs was still utilized as late as the War of 1812, albeit in a modified form where the British state had co-opted Highland Gaelic chiefs and military leaders into the British system for the imperial wars in North America. In the half-century of Scottish outmigration to North America the Highland emigrants in North America had risen in wealth and political influence that was manifested on both sides of the Atlantic. Highlanders had been coerced at the point of bayonets into the British union and empire. However, since the union of Scotland and England in 1707, Highland Scots in North America had prospered and the wealth created by the growing transatlantic trade guided Highland Scots to the realization that the United Kingdom, with its established mercantile empire, could allow them to continue to prosper. When the war began in 1775 the likelihood of an America victory against the

world's most dominant empire was small at best. In light of their amazing achievements in so short a time period and the burgeoning transatlantic trade in which Highlanders in North America were engaged, it becomes clearer why Highlanders set aside their hatred of the House of Hanover and adhered to the Loyalist cause. Scottish Highlanders entered into service with the British state not out of fidelity to the Crown or an acceptance of the Anglocentric British state, but out of economic self interest and the opportunity to preserve at least some aspects of their Gaelic culture in British North America.

This thesis considers and analyzes the motivations for Scottish Highland outmigration to British North America during the eighteenth century from both an economic as well as cultural perspective. This paper posits that Scottish Highlanders utilized the mercenary profession that had long been a part of their way of life in order to achieve economic security and a degree of cultural preservation. It will also demonstrate that Scottish Highland Loyalism during the War of American Independence was not an abnormality, as some have suggested, but rather a continuation of certain Highland clans and families' adherence to a martial code of mercenary service for land. In order to arrive at this conclusion this study will examine the history of Scottish mercenary service and Highland clan political loyalties beginning in the late medieval era through the formation of Highland regiments within the British army during the eighteenth century, and culminates with these regiments' land-grant-based settlement of North America.

Chapter two examines the service and settlement of Highland *galloglass* mercenary soldiers in Ireland during the medieval era as well as the large number of Scottish soldiers that served in France and Northern Europe during the medieval through early-modern eras. Chapter three details the continuity of the Scottish mercenary

tradition and examines how the defeat of Jacobitism in Scotland contributed to the origins of imperial outmigration to British North America. With the final defeat of the Jacobites in 1746 Scottish soldiers turned toward North America as an outlet for their mercenary profession and economic and cultural survival. Chapter four explains how the British political and military establishment incorporated Highland Scottish soldiers into the British military and colonial empire in North America using the formation of Highland regiments for service in the Seven Years' War as a case study. It was in the years immediately before and after the Seven Years' War that Highland soldiers revived their practice of mercenary service for land and witnessed a large scale outmigration of Scottish and Scots Highland soldiers and families to North America. Chapters five and six analyze the role of Scottish and Scots Highland Loyalists during the War of American Independence. With a thorough examination of Scottish clan and family loyalties beginning in the medieval era through the Jacobite wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, linkages can be found that highlight the continuation of a centuries old practice of Highland military oriented outmigration. These continuations explain the motivations for Highland outmigration to British North America during the eighteenth century and why Scottish soldiers made a disproportionately large contribution to the Loyalist cause during the War of American Independence

¹ William Brock, *Scotus Americanus: A survey of the sources for links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), 73.

² Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965), shows through an analysis of British records that of the Loyalist claims on the British government after the war 470 of 1,144 claims made by persons not born in America were by Highland Scots, compared with 290 by English and 280 by Irish exiles. The remaining claims were made by people identified merely as having been born in Great Britain. Statistics from Brown are found in *Scotus Americanus*, 261.

³ Kevin Phillips, *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 265.

⁴ Ferenc Morton Szasz, "Historians and the Scottish America Connection," in *Scots in the North American West, 1790-1917* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 5-6.

⁵ David Dobson, *Scottish emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1994) and Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and its first American Colonies, 1683-1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) and John Prebble, *The Darien disaster: a Scots Colony in the New World, 1698-1700* (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1969).

⁶ Michael Newton, *A Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd., 2000), 121; and Duane Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina 1732-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 31.

⁷ James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., 1994), 43.

⁸ Mariane McLean, *The People of Glengarry Highlands in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) and William Gillies, "Gaelic Songs of the Forty-Five," *Scottish Studies* 30 (1991): 21.

⁹ Meyer, 18.

¹⁰ Newton, "Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World," 110.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGACY OF SCOTTISH MERCENARY SOLDIERING

Prior to the eighteenth century Scottish soldiers from both the Lowlands and the Highlands had a long history of serving in a mercenary capacity in foreign militaries. Beginning with the medieval English conquest of Ireland and the Hundred Years War, through the many wars that raged across Europe from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries, Scottish soldiers found an outlet for military employment in Ireland, France, Russia, Sweden, and other Northern European nations. An analysis of the trends and patterns of Scottish mercenary service in Europe from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries demonstrates the continuity of Scottish soldiers seeking military oriented professions for the purpose of settlement and acquiring land.

Centuries before the eighteenth-century ascendancy of the British Empire, Gaelic Scottish Highland soldiers were involved in another colonial endeavor in neighboring Ireland. The purpose of this chapter is not to detail the 1315-1322 Bruce interventions in Ireland, or the settlement of Highland *galloclaechaib*, ‘*galloglass*’ mercenaries in what would become Ulster. However, a brief narrative of these events establishes the first of a long series of Highland outmigrations based around military endeavors in which Highlanders served a military role followed by settling in the area where they were dispatched. This study intends to show that it is no coincidence that if we consult muster

rolls and pay records of Highland regiments such as the North Carolina Loyalist militias, His Majesty's Regiment of North Carolina Loyal Militia, North Carolina Volunteers, North Carolina Highland Regiment, and the Royal Highland Emigrants from the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence most of the names appearing on these sources are names of former *galloglass* and Jacobite clans.¹

In 1315 Edward Bruce, the younger brother of King Robert I, 'the Bruce' of Scotland, led a Scottish invasion of Ireland in an attempt to drive the English from Ireland and to relieve the pressure on Robert's invasion of northern England. The Gaelic Irish chiefs and kings had raised the banner of revolt against the English Lordship of Ireland and many of the Gaelic Irish chiefs were willing to rally around Edward Bruce, himself a scion of a hybrid Norman-Gaelic Scots dynasty, to expel the Anglo-Norman adventurers from Ireland. The younger Bruce's forces were comprised almost entirely of Gaelic Highlanders and men from the Gaelic Western Isles of Scotland and officered by men from famous Highland warrior clans including Clan Donald who held the Lordship of the Isles, the Domail, MacLeans, MacLochlainns, and Duihne (Campbell) chiefs from Argyll, the original Gaelic stronghold in Scotland.² Many of the Highland clans of the western seaboard held territories on both sides of the Irish Sea and reinforced their claim to these cross-channel holdings with marriage contracts. The historian Allan MacInnes examines the "banding and clientage" between Irish and Scottish Gaels and concludes, "Proprietary clans such as the various branches of the MacDonalds and the MacKenzies on the western seaboard rarely contracted marriages outwith Gaeldom; whereas the Frasers of Lovat in the central Highlands were much more outgoing in marrying exogamously. But the Frasers were considerable closer to the Lowland peripheries while

the MacDonalds had a vested interest in maintaining links with Irish as well as Scottish Gaels, a separate branch of the clan having become established as the MacDonnells of Antrim in the course of the sixteenth century."³ It is relevant to note that many of these same Highland Gaelic clans that served during the *galloglass* wars of the Middle Ages also contributed soldiers to the Jacobite forces in 1745 and later made up core components of Highland regiments serving in both the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. Indeed, if one examines which Highland clans adhered to the Jacobite cause in 1745-1746 and cross references medieval texts such as the *Annals of Connacht*, John Barbour of Aberdeen's 1375 *The Bruce*, and Richard Stanyhurst's 1577 *Irish Chronicle*, many of the same clans who were Jacobite in allegiance during the 1745-1746 rebellion were also medieval Gaelic Highland *galloclaechaib*, or 'galloglass' mercenaries. Highland *galloglass* fought alongside Irish kings in an effort to hold back the Anglo-Norman/English conquest of Ireland during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. The influence of the *galloglass* in Ireland and their fame in their Highland homelands are illustrated by Gaelic bardic songs and poems, that were sung and recited on both sides of the Irish sea and recite the exploits of MacDonalds, MacSweeneyes, MacDowells, and MacCabes. Clans such as the Macdonalds, Camerons, Macdougalls, MacRorys, Macgregors, Macsweeneyes, and Murrays, that were 'out in the '45' as Jacobites, were also the same clans that had fought as *galloglass* mercenaries against centralization and the encroachment of Anglo-Norman culture into the *Gaeltacht* three hundred years before the Jacobite wars began.⁴

Although the Bruce adventure in Ireland was not successful, it did set a precedent for Highland outmigration for the purpose of military campaigns and long-term

settlement. According to the *Annals of Connacht*, Robert and Edward Bruce made extensive use of Gaelic Highland mercenaries that were known as '*galloclaechaib*', or '*galloglass*.'⁵ What makes the *galloglass* an important feature to make note of in a survey of Highland outmigration is that unlike many later groups of Scottish soldiers who served abroad, and that often returned home, large numbers of *galloglass* remained in Ireland and settled the north of Ireland long before the Tudor-Stewart project of Ulster plantation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

After Edward Bruce's defeat in 1318, large numbers of his retainers and *galloglass* from the Highlands and Isles remained in Ireland in service to Gaelic Irish kings. A traditional form of payment for soldiery service both in the Norman modeled feudal system and ancient Gaelic traditions was the granting of lands, which the Gaels called *buannacht*.⁶ The Irish kings and Highland *galloglass* found this a mutually beneficial arrangement. Many Irish kings could not afford to keep permanent armed retinues for their wars against one another and the English and *galloglass* mercenaries provided a ready source of soldiers. In the Highlands, younger sons and lesser clan chiefs who could not compete with the growing influence of the powerful coastal clans like the Campbells, Macdonalds, Macleans, and McNeils, and the growth of a more centralized Scots monarchy under the Bruces and Stewarts, saw *galloglass* service as a way to enrich themselves and gain glory for their clans. The influence of the *galloglass* in Ireland and their fame in their Highland homelands is illustrated by Gaelic bardic songs and poems, sung and recited on both sides of the Irish Sea that list the exploits of MacDonalds, MacSweeneys, MacDowells, and MacCubes.⁷ *Galloglass* leaders became so integrated and settled in Ulster and other parts of Ireland that when Richard II came to

Ireland in 1395 to subdue a Gaelic rebellion, he treated not with the Desmonds or O'Neills, but rather with MacCabe of Clogher, who held the *hereditary* title of "constable of *galloglass* in service with the Gaelic kings O' Ruaircs, O' Reilly, Mac Mahons, and Monaghan."⁸

By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Scottish Highland *galloglass* had spread their influence and settled in nearly all parts of Ireland not directly under the control of England. In 1539 a letter from Dublin sent to the English statesman Thomas Cromwell stated that "thers is of Scottes [Scots], now dwelling in Ireland, above two thowsand [*sic*] men or warre," and that they were the true, "power of the Irish."⁹ By the later portion of the sixteenth century a new influx of Scottish mercenaries traveled to and settled in Scotland. Turloch Luineach O'Neill, a Highland sub-chief who was also related to the O'Neills of Ulster, recruited and settled an estimated 35,000 *galloglass* in Scotland.¹⁰

To the modern eye this seems farfetched that kinship and clan relationships that tied the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland together would be a motivating factor for Highland outmigration in later centuries. However, utilizing the knowledge of how kinship and clan ties united the *Gaeltacht* long after the formal dynastic or political unity between the Highlands of Scotland and the Gaelic Irish of Ulster dissolved, it is clear that by the time the early modern period began, and a royal and full political union between England and Scotland became more tangible, Highland Scots were utilizing kinship connections as a tool for outmigration, settlement, and political aggrandizement. Some Scottish and English leaders were actively seeking an imperial strategy to more greatly bind Scotland, Ireland, and England together. During this era Archibald Campbell, the 5th Earl of Argyll and chief of Clan Campbell engaged in a double political strategy of both Highland

galloglass excursions in Ireland and establishing a political accord with England. Argyll was during the time period of 1558-1573 not only the most powerful Highland clan chief and noble in Scotland, but also the most powerful magnate within the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Jane Dawson, in her book *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: the Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland*, examines the role Argyll played not only in Scottish and Irish Gaeldom but also his role in paving the way for the formation of a later unified 'British' state. Dawson argues that the 5th Earl of Argyll's 'British policy' was a revolution in foreign policy that shaped the future dynastic and political shape of the early modern British Isles.¹¹

Dawson begins her study in 1560 with the signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh. The treaty, championed by the 5th Earl of Argyll and William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's chief advisor, altered the balance of power in all three British Kingdoms. The Scots and Argyll abandoned the 'auld alliance' with France and joined with their long time enemies the English. This allowed Argyll and the other Protestant lords of Scotland to usher in the Scottish Reformation. English hostility to Gaelic Scottish mercenaries in Ireland fighting alongside the Gaelic Irish chiefs, many of them employed by Argyll, was replaced by English subsidized support of these same mercenaries to subdue Ireland. Dawson posits that the Treaty of Berwick was a three-sided approach to foreign policy, which, for the first time, saw a unified direction and goals pursued by Scotland and England. The author also argues that the treaty produced a 'British context' within which the policies of England, Scotland, and Ireland would be pursued until replaced by the regal union of 1603. Argyll, a staunch Protestant, one of the leading Lords of the Congregation, held expansive territories in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland,

Ireland, and England as well. Dawson clearly establishes that Argyll and the House of Campbell were a man and family of two distinct worlds; one traditionally Highland and Gaelic, and one Lowland and concerned with affairs in Edinburgh, London, and the greater British archipelago. In many respects Argyll was one of the first truly 'British' nobles, but he was first and foremost a Highland Gaelic chief, and it was in the Highlands that his military power was strongest. Argyll was so powerful in Scotland that Dawson terms him the "semi-sovereign prince" and the "most powerful nobleman in the sixteenth-century Atlantic archipelago."¹² Argyll wielded semi-sovereign powers in Argyll, the Western Highland and Islands, and "had no hesitation in exercising regalian rights, issuing proclamations and letters of legitimation, granting licenses to travel, giving marriage dispensations and in practice ennobling his subordinates."¹³ As the preeminent Highland chief his military strength and control of the Irish Sea allowed him to act as a semi-sovereign ruler and Gaelic poets of the era called him the "King of the Gael."¹⁴ Argyll could field the third largest military force in the British Isles, behind only the national armies of England and Scotland, and was powerful enough that when he rebelled against Mary Queen of Scots in 1565 "he remained virtually impregnable within Argyll even though his fellow lords had been forced to flee into exile."¹⁵

Once outmigration to Ireland had run its course after the surrender of Gaelic Ireland's last great 'king,' Hugh O'Neill in 1603, and the English policy of Plantation, Cecil and Argyll's 'British policy' began to take shape. Highlander soldiers seeking occupational opportunities were forced to turn elsewhere. There were intermittent Irish uprisings where *galloglass* were employed. However, the large-scale settlement of Scottish Highland warriors in Ireland in the employ of Gaelic chiefs was no longer

feasible by the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1603, with Elizabeth I clearly in the final days of her reign, James VI of Scotland, with an eye on the English succession, moved against both the Irish rebels and the *galloglass* clans of the western seaboard.¹⁶ The policy of establishing a "permanent wedge between the Gaels of Ireland and of Scotland" was pursued vigorously by James.¹⁷ The Protestant 'plantation' in Ulster effectively ended cross-channel military cooperation between the clans of the western seaboard of Scotland and their relations in Ireland. From 1608 onward James utilized the military nature of certain pro-government Protestant Highland Gaelic clans such as the MacKenzies and Campbells and "privatized" or hired them not to embark for Ireland but to police and subdue other defiant western seaboard clans.¹⁸ The central government's policy of Plantation was so successful that by the end of the sixteenth century the Macdonalds of the Isles of Scotland had been effectively separated from their kinsmen, the MacDonnells of Antrim and most of the pan-Gaelic military exercises and settlement ceased to be an option for the Highland chiefs and *fine* (nobility).¹⁹ Highland chiefs and entrepreneurs looked to continental Europe and the newly established colonies in North America.

The numerous wars of fifteenth-through seventeenth-century Europe, especially the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the Time of Troubles (1598-1613), and the First Northern War (1655-1661), provided ample opportunity for Scottish mercenaries, both from the Highland *Gàidhealtachd* and the Lowland *Galldachd* with employment and opportunities to acquire land grants throughout Europe. Russia, Sweden, and the other states of Northern Europe attracted many Scots mercenaries with offers of commissioned rank and land grants. Giles Fletcher (1549-1611) was a Scottish ambassador to Muscovy

and wrote *The history of Russia, or, The goverment of the Emperour of Muscovia: with manners & fashions of the people of that countrey*. He estimated that there were at least 150 Scots officers in Czar Fedor's army lifeguard.²⁰ In 1616 during the reign of Michael Romanov two Gaelic speaking regiments, one Irish and one Scots, were garrisoned around the town of Smolensk.²¹

It is exceptionally difficult to gain a precise total of how many Scots mercenaries served in Russia, Sweden, and the other Scandinavian and Baltic states due to the inherent inaccuracies of early-modern record keeping and the translation problems that exist when trying to render Gaelic and English names into Cyrillic and *vice versa*. For example, the name Hamilton is often recorded as *Khomutov*. Additionally, many Russian records refer to all mercenaries from Western Europe as 'Germans' regardless of their origin. These linguistic nuances pose difficulties to any scholar not familiar with Russian. However, Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland have undertaken such an attempt by creating the *Scotland, Scandinavia, and Northern Europe 1580-1707 Database (SSNE)*. Utilizing a wide variety of primary and secondary sources Grosjean and Murdoch have compiled information on individuals from Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales who migrated to or served in the military and diplomatic services of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia between the years 1580 and 1707. This database is a valuable tool for the study of the trends and patterns of Scottish outmigration that preceded outmigration to British North America during the eighteenth century.²² A query of the SSNE Database shows that between the 1508 and 1707 there were 480 Scots serving in the Russian Imperial army or diplomatic

corps. Of those 480 Scots there appear 134 Gaelic surnames of Highland families from the Scottish *Gaeltacht*.²³

Russia's opponent in most of the wars it fought during this era, Sweden, also hired large numbers of Scots and Scots Highland soldiers. The SSNE Database shows that from 1580-1707, 2,161 Scots served in Swedish military and diplomatic posts. Thirty-three percent, or 715 names, are of Highland families from the Scottish *Gaeltacht*, again demonstrating the high degree of Highlander outmigration; some of them settled permanently in Sweden. During the Thirty Years' War land grants were frequently given to Scottish soldiers in Swedish service.²⁴ One specific example of members of a prominent Highland family that used military service as a method of settlement in Sweden were the Macleans. John MacLean was the fifth son of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart. MacLean served in the Stuart navy until about 1629 when he moved to Sweden and became a burgher of Gothenburg. Later, MacLean housed and funded the famous Irish 'Wild Geese' who settled in Gothenburg from 1640-1647. His son, David MacLean (1669-1708) rose to become a Swedish baron and served as the lieutenant and colonel of the *Vastgota dal Regiment*, and later became the royal governor of Gothenburg.²⁵

It is only in recent years that scholars have identified how large the Scottish mercenary outmigration to Sweden was. Scots in Sweden established themselves to such a degree that when the civil wars raged across the British Isles and Ireland in the 1640s, Sweden actively supported various Scottish factions such as the Covenanters and the Montrosian Royalists. It has even been posited by some historians that the feared 'Highland Charge,' the centuries old tactic of Highland warriors to conduct a coordinated massed volley fire and then charge at the enemy with Gaelic war cries and drawn

broadswords to engage in melee combat, was perfected by a brigade of Highland Scots within the Swedish army at the battle of Breitenfeld during the Thirty Years' War.²⁶ The Highland charge would be used by the Highland clans in all of the Jacobite Wars and later by Highland Regiments in Britain's colonial wars in British North America. In 1759 on the Plains of Abraham at the Battle of Quebec, the 78th Fraser Highlanders delivered the *coup de grace* against General Montcalm's French forces with a Highland charge.



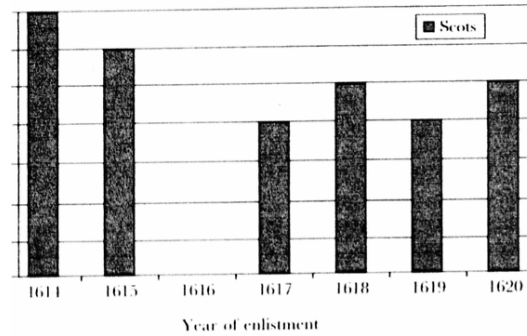
Figure 2.1 "Scottish mercenaries in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, 1631." The caption to this contemporary German broadsheet describes them as 'physically strong, enduring much: if bread be scarce, they eat roots'.

The influence of Scottish officers in the Swedish army of the Swedish crown and *Riksråd* (parliament), specifically in regard to the British civil wars of the 1640s, was extensive. King Charles I utilized the Marquis of Hamilton and Sir Patrick Ruthven, both of whom were Lowland officers, and had been officers in the Swedish army, to petition for Royalist support. The Scottish Covenanters countered by enlisting Field Marshal Alexander Leslie to appeal to Sweden for arms and men to support their cause. Leslie, who had begun his Swedish service in 1608 as a lieutenant, had risen to the influential and powerful position of field marshal by 1636.²⁸ He

addressed the Swedish *Riksråd* and read them the National Covenant, which provoked lengthy debate on religious and political freedoms in Scotland. Despite years of close relations with the House of Stuart, Leslie and other Scottish anti-Royalist officers in the Swedish military persuaded the government of Sweden to oppose Charles I for fear of his perceived Catholic religious policies and the possible threat of anti-Swedish alliance of England, Scotland, and Spain that might have emerged if Charles I were victorious in the civil wars.²⁹ Leslie was so successful that in June 1638, the Marquis of Hamilton wrote that, “[the Covenanters] ar still sending for more armes [*sic*] and amunitioun not onlie from Hollen but lykus from Hamburg, Breme, Lubick, Dansick, and Sued.”³⁰ Later in June 1638, Leslie arrived in Scotland with arms and military equipment for the Covenanting army that had been given to him by Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna.³¹ In 1640 Colonel John Cochrane, a Scottish Covenanter successful lobbied the Swedish *Riksråd* for supplies of ammunition and copper to be sent to Scotland via Holland.³² This “special relationship,” as it was called by Oxenstierna, was further cemented by Scottish mercenaries, many of Highland extraction.³³

Figure 2.2 Gustav II Adolph and the Scots 1613-1629 from SSNE Database

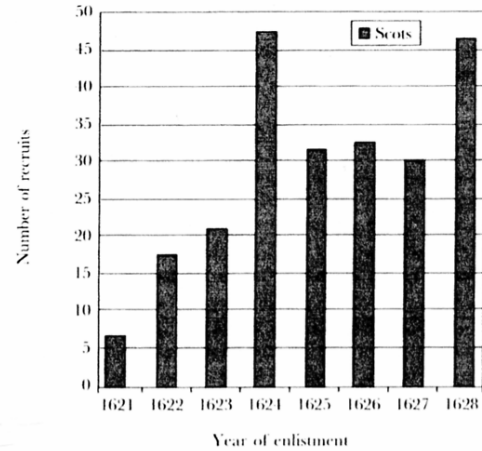
Fig. 4. Scottish officer enlistment in the Swedish army 1614-1620



(Source: SSNE database)

GUSTAV II ADOLF AND THE SCOTS, 1613-1629

Fig. 5. Scottish officer enlistment in the Swedish army 1620-1628



Source: SSNE database

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The main legacy of the diaspora and settlement in France and northern Europe of Highlanders, both noble and common, was military. This can be partially attributed to the martial nature of Gaelic Highland life. Clan chiefs kept private armies and every able-bodied male was expected to arm himself and train for war to protect chief and clan.³⁵ Warfare was an important focal point for Gaelic culture, and the warrior-ethos of the Gaels manifested itself in ancient and medieval heroic ballads and poetry. In the Middle Ages poems of *togail creiche*, or cattle raids, told of heroic battles and daring raids against rival clans and Lowlanders. As late as the eighteenth century Gaelic poets such as Paruig MacInnes mocked Englishmen and Lowlanders for adopting “cowardly” firearms, and proclaiming, “there is many a warrior, fierce in conflict, who would not want a gun, a shiny, grooved blade being drawn, achieving victory.”³⁶ This is not to say that Scottish Highlanders were a bloodthirsty race more inclined to war than other nation-states or ethnic groups. Until the Jacobite defeat in 1746, the Highlands of Scotland maintained a geographically and politically distinct identity from the rest of Britain. Their

isolation and decentralization allowed the Highland Gaelic clans to retain a large measure of the classical inclination for militarism that was compounded by the practice of chiefs and local 'kings' maintaining private armies. The convention of mobilizing clans by sending the fiery cross throughout some areas of the Highlands "meant a lower threshold in the Highlands than the Lowlands for the resort to arms."³⁷ The martial nature of Highland clans was exaggerated by Whig polemicists and later romantic 'lost cause' interpretations of the Jacobite rebellions.³⁸ However, some regions of the Gaelic Highlands possessed a more pronounced inclination toward militarism that persisted even after the growth of establishment of commerce and commercial clanship as well as the reprisals that followed the 1745-1746 rebellion.³⁹ This military tradition, along with a growing proclivity for domestic and transatlantic commercial affairs, shifted focus after the traditional outlets for outmigration and occupational opportunities closed following the pacification of Gaelic Ireland in the seventeenth century and the growing commercialization of land use and clanship in the eighteenth century. Highlanders were forced to shift their patterns and destinations for outmigration to adapt to the new realities of a more mercantile post-Culloden world.

¹ Information on His Majesty's Regiment of North Carolina Loyal Militia from North Carolina Historical Commission, English Records, Treasury Papers, Miscellanea, North and South Carolina Refugees, 1781-1782, P.R.O. Treasury 50, Bundle 5. Information on North Carolina Volunteers from North Carolina Historical Commission, English Records, War Office Papers, Army Lists, Annual Army Lists, Printed. 1777-1783. Vol. 165 , p. 17 P.R.O, Information on North Carolina Highland Regiment from North Carolina Historical Commission, English Records, Treasury Papers, Miscellanea, North and South Carolina Refugees, 1781-1782, P.R.O. Treasury 50, Bundle 5, found in Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1964), Appendix A Sections I, II, & XI respectively. Information regarding the Royal Highland Emigrants is from, Paul H. Smith, "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 25 (1968): 266.

² James Lyndon, "The Scottish Soldier in Medieval Ireland: the Bruce Invasion and the *Galloglass*," in Grant G. Simpson, ed. *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992), 7.

³ Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1996), 8.

⁴ Primary source information on *galloglass* mercenaries and *galloglass* clans who later became Jacobite clans gathered from Archdeacon John Barbour of Aberdeen (1375), "The Bruce", in Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England, and*

Ireland 1306-1328, (East Lothain: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 49-50, 171; and *Annals of Connacht*, translated by A.M. Freeman, in McNamee, 194; and *Annals of Ulster* translated by Edmund Curtis, (Oxford 1927), 58 in McNamee, 194; and Raphael Holinshed (original medieval author) and Richard Stanyhurst (compiler), and Liam Miller and Eileen Power (modern editors and translators), *Irish Chronicles: The Historie or Irelande from first inhabitation thereof, unto the yeare 1509* (Dublin: Humanities Press, 1979), 129-131, 210-211, and 280. Secondary Sources: Lyndon, 2, and 7-12; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen 1650-1784* (London: Methune London Ltd., 1984), 25-29; and David Willis McCullough ed., *Wars of the Irish Kings: a Thousand Years of Struggle From the Age of Myth Through the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: History Book Club, 2000).

⁵ Lyndon, 7.

⁶ Lyndon, 11; and Sir Fitzroy MacLean, *Highlanders a History of the Scottish Clans* (New York: Penguin Group, 1995), 74.

⁷ Lyndon, 8.

⁸ *Annals of Ulster*, 58.

⁹ Lyndon, 11.

¹⁰ Lyndon, 12.

¹¹ Jane E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-2.

¹² Dawson, 48.

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- ¹³ Dawson, 48-49.
- ¹⁴ Dawson, 48.
- ¹⁵ Dawson, 49.
- ¹⁶ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 58.
- ¹⁷ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 58.
- ¹⁸ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 60.
- ¹⁹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 62.
- ²⁰ Paul Dukes, "The First Scottish Soldiers in Russia," in Simpson, ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967*, 47 and University of Kansas Kenneth Spence Research Library Online, www.keenwebs.com/KSRL.
- ²¹ Dukes, 47.
- ²² Grosjean and Murdoch SSNE Database, www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/.
- ²³ Grosjean and Murdoch SSNE Database, www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/.
- ²⁴ Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2003), 144.
- ²⁵ Grosjean and Murdoch, SSNE Database I.D. #s 1631 & 3023
- ²⁶ Alexia Grosjean, "Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?" in Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2001), 157-158.
- ²⁷ 'Scottish mercenaries in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, 1631, contemporary German broadsheet. British Museum, London, found in: Máire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ireland: a Concise History* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1999), 65.
- ²⁸ Grosjean and Murdoch, SSNE Database, I.D. # 1.

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- ²⁹ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 166-170.
- ³⁰ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 169.
- ³¹ Allan I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 122.
- ³² Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660*, p. 122.
- ³³ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 168-169.
- ³⁴ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 64-65.
- ³⁵ Szechi, 15, and, Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 109.
- ³⁶ Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 141.
- ³⁷ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 170.
- ³⁸ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 169.
- ³⁹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 171.

CHAPTER III
SCOTTISH MERCENARY TRADITIONS AND THE ORIGINS OF
IMPERIAL OUTMIGRATION

Tracing and interpreting the motivations for the outmigration of Scots Highlanders to British North America is an elusive process. Any historian of Atlantic history can attest to the difficulties that arise when one attempts to match the *why* to the *who* and *when* of large-scale migrations. In the case of Highlander outmigration to British North America beginning in the early eighteenth century, the earlier pattern of foreign military employment and outmigration reemerges. While living conditions in the Highlands had been deteriorating for some time due to natural and demographic causes, the collapse of the clan system and the cultural cohesion and stability it provided, combined with high rents, absentee landlords, crofting, and government reprisals for the 1745-1746 rebellion, forced some Highlanders to shift their patterns of foreign military employment and outmigration away from the *Gaeltacht*, Europe, and even the Lowlands of their own native Scotland. During his tour of the Highlands Samuel Johnson observed the dissolution of the ancient ties of kinship and clanship after Culloden. "Their chiefs have already lost much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will divest themselves of the little that remains."¹ As it became clear that the Highlands of Scotland were going to be more fully

integrated into the British world, whether by choice or by coercion, Highlanders continued the old occupational patterns of the *galloglass* and mercenary employment within the new framework of the British Empire. Indeed, after the suppression of Jacobitism, military recruitment and service became a central process in the rehabilitation of Scottish Highlanders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

By the 1770s Scottish Highlanders seeking occupational opportunities as soldiers, merchants, and farmers had migrated in such significant numbers to British North America that entire Gaelic-speaking communities had left the Highlands and Western Isles and relocated to places such as New York, Canada, and the Carolinas. In North America Gaelic-speaking Highland Scots sought to create a new North America *Gaeltacht*, complete with the Gaelic language and cultural trappings of the Highlands. In 1773, James Boswell, who accompanied Samuel Johnson throughout the Highlands, wrote in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* how he witnessed this new enthusiasm for migration to North America, captured in an ages old Highland tradition, the *celidh*, or public dance. “In the evening the company danced as usual. We performed, with much activity, a dance which, I suppose, the emigration from Skye has occasioned. They call it *America*. Each of the couples, after the common involutions and evolutions, successively whirls round in a circle, till all are in motion; and the dance seems intended to show how emigration catches, till a whole neighbourhood is set afloat.”²

By utilizing letters and journals of eighteenth-century Highlanders who migrated to North America or contemporary accounts of their departure from Scotland or their resettlement overseas, scholars have posited that Highlanders felt that kinship and culture had as much, or perhaps more, to do with the Highland diaspora than any other factor.

Historians can build a persuasive argument that Highlanders in America, whether they had arrived as transported prisoners or as voluntary migrants, acted as unofficial recruiting agents to their families and friends at home in the Highlands. This kind of interpretation challenges those scholars who argue that Highlanders willingly left to better their life opportunities overseas.

This thesis favors a ‘middle-ground’ between these two perspectives. That Scots Highlanders faced harsh economic conditions, coupled with political and cultural repression after Culloden, is undeniable. Yet what has gone largely unanalyzed is the continuation of older mercenary traditions and their reliance on clan structure. Sufficient evidence does exist to illustrate that Highlanders embarked on a new outmigration after 1746, this time to North America to seek economic gain, just as their forefathers had done in centuries past in taking service in Ireland, France, and Northern Europe. Twenty-eight documented Jacobite veterans of the 1745-1746 rebellion, in particular prominent elites, received land grants between the years 1763 and 1780.³ It is almost a certainty that the actual number of former Jacobites acquiring land in North America as payment for service in the British army was much higher. Many Jacobites hid their former allegiance during recruitment and muster, especially if they were serving under a former Scots Hanoverian commander, such as a Campbell or a Grant, as was often the case during the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence. Evidence also suggests that Highlanders came to North America for more than just mere economic aggrandizement. By the 1770s, Gaelic-speaking Highlanders accounted for almost a fifth of all emigration to British North America. A popular song in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands, *dol a dh'irraidh an fhortain an North Carolina*, ‘going to North Carolina to

seek a fortune,' is just one small indication that Highlanders had merged their necessity for economic survival with a desire to preserve a way of life that was rapidly deteriorating in the Highlands.⁴ This 'middle ground' theory holds that Highlanders utilized the British Empire, especially British North America, as an 'engine' of advancement via military and commercial endeavors. Scottish Highlanders undertook a massive diaspora to North America and entered into service with the British state not out of fidelity to the Crown or an acceptance of the Anglocentric British state, but rather out of economic self-interest and the opportunity to preserve at least some aspects of their Gaelic culture in British North America.

After the 1745 Jacobite rebellion the British army served as an agency that channeled thousands of Highland men to the colonies. Linda Colley, one of the foremost historians on the formation of a British national identity during the eighteenth century, argues that the British army provided Highland Scots with opportunities of wealth and advancement unavailable within the British Isles, asserting, "Ever since the Union [1707] the British army had been one of the few departments of the state open to Scottish ambition."⁵ Several regiments of Protestant Highlanders, called the Independent Companies of the Highlands, had been organized to serve the established governments in Edinburgh and London as early as 1603. In the intervening years from 1603 to 1745 the size and composition of these Independent Companies changed, but they were used almost exclusively as an internal police force in the Highlands and were the public face of the monarchy north of the Highland line.⁶

Due to the economic and political pressures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many Highland men were landless and seeking vocation in an increasingly

commercial environment. The demise of the clan system can not be solely laid on the Jacobite defeat at Culloden Moor in 1746. Culloden may have been the final death-blow to a deteriorating Gaelic clan system but the traditional clan structure had been declining for over a century prior to 1746. Allan Macinnes suggests that from the seventeenth century onward clan society was in a long process of decline due to absentee chiefs and landholders, economic pressures, and the assimilation of the chiefs and *fine* into the British imperial system, and that the Scottish Gaeltacht experienced a "commercial re-orientation."⁷ As early as the Restoration era Highland clans began to emulate the commercial practices of the Campbells, such as phasing out tacksmen as land managers, suggesting a "fundamental shift away from traditionalism towards commercialism."⁸ Macinnes's final conclusion is that the clan system was not so much overthrown by external pressures as undermined by internal ones. "The transition from a traditional to a commercial society in Scottish Gaeldom," writes Macinnes, "was marked by a series of convulsions which require setting aside the idea that clanship was monolithic, static, and undeveloped prior to the 'Forty-Five.'"⁹ However, following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746 and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756 it became a deliberate policy of the British ministry to recruit these now landless Highland soldiers, and the discontented Gaelic chiefs and gentry, and offer them honorable careers in service to the British crown.¹⁰ Like the Independent Companies, the first Highland regiments of the British Army raised after Culloden were only for deployment in Scotland. Pro-government Highland chiefs, such as John Campbell, Duke of Argyll, reasoned that if the defeated Highlanders were policed by "men of their own race" they might be less likely to rebel against the establishment.¹¹ However, once introduced to the

prospect of regular pay, and the opportunity to speak Gaelic, wear tartan, and maintain their *brosnachadh catha*, the traditional call to battle with Highland pipes, all things banned to the majority of Highlanders by the Disarming Act, clansmen enlisted in the Highland regiments.

Beginning in 1754 with the outbreak of war against the French and their Indian allies in North America there was another judicious *raison d'être* for the British government to recruit Highland clans with a mercenary history into the British army. The manpower requirements to fight a war that became global in scope, such as happened after war was declared in Europe in 1756, simply outstripped traditional sources of men in England and Lowland Scotland. It was also felt by some British military authorities that Highland regiments might be useful as a "highly mobile and hardy light infantry in North America."¹² Statistics clearly show the staggering increase of manpower that was necessary to prosecute the war in North America. In 1755 the British army and navy officially had 76,516 men in uniform. By 1762, the height of the war, that number had nearly doubled to 117,633.¹³ As well, the first years of the war went so badly for Britain, especially in North America, that to provide both the manpower and martial talent necessary to prevail over the French-Native American alliance British military authorities persuaded the Crown and Parliament to tap into the men and warrior ethos of the Highlands.

The extent that the attitude of the British establishment towards Highland clans changed during the Seven Years' War is clearly demonstrated by the words and actions of Prime Minister William Pitt, who argued that it was better policy to co-opt the warrior clans of the Highlands, populated with as he termed them, "fierce turbulent hillmen," into

the greater British state via the formal institutions of the military than face them in rebellion.¹⁴ “I sought for merit,” declared Pitt, “wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men...they served with fidelity as they fought with valour and conquered for you in every part of the world.”¹⁵

The British government's need for greater manpower during the Seven Years' War affected the religious climate and freedoms of Highland Catholic and Non-Juror clans. Immediately after Culloden Catholic parishes were shut down and Non-Juror Episcopalians were denied the rights of worship and holding office. As the need for more men became apparent the British military establishment pressured Parliament and the Crown for a relaxation of penal laws on Highland Gaelic Catholics as well as their related clans and families in Ireland in order to fill regiments for service in North America. Military needs have been shown to be one of the reasons why penal laws against Catholics and Non-Jurors were relaxed beginning in 1756, and later culminating in the Irish Relief Act of 1778.¹⁶

Recruitment of Highland regiments during the Seven Years' War also solved two perceived problems for the central government in Westminster and the new generation of capitalist Highland chiefs and landlords. To many in England and the Lowlands of Scotland the specter of Jacobitism and memories of a Scottish army marching toward Edinburgh and London were powerful. Although many feared another ‘Rising’ and the return of Charles Edward Stuart with the support of the Highland clans, in reality, by 1754 Jacobitism was virtually a dead cause. Andrew Nicholls, who has written about the

persistence of a mercenary tradition amongst Gaelic Highland clans, argues that by the onset of the Seven Years' War, Jacobitism was for all practical purposes an extinct political and cultural movement. "Jacobitism was now considered to be a spent force because ten years of repressive social engineering had largely succeeded in pacifying its most fertile area of the Scottish Highlands."¹⁷

Even though Jacobitism had no viable future in Scotland, members of the British establishment still feared a Stuart restoration. To many, if 'seditious' Highland soldiers could be removed to British North America or other parts of the British Empire, and not return to Scotland, so much the better. Even William Pitt, who championed the inclusion of Highland regiments in the British army, saw their deployment as a means of removing rebellious subjects from Britain. In an attempt to win passage of the bill that would allow Highland regiments in the British army, Pitt wrote to the still unconvinced Lord Hardwicke of the merits of using Highlanders, especially former Jacobites, commenting that "not many of them will return." Military leaders also shared this belief. "The Highlanders," wrote General Wolfe, who had fought against them at Culloden and had them under his command in Canada, "are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to rough country, and no greater mischief if they fall. How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good?"¹⁸

The 1745 Jacobite rebellion and the reprisals and upheavals that followed were a blow to the already declining clan system. The 1745 rebellion was as much a civil war as it was a clash between the central government and rebel clans that supported the deposed House of Stuart. The Scottish Highlands were divided amongst clans and clan chiefs that supported the Hanoverians, those that were Jacobite, and clans that remained neutral. Of

the approximately fifty Highland clans and families that are known to historians today, seven were Hanoverian/Whig, eighteen were Jacobite, twelve were neutral, and twelve were divided in their loyalties.¹⁹ But a very high percentage of Jacobite chiefs and sub-chiefs were killed on the wet moor of Culloden and portions of the Highlands faced a serious leadership vacuum. The Jacobite chiefs that did remain were forced to forfeit their hereditary rights and were thereby impoverished. The transformation in the nature of leadership cannot be ignored in discussing motivations for Highland outmigration. Many of the new generation of post-Culloden clan chiefs and landlords wished to rid themselves of tenants so as to maximize land usage for sheep grazing and crofting, a process which had already been underway for several generations. Even with the commercialization of the Highlands, as late as the 1750s the world of many Highlanders was highly local and centered on his or her own clan and chief. In Gaelic the word *clann* means children. The Gaelic clan system was patriarchal and the chief was considered father to his people. His appointed gentry or sub-chiefs and lesser gentry called *fir-tacsa* or 'tacksman', who were given a high degree of respect and obedience²⁰. Traditionally the main duty of tacksmen was to provide the chief with the 'man-rent,' or a quota of armed men to fight for the chief. In return the chief provided land and cattle to the tacksmen, and in turn the tacksmen distributed a lesser amount of land and cattle to the warriors and their families who were to fight for the clan.²¹ The Gaelic clan system in the Highlands centered around an ideology of kinship, whether real or imagined, that bound those sharing a surname in a unit that demanded more obedience and loyalty than any other organizing factor of society. To Gaelic Highlanders, *switchman*, or 'lineage' was one of the most important factors in their life. '*Cuimhnich ar na daoine bhon tanaig*

thu,’ or “remember the people from who you descend,” was an idiom taught to Highland children to emphasize the importance of clan unity.²² Although rank and privilege existed among clans and a socio-economic spectrum existed ranging from chiefs who privately held ten of thousands of acres and cattle, tacksmen who were the Highland equivalent of landed gentry or freeholders, and peasants who held only a handful of acres and cattle, the distribution of wealth among members of a Highland clan was more equal than most pre-industrial societies of Europe.²³

In the post-1746 Highland world, chiefs could not, or did not, maintain the traditional social and economic welfare system that bound clans together. Culloden and the reprisals that followed had decimated the chiefs and gentry of the Highlands. Those chiefs that did survive were left impoverished, had been co-opted into the British system, or placed economic self-interest above that of their retainers. Songs written by Highland bards of this time period lament the growing habit of chiefs who spent longer periods in Edinburgh and even London than with their own people.²⁴ The Disarming Act of 1746 made it illegal for clan chiefs to maintain private armies, thus putting an end to a centuries old system of land distribution and employment. The man-rent system that tacksmen had administered had been more than just a mechanism for Highland chiefs and lords to recruit and utilize private militias. It was also an economic system that provided occupations and economic benefits to all able-bodied men within a clan, whether they were mid-level gentry or the poorest fisherman. It was a vital occupational outlet for young men. The opportunity to obtain land had motivated tacksmen to recruit quality young men, who were trained in the arts of war, thus allowing them to participate in the traditional intra-clan cattle rieving and protection of the clan’s territories and cattle. This

pre-modern social welfare and occupational system had maintained an economic base, provided employment opportunities for young men, and nurtured the cultural cohesion of Highland clans.

With the proscription of private clan armies, the remaining Highland chiefs no longer had a need for tacksmen, and many chiefs and nobles began to view tacksmen as unnecessary middlemen and an expense that difficult economic times, or greed, made outmoded.²⁵ Some chiefs, in an effort to increase revenue and emulate the lifestyles of Lowland and English nobles directly collected rents from their clansmen rather than have the tacksmen serve as middlemen.²⁶

The relationship of chiefs to their clans had been altered so much that by the 1750s, economic prospects had become sufficiently dire for clanspeople that recruiting men for the new Highland regiments bound for North America became a highly profitable commercialized activity for many Highland chiefs and landlords.²⁷ This commercialization of clanship and its economic consequences caused resentment amongst lower class clansmen. Alexander MacAllister, a young man from Kintyre in the Western Isles, wrote home a year after settling in North Carolina in 1764 and extolled the virtues of outmigration to British North America. North Carolina was, in MacAllister's words, "the best poor man's country I have ever heard in this age." He went on to urge his clansmen and family to follow in his footsteps in saying, "You would do well to advise all poor people who you wish well to take courage and come to this country." Later in his letter he clearly expressed his frustration about the collapse of the traditional clan system and greed of the new generation of Highland chiefs by declaring that the only alternative to migration to North America would be to remain in an economically

depressed and culturally conquered Highlands where “the landlords will sure be master and the face of the poor is kept to the grinding stone.”²⁸ Later, like the majority of other Highland Scots in North Carolina, MacAllister served in one of the Loyalist North Carolina Volunteer regiments. Father Murdoch, a priest in the Highlands, in an attempt to explain the large number of common Highlanders from his parish that were migrating to North America wrote, “Copies of letters from persons who had emigrated several years before to America to their friends at home, containing the most flattering accounts of the province of North Carolina, were circulated among them. The implicit faith given to these accounts made them resolve to desert their native country, and to encounter the dangers of crossing the Atlantic, to settle in the wilds of America.”²⁹

The outbreak of hostilities in 1754 that began the Seven Years' War offered both common Highland men and families and the chiefs and nobles an even greater opportunity for economic gain than did domestic service in an Independent domestic regiment. The opportunity to preserve some of their traditional Highland culture was united with another powerful incentive for Highlanders to enlist in the British army; the chance to be granted land in North America for honorable service and the prospect of gaining land in North America attracted both common Highland soldiers and landed gentry alike. A poor Highland soldier may have viewed service in the British army as a small price to pay for a chance to obtain economic security for his family or clan and rise to the status of a freeholder. Like MacAllister, many others began to look to the American colonies for economic opportunities and the prospect to maintain some semblance of their Gaelic past as a new era of Highland outmigration began.

With the Highland Clearances underway and crofting taking over in agricultural areas, North America was the only viable prospect many Highland men had to obtain title to land of their own. To the elites and clan chiefs, a commission in the British army allowed them to maintain their status as war leaders in the ancient Gaelic fashion and acquire more land and status. For common and middling clansmen service in the British army within Highland regiments presented the potential to continue to gain land in their culture's ancient fashion, albeit in North America and not in Scotland or Ireland. The right to land won by conquest, *coir claidheimh*, or 'sword right', was still an accepted concept within the seventeenth –and eighteenth –century Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* as a legitimate means of acquiring land. It can be posited that Scottish Highland soldiers, long immersed in a cultural *milieu* that extolled the virtues of *coir claidheimh*, continued the culturally-based outmigration that had led Highlanders from the *Gàidhealtachd* into military service and land settlement for centuries.³⁰ A poem extolling the military prowess of Alasdair mac Colla, who is considered one of the last great pan-Gaelic warrior heroes after he led a confederation of Scottish Highland and Ulster Gaels against the English plantation in the 1640s, illustrates the perception of land acquisition via 'sword right':

*Dúthchas do shìol Airt an fhoghuil
cairt an chloidhimh..
Cairt an cloidhimh dhóibh as dúthchas
do droing dhána;
Minic chuirid sios gan séla,
cios is cána.*

Raiding is the birth-right of Art's progeny
the right of the sword.
The right of the sword is the heritage
Of that bold people;
Frequently do they impose, without official sanction,
tax and tribute.³¹

A cultural explanation as to why Highland clans, who had only a decade earlier fought bitterly against the British government, would come to embrace that government's

imperial policies and willingly join its military apparatus can be credibly combined with an economic explanation. If one accepts that the majority of Highland soldiers who joined British army regiments during the Seven Years' War were driven by a simple quest for 'sword right', it would lend credence to the centuries of anti-Gaelic propaganda written about the Gaels of both Ireland and the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* implying that they were primitive barbarians prone to violence. The majority of this anti-Gaelic sentiment was produced by Lowland and English opponents of Highland clans, and was called *mi-run morn an Gall*, or "hatred of the Gaels". *Mi-run morn an Gall* had roots that dated to the initial Norman incursions into what would become Lowland Scotland and continued through the early modern period. John of Fordun, writing in the fourteenth century demonstrates the attitude that Highland Scots were barbarous and warlike when he wrote, "The Scots are a light-minded nation, fierce in spirit, savage towards their foes, who would almost as soon die as be enslaved, and account it sloth to die in bed, deeming it glorious and manly to slay, or be slain by, the foe in the field."³²

Rather than continuing an age old concept of 'sword right' that would accept the premise that Scottish Highlanders were more militaristic and barbarous than other ethno-cultural groupings, an explanation for Highland regiments being formed at the onset of the Seven Years' War can be explained as a continuation of economic and political self-interest rather than purely cultural expression. Andrew Nicholls, in his article "For Something More Than King and Country: the Persistence of the Mercenary Tradition in Seventeenth Century Scottish Military History," takes issue with the position that Highland regiments were formed simply to, as Sir Winston Churchill wrote, "be an outlet for their natural martial ardour." "At every level," Nicholls asserts, "military service in

Scotland assumed that maximum credit would be obtained for one's efforts."³³ Nicholls argues that Highland clans enrolled in British army regiments at the onset of the Seven Years' War not because of a sentimental harkening back to the age of Gaelic heroes, but for personal financial gain, in what was just one of many instances of a mercenary tradition asserting itself in Highland history. Nicholls states,

Now perhaps it is just me, but this supposedly happy mix of an ingrained fighting spirit within Highland society, coupled with new opportunities to put it to constructive use in the four corners of the globe in 1756, seems a rather pedestrian and old fashioned way of treating these soldiers. While it may be useful in dating the emergence of Highland regiments in the British army, it still seems to fall somewhat short in terms of explaining an apparently bold and new relationship, between former enemies. It fails to consider, for example, that the Scots in general and the Highlanders in particular, traditionally opted to take military service for the soundest of personal reasons in the early modern period. This tradition stands in stark contrast to a belief that the Highlanders possessed some ingrained spirit of martial ardour that constantly needed to be canalized. Simply put, Highland fighting men generally fought when it was pragmatic to do so, and they often did their fighting in the service of persons who were offering them a viable return.³⁴

This study takes the position that Highland regiments raised for service in British North America were primarily composed of Highlanders seeking economic opportunity and a 'viable return' for their services as well as the opportunity to maintain their traditional culture in North America. This author is in agreement with Nicholls's thesis that it was a mercenary tradition that drove eighteenth-century outmigration to North America more so than obedience to past cultural practices. However, soldiers during any period of history have always been motivated by more than pay or land grants.

While it is true that Highland soldiers serving in the Seven Years' War sought, and in many cases expected, land as payment, they also sought a place where there was an opportunity to preserve some aspects of their native Gaelic culture. One example of

this would be the settlement of Glengarry, Quebec (Upper Canada after 1791). Between 1773 and 1853, approximately 3,500 Scottish Highlanders emigrated (to Glengarry County) from just one small area of the Highlands. Most of these emigrants had been Jacobite in persuasion and Catholic in religion³⁵ Through the use of an impressive amount of primary sources Marianne McLean, in her influential book *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*, presents a case study of Highland Scots settlement patterns in Glengarry, Quebec. The data that McLean utilized clearly demonstrates that the Highlanders who settled Glengarry did so in a clan-based manner and successfully expanded their economic well being and preserved some semblance of the *Gàidhealtachd* in a new land. McLean remarks that “the clansmen of western Inverness created a new Highland community in Glengarry County. Emigration from the western Highlands was so extensive that Glengarry County was only one of a series of Gaelic communities which emerged in Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.”³⁶ The long-term success of this Highland outmigration was demonstrated in the 1852 census.

One person in six in the county was named McDonald or Macdonell, but there were also about 500 each of the Mcmillans, McDougalls, and McRaes, about 400 McLeods, Grants, and Camerons, some 330 McGillis, Kennedys, McLennans, and Campbells, and 250-odd McIntoshes, McGillivrays, and McKinnons. Altogether 45% of the population bore one of these fifteen Highland names. The overwhelming predominance of these clansmen from western Inverness and vicinity gave Glengarry County its strong Highland identity in the nineteenth century.³⁷

This fusion of mercenary traditions that date back to the era of the *galloglass*, economic and political realities facing the post-Culloden Highland world, and desire to acquire land and economic advancement in the ‘new world’ of North America brought about the

significant role that Highland regiments played in the Seven Years' War and its North American component, the French and Indian War.

¹ James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., 1994), 38.

² Hunter, 252.

³ Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database: Appendix B

⁴ Hunter, 75-77.

⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 126-127.

⁶ Simpson, 5.

⁷ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 142.

⁸ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 148.

⁹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 210.

¹⁰ Brock, 72.

¹¹ Patricia Dickson, *Red John of the Battles: John, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich 1680-1743*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1973), 257.

¹² Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 216.

¹³ *Commons Journals*, xxiii, 11-12; xxv. 198-200; xxvii, 25-6; xxix, 27-9 in: Stephen Conway, "The Mobilization of Manpower for Britain's mid-eighteenth-century wars." *Historical Research* 77, no. 197, (2004): 378-379.

¹⁴ Simpson, 8.

¹⁵ Sir Fitzroy MacLean, *Highlanders: a History of the Scottish Clans* (London and New York: David Campbell Publishers/Penguin U.S.A., 1995), 244.

¹⁶ P.J. Marshall, "Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV, The Turning Outwards of Britain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Presidential Address*, read 24 November, 2000.

¹⁷ Andrew Nicholls, "For Something More Than King and Country: the Persistence of the Mercenary Tradition in Seventeenth Century Scottish Military History," *Scottish Tradition*, 26, (2001): 20.

¹⁸ MacLean "Highlanders," 244-245.

¹⁹ MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, Map 5 *The clans and The Royal House of Stewart the Forth-Five, 1745-46*, 246-249.

²⁰ MacLean, *Scotland: a Concise History*, 66; and T.M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 6.

²¹ Information on the role of tacksmen can be found in: Devine, 6; and Meyer, 31-32; and Brock, 68-72.

²² Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 110.

²³ Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 120-121.

²⁴ Devine, 16.

²⁵ Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London: Trinity Press, 1966), 51; and Brock, 69-70.

²⁶ Donaldson, 51.

²⁷ Andrew McKillop, "Military Recruiting in the Scottish Highlands, 1739-1815: The Political, Social and Economic Context" (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1995).

²⁸ Hunter, 43.

²⁹ Father Alexander Murdoch, 'Document Concerning Emigration,' in Hunter, 42-43.

³⁰ Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 133.

³¹ Newton, *Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World*, 134.

³² John of Fordun, *The Scottichronicon* (Chronicle of the Scottish Nation) c. 1345.

John of Fordun's (original author c. 1345), translated by Felix J. H. Skene, and ed.

William F. Skene, *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation, (The Scottichronicon)* (Edinburgh:

Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), 116.

³³ Nicholls, 30.

³⁴ Nicholls, 24.

³⁵ Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*

(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 4.

³⁶ Marianne McLean, 213.

³⁷ Marianne McLean, 215.

CHAPTER IV

HIGHLAND REGIMENTS AND LAND GRANTS DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR 1754-1763

Enlistment statistics and officer commissions provide convincing evidence of the effectiveness of the British government's policy of Highland military recruitment. From 1745 onwards the Scottish Highlands supplied twenty-seven line regiments and nineteen battalions of Highland soldiers and between 35 and 45 percent of the officer corps of the British military. Also between 1740 and 1794 five elite Highland formations were established that were manned and officered by Highlanders: the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot "Black Watch" (1739), 78th Highland Regiment of Foot "Fraser's Highlanders" (1756), 77th Regiment of Foot "Montgomery's Highlanders" (1757), 76th Regiment of Foot "MacDonnell's Highlanders" (1777), 79th Regiment of Foot "Cameron Highlanders" (1793).¹

In addition to the British government's need for more manpower to fight the Seven Years' War as well as the desire to integrate the Highlands into the British state, the rugged terrain and irregular warfare of the North American theatre of the Seven Years' War were well suited to the Highland mode of war. The July 9, 1755 rout and massacre of Major General Edward Braddock's army at Ft. Duquesne, Pennsylvania, at

the hands of a smaller mobile force of Native Americans and French shocked the British military establishment. Historians have generally attributed Braddock's defeat to the difference between how the British army had fought and won open field continental European battles and the realities of a wilderness war fought in an alien land. Braddock, a respected field officer with forty-five years of distinguished service to the British crown marched into the Ohio River Valley with 1,350 British regulars, a brigade of cavalry, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and militia units from North Carolina and Virginia led by a young George Washington.² To most experienced European military officers this appeared to be a more than sufficient force to crush a few raiding parties of 'savages.' Braddock, using conventional battlefield tactics of the British army, found them to be disastrously inadequate for the environment and cost the British 430 killed and 484 wounded, both regular and colonial soldiers.³ Casualties of this magnitude would have been appalling enough, but in the eyes of the British government insult was added to injury when it was reported that this high number of casualties was inflicted by a force of only 300 to 500 Native Americans from a confederation of Ottawas, Miamis, Hurons, Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes, and a mere thirty French regulars.⁴

Officers who survived the debacle at the Monongahela recognized the need to adjust tactics and find new regiments that could fight a war in the forests of America, which was "a very different business from war in Europe."⁵ Captain Adam Stephen, an officer in the Virginia militia wrote disdainfully of British conventional tactics, believing that Braddock and British regulars had allowed the Native Americans to "come against Us, creeping near and hunting Us as they would do a Herd of Buffaloes or Deer; whereas you might as well send a Cow in pursuit of a Hare as an English Soldier loaded...with a

Coat, Jacket, &c. &c. &c. after Canadeans in their Shirts, who can shoot and run well, or Naked Indians accustomed to the Woods.”⁶ Even George Washington, who at the time was an eager and admiring Anglophile and openly sought advancement within the regular British army, faulted the behavior and tactics of the British soldiers, which he described as "dastardly" in his report to Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia. The troops, made up largely of regulars, "were immediately struck with such a deadly Panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of order's [*sic*] prevailed amongst them [and] despigt every effort to the contrary, broke and run as Sheep before Hounds.”⁷

Many Lowland Scots and English elites viewed Highlanders as barbaric savages. Duncan Forbes, the Lord President of the Edinburgh Court of Session, described Highlanders in 1740 as, “accumsted [*sic*] to the use of arms, and inured to hard living, are dangerous to the public space and accunstomed to sloth and barbarity.”⁸ Since the overwhelming majority of Britons viewed the Native Americans as even more barbarous than the Gaels, who better than Highlanders could be utilized during the Seven Years' War in North America? Kevin Phillips, in his book *The Cousins' Wars*, discusses this clash of tribally based societies in North America. “Both Scots and the Irish came from societies of clans and chiefs, and in their sword-swinging battle charges, both could match any Seneca or Wayandot clan for blood-chilling screams.”⁹

Of course these descriptions of both Native Americans and Highlanders are exaggerated, if not groundless, stereotypes based primarily on propaganda from past encounters. However, the dense wilderness and rugged terrain where most of the fighting took place during the French and Indian War had a psychological effect upon British soldiers that reinforced their fears of Native Americans and evoked memories and myths

from battles such as Killiecrankie (1689) and Prestonpans (1745) of claymore and Lochaber axe wielding Highlanders and the Highland charge. The war cries of the Native Americans and the practice of taking scalps – though much exaggerated by the colonial and British press –reminded some English and Lowland soldiers of the Highlanders' battle cries, or *brosnachadh catha*, the 'Incitement to battle' that for centuries played a major role in the shock value of the 'Highland charge'. Just as the Jacobite clans launched their charges with a *brosnachadh catha* and their claymores had slaughtered entire British regiments at the battle of Prestonpans in 1745, the Native American warriors became 'the bogeymen of campfire gossip.'¹⁰ The psychological effect of Native war –cries and guerilla style warfare is well documented, became known in London as the 'howl of America', and were seen as a significant cause of many of the early defeats the British suffered during the Seven Years' War.¹¹ A London newspaper report of the battle of La Belle Famille, near Niagara, in 1759 stated that "the engagement began by a violent and horrible scream of the enemy's savages."¹² Even Highland soldiers in Braddock's army, who in the opinions of English gentlemen were more immune than English soldiers to the supposed savagery of the Native Americans' style of combat, found wilderness warfare terrifying. Private Duncan Cameron of the 44th Regiment of Foot had been wounded and left behind as Braddock's troops attempted to retreat and survived by hiding in a tree while most of his regiment was cut down. He later recounted that "the war cries of the Indians-ravenous Hell-hounds...yelping and screaming like so many Devils-came from every direction- the yell of the Indians is fresh on my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me until the hour of my dissolution."¹³

Braddock's defeat and the panic it created on the colonial frontier forced the Ministry and Parliament to recognize that the defeat of the French and their Indian allies required not only more soldiers, but men trained and acclimated to fighting in an irregular manner. Highland regiments filled this need. Thousands of Scottish Highland men served in the British Army during the Seven Years' War. An exact number is difficult to ascertain, but it is generally estimated at slightly over 12,000, or approximately 16% of the total British forces.¹⁴ That percentage may not seem overwhelming, but if one takes into consideration that between the 1746 Disarming Act and its repeal in 1755 any trappings of militarism in the Highlands had been forbidden, it is a significant and substantial rehabilitation of the Highland clan system through imperial warfare.

While some served in regular standing units, a larger percentage served in the Highland regiments. As Prime Minister William Pitt, "sought for merit...in the fierce turbulent hillmen" of the Highlands, many answered the call to arms as long as they could serve with men of their own kind and could orient their regiments within a Gaelic *ethos*.¹⁵

Pitt's efforts were successful due in large part to the cooperation of Highland chiefs and nobles. As discussed previously, some Highland landowners raised regiments to turn a profit, increase their social status, or gain title and peerage. Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, had both a genuine desire to better the lives of his clansmen for whom he felt responsible and a desire to be restored to the title and estates forfeited after his father, Simon, Lord Lovat who was executed in 1746 for supporting Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Motivations notwithstanding, chiefs and land owners successful raised Highland regiments in numbers that exceeded the expectations of Pitt. A desire to

breathe new life into the enfeebled Gaelic clan structure may have been an allurement for some, but for many Highlanders the ultimate draw was the promise of land grants as payment in North America. Father Alexander Macdonell, considered by some as one of the major architects of Highland outmigration to Canada, explained how the centuries old practice of military service under a chief in exchange for land grants was still in existence in the eighteenth century. “The plan of recruiting adopted by men of property in the Highlands is to give a promise of a small pendicle of land for every recruit.”¹⁶ Father Macdonell, however, did not feel that Highland chiefs had resumed their proper paternal behavior toward their clansmen that was lost after Culloden and was cynical of their intentions: “Our Highland lairds are more, I do believe, than any other set of men upon the face of the earth actuated by self-interest.”¹⁷ Nevertheless, he felt that the elite’s self-interest could be turned to the advantage of the men and their families enlisting in the Highland regiments.

Many Highlanders professed loyalty to their chiefs and when their chiefs sent the summons they ‘turned out’ for the war as clansmen had for centuries. But the collapse of the clan system, crofting, and the loss of land to sheep grazing made many distrustful enough to require a documented *quid pro quo* of military service for land from their chiefs or officers.¹⁸ An examination of the settlement patterns of three Highland regiments –the 78th Fraser Highlanders, 42 Royal Highland Regiment (the "Black Watch"), the 77th Regiment (Montgomery’s Highlanders) – that saw service in the French and Indian War and whose officers and enlisted men received land grants in North America will show a continuance of the Highland tradition of military service in exchange for land.

The origins of the 78th Fraser Highlanders date to 1756 when Simon Fraser, styling himself Lord Lovat in claim to his father's forfeited estates, sought to raise a regiment of infantry. Despite the desperate need of the British ministry for manpower, Fraser's success at raising the 78th has been considered by many as one of the most successful examples of bringing the Highland warriors into the British imperial fold. After his father's execution for being a leading Jacobite peer, Simon himself was captured, convicted of high treason, and jailed at Edinburgh castle. After several months in prison Fraser began his rehabilitation by engineering the election of a Hanoverian candidate in an Inverness-shire parliamentary by-election over one of his own former Jacobite kinsmen, a gesture that secured his early release and his return to the Fraser holdings.¹⁹ By 1756 Fraser had been politically rehabilitated enough that he requested and received a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army. Prime Minister Pitt, meanwhile successfully passed several bills in Parliament that relaxed the Disarming Act, and on January 4, 1757 Fraser received an order from Secretary of War William Barrington granting him permission "to Raise a Highland Battalion of Foot, under your command, which is to Consist of Ten Companies of Four Serjeants, Four Corporals, Two Drummers, and One Hundred Effective Private Men in each Company, besides Commission Officers."²⁰ Initially the regiment was named the 63rd Regiment of Foot, but the military authorities, sensing that Fraser's men sought a nomenclature that reflected the clan affiliation of this regiment allowed the unit to be recommissioned as the 78th Fraser Highlanders.

Fraser's rapid recruitment of 800 men demonstrates that the concept of Highland chiefs 'raising the clan' was still alive despite the statutory repressions following

Culloden. It also demonstrates how dearly Highlanders desired the opportunity for land and pay, as well as the personal charisma of Simon Fraser. General David Stuart of Garth wrote in praise of the mobilization that eventually exceeded the quota set by Barrington: "Without estate, money or influence, beyond that influence that flowed from attachment to his family, person and name, this gentleman [Fraser], in a few weeks, found himself at the head of 800 men, recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country [Fraser's tacksmen] and the officers of the regiment amassed more than 700, and a battalion was formed of 13 companies of 405 rank and file each, making in all 1,460 men including 65 sergeants and 30 pipers and drummers."²¹

The 78th Fraser Highlanders saw distinguished service during the Seven Years' War including the battles of Ticonderoga, Louisburg, Quebec, Ste. Foy, and the recapture of St. John's. On September 13, 1759 on the Plains of Abraham at the Battle of Quebec the 78th Fraser Highlanders delivered the *coup de grace* against General Montcalm's French forces with a Highland charge.²² A Gaelic song that was composed in 1759 by an eyewitness of the battle demonstrates that the men of the regiment saw themselves as the inheritors of the ancient Gaelic clan military traditions and viewed King George II and Simon Fraser as their chiefs for whom they wished to achieve glory and from whom they expected reward from-for their military service. The verse honors King George II and praised the generosity of Simon Fraser by stating, "it was never your custom to be stingy," referencing his open desire to return himself and his clansmen to their homes and estates in Scotland.²³ This demonstrates continuity with the Highland mercenary tradition of the *galloglass*, as well as Scottish military based outmigration during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. It also demonstrates that Highland Gaelic culture, with its

emphasis on clanship, unity, and adherence to chiefs, albeit altered to reflect the realities of a post-Culloden world, were still an accepted mode of both cultural expression and land acquisition. The right to land won by conquest, *coir claidheimh*, or ‘sword right’, was still an accepted concept within the eighteenth-century Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* as a legitimate means of acquiring land.

*O ghillean bithibh ullamh, le armaibh
guineach,
Gu làidir, urranta, an onair an Rìgh
Mun tig oirnne fada, bidh an
Rioghachd seo again,
Is thèid sinn dhachaidh do Bhreatann
a-rìs.*

*A Dheagh Mhic Shimi na h-Àirde
Leat a dh' èireadh buaidh-làrach;
Tha thu fuileachdach, dàna-
Cha b'e d' àbhaist bhith crìon;*

*Gum faiceam thu 'd àite,
Le piseach, 's mòr-ghràsan,
Aig Manachainn na h-Àirde
Ann an àite Mhormhair Sim,
O ghillean bithibh,*

O lads, make ready, with death-
dealing weapons,
Strong, intrepid, in honor of the King
This country will be ours before too
long,
And we will return to Britain again

O excellent Fraser of Lovat,
You are capable of victory in battle,
You are ravenous and bold-
It was never your custom to be
Stingy;

May I see you in your proper place,
With prosperity, and great Divine
favor,

In Beauty of the Aird,
Occupying Lord Simon's place.

O lads...²⁴

The Fraser Highlanders pioneered new light infantry tactics designed for woodland warfare, and as some British political and military leaders had hoped, adapted some of their traditional Highland techniques of war and blended them with Native American practices. In February 1759 while at Fort Stanwix, the Fraser Highlanders received Native America style leggings, moccasins, snowshoes, and clothing, so to better camouflage themselves and fight in the ‘Indian manner.’ It was also reported later in that year, perhaps apocryphally, that it was not unusual to see Fraser Highlanders scalping their Native American and French Canadian enemies and charging into battle with a hybrid *brosnachadh catha* and Native America war cry.²⁵ The November 1758 edition of

the *Scots Magazine* reported how Lieutenant Quintin Kennedy of the 44th Foot accompanied by men from the 78th Fraser Highlanders had truly ‘gone native’: “Lieut. Kennedy had married an Indian squaw, whose tribe has made him a king. Henry Abercrombie gave him a party of Highlanders joined with a party of Indians to go a-scalping, in which he had some success.”²⁶ In this, the 78th Regiment was fulfilling some of the many stereotypes of Highland warriors that many within the British military leadership desired to be displayed on the frontier.

In December 1763, the 78th Fraser Highlanders stationed in Quebec were ordered to disband. Many members of the regiment returned home to Scotland to gather their families and then returned to New York and Quebec. Simon Fraser, the regiment’s founder and chief officer, had departed for London two years earlier, in March 1761, to assume the seat in Parliament to which he had been elected *in absentia*, yet another of the steps toward his final political rehabilitation, which came fully in 1774 when an act of Parliament restored his title as Lord Lovat and Chief of Clan Fraser, along with all of his ancestral estates. At the outbreak of the American War of Independence Fraser raised another Highland regiment, the 71st, for service against the American rebels.²⁷ The new Fraser’s Highlanders was staffed by many of the same men and families who had served during the Seven Years’ War because following the original unit’s disbanding in 1763 many men received land grants or simply stayed in North America. Members of the regiment that stayed in North America received fourteen days of subsistence pay and a grant of land, the size of which was based on their rank and length of service.²⁸ Because a number of the men in the regiment were Catholic and spoke French, partially due to their past Jacobite connection, they were mostly well received by the local French

Canadians and some married into French Canadian families. Protestant members of the 78th who remained in Quebec also married local French Canadian women, although they faced opposition from local priests and bishops who were unwilling to bless marriages between Catholic French Canadians and Protestant (mainly Presbyterian) Highlanders. Eventually local parishes baptized the children of these unions, but as late as the 1770s some baptismal records identified children of these unions as ‘illegitimate.’²⁹

Poor record keeping and the practice of ‘squatter sovereignty’ practiced by many of the low ranking enlisted members of the 78th make ascertaining an exact tally of acres occupied by Fraser veterans nearly impossible. The documentation for land grants given to officers, even the lower ranks of sergeant and corporals is more complete. The Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database (Appendix) lists fifty-five documented land grants given to members of the 78th Fraser Highlanders. Of these fifty-five, thirty-six, or 65 percent, were in Quebec, mostly along the St. Lawrence River. Eighteen Fraser land grants were in New York mainly around Albany; one land grant was in what would later become Vermont. A rigorous accounting of how many acres were given to men of the 78th is not possible, but grants of 100-250 acres for military service to enlisted men and lower ranking officers were relatively common. Some of the officers and clan elites of the 78th received enormous tracts of land as payment. Simon Fraser, along with being restored to his estates in Scotland was given 10,000 acres in New York. Lieutenants Andrew and Philip Skene were each granted 20,000 acres in New York for their services. It appears that the larger land grants given to officers and clan elites were bestowed in New York while the junior officers and enlisted men received smaller parcels in Quebec. No official explanation exists for this practice but one can posit that this may have been

done by the British authorities to dilute the Francophone influence and population in the St. Lawrence River valley of Quebec with Highland soldiers loyal to the British crown.

It is obvious that there was a strong Jacobite connection within the 78th Fraser Highlanders. Of the men from this regiment contained in this study's Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database eighteen were confirmed former Jacobites who had fought in the Jacobite armies or were at Culloden. It would not be an imprudent conjecture that the actual number of former Jacobites in the 78th was much higher. Nearly ninety percent of the muster roll is composed of Gaelic Highland surnames, most of which were Jacobite clans or families, but some enlistees may have not identified themselves as former Jacobites for fear of denial or loss of an opportunity to receive a land grant in North America. A careful examination of the muster rolls for the 78th Fraser Highland Regiment displays numerous surnames from devoutly Jacobite clans.³⁰ The muster rolls show seventy-five officers and soldiers bearing the surname Fraser, sixty-two Camerons, eighty-seven Macdonalds, Macdonnells, and Macdougalls of the 'Macdonald Lordship', twenty-seven Macgregors, and many other Highland clan surnames that were staunchly Jacobite during the 1745 rebellion.³¹ These statistics suggest that not only was Simon Fraser able to rehabilitate himself and regain his forfeited estates by raising the 78th, but that thousands of other former Highland Jacobites had done the same through British military service and subsequent outmigration with women and children to North America.

The most famous of the Highland regiments, the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, better known as the Black Watch, was not initially founded as a tool for rehabilitation for former Jacobites, as was 78th Fraser Highlanders, but it did include former Jacobites and

served a vital role in the British war effort in North America during both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. On May 12, 1725 King George II issued orders to Lord Lovat, Duncan Campbell of Lochneal, and Colonel William Grant to consolidate the various Highland Independent Companies and raise an Independent Black Watch Company by whatever means at their disposal. The royal order authorized them "by Beat of Drum or otherwise to Raise so many Voluntiers [*sic*] in the Highlands of North Britain, as shall be wanting to Complt."³²

The new Black Watch regiment still served as a police force in the Highlands, stationed in small detachments and garrisons throughout the Highlands and was used mainly to prevent fighting between local clans and to deter raiding and rieving. In 1739 King George II authorized the regiment to become a regular infantry Regiment of the Line and incorporated it into the emerging British army.³³ The Black Watch served the government during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion and fought in the Duke of Cumberland's forces at Culloden against some of their fellow clansmen who were in the opposing Jacobite army. On July 1, 1751, the regiment was officially commissioned the 42nd Highland Regiment of Foot and continued to use the sobriquet 'Black Watch' to honor the dark tartan they wore and to celebrate that they were the first official regiment to be allowed to wear Highland dress.³⁴

From 1749 to 1756 the Black Watch was stationed in Ireland. In March 1756 the regiment embarked for North America to fight, disembarked three months later in New York City, and began marching to Albany. On the march the 42nd attracted the attention of the Native American tribes that were allied with the British, and bonded with the regiment. Some Native American soldiers even took men of the 42nd as their

“brothers.”³⁵ At their arrival the men of the regiment drilled for woodland fighting and sharp shooting, and some members were outfitted, like the 78th had been, in Native American clothing and gear to augment their guerilla fighting repertoire.

Like its fellow Highland regiments, the Black Watch saw duty in some of the largest battles of the war. The 42nd served in the failed attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, the successful capture of Ticonderoga as well as the battles of Crown Point and Amherst in 1759, the siege and surrender of Montreal in 1760, and the battle of Bushy Run in wilderness of Western Pennsylvania in 1763.³⁶ The Black Watch performed well in all of these engagements but it was the British defeat at the first battle for Fort Ticonderoga on July 8, 1758 that gave the regiment its most accolades and won it fame both in North America and in Britain. The British army under the command of the inexperienced political appointee General James Abercromby and augmented by New England colonial regiments attempted to assault the French garrison at Ticonderoga, on the southern tip of Lake Champlain which lay south of Montreal. Although the British force of 15,000 men easily outnumbered the 3,600 French, Canadian, and Native America troops under the command of General Marquis de Montcalm, the British were routed and suffered 1,833 casualties.³⁷

Despite the loss, the bravery of the Black Watch became a synonym for all Highland regiments and soldiers serving in North America. The British assault on the fort was poorly planned, the army reached the area exhausted from a long march and it lacked sufficient siege artillery and scaling ladders for a successful assault on the fort. The British army advanced on the fort, led by British grenadiers, several regular line regiments, with the 42nd in the rear. Under constant French fire the cohesion of the

leading grenadiers and line regiments began to break down. When that began, the Highlanders of the 42nd charged from the reserve, pushed their way to the front of the struggle and with the infamous ‘Highland charge’ cut their way through the French lines with their broadswords and reached the breastworks of the fort. Lacking scaling ladders, they attempted to get over the walls by standing on another’s shoulders or hacking footholds out of the logs of the fort with their swords and bayonets. Some of the 42nd Highlanders lead by Captain John Campbell and Gregor MacGregor actually gained entry into the fort, but they were killed. After four hours, with most of his regular line regiments in shambles, General Abercromby called for a retreat, but the Highlanders continued in the bloody hand-to-hand combat at the foot of the fort. It was not until the third order was given that the men of the 42nd withdrew. Impressed by their bravery, the French did not fire on the withdrawing Highlanders.³⁸

The 42nd Highlanders’ bravery was costly. The regiments suffered eight commissioned officers, nine sergeants, and 297 men killed coupled with seventeen commissioned officers, ten sergeants, and 306 men wounded. Of the 1,833 casualties, the Black Watch suffered 647, or a staggering 35% of the entire British losses.³⁹ The valor of Black Watch soldiers gained them admiration from English and Lowland soldiers who were still skeptical of the Highland regiments. An officer of the 55th Borders (Lowland) Regiment wrote:

With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades’ fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we

expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us.⁴⁰

When news of the British defeat and the Black Watch's martial performance at Ticonderoga reached London, King George II added the honorific 'Royal' to its name and the regiment became the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot, though still commonly known as the Black Watch.⁴¹

The Black Watch remained in North America and the Caribbean until the end of the war in 1763, when the regiment was ordered home. The regiment received permission for its men to join other regiments in North America if they desired to stay. It is reported that so many men took this opportunity that when the regiment finally embarked for Ireland in 1767 it was greatly reduced in numbers. There is not a great deal of evidence of land grants being given to members of the Black Watch who joined other regiments remaining in North America, but it is probable that many men did so for the prospect of gaining land. In the eighteenth century, especially during the long confinement of winter quarters, soldiers, both officers and enlisted men, frequently entered into romantic relationships with local women and conducted business transactions with local merchants and speculators. It is probable that many of the men of the Black Watch who remained in North America at the completion of the Seven Years' War did do to continue these relationships.

It appears from contemporary sources that residents of the American colonies had a great deal of respect for the men of the 42nd. The July 1767 edition of the *Virginia Gazette* shows how the Black Watch regiment was esteemed by some Americans:

Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage.⁴²

The Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database (Appendix) shows that four men of the Black Watch, all officers, received substantial grants of land in New York around the Albany and Ticonderoga region. From 1763 to 1765 Captain Allan Campbell, Major Allan Campbell, Sergeant Allan Campbell, and Captain Thomas Graham all received land grants of 5,000 acres at Crown Point, near Ticonderoga. Because many members of the Black Watch dispersed to other regiments and the others returned to service in Britain and Ireland, it was not until following the American Revolution that land grants became common for members of the Black Watch.

Montgomery's Highlanders, although not as famous as Fraser's Highlanders or the Black Watch, also allow for an examination of the relationship between military recruitment and service and subsequent outmigration for Scottish Highlanders. Like the 78th Fraser Highlanders, the regiment acquired its name from its founder, Major Archibald Montgomery, the son of the Earl of Eglinton. Unlike Simon Fraser, however,

Archibald Montgomery was a Lowlander, but unlike most elite Lowland Scots he had amicable connections with Highlanders. According to General Stewart of Garth, Montgomery “mixed much with the people”, and, “being a high spirited young man with a considerable dash of romantic enthusiasm in his composition and with manners cheerful and affable, made himself highly acceptable to the Highlanders.”⁴³ He received a commission from the government to raise a Highland regiment on 4 January 1757 and within a short period of time Montgomery had raised a regiment consisting of 1,460 men, complete with sixty-five officers and thirty pipers and drummers.⁴⁴

The regiment arrived at Halifax in 1758 and, like the 78th Fraser and Black Watch regiments, served with distinction in a number of battles such as Fort Duquesne in 1758, Ticonderoga and Crown Point 1758, as well as the campaign against the Cherokee at Little Keowee 1760. The regiment's most distinguished engagement was at the August 5-6, 1763 Battle of Bushy Run. Led by Major Henry Bouquet, a force of 500 Highland soldiers of both the Black Watch and Montgomery Highlanders was attacked by a much larger Native America force near a stream in Pennsylvania called Bushy Run. The 77th led a Highland charge against the Native Americans that at first seemed to drive them from the field but a larger Native force soon followed and drove the Highland units to set up defensive positions using logs and flour bags for cover. The Native American force was numerically superior and attempted numerous times to break the Highland defensive positions but was repeatedly driven back by bayonet charges by the 77th. Overnight more Native American warriors arrived, and by the morning of the second day of the battle casualties of the Highland force were reaching a critical level. Bouquet, knowing his small force could not hold out much longer, used a ruse to defeat the Natives. He

weakened the center of the line, making it appear that the Highland force was near total collapse. Bouquet believed that the Natives would not stand up to a close quarters brawl with Highlanders wielding broadswords and bayonets. The native forces, sensing victory, rushed in but were caught off guard by a counter attack lead by Montgomery's Highlanders. Robert Kirk, an officer of Montgomery's Highlanders wrote of the counter attack that "the Indians thought we were going to break and run away, and being sure of their prey came in upon us in the greatest disorder; but they soon found their mistake, for we met them with our fire first, and then made terrible havock [*sic*] amongst them with our fixt bayonets and swords, and continuing to push them everywhere, they set to their heels and were never able to rally again."⁴⁵

Surviving testimonials of the time suggest that the residents of the North American colonies were not as enamored with the men of Montgomery's Highlanders as they were the 78th or the Black Watch. Some of this disaffection appears to stem from an incident where men of the 77th mistreated a group of Christian or "Moravian Native Indians." During the summer of 1763, a war band of Native Americans attacked a Scotch-Irish settlement in Pennsylvania. The attack was certainly not undertaken by the Moravian Indians, who had very cordial relations with the Scotch-Irish settlement, but the leaders of the white settlement inflamed anti-Native passions and conflict between the two groups began. The Moravian missionaries and the Moravian Indians appealed to Governor William Penn II for protection. Penn, taking the side of the Scotch-Irish settlers, ordered the missionaries and Moravian Indians to be disarmed and marched to the British barracks at Philadelphia where Montgomery's Highlanders were then stationed. According to Schweinitz's *Life of Zeisberger*, Montgomery's men threatened

the women and children of the Moravian Indians and subjected them to “verbal abuse.” Later a group of Scotch-Irish broke into the compound and massacred a number of the Moravian Indians. The men of Montgomery’s Highlanders, who were charged with protecting the Moravian Indians, seemingly did little to prevent this atrocity. The remaining Moravian Indians were transferred by convoy to New York under the command of Captain James Robertson of Montgomery’s Highlanders. Father Zeisberger, one of the Moravian missionaries accompanying the Native Americans on their tortured exodus, wrote that the Highlanders, “behaved at first very wild and unfriendly, being particularly troublesome to the young women by their profane conversation. Would to God, all the white people were as good Christians, as these Indians!”⁴⁶

When the Seven Years’ War ended in 1763, Montgomery’s Highlanders were disbanded. An offer was made to both the officers and enlisted men of the regiment to either settle in North America or return with the regular army to Britain. The majority of the men opted to remain in North America and received land grants in proportion to their rank. The majority of the enlisted men took their small land grants in New York, around the Ticonderoga and Crown Point region where the regiment had done a great deal of its service during the war. Unfortunately, these smaller land grant certificates have been lost, many during the anti-Scottish agitations during the American War of Independence. Documentation, however, does exist for the larger land grants given to officers of the regiments. The Highland Soldier Land Grant Database (Appendix) shows that fifteen officers received substantial land grants from 1764 to 1769. In 1764 Captains Robert Grant, Alexander MacIntosh, and Nicholas Sutherland received grants of 3,000 acres in the Ticonderoga-Crown Point region of New York. Ensign Alexander Grant, Lieutenant

Alexander Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Menzies, Lieutenant Thomas Menzies, and Lieutenant Henry Munro all received 2,000 acres of land in the Ticonderoga-Crown Point region. Non-commissioned officers Moses Campbell, William Ferguson, John Macdonald received 200 acres at Ticonderoga-Crown Point, as did Sergeant William Sutherland. James Gunn remained in New York but received his land grant at Otter's Creek. Ranald MacIntosh was granted 2,000 acres in Nova Scotia, and Donald MacLean departed from the region to obtain a 2,000 acre grant of land in the newly won territory of East Florida.

Like the 78th Fraser Highlanders many of the men in the regiment were from clans which had been Jacobite in sympathy during the 1745 rebellion. Two of the men who received substantial land grants following the Seven Years' War, Captain Alexander MacIntosh and Lieutenant Alexander Menzies, fought at Culloden for Prince Charles Stewart.⁴⁷ Through service to the Crown in North America, these men obtained large land grants and furthered the transition of Highland clans from rebels to Loyalists. Many men who served in either the 77th Montgomery Highlanders or the 78th Fraser Highlanders and received land grants in New York rallied to the royal standard in 1775 and formed the Loyalist 84th Royal Highland Emigrants regiment that saw distinguished service to the Crown throughout the American War of Independence.

¹ Dates for the formation of Highland Regiments from Land Forces of Britain, the Empire, and Commonwealth, "Regiments and Corps of the British Army," www.regiments.org/regiments/uk/lists/bargxref.htm (accessed July 10, 2006).

² Center for Military History, Office of the Chief of Military History U.S. Army (ed) "American Military History Army Historical Series, Chapter Two: the Beginnings," www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/amh/amh-toc.htm.

³ Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: the Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America 1754-1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 760.

⁴ British Battles.com, "The Battle of Monongahela River 1755-Braddock's Defeat," www.britishbattles.com/braddock.htm.

⁵ Steve Brumwell, "A Service Truly Critical: the British Army and Warfare with the North American Indians, 1755-1764" *War in History*, 5 (1998): 152.

⁶ "Adam Stephen to John Hunter, 18 July, 1755," in Anderson, 103.

⁷ "George Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, 18 July 1755," in *George Washington: Writings*, John Rhodehamel, ed. (New York: Library of America, 1997), 58-59.

⁸ Herman, 130.

⁹ Phillips, 210.

¹⁰ Brumwell, 150.

¹¹ Brumwell, 150.

¹² Brumwell, 150.

¹³ Anderson, 102.

¹⁴ Statistics on Highland recruitment from: MacLean, *Highlanders*, 245 and Brumwell, 378-379.

¹⁵ MacLean, *Highlanders*, 244.

¹⁶ McLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 130.

¹⁷ McLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 131.

¹⁸ McLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 132-133.

¹⁹ Hunter, 54-55.

²⁰ Scottish Records Office, GD125/22/16(3) "Muster Order to Raise the 78th Fraser Highlanders Secretary of War William Wildman Shute Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington to Simon Fraser, Esq" found at: Clan Fraser Society of Canada, www.clanfraser.ca/78th1.htm.

²¹ Marie Fraser, "The Old 78th Regiment of Foot-Fraser's Highlanders-Conquering Canada on the Plains of Germany," Clan Fraser Society of Canada, www.clanfraser.ca/78th.htm. [inserts mine]

²² Anderson, 360-362, 393-393, 628, and Marie Fraser, www.clanfraser.ca/78th.htm, and Fort Stewart Museum "History of the 78th Fraser Highlanders," Fort Stewart Museum, www.stewart-museum.org/history.htm.

²³ Michael Newton, "Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present," *E-Keltoi Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies*, 5, Warfare: 31-62 (2003): 40.

²⁴ Newton, "Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present," 40.

²⁵ Brumwell, 164-165.

²⁶ *Scots Magazine War*, November 1758 ed. in: Brumwell, 165-166.

²⁷ Marie Fraser, www.clanfraser.ca/78th.htm.

²⁸ Marie Fraser, www.clanfraser.ca/78th.htm.

²⁹ Marie Fraser, www.clanfraser.ca/78th.htm.

³⁰ Clan Fraser Society of Canada, "78th Fraser Highlanders Muster Rolls, 1757," www.clanfraser.ca/muster.

³¹ Macinnes, *Clanship. Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, Map 5 *The clans and The Royal House of Stewart the Forty-Five, 1745-46*. 246-249.

³² King George II "Orders for Raising the Six Highland Independent (Black Watch) Companies, 12 May, 1725," in Simpson, 163 Appendix 6.

³³ The Black Watch Official Regimental Website: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Ministry of Defense, www.army.mod.uk/blackwatch/history/raising_of_regiment.htm.

³⁴ Land Forces of Britain, the Empire, and Commonwealth-Numeric Index of Regiments and Corps, "42nd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot," www.regiments.org/regiments/uk/inf/042-751.htm.

³⁵ Ian Coghlan, "42nd Royal Highland Regiment, *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, Part 1: 1729-1775 Raising the Regiment, Mutiny, Holland, Canada, The Black Watch 1729-1775," www.coghlan.co.uk/42nd_Highlanders_part1.htm.

³⁶ Anderson, 143, 541, 548, 631; and The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, "History of the 42nd in North America," www.42ndrhr.org/history.php, and Brumwell, 172.

³⁷ Battle of Fort Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758 details found from: "The Battle of Ticonderoga 1758." Found at: www.britishbattles.com/battle_of_Ticonderoga.htm.

³⁸ Coghlan, www.coghlan.co.uk/42nd_Highlanders_part1.htm.

³⁹ Coghlan, www.coghlan.co.uk/42nd_Highlanders_part1.htm.

⁴⁰ Electric Scotland, "Scottish Regiments The Black Watch-Ticonderoga," www.electricscotland.com/history/scotreg/bwatch/bw6.htm.

⁴¹ The Black Watch Official Regimental Website: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Ministry of Defense, "History 1745-1800," www.army.mod.uk/blackwatch/history/1745_to_1800.htm.

⁴² *Virginia Gazette*, July 1767, Found at: Coghlan, www.coghlan.co.uk/42nd_Highlanders_part1.htm.

⁴³ MacLean, "Highlanders," 243-244.

⁴⁴ Electric Scotland, "Scottish Regiments-"Montgomery's Highlanders," www.electricscotland.com/history/scotreg/montgomery.htm.

⁴⁵ *Grant's Memoirs*, 79, in: Brumwell, 172.

⁴⁶ J.P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783 Together With Notices of Highland Regiments and Biographical Sketches* (Glasgow: Helman-Taylor Company, 1900), 450.

⁴⁷ Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database Appendix.

CHAPTER V

HIGHLAND AND HIGHLAND LOYALIST MILITARY SERVICE DURING THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

In the half-century of Scottish outmigration to North America the Scottish Highland emigrants in North America had risen in wealth and political influence. Portions of the Highlands had been coerced at the point of bayonets into the British union and Empire. However, since the union of Scotland and England in 1707, Highland Scots in North America had prospered and the wealth created by the growing transatlantic trade guided Highland Scots to the realization that the United Kingdom, with its established mercantile empire, could allow them to continue to prosper. When the War of American Independence began in 1775, the likelihood of an American victory against the world's most dominant empire was slim at best. In light of their amazing achievements in so short a time period, and the burgeoning transatlantic trade in which Highlanders in North America were engaged with the growing commercial city of Glasgow, it becomes clear why Highlanders set aside their hatred of the House of Hanover and adhered to the Loyalist cause.

Highlanders utilized the British Empire out of economic and cultural self-interest. Calling upon centuries of mercenary tradition, most recently displayed during the Seven

Years' War, Highlanders in North America made a conscious decision to adhere to the Loyalist faction during the War of American Independence because their economic and cultural well-being were better served by loyalty to the Crown. Charles Steadman, one of the most credible Loyalist historians, who served with several ranking British officers during the American War of Independence, provided statistics on the size of British forces deployed to or raised within North America. If Steadman's data, cross referenced with other official statistics from the British War Office Papers, are even remotely accurate, the figures clearly show the contribution Highland soldiers, both raised in Scotland and from the Highland diaspora in North America, had upon the conflict. Steadman was the son of a Jacobite who had fled to British North America following the battle of Culloden in 1746. He served in the British Army first as an interpreter to Hessian mercenaries and later as a commander of a rifle corps under General Sir William Howe, General Sir Henry Clinton, and in the Yorktown campaign of General Marquess Charles Cornwallis. Following the British defeat in 1783, Steadman was forced into exile in Britain and later was appointed as one of the commissioners in settling Loyalist claims.¹ In his book *History of the Origins, Progress, and Termination of the American War*, Steadman asserts that at their greatest strength British Army regiments of the line in North America totaled approximately 42,000. In addition, Steadman asserts that between 25,000-30,000 Loyalist soldiers and militia men served throughout the course of the conflict.² The deficient record-keeping methods of eighteenth-century militaries and lost muster rolls make an exact figure impossible to calculate but Steadman's computation of 42,000 regular soldiers is a generally accepted approximation of the strength of the British regular army during the American War of Independence. The challenges of

calculating the number of Highland Loyalists is even more challenging. Because many Loyalists kept their allegiance to the crown secret for fear of reprisal, and many more simply fled to Nova Scotia, Canada, the Caribbean, or Britain following the war, quantifiable data on Loyalist military units are scarce. Paul H. Smith, a renowned Loyalist historian, addressed this statistical conundrum when he stated, "The obstacles to calculating the exact strength of the Loyalists are formidable, indeed even insurmountable. Furthermore, no workable definition, applicable equally to persons from all colonies and to both the earlier and the later years of the War of Independence, can be formulated to help reduce the task to manageable proportions."³ However, some clarity can be achieved if several sources are cross-referenced. In this manner a reasonably accurate approximation of Highland Loyalist strength can be ascertained. Records from the British War Office indicate that in 1778, the height of British recruitment for the war in North America, 15,000 men were recruited in Scotland, "of whom two-thirds came from the north of Scotland."⁴ Most historians believe that by 1779 the British army in North America reached its peak in manpower, at around 60,000 soldiers.⁵ If one considers that this "two-thirds", or approximately 10,000 men, raised in the Highlands arrived in North America, a disproportionately high percentage of the British Army was Highland in origin.

This desire for land through military service can be seen in contemporary Scottish pamphlets and other widely read broadsheets of the era. In 1773 the Reverend William Thom, using the pseudonym 'Scotus Americanus' wrote *Information Concerning the Province of North Carolina, Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands*. In this widely read and circulated pamphlet, Thom declared that God favored Britain during the Seven

Years' War and in particular Highland regiments so that they could settle North Carolina with Gaelic Highlanders: "Our common men served as soldiers there during the last war, and both acquired immortal honour. It would seem as if they had made such important conquests in that quarter of the globe, in order to secure to themselves, and their countrymen, an agreeable and happy retreat, and, a large and fertile field for them and their posterity to flourish in."⁶

There were other less economic motivations for Highland Loyalism. Again, literature and poetry can be used as an apparatus to understand the decision making process of Highland Scots on the eve of the American War of Independence just as it can be for the Jacobite rebellions. As mentioned previously in this study, the work of William Gillies and Michael Newton utilize primary source Gaelic language poems and songs from the eighteenth century to gain an understanding of the political actions of Highland Gaels in both Scotland and North America. In his article 'Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present,' Newton has developed a complex schema that allows for a thematic analysis of Jacobite poetry. In relation to Highland Loyalism as demonstrated by previously Jacobite clans, Newton states,

there is a high degree of continuity in the ideological framework of Gaelic poetry. This is essentially the rhetoric of the Gaelic panegyric code created during the era of the traditional clan society when endemic warfare reinforced the primacy of aristocrat-warrior relationships...The conventions employed by Gaels when discussing choices for political and military action do not, in the main, change to any great degree from the Jacobite period to the end of the American Revolutionary War. It is, rather, a matter of determining how their relationship to King George changes so that he becomes their new object of affection, pride, and loyalty.⁷

Newton proposes that the poetry of the era suggests Highlanders would use military service for the British Crown in North America to atone for their association

with Jacobitism, and as such would be rewarded for their loyalty to their new ‘chief’, King George III. The decline in the clan system and the defeat at Culloden may have been the end of formal chief to clansmen clientage, but it was not the absolute end for the Gaelic ethos of clanship and service to a chief that provided land and monetary reward in exchange for military service. What was altered was the chief and locale. The British monarch substituted for the local chief, and service in British North America for local clan conflicts. Some of the existing poetry of the era, such as one written in 1777 by Duncan Lothain, illustrates that in the late eighteenth century Gaelic clans still placed an important emphasis on the role and honor of warriors in their culture. He celebrated Highland soldier’s deeds fighting as Loyalists and within regular British units during the American Revolution.

<p><i>Tha an t-Eilean Fad a chean again ‘S New York am baile mor sin ‘S Chaidh n’ teicheadg air na Reubaltaich ‘S na ceudan air an leonadh... Nach fad’ on tha na Gaidheil Ag aiteach na Roinn ‘ Eorpa; Nuair choisinn iad le ‘n claidheamh</i></p>	<p>Long Island is already in our possession And that great city of New York, The Rebels were driven out And hundreds have been wounded... The Gaels have long been Inhabiting the continent of Europe; When their swords brought them victory.⁸</p>
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Later in the poem Lothain described other ancient mythical battles when Gaels were triumphant and favorably compares the warriors of Gaelic history and folklore to the Highlanders serving in King George’s forces in North America. In addition to a cultural *ethos* that upheld martial virtues, a more simple, yet perhaps more potent, explanation of Highland Loyalism was attachment to their clan. The formal auspices of the Gaelic clan structure had collapsed after 1746 but by 1775 most Highland settlers had not become ‘Americanized,’ often by their own choice. For many Highlanders declaring

for the American Rebels would have been not only forswearing an oath of military service to the British authorities in exchange for land, but would also have represented a rupturing of ties with their families and clan at home in the Highlands. Indeed, in the early years of the war some Highland Scots based their loyalty wholly on clanship ties to the exclusion of politics and economics. In May 1777 Major John Grey of Sir John Johnson's Loyalist provincial unit wrote to the British Governor of Quebec, General Sir Guy Carleton, regarding forty-five Highlanders that had been driven from their homes in the Mohawk Valley of New York by Rebel forces. Upon reaching Montreal the refugee Highlanders offered themselves to the British military authorities to serve as soldiers but only on the condition that they not be separated from their leaders and kin. Major Grey wrote that the refugee Highlanders would "Serve During the war But are So Attached to their Chiefs that they Can't Think of Parting with Them."⁹

After 1775 and the outbreak of fighting, Highland Scots in North America rallied to the British and Loyalist banner. Former soldiers who had received land grants in North America were recalled for duty by the British government or raised Loyalist militias and formed 'volunteer' organizations to support the crown and wage irregular warfare on the frontier. Highland officers and soldiers in Scotland who had previously served in North America during the Seven Years' War in Highland regiments, such as the 42nd Black Watch, the 77th Montgomery Highlanders, and the 78th Fraser Highlanders, returned to the British standard to assist in the suppression of the American rebellion. When the call for regiments and soldiers went out in 1775, the Gaelic perception of land acquisition via 'sword right' that motivated Highland mercenaries from the time of the medieval *galloglass* through the Seven Years' War was resurrected. The Gaelic

Highlands were "the most fertile field for recruits" and "the best fighting men of Argyllshire and Invernesshire eagerly hailed the chance of winning by their swords a settlement in America more secure than that which their progenitors had held, by the tenure of the sword in the valleys of their native Scotland."¹⁰ In 1776 Alexander Macdonald, a Jacobite veteran of Culloden and of the 42nd Black Watch during the Seven Years' War declared that "nothing can cure the madness that prevails all over America but the sternest of measures."¹¹ Much as he had done in the Highlands of Scotland in 1745 as a Jacobite, Macdonald raised a regiment of Highland soldiers and led them into savage guerrilla-style war throughout much of upstate New York. The fundamental difference was that in 1745 Macdonald made war against the British government whereas in 1776 his mountain-oriented guerrilla war was waged against enemies of the British government.

The cultural and commercial ties established between Highland emigrants and Native Americans during and after the Seven Years' War re-emerged when the American War of Independence erupted. In 1776, the Mohawk leader Thayendanegea, better known as Joseph Brant, raised the British flag at Oquaga in upstate New York and summoned his warriors to arms. According to Daniel Claus, a British Indian agent, Brant told them "to defend their Lands and Liberty against the Rebels, who in a great measure began this Rebellion to be sole Masters of this Continent."¹² Brant transformed the village into a regional recruitment center for Loyalists in frontier New York, and in a short period of time assembled a force of approximately 70-80 Loyalist soldiers that called themselves "Brant's Volunteers."¹³ Claus described Brant's Volunteers as "intimate friends" that "unanimously engaged to put themselves under his [Brant's]

Command."¹⁴ One of these "intimate friends" was John Norton, a half Cherokee, half Scot. Norton had been adopted by the Mohawk during the Seven Years' War and was seen by many at Oquaga as Brant's protégé.¹⁵ Norton, who later rose to the rank of major in the British Army wrote that Brant, through a family connection (his marriage to the daughter of General Sir William Johnson, the British superintendent for Indian Affairs), and his Christian faith, "entirely influenced" the Highland Scots of the Mohawk Valley and the Kingsborough Patent to support the Crown.¹⁶ Brant and his volunteer militia were involved in numerous engagements in the New York theatre of the war and eventually were forced to settle in Canada, where they subsequently received small land grants, a mill, a school, and £15,000 in claims money.¹⁷

The focus of this study is not to detail the exploits of every Highland Loyalist regiment or militia, provincial or regular, which saw service during the War of American Independence. There are numerous authoritative works on the military history of Loyalist forces and that would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, through an examination of recruitment, settlement patterns, and military service of selected regiments and militias, it becomes clear that the mercenary tradition of military service for land played a large role in why so many Highland soldiers and emigrants chose fidelity to the British Crown and helps to explain the enigma of Scottish and Scots Highland Loyalism during the War of American Independence.

Because so many Scots, of both Highland and Lowland extraction, served in the British military during the War of American Independence there is an abundance of regiments and militias that could be scrutinized for mercenary and settlement patterns. Of these numerous regiments the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants provides perhaps the

best example of a Highland military unit that was formed around the premises of clan and kinship ties, settlement patterns, and a continuation of the Highland mercenary tradition.

The 84th Royal Highland Emigrants served in one form or another from 1775 to 1783. The 84th was one of the few Scottish regiments that served intact for the entire duration of the War of American Independence and one of the very few regiments originally raised as a colonial Provincial regiment that became a Regular British Army unit. Additionally, it was the first Scottish regiment raised in Canada, created in 1775 by Colonel Allan Maclean. Maclean was born on the Highland Isle of Mull in 1725. Prior to the War of American Independence, Maclean had followed the path of many of his ancestors of the Highland clan Maclean, serving as a mercenary in Holland as a lieutenant in a brigade of Scottish Highlanders. While in Holland Maclean was noticed by Count Lowendahl, a Dutch general, for bravery at the battle of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1754.¹⁸ During the Seven Years' War he held the rank of commander in the New York Independent Company and served with distinction at the 1758 Battle of Ticonderoga.¹⁹ As payment for his service Maclean received substantial land grants in 1764 totaling 5,000 acres in Glengarry, Quebec and the Mohawk Valley of New York.²⁰

At the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 Maclean's initial design was to raise a provincial Loyalist regiment of soldiers from former Highland and Scots soldiers that had served in the 42nd Black Watch, 77th Montgomery's Highlanders, and the 78th Fraser Highlanders during the Seven Years' War and who had settled in the New York Mohawk Valley, the Island of Saint John, (renamed later Prince Edward's Island), Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and some from North Carolina.²¹ As this study has illustrated, the Black Watch, Montgomery's Highlanders, and Fraser's Highlanders were regiments with

mercenary origins as well as former Jacobite loyalties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of the members of the 84th identified in this study, it is known that five were documented Jacobites that had been captured at Culloden in 1746.²² Maclean, sensing the Crown's desperate need for manpower, and utilizing his military and political connections in London and the Highlands, negotiated a contract with the British government that was advantageous to both himself and his countrymen in North America and Scotland. Maclean reached an agreement with British military authorities and General Sir Thomas Gage, that he would be automatically granted the title of lieutenant-colonel and awarded a pension for life that would transfer to his wife upon his death. Additionally he and his children would receive land grants in North America and his officers would also be given North American land grants.²³ As a further enticement to enlist and to provide these new Highland emigrants an incentive for valorous service, each soldier, officer or private, received one guinea levy-money on joining and was promised they would receive further grants of land at the expiration of the hostilities if the British were victorious.²⁴

General Gage's order to Maclean to raise and recruit the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants clearly demonstrates that the regiment was to be primarily Highlander in composition and character, complete with full Highland garb similar to the 42nd Black Watch as well as Highland broad swords and weaponry, similar to the dress of Highland regiments that served in the Seven Years' War. The 84th's uniform was full Highland garb, a dark green and black tartan. The officers wore the traditional Highland broad sword and dirk, and the men the same formidable half-basket hilt broadsword that the Jacobite army at Culloden utilized. In addition to the honor of being granted official

permission to wear Highland uniforms and not the typical provincial green or British regular scarlet, the 84th was the first regiment of emigrants that was granted the honor of being later reassigned as an official regiment of the British Army, a strong indication of the Highlanders integration into the British military system. The full text of Gage's order to Maclean reads,

"By His Excellency The Honorable Thomas GAGE General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America.

To Lieutenant Colonel Allan Maclean

You are hereby empowered with the Officers under your command by Beat of Drum or otherwise to enlist for His Majesty's Service, in any of His Provinces of North America, such Highlanders or such other Loyal Subjects, as you may be able to procure, to be formed into a Corps of two Battalions, to be paid as His Majesty's other Regiments of Foot, and to receive Fifty Shillings Bounty; they are to consist of Ten Companies each, which companies are to be composed of One Field Officer or Captain, two Subalterns, three Serjeants, three Corporals, two Drums, and Fifty private men:

The whole number of Officers to consist of One Colonel in Chief, one Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, two Majors, one of the two Majors to be Major Commandant, Seventeen Captains, two Captain Lieutenants, Twenty Lieutenants, Eighteen Ensigns, two Adjutants, two Quarter Masters, two Surgeons, two Surgeons Mates, and one Chaplain.

The whole Corps to be clothed Armed and accoutred in like manner with His Majesty's Royal Highland Regiment and are to be called the Royal Highland Emigrants.

You are to rendezvous on Lake Champlain, or bring them to this place, as you shall find most practicable; but should they be formed in Canada, you will act under the Command of General Carleton until further orders.

Given under my hand at Head Quarters, Boston 12th June 1775.

(Signed) Thomas GAGE"²⁵

After the raising, the 84th was divided into two battalions. The first battalion, under the direct command of Maclean, served primarily in Canada and New York and

delivered distinguished service in the siege of Quebec. When American generals Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery attempted to lay siege to Quebec in November through December 1775 with a force of nearly 3,000 men, Maclean marched his portion of the 84th, consisting of approximately 350 men, from what is now near Glengarry, Quebec. Although outnumbered Maclean and the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants defeated the American force and lifted the siege and ended any serious threat of an American conquest of Canada.²⁶ From Quebec on January 12, 1776, British General Carleton wrote to Commander-in-Chief General Howe, of the British victory at Quebec and the major role played by the men of the 84th,

...A sally from the Upper Town under captain Laws attacked their rear, and sent in many prisoners, captain Macdougall afterwards reinforced this party, and followed the rebels into the post they had taken. Thus Mr. Arnold's corps, himself and a few others excepted, who were wounded and carried off early, were completely ruined. They were caught as it were in a trap; we brought in their five mortars and one cannon. The other attack was soon repulsed with slaughter. Mr. Montgomery was left among the dead. The rebels have on this assault between six and seven hundred men, and between forty and fifty officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. We had only one lieutenant of the Navy doing duty as a captain in the garrison, and four rank and file killed, and thirteen rank and file wounded, two of the latter are since dead.²⁷

The 2nd Battalion of the 84th under Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) John Small was based in Halifax, but over the course of the war served in nearly every theater of the conflict. Five of the ten companies that comprised the 2nd Battalion remained garrisoned

at Halifax, while the remaining five joined the armies of generals Clinton and Cornwallis at different stages of the war.²⁸ Although the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants did not receive the glory that Maclean's 1st Battalion did, some companies of the 2nd took part in what may be considered the last Highland charge at the ill-fated battle of Moore's Creek in North Carolina on February 27, 1776.

Although the battle of Moore's Creek was a disastrous defeat for the 84th and other Highland forces assembled in North Carolina their reputation remained intact. Through loyal service on the battlefield, Highland soldiers achieved a level of respect from their English counterparts and commanders that would resonate through to the present in the British military establishment. Throughout his memoirs of the American rebellion, General Sir Henry Clinton offers effusive praise for the 84th and other Highland units. Considering Clinton's reputation for blunt undiplomatic words, and the general negative attitude most English officers had for Highland Scots, this speaks highly of the performance of Highland regiments. Respected as a brilliant strategist, Clinton was also known to be cantankerous and was described as a "short, fat, colorless man who could be shy and petulant." In his own words, he admitted that he "spoke too freely" of others actions.²⁹ But in regard to the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants and other Highland units from North Carolina, Clinton was laudatory. Clinton wrote about the January to February 1776 amphibious invasion of North Carolina in which the 2nd Battalion of the 84th participated. He scorned poor British logistical planning, but his mood lightened when he wrote of the Highland soldiers his naval forces transported. "I embarked in the *Mercury*, frigate, and sailed from Boston on the 20th, in company with two transports and a store-ship having on board the light companies of the Fourth and the Eighty-Fourth

regiments and a few officers for a corps intended to be raised among the steadfast loyal Highland emigrants of North Carolina."³⁰

During the War of American Independence, the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants served in seventeen major engagements and numerous skirmishes and garrison duties.³¹ Recruitment for the regiment remained high throughout the war. A 'Payment for Recruiting Receipt' issued to Major John Nairne on 11 June 1779 shows that even after the initial 1775-1776 rush of Loyalist volunteers had expired, men still actively joined the Royal Highland Emigrants. The receipt lists the names of forty men from Quebec and New York that had recently signed onto the 84th and issued their enlistment bounty, totaling £88.³²

The records available for this study indeed show that the government generously rewarded the 84th with North American land grants. The Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database shows that twenty-five officers and men of the 84th received land grants. Of the nine officers for which acreage was listed the total allotted to them was 43,750 acres of land.³³ Maclean's mercenary agreement with British authorities resulted in many of his men receiving land grants in exchange for their service and further entrenched the tradition of Highland outmigration to what would later become Canada following the cessation of hostilities in 1781. Field officers were rewarded with 5,000 acres, captains 3,000 acres, subalterns and lower grade officers 500 acres, sergeants 200 acres, and 100 acres and homesteading rights to common soldiers. Many of the men of the 1st Battalion took their land grants near Charlottenburgh, Quebec while the men of the 2nd Battalion, many of whom had lost their homes in North Carolina, settled near the Upper River of the East Pictou region of Nova Scotia.³⁴ The experience of the Royal Highland

Emigrants illustrates that the motivations for Highland outmigration to North America was primarily economic-military service in the centuries long mercenary tradition of the Highlands, but was also cultural. In the Royal Highland Emigrants men of the Scottish Highlands found the opportunity to create a microcosm of the Gaelic Highlands of Scotland in New York, North Carolina, and most tangibly in their later land-grant based permanent settlements in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot, or as it is better known, the Black Watch, played a significant role in North America during the Seven Years' War. When the American War of Independence began in 1775 the Black Watch was again sent to North America. The Black Watch saw action in numerous battles from 1775-1783 but was most noted, and its members most proud, for its role in routing George Washington's forces at Brooklyn, New York in 1776.³⁵ In October 1777, the Black Watch won the battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania which gave the British control of Philadelphia. Because the 42nd was a regular British Army regiment there were no resident North American Highland emigrants in it during the war. However, the officers and men of 42nd were rewarded with land grants in the Nashua River valley of New Brunswick, and along the St. Lawrence River. On August 18, 1784 Governor General Guy Carleton issued orders to establish a settlement for the veterans of the Black Watch that had chosen to remain in North America. The plan, created by Carleton and the military authorities in Halifax and Quebec, was for former members of the Black Watch to be given land grants according to their rank and service. These land grants would be laid out so that a line of communication could be established from Nova Scotia to Quebec and to provide protection of the frontier from the Native nations as well as the upstart

American republic. Section 55 of Carleton's orders clearly described the method of land grant settlement for the former Highland soldiers of the Black Watch and how they were to continue to act as frontier soldiers much as the original Black Watch had done in the Highlands of Scotland.

And whereas we are desirous of testifying our entire approbation of the loyalty, sufferings and services of the commissioned officers of our Provincial forces who have been reduced: It is therefore our will and pleasure that upon application of such of the said commissioned officers who shall be willing immediately to settle and improve lands in our said province, you do direct that warrants of survey and grants for the same be made out and given in the following proportions, that is to say for every Field Officer 1,000 acres, to every Captain 700 acres, to every Subaltern, Staff and Warrant officer 500 acres, exclusive of the number to which members of their families are entitled. In the case of non-commissioned officers, as before stated, the grant was to be 200 acres; and in that of privates, 100 acres, exclusive of the number of acres to which the members of their families might be entitled. And in order to strengthen the proposed settlements in our said province, and that they may be in a state of security and defence, it is our will and pleasure that the allotments to be made to the non-commissioned officers and private men under our said instructions shall be, where the same is practicable, by Corps and as contiguous as may be to each other, and that the allotments made to the several commissioned officers under this our instruction shall be interspersed therein, that the same may be thereby united and in case of attack be defended by those who have been accustomed to bear arms and serve together.³⁶

Like the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants, soldiers of the Black Watch utilized military service and outmigration to improve their economic conditions. Complete records of the Nashwaak Highland settlement do not exist. However, available records and databases suggest that by 1790 former Highland soldiers of the 42nd Black Watch had received 31,900 acres of military based land grants for their service during the War of American Independence.³⁷ In the last decades of the eighteenth century there were very few men of non-noble origin in Scotland that owned 200 acres of their own land, let alone larger tracts such as the 500 or 1,000 acre tracts that commissioned officers were granted in North America. Four of the soldiers granted land at Nashwaak, Alexander

Macgillvray, Duncan Macgregor, John Macgregor, and Malcolm Macgregor, were confirmed Jacobite veterans from the 1745 Rising and were all present at Culloden. Furthermore, both clan Macgillvray and Macgregor possessed long histories of medieval to early modern *galloglass* mercenary service in Ireland and continental Europe and religiously were either Non-Juror or Catholic. Although both the 42nd and 84th Highland regiments were a part of the British defeat in the War of American Independence, they, as a people, met with success. If two Non-Juror, Catholic, Jacobite clans could provide faithful service to the Crown and receive substantial reward for their service, it shows the depth of political and economic integration that had taken place between the government in London and the formerly Gaelic-centric Highlands.³⁸

The economic self interest of Highland soldiers was met through military oriented outmigration during the eighteenth century, but the opportunity to preserve some aspects of their Gaelic culture in British North America also presented itself in the years following the conclusion of hostilities. By the first decades of the nineteenth century the Gaelic language and the *Gaeltacht* were in moribund decline in Scotland, receding to only the far western seaboard, the Isles, and the far north. However, in the Highland soldier settlements of British North America Gaelic was still widely spoken and utilized as the *lingua franca*. In 1813, a full thirty years after the original settlement of Nashwaak an Irish army officer passed through the region and noted "the Highlanders spoke Gaelic with all its purity."³⁹ It is also important to note that Non-Juring Episcopalians could still be found in British North America long after they faded away in Britain.⁴⁰

Governor General Guy Carleton's initial plan to settle the British American frontier with former Highland soldiers was carried into the nineteenth century and played

a role in the War of 1812. Fearful that an American invasion would succeed in the conquest of Upper Canada, as well as a peacetime demographic-based trepidation that American numbers along the border would swell and the area would become "American" by squatter-sovereignty, British imperial authorities experimented with "assisted emigration by offering land to military veterans willing to settle the colony."⁴¹ British regular units that fought in the War of 1812 as well as local militias mainly composed of Highland settlers were eligible for further land grants in Glengarry County of the Rideau Valley.⁴² The Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment was a 'fencible' regiment, the War of 1812 equivalent of provincial units that would serve as a sort of militia and fight only in their province. The unit was lead by Alexander McDonell. The Glengarry Light Infantry was not an exclusively Highland regiment, but the fact that in 1815 Thomas Ridout, the Surveyor General of Upper Canada, appointed Duncan McDonell to survey the region for the land grants to be given to the Glengarry Light Infantry veterans because he spoke "the Erse [Gaelic] Language" is an indicator that the regiment was predominately of Highland extraction.⁴³

Following the war Alexander McDonell was appointed Superintendent of Emigrant Location and played a key role in securing land for men of the Glengarry Light Infantry as well as Scots that had served in the Regular 3rd, 49th, 58th, and 82nd regiments. A letter written by Surveyor General Ridout on 27 May, 1816 and an accompanying abstract of land grant locations illustrates the extent of Highland soldier settlement in Upper Canada at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The 1816 land grant abstract shows that 134 soldiers of the Glengarry Light Infantry as well as the Regular 3rd, 49th, 58th, and 82nd regiments during the War of 1812, received land grants from the British and

Canadian authorities in the Glengarry and the Rideau Valley.⁴⁵ The Highland Loyalist military settlement in Canada demonstrates a continuity of the centuries long tradition of Highland soldier outmigration. Despite defeat during the War of American Independence the Highland settlements, founded primarily by former soldiers, represented an outlet for Highland settlement and economic stability as well as the opportunity for the preservation of Highland culture. The flow of former Highland soldiers to Upper Canada continued through the Napoleonic Wars. In 1816 Alexander Mcdonell requested seven more townships for settlement for Highland soldiers discharged following the Napoleonic Wars. Nearby townships began to be populated with Highlanders and by the 1820s "it was possible to dream of an eastern Upper Canada populated chiefly by Highland settlers."⁴⁶ As they had for centuries Scottish soldiers had found a mercenary oriented outlet for outmigration for both cultural and economic preservation

¹ G.N.D. Evans, *Allegiance in America: The Case of the Loyalists* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), 79.

² Charles Steadman, *History of the Origins, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vols., London, 1794), 446-449.

³ Smith, "The American Loyalists," 260.

⁴ War Office Papers. 1:682 and 1:996-998., "Resolution of the Nobility of Norfolk" Manuscripts in the Public Records Office, (now found in the British National Archives) in Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1926), 77.

⁵ Jeremy Black, *War for America: The Fight for Independence, 1775–1783* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 27-29.

⁶ Reverend William Thom, writing as 'Scotus Americanus', "*Information Concerning the Province of North Carolina, Addressed to the Emigrants from the Highlands, 1773*," at North Carolina Office of Archives and History Online Department of Cultural Preservation-The Colonial Records Project:
www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hp/colonial/Bookshelf/Tracts/Informations/Default.htm
(accessed April 12, 2006).

⁷ Newton, "Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present," 34-37.

⁸ Duncan Lothain, 1777: Translated by Michael Newton in, Newton, "Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present," 47.

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- ⁹ Letter from Major Grey to Governor General Sir Guy Carleton, 12 May 1777 in Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 93.
- ¹⁰ Sir George Otto Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 2 (New York: Longmans & Green, 1912), 33-34.
- ¹¹ Herman, and Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database Appendix.
- ¹² Quotation from Joseph Brant in Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 122.
- ¹³ Calloway, 122-123; and James Paxton, "The Myth of the Loyalist Iroquois, Joseph Brant and the Invention of a Canadian Tradition," Queen's University, presented at the Iroquois Research Conference, 6 October, 2002, www.wampumchronicles.com/josephbrant.html. (accessed May 5, 2006).
- ¹⁴ Paxton, www.wampumchronicles.com/josephbrant.html, (accessed May 5, 2006).
- ¹⁵ Calloway, 122.
- ¹⁶ Calloway, 122-123.
- ¹⁷ Paxton, www.wampumchronicles.com/josephbrant.html, (accessed May 5, 2006).
- ¹⁸ Ian Coughlin, Military History –Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, "Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment or Old Eighty-Fourth 1775-1783," www.coghlan.co.uk/emigrant.htm (assessed June 13, 2006).
- ¹⁹ Virtual American Biographies: Found, www.famousamericans.net/sirallanmaclean/ (assessed June 9, 2006).
- ²⁰ Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database: Appendix.

²¹ Curtis, 23 and Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 93, and Ian McCulloch "Men Breed in the Rough Bounds: The Scottish Military Tradition in Canada." www.chebucto.ns.ca/Heritage/FSCNS/Scots_NS/Sct_Military/Scot_Military_Canada.html (assessed June 9, 2006).

²² Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database: Appendix.

²³ Curtis, 73.

²⁴ Ian McCulloch, "Men Breed in the Rough Bounds: The Scottish Military Tradition in Canada." Found at: www.chebucto.ns.ca/Heritage/FSCNS/Scots_NS/Sct_Military/Scot_Military_Canada.html (assessed June 10, 2006).

²⁵ The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, "General Sir Thomas Gage to Colonel Allan Maclean, 12th June 1775," www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rhe/rheords.htm (accessed June 12, 2006).

²⁶ Ian Coughlin, Military History –Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, "Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment or Old Eighty-Fourth 1775-1783," www.coghlan.co.uk/emigrant.htm (assessed June 13, 2006).

²⁷ The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, "General Guy Carleton to General Sir William Howe, 12th January, 1776," www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rhe/rheords.htm (accessed June 13, 2006).

²⁸ Ian Coughlin, Military History –Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, "Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment or Old Eighty-Fourth 1775-1783," www.coghlan.co.uk/emigrant.htm (assessed June 13, 2006).

²⁹ David McCullough, *1776* (New York and London: Simon and Schuster, 2005), 77, 165.

³⁰ Sir Henry Clinton, & William B. Willcox, ed., *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 24.

³¹ Mark Brown, Land Forces of Britain, the Empire, and Commonwealth, "84th Regiment of Foot-Royal Highland Emigrants-Battles in Which the 84th Participated," www.regiments.org/regiments/uk/inf/084-775.htm (assessed June 13, 2006).

³² The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, "Payment for Recruiting Receipts-issued to Major John Nairne-11 June 1779," www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rhe/rhepay.htm (accessed June 10, 2006).

³³ Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database: Appendix.

³⁴ Ian Coughlin, *Scottish Highlands - Highland Clans and Regiments*, "Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment Old Eighty-Fourth 1775-1783," www.regiments.org/regiments/uk/inf/084-775.htm (assessed June 13, 2006).

³⁵ The Black Watch Official Regimental Website: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Ministry of Defense, "History 1745-1800," www.theblackwatch.co.uk/newsite/history/index.html

www.regiments.org/regiments/uk/inf/084-775.htm (assessed June 14, 2006).

³⁶ Carleton's Order Section 55 in, Rev. W. O. Raymond, "Glimpses of the Past Contributions to the History of Charlotte County and the Border Towns- LXVIII-The United Empire Loyalists," *Saint Croix Courier*, St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 25 May

1893.

<http://members.shaw.ca/caren.second/locations/NewBrunswick/Glimpses/LXVIII.html>

(assessed June 14, 2006).

³⁷ Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database: Appendix.

³⁸ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce, and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 246-248.

³⁹ Margaret Pugh, *The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, The Black Watch (Nashwaak)* at:

http://www3.bc.sympatico.ca/charlotte_taylor/Folder1/Black_Watch.htm (assessed June

16, 2006).

⁴⁰ Margaret Pugh, *The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, The Black Watch (Nashwaak)* at:

http://www3.bc.sympatico.ca/charlotte_taylor/Folder1/Black_Watch.htm (assessed June

16, 2006).

⁴¹ Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 199.

⁴² Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 199.

⁴³ Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 198.

⁴⁴ National Archives of Canada, RG5 A1, UCS, 12952-12953, Surveyor General Thomas Rideout to Governor General Sir John Coope Sherbrooke, 27 May 1816 (reel C-4547).

⁴⁵ National Archives of Canada, RG5 A1, UCS, 12906-12907, Abstract of Locations Made by Alexander MacDonnell, Superintendent of Locations to Disbanded Soldiers and Emigrant Settlers, 16 March 1816 (reel C-4547).

⁴⁶ Marianne MacLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 214.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST HIGHLAND CHARGE

On February 27, 1776 near Moore's Creek, North Carolina, a woman mounted on a white horse pronounced a Gaelic blessing upon a regiment of Highland Loyalists before they went off to battle. Flora Macdonald issued this benediction, similar to other blessings given for centuries to Highland soldiers prior to going to war. She was the same Flora Macdonald of Highland lore that had defied the victorious British army after Culloden and assisted Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Bonnie Prince,' to escape his pursuers and flee to exile in France. Flora and her husband, the Skye tacksman Allan Macdonald, had immigrated to North Carolina in 1774 and acquired a prosperous plantation in the Cape Fear region.¹ When the American rebellion began in 1775, Allan and Flora offered their services to the Loyalist side. Allan was appointed second in command of the Loyalist Highland Militia, a unit that was later integrated into the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants. Allan's superior officer was his cousin from Skye, Brigadier Donald Macdonald. The Macdonalds' orders were to, "invite every well-wisher to that form of government under which they so happily lived...to repair to His Majesty's royal standard, erected at Cross Creek, where they will meet with every possible civility and

be...engaged in the best and most glorious of all causes, supporting the rights and constitution of their country.”²

Highland soldiers of the Cape Fear region responded to the Macdonalds' call to arms. By February 1776 a Highland army estimated between 1,500 to 3,000, and comprised primarily of Macdonalds, MacLeods, MacKenzies, MacRaes, MacLeans, MacKays, and MacLachlans, reported to Cross Creek.³ These Gaelic-speaking clansmen were clad in tartan and “keeping step with the shrill of the pipes” were outfitted for war as their ancestors had been for hundreds of years.⁴ On February 27, 1776 this Highland army encountered an entrenched Patriot force near Moore’s Creek. Crossing a half demolished bridge that separated the two forces, Donald Macdonald drew his claymore and in Gaelic gave the *brosnachadh catha*, or battle cry, “King George and Broadsword!”⁵ With this, and the sounds of shrill bagpipes and battle cries filling the air, the Highland charge began. Within moments it was over. The Patriot force, being well apprised of the formidable reputation of the Highland charge and not wanting to engage the Highlanders in hand-to-hand combat, opened fire with several artillery pieces that had been concealed in the undergrowth. The bridge quickly became a death trap as the American lines poured fire into the Highland charge and cut it to pieces. One of the first to fall was Donald Macdonald, who died with nine musket balls and twenty-four pellets of swan-shot being taken from his body following the battle.⁶ Even facing such withering fire, the Highland soldiers came within feet of overtaking the American position. The Highland charge, which had carried so many battles over the centuries for Scottish Highlanders, was never seen again. For Highland war, it was the end of an era. For Highlanders in North America, it was the beginning of more transition and migration.

When American independence was secured with the Treaty of Paris in 1783 the vast majority of Loyalist Scots, facing reprisals for joining the British cause, were forced to migrate once more. Most Highland soldiers went to places like Glengarry, Quebec, others to what would become the Atlantic areas of Canada, most specifically Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The conditions on Nova Scotia were so severe that Highlanders, a people not unfamiliar to life in difficult climates, nicknamed their new home “Nova Scarcity.”⁷ Allan Macdonald survived the battle at Moore’s Creek and after serving time in several American prisons was paroled. Allan and Flora, unlike the vast majority of Highlanders, returned to their home on the Isle of Skye. Allan and Flora Macdonald’s return to Scotland did not represent the experiences of the vast majority of Highlanders who remained in British North America and some parts of the United States and continued the pattern of Highland outmigration as both the Americans and British Americans pushed westward to the Pacific Ocean in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The history of this westward expansion is abundant with names of Highland origin. The first two Prime Ministers of Canada, John Alexander Macdonald and Alexander MacKenzie bore the surnames of Highland clans.

In the last ten years popular culture interest in all things Scottish has increased. During the summer months Highland games and Scottish festivals dot the landscape of the United States and Canada. Hollywood epics such as *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* have provided the public with romantic, entertaining, yet not altogether factual representations of the Highlands of Scotland. Concurrently, there also appears to be a burgeoning interest in the colonial period of North America. ‘Yankee Peddler’ and colonial fairs are commonplace in nearly all parts of the continent. Movies such as *The Last of the*

Mohicans and *The Patriot* also indulge the popular culture desire for a romanticized version of life on the North American continent during the eighteenth century.

That there has been an upsurge of interest in Gaelic and colonial North America history and culture is not a bad thing. Both of these topics have been for the most part ignored by most academic and popular historians, with the exception of studies involving some aspects of the American War of Independence or the Scots Wars for Independence. For too long the study of eighteenth century transatlantic history has been filtered through an Anglocentric prism that leave many students of history with the impression that Englishmen were the only group of people that migrated to North America. The historians cited in this study have all, utilizing a myriad of perspectives ranging from macro to micro studies and employing many differing modes of analysis, given the field of transatlantic scholarship a perspective that highlights the story and contributions of Gaelic Highland Scots in eighteenth-century British North America.

The transatlantic methodology has emphasized the importance of the economic and cultural linkages between the imperial European powers and the North American colonies, and how these transatlantic linkages served as conduits for the migration of peoples and culture. In regard to Highland Scots, most transatlantic historians believe that outmigration was motivated either by the desire for economic opportunities or for cultural self-determination. It is the hope that this study helps to synthesize and combine these two interpretations of Highland outmigration. The evidence is clear that as economic conditions in the Highlands deteriorated throughout the eighteenth century that Highlanders were forced to seek economic opportunities they were most readily available. That location was British North America, and the vehicle by which most

sought these opportunities was the British Empire and British military. As powerful as the evidence for an economic motivation is, the cultural aspects of Highland outmigration can not be ignored if we are to gain a more complete understanding of why so many people of the Highlands left their homes and began again in a new and wild continent. Monetary gain has always been a prime motivation for migration. However, a people's cultural composition, whether it is expressed through religion, language, or inclination of profession, can be as or more powerful a motivation for outmigration as financial security. Most people will not abandon their language, religion, and traditions without first doing all that can be done to preserve them.

That is why this study has sought to show the linkages between economic opportunity and cultural preservation among Highlanders and how these linkages brought about the Highland diaspora to North America. Prior to the eighteenth century, Highland Scots sought economic opportunity in the employment of Irish kings in their wars against England. Many Highland *galloglass* settled in Ireland as payment for their services. However, the *galloglass* were brought to Ireland through kinship and cultural ties among the Gaels on both sides of the Irish Sea. Later Scots both Lowlanders and Highlanders sought opportunities in France, Sweden, and Russia. A combination of economic gain and *realpolitik* served as an impetus for Scottish soldiering in the service of France.

By the eighteenth century Scottish Highlanders entered into service with the British state with which they had been in conflict with for so long. Through centuries of experience in migratory settlement based upon fiscal necessity and military service, Highland Scots had learned how to combine their need to survive in a rapidly changing and modernizing world with the desire for preservation of certain aspects of traditional

Gaelic culture. This was achieved not through fidelity to the British state or an acceptance of 'Englishness,' but rather out of economic self interest and the opportunity to preserve some of the *Gaeltacht*, even if it had been transferred across the Atlantic from Scotia to Nova Scotia, and from Caithness to the Carolinas.

¹ Hunter, 15.

² J.P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783 Together With Notices of Highland Regiments and Biographical Sketches* (Glasgow: Helman-Taylor Company, 1900.), 126.

³ J.P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders*, 128-129.

⁴ J.P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders*, 128.

⁵ Hunter, 20.

⁶ Hunter, 21, and Herman, 249.

⁷ Herman, 250.

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APPENDIX

HIGHLAND SOLDIERS LAND GRANT DATABASE

The Highland Soldiers Land Grant Database lists 313 known Highland Scottish soldiers who served in the British Army or North American Loyalist regiments and militias during the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence, as well as a small number of War of 1812 veterans. The information for this study has been culled from several sources, both primary and secondary, which are fully listed at the end of the database. The data has been sorted in an ascending fashion based on the order of: regiment the soldier served in, the soldiers surname followed by given name, and finally by the location of the land grant issued to the soldier. This is, of course, not a complete database of every Scottish soldier granted land in North America between the years 1756-1815. The Highland Soldier Land Grant Database was created to provide statistical support for the case studies presented in this study. Every attempt has been made to make this database as accurate as possible, and the author welcomes additions and suggestions as this will remain a 'living' database.

LEGEND

Category Abbreviations:

Reg.: Regiment or Militia Unit

LLG: Location of Land Grant

Military Abbreviations

RoF: Regiment of Foot

Leg.: Legion

1st Royal Scots Reg.: 1st Royal Scots Guard Regiment

22nd Reg. of Dragoons: 22nd Regiment of Dragoons

26th Reg.-Cameronians: 26th Regiment Cameronians

42nd Black Watch: 42nd Royal Highlanders Black Watch

42nd Oglethorpe's RoF: 42nd Oglethorpe's Regiment of Foot

43rd Roy. Highl. RoF: 43rd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot

5th Amer. Reg. Br. Leg.: 5th American Regiment British Legion

60th King's Royal RoF: 60th King's Royal Regiment of Foot

64th Reg. of Foot: 64th Regiment of Foot

76th Macdl. High.: 76th Macdonnell Highlanders

77th Mont. High.: 77th Montgomery's Highlanders

78th Fraser High.: 78th Fraser Highlanders

82nd Reg. of Foot: 82nd Regiment of Foot

84th Roy. High. Em.: 84th Royal Highland Emigrants

E. Fl. Rangers: East Florida Rangers

King's 4th Am. Reg.: King's 4th American Regiment

King's RRY: King's Royal Regiment of New York

NC High.: North Carolina Highlanders

NC Prov.: North Carolina Provincials

NC Vol.: North Carolina Volunteers

NY Ind. H. Vol.: New York Independent Highland Volunteers

NY Local Ind. Co.: New York Local Independent Loyalist Company

Queen's Am. Ra.: Queen's American Rangers

Royal NC Reg.: Royal North Carolina Regiment

SC Loy.: South Carolina Loyalists

Un: Unknown regiment or militia

Location and Jacobite Abbreviations

Modern Canadian and United States postal abbreviations have been utilized for provinces and states.

Anson CO. NC: Anson County, North Carolina

Bergen Cou. NJ: Bergen County New Jersey

Crown Point, NY: Crown Point, New York

Cumber CO. NC: Cumberland County, North Carolina

Dutchess Cou. NY: Dutchess County, New York

E. FL: East Florida

GA: Georgia

Glengarry, QC: Glengarry County/region, Quebec
Kingsn. P. NY: Kingsborough Patent, New York
Nashwaak, NB: Nashwaak River, New Brunswick
NS: Nova Scotia
NY: New York
ON: Ontario
QC: Quebec
Ticon-CP. NY: Ticonderoga-Crown Point, New York
UR-E. Pictou, NS: Upper River, East Pictou, Nova Scotia
VT: Vermont
W. FL: West Florida
Yes @ Cul.: Soldier was a Jacobite and was confirmed to have been at Culloden, 1746.

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Ruthven, Walter Maj.	1st Royal Scots Reg.	NY	5000	1765	
Macpherson, Murdoch	22nd Reg. of Dragoons	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, John	26th Reg.-Cameronians	Bergen Cou. NJ	?	1763	
Blair, George	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Bruce, David	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Bruce, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Buchan, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Cameron, James	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Cameron, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Cameron, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Campbell, Allan	42nd Black Watch	Crown Point, NY	5000	1764	
Campbell, Allan Cpt.	42nd Black Watch	Crown Point, NY	5000	1763	
Campbell, Allan Maj.	42nd Black Watch	Crown Point, NY	5000	1763	
Campbell, Dugald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Campbell, Dugald Lt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	500	1785	
Finlayson, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	500	1785	
Forbes, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Fraser, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Fraser, Thomas Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Graham, Thomas Cpt.	42nd Black Watch	Crown Point, NY	5000	1765	
Gunn, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Gunn, James	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Gunn, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Kennedy, Hugh	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Kennedy, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Lessly, George	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macbain, Angus	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macculloch, R.D. Piper	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	700	1785	
Macculloch, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdavison, Daniel	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdonald, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdonald, Alexander Sir	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Macdonald, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdonald, James	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdonald, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macdougall, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macfaddin, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macgillvray, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	Yes
Macgregor, Duncan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	Yes
Macgregor, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	Yes
Macgregor, Malcolm	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	Yes
Macintosh, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macintosh, Lachlan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macintosh, Malcolm	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macintosh, William Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Maciver, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackawley, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Angus	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Mackay, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Duncan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Francis	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, George jr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, George sr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Henry	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Robert	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Robert jr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, Robert sr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackay, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackenzie, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackenzie, Hugh	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackenzie, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	Yes @ Cul.
Mackenzie, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackenzie, John Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Mackenzie, Roderick	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Mackenzie, Unknown Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Maclagan, Peter Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Maclean, Unknown Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Macleod, Donald Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Macleod, Duncan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, Malcolm	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, Murdoch	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, Robert	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, Roderick jr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, Roderick sr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macleod, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macmillan, Miles	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macnabb, James Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Macpharlan, George	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macpharlan, John Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Macpherson, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macraw, Duncan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macraw, Farquhar	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macraw, Neil	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Macween, Murdoch	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Masterson, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Matthewson, Alexander Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Matthewson, George	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Munn, Donald Cpl.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Munro, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Robertson, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Robertson, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Ross, Andrew	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Ross, Donald	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Ross, James jr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Ross, James sr.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Stewart, Duncan	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Stewart, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Stewart, Peter Sgt.	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	1000	1785	
Sutherland, George	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, Hugh	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, Robert	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Sutherland, William	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Weir, John	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Bain, Alexander	42nd Black Watch	Nashwaak, NB	200	1785	
Campbell, Duncan Ens.	42nd Oglethorpe's RoF	Dutchess Cou. NY	?	1764	
Sutherland, Patrick	42nd Oglethorpe's RoF	NS	?	1766	
Young, William	43rd Roy. Highl. RoF	Cumber. Co. NC	3000	1767	
Macdonald, James Lt.	5th Amer. Reg. Br. Leg.	Anson Co., NC	?	1773	
Mackenzie, John Cpt.	5th Amer. Reg. Br. Leg.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1775	
Campbell, Robert, Cpt.	60th King's Royal RoF	Ticon-CP, NY	3000	1764	
Cochran, Gavin Cmdr.	60th King's Royal RoF	Crown Point, NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Ranold	60th King's Royal RoF	NY	?	1773	Yes
Mackay, Francis Ens.	60th King's Royal RoF	Albany NY	500	1767	
Umlach, John	60th King's Royal RoF	NS	?	1763	
Drummond, David Cpt.	64th Reg. of Foot	West FL	?	1774	
Mackay, Donald Sgt.	76th Macdl. High.	Shelboun, NS	50	1783	
Campbell, Moses	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	200	1765	
Ferguson, William	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	200	1765	
Grant, Alexander Ens.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	
Grant, Alexander Lt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	
Grant, Robert Cpt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	3000	1764	
Gunn, James	77th Mont. High.	Otter's Creek, NY	2000	1764	
Macdonald, John NCO	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	200	1765	
Macintosh, Alexander Cpt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	3000	1764	Yes @ Cul.
Mackinnon, Ranald	77th Mont. High.	NS	2000	1775	
Maclean, Donald	77th Mont. High.	E. FL	?	1769	
Macrae, Thomas, Lt.	77th Mont. High.	NY	12000	1766	
Menzies, Alexander Lt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	Yes @ Cul.
Menzies, Thoman Lt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	
Munro, Harry Lt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	
Munro, Hugh	77th Mont. High.	Albany, NY	48	1766	
Sutheland, William Sgt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	200	1765	
Sutherland, Nicholas Cpt.	77th Mont. High.	Ticon-CP, NY	3000	1764	
Cameron, Thomas Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Cameron, Thomas Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Campbell, Alexander Lt. Col	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Campbell, James Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Campbell, John Lt. Col.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Campbell, William Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Chisholm, John Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Clark, Donald Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Cormac, Alexander Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Davidson, Edward Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Davidson, Thomas Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Ferguson, Alexander Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Forbes, James Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Fraser, Alexander Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Fraser, Donald, Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Fraser, Hugh	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Fraser, John	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Fraser, John Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Fraser, Malcolm Lt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	20000	1764	
Fraser, Simon Lt. General	78th Fraser High.	NY	10000	1773	
Fraser, Alexander Lt.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Grant, John Ovt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Gunn, William Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Henderson, John	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1764	Yes @ Cul.
Henderson, John	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1765	Yes @ Cul.
Lieth, Alexander Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macachen, John	78th Fraser High.	Wood Creek, NY	500	1765	Yes @ Cul.
Macadam, George Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macalpine, Donald	78th Fraser High.	Albany, NY	200	1764	Yes @ Cul.
Macbane, Donald Cpt.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1766	
Macbean, Donald Cpt.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Maccraw, Duncan Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macdonald, Alexander Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macdonald, Angus Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macdonald, Ranald Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macdonell, James Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macdonell, John Lt.	78th Fraser High.	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	Yes
Macdonell, John Maj.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Ronald Lt.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1758	Yes @ Cul.
Macdougall, George Lt.	78th Fraser High.	Patten Kills, VT	2000	1763	Yes @ Cul.
Mackenivan, Donald Cpl.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Mackenzie, William Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Maclean, Allan Lt. Col.	78th Fraser High.	NY	?	1773	
Macnab, Alexander Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macnabb, William Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Macpherson, Murdoch Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
McLone, John Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Munro, Finlay Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Robie, John Pvt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Simpson, Alexander, Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Sinclair, Charles Ens.	78th Fraser High.	NY	500	1773	
Sinclair, James, Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Skene, Andrew Phillip Lt.	78th Fraser High.	NY	20000	1764	
Skene, Philip Maj.	78th Fraser High.	NY	20000	1764	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Smith, Lachlan Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Tulloch, Hugh Sgt.	78th Fraser High.	QC	?	1765	
Ballentine, David	82nd Reg. of Foot	Cape Louis, NS	2000	1783	
Fraser, Donald Cpt.	82nd Reg. of Foot	NS	700	1784	
Cameron, Donald	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Cameron, Donald	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1784	
Fraser, Donald sr.	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	?	
Macarthur, Duncan	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1775	
Macdonald, Alexander Cpt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	3000	1784	
Macdonald, Allen	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	1000	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Alex	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	450	1784	
Macdonell, Alexander	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	100	1773	
Macdonell, Alexander Cpt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	3000	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Alexander Cpt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	3000	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Allan Cpt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	3000	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Angus	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	5000	1773	
Macdonell, Archibald Lt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	5000	1773	
Macdonell, Archibald Lt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	5000	1783	
Macdonell, Donald Cpl.	84th Roy. High. Em.	Charlzburg. QC	5000	1773	
Macdonell, John	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Macdonell, John	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Macdonell, John	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Macdonell, Kenneth Sgt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	200	1773	
Macdonell, Ronald	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	1000	1773	
Macgregor, Donald	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	Yes
Macgruer, Donald	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Macintosh, John	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	100	1773	
Maclaine, Murdoch Cpt.	84th Roy. High. Em.	UR-E. Pictou, NS	3000	1785	
Maclean, Allan Col. (founde	84th Roy. High. Em.	Glengarry, QC	5000	1764	
Maitland, Hichard Lt. Col.	Dep. Adj. Gen.	NY	12000	1766	
Ballie, George	E. Fl. Rangers	GA	2000	?	
Douglas, Stuart Lt. Col.	E. Fl. Rangers	E. FL	10000	1764	
Campbell, George Lt.	General Gage's Reg.	NY	5000	1765	
Campbell, John	Gov. Martin's Loy.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1771	
Macdonald, John Qm.	Gov. Martin's Loy.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1773	
Napier, James Sir	Inspector Gen.	VT	10000	1764	
Blair, Daniel	King's 4th Am. Reg.	Cape Fear, NC	500	1765	
Cameron, Alexander	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, Angus	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, Hugh	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, John	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, John McAfee	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Cameron, William Buy	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Chisholm, Alexander	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Chisholm, William	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Dewar, John	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1783	
Ferguson, Alexander	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Ferguson, Peter	King's RRYNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Grant, Alexander	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Grant, Angus	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Grant, Archibald	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Grant, Donald	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Grant, Duncan	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Grant, Finlay	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Grant, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Grant, Peter	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Grant, Peter	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Macclennan, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Alexander	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Alexander	King's RRNY	Tyron Cou., NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Alexander Cpt.	King's RRNY	Tyron Cou., NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Allan	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonell, Allen	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Donald Ban	King's RRNY	Charlzburg. QC	600	1784	
Macdonell, Duncan	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, Duncan	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macdonell, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Macdonell, Roderick	King's RRNY	Tyron Cou., NY	?	1775	
Macgillis, Donald Sgt.	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macgruer, John	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Mackay, Angus	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Mackay, Donald	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Maclean, Donald	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Maclean, Murdoch	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macleod, William Lt.	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macpherson, Alexander	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1773	
Macpherson, James	King's RRNY	Tyron Cou., NY	?	1774	
Macpherson, Lauchlan	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1778	
Munro, John	King's RRNY	Albany, NY	?	1756	
Munroe, Hugh	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1774	
Ross, Donald	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	250	1766	
Ross, Finlay	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1763	
Ross, Thomas	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1766	
Ross, Thomas	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1772	
Ross, Thomas Bane	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1763	Yes @ Cul.
Urquhart, William	King's RRNY	Kingsb. P. NY	?	1765	
Campbell, Angus Cpt.	NC High.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1760	
Macdowall, Angus	NC High.	Cape Fear, NC	?	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Mackay, Malcolm Lt.	NC High.	Cape Fear, NC	?	1771	
Mackay, Archibald Col.	NC Militia	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1771	
Colbreath, Neil	NC Prov.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1768	
Gordon, John	NC Vol.	Wiliminton, NC	1000	?	
Gray, Donald	NC Vol.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1771	

Name	Reg.	LLG	Acres	Year	Jacobite
Macdonald, Alexander	NC Vol.	Cape Fear, NC	?	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonald, Alexander	NC Vol.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	?	Yes @ Cul.
Macdonald, Donald Lt.	NC Vol.	Anson Co., NC	?	1774	
Macdonald, James	NC Vol.	Cumber. Co. NC	?	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Macgeachy, Neil Lt.	NC Vol.	Cumber. Co. NC	1000	1771	
Grant, Alexander	NY Ind. H. Vol.	NY	?	1763	
Macgregor, Donald	NY Ind. H. Vol.	Tyron Cou., NY	?	1764	
Sutherland, Eric Lt.	NY Ind. H. Vol.	Ticon-CP, NY	2000	1764	
Lindsay, John Lt. Gov.	NY Local Ind. Co.	Oswego, NY	20000	1729	
Gunn, John Cpt.	NY Rangers	Albany Co. NY	?	1771	
Mackay, William Cpt.	Queen's Am. Ra.	Ontario	?	1783	
Gordon, Henry Cpt.	Royal Engineers	NY	5000	1765	
Dundas, Ralph Lt.	Royal Guards	Cape Breton, NS	10000	1767	
Maccaskill, Alexander	Royal NC Reg.	Anson Co., NC	?	?	
Macdonald, John Cpt.	Royal NC Reg.	Anson Co., NC	200	1773	Yes @ Cul.
Campbell, William Maj.	SC Loy	Cumber. Co. NC	100	1774	
Cameron, John	Un	Kingsb. P. NY	?	?	
Campbell, Donald	Un	NY	?	?	
Campbell, John Lt.	Un	W. FL	?	1771	
Gordon, Alexander Cpl.	Un	Pictou, NS	100	1784	
Gordon, Alexander Sgt.	Un	Merrigonish, NS	200	1784	
Gordon, Peter Cpt.	Un	NY	5000	1765	
Murray, John Maj.	Un	W. FL	?	1770	
Macleod, Malcolm	Un-7 Years' War	NY	?	1764	
Ramsay, James	Un-7 Years' War	Albany, NY	250	1766	