CULTURAL RETENTION AND ADAPTATION AMONG THE HIGHLAND SCOTS OF CAROLINA

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1992
The research described herein is entirely my own work, and the thesis has been composed by myself.

James R. MacDonald

James Roderick MacDonald

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ABSTRACT

Thousands of Gaelic speaking Highland Scots left their homeland and emigrated to North Carolina in the 18th and 19th centuries. These Highlanders set up tightly knit Gaelic speaking communities in the Cape Fear Valley and the Sandhills region of eastern North Carolina. At one time the settlement in Carolina had the largest Highland emigrant population in the world. The major aims for this thesis are to:

1. Give a comprehensive social history of the Highland settlement in North Carolina, including settlement patterns, customs, beliefs, religion, the Gaelic language, social organisation, oral traditions, livelihood, and leisure activities.

2. Draw on all available resources on Highland Scottish culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to assess culture transfer and adoption in Carolina.

3. Determine which Highland cultural traits were imported into North Carolina and track the survival and disappearance of these cultural traits.

4. Discover distinctive Highland cultural elements which have survived to this day or within living memory of the descendants of the original emigrants.


In order to gain an accurate picture of the Highland settlement in Carolina, the present study utilises not only written historical documents and accounts, but the personal testimony of the descendants of emigrant Scots concerning their family traditions and cultural inheritance. Written documents consulted include contemporary accounts, unpublished manuscripts, and personal letters, while family, local, and church histories were also extensively used. Local material of this kind has not always been available for use by students of the subject, nor have scholars always referred to it.

The present investigation records what may be the last vestiges of traditional culture left in the Highland settlement area of North Carolina. In spite of the sharp decline in the transmission of traditional culture there within the last thirty years, a rich selection of customs, legends, traditional tales, and beliefs still alive in the Cape Fear Valley was collected in the course of this study and is presented here.

Many Highland cultural elements such as the Gaelic language suffered greatly with the War Between the States, which totally altered the life of the Highland emigrants and their descendants in North Carolina. Other elements, like Highland religious practices, were more tenacious and held on much longer.

A revival of interest in Scottish culture has occurred in North Carolina in the last thirty years. This revival is more of a re-creation than a resurrection, however. Piping, Highland dancing, Scottish fiddling, and Highland athletics had almost completely died out in the last one hundred years and had to be re-imported from Scotland. This new Scottish culture is thriving in North Carolina at the present time, and interest increases every year. There is evidence of the "invention of tradition", however.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank the following Scottish-American organisations for their gracious financial support for my studies in Scotland, without whom this research would not have been possible:

Clan Donald Educational and Charitable Trust; MacBean Foundation; Grandfather Mountain Highland Games; St. Andrew’s Society of Washington, DC; Clan Ross Charitable Trust; Saint Andrew Society of Carolina; Saint Andrew’s Society of the Carolina Highlands; and Argyll Educational Foundation.

In addition, I am very grateful to the Catherine McCaig Trust in Scotland for their support.

I would especially like to thank all of my informants in the United States for giving freely of their time and knowledge: John Balfour, Sallie MacRae Bennett, Mrs. John Boyd, Lil Buie, Bill Campbell, Lena Chester, Marie Glenn, Marylou Huske, Douglas Kelly, Mable Lovin, Dan McDonald, Furman McDonald, Neill McDonald, Judge Henry A. McKinnon, Gordon McLaurin, Dr. James McLean, Cary McLeod, Martha McCallum McLeod (Harnett County), Martha MacDonald McLeod (Moore County), Hannah McNeill McMillan, Janie Peterkin McNeil, Vera McRimmon, Margaret May, Peggy McKay Nelson, Janet McDonald Neville, Anna Henderson Parham, Mary Buie Pence, Archie Purcell, Dr. Bill Purcell, Edna Shaw Semple, Lauchlin Shaw, Malcolm Shaw, Tom Shaw, Annie Shaw, Jim Sinclair, Mary Ann McRae Sloan, and Katie Shaw Smith.

In addition, I wish to thank the staff of the following libraries and archives that have assisted me in my studies: North Carolina State Archives, Museum of the Cape Fear, Fayetteville Public Library, Scotland County Library, Saint Andrew’s Presbyterian College Library, Edinburgh University Library, the MacDonald Archives at the Clan Donald Centre in Skye, Scottish Record Office, and the National Library of Scotland.

I am greatly indebted to the staff of the School of Scottish Studies and the Celtic Department at Edinburgh University for their generous help, especially Dr. Donald Meek and Mr. Ronald Black from the Celtic Department and my advisors in the School of Scottish Studies Dr. Margaret Mackay and Mrs. Margaret Bennett. Dr. Mackay and Mrs. Bennett have devoted hours of their time to suggesting avenues of research, advising on sources, and helping improve and clarify this thesis.
I would also like to give thanks to the following people for their assistance in my studies: William Caudill, Bill Fields, The Rev. Mr. James MacKenzie, Banks McLaurin, Alastair Campbell of Airds, Alec Murdoch, Bob Cain, Lt. Col. Vic Clark, Scott Buie, Mrs. Margaret McInnis, Ruth Jane Trivette, Carlton Jerry, Lessie L. Laney, and Joyce Gibson. Although I never had the pleasure to meet them, I want to give my heart-felt thanks to two people who contributed invaluably to the study of Scottish culture in North Carolina and who greatly enriched my understanding of the subject, the late Nettie McCormick Henley and Angus Wilton MacLean.

It is to the following people that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude, however, for their great contributions and never tiring support: Kitty MacLeod MacLennan, Donald F. MacDonald, Dr. Phyllis B. MacDonald, Mrs. Mildred Melvin, and R.L. and Janie McNiel. Finally I would like to give special mention to and thank Dr. Cathy Melvin, for all the years of understanding and encouragement that she has given, without which I would never have undertaken this work.
1. Prior to 1729, North Carolina and South Carolina were the one colony, Carolina. After they became separate colonies, many continued to refer to them as Carolina or "the Carolinas". The Highland settlement of North Carolina spilled over into upper South Carolina, so the term Carolina frequently appears in this thesis and refers to the two Carolinas, North and South Carolina.

2. The area in North Carolina settled by the Highland Scots is often referred to as the Cape Fear Valley or alternatively, as the "Sandhills". Although both of these terms find wide usage in North Carolina and indeed in this thesis, they are both somewhat misnomers. Not all of the Highland settlement can be said to lie within the Cape Fear Valley. Many rivers and streams in the western portion on the Highland settlement area actually drain into the Pee Dee River. Although much of the Highland settlement can also be said to lie within the Sandhills area, part of the settlement lies within the flat Coastal Plain region and another portion within the Piedmont region.

3. The Isle of Arran is included in Argyll when referring to the areas in Scotland where Highland emigrants came from. Technically, in the past it was part of the shire of Bute.

4. No distinction is made in this thesis between the "Mc" and "Mac" prefixes to Highland surnames. "Mc" is only an abbreviation for the word Mac and is treated in this manner. The reader should bear in mind that these two forms are interchangable and both spellings may be used to refer to the same person at different times.
GLEANN UACHDRACH ANN AN APPUINN MHIC IAIN STIUBHARD

Air Fonn: "Och, Och mar tha mi."

Feasgair sàmhraidh 'an tús an Og-mhios,
Gach nith 'na àilleachd 's mi leam fhéin,
An lagan uaigneach bu lurach neòineach
'S ann labhair 'm aigne dian fonn a gheus.

Có dha ni òran an ann do dh'òg-bhean,
Chà'n ann idir na 'm leannan gaoil,
Ach do'n gleann so 'san robh mo sheòrsa,
Och, mo thruaighe chaidh sid mar sgaoil.

Far an robh na daoine bha caoimhneil càirdeil,
E 'n diugh na làraichean briste lom
'S cha 'n 'eil g' a àiteach ach caoraich bhàna,
'S an uain ri mirag air sgàth nan tom.

Far an robh na h-àrmunn bha calma làdir,
Is nighnean òga 'sheinneadh duan,
Seann daoine còire 's mnathan bàigheil,
Bhiòdh clann ri ãbhachd air feadh nan bruach.

Cha 'n ioghnadh dhomhsa bhi tòrsach brònach,
'S nach faic mi h-aon ann, do m' chàirdean gaoil,
'S ann tha gach dùil beò, ann diugh nan fòg raich,
An iomadh ceàrna air feadh an t-saogh'li.

Gu'm bheil iad lionmhór 's na Carolina's
Sìol nan treun-fhear a bha 's a gleanns'
A'n Canada fior-fhuar 's cuid 's na h-Innsean,
'S ciod e t-àite 's nach 'eil iad ann.

Ged sheas gu dileas an righ 's an dùthaich,
Gu 'n deach am fuadach mar phòr gun fheum,
B' olc gu 'n bhuadhach aig Waterloo sinn
Gu'm b' fheàrr fo chìs aig an Fhrangach fhèin.

Cha chulaidh tharmad leam sibh uachdraidh,
Tha dianadh di-meas air clann nan sàr;
Ach 's geàrr an ùine 's cha 'n fhada uaithe.
'S am faigh sibh dioladh mar till sibh tràthail. 1

1. Iain MacColla, Luinneag nan Gleann, (Glasgow: A. Sinclair, 1885), p. 85-86.
The Upper Glen in Appin of the Son of John Stewart

A summer evening in the beginning of June,
Everything in its beauty and I by my own,
In a remote hollow that was beautifully strewn with daisies
My spirit exhorted me to compose an enthusiastic song.

To whom will I make a song; is it to a young woman?
It is not at all, or to my loving darling.
But to this glen in which my kind were
Oh, my pity! they have been dispersed.

Where the people were kind and friendly,
That place is today broken and bare, in ruins,
And there is no one cultivating it but white faced sheep,
And the lambs sporting by the side of the hills.

Where there were young heros who were strong and stout,
And young maidens who used to sing a song,
Kind old folks and warm-hearted wives,
Children would be frolicking throughout the banks.

It is no wonder that I am sad and dejected,
When I don't see even one there of my beloved friends.
All are in exile today,
In many a corner throughout the world.

They are certainly numerous in the Carolinas,
The seed of the brave men who were in this glen,
In truly cold Canada and some in the West Indies,
And in what place are they not to be found?

Although they stood faithfully for king and country,
They were cleared as useless seed.
It was unfortunate that we won at Waterloo,
It would be better to be under the yoke of the Frenchman himself.

I do not envy you, landlords
Who despise the children of the excellent people.
But it's short the time, and it's not far from it,
In which you will get recompense unless you turn back in good time.
INTRODUCTION

REASONS FOR STUDY, METHODS AND SOURCES

The present study was conceived out of a close connection with and appreciation for the culture of both Scotland and Carolina, and a desire to investigate the traditional culture of the Highland settlement area in North Carolina while there were still knowledgeable informants available to interview. As a descendant of the Highland Scots who emigrated to North Carolina during the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, I grew up with the distinct impression that I was Scottish - not of Scotch-Irish descent like so many other children that I grew up with, but "Highland Scotch". My family may have been more interested than others in their Highland heritage, but I was too young to notice. My grandfather K. McLaurin MacDonald had been raised by his grandfather and grandmother, who were first and second generation Americans respectively, and he learned much about the old ways from them. In my own youth, on many a warm summer evening after supper, my family would gather on the front porch while my grandfather told stories and tales that he had heard from his grandparents. The ones I remember the best were the stories about the "hated Yankees" under General Sherman who raided our farm during the War Between the States and about the outlaw band of Indians called the Lowrie Gang, who terrorised the neighbourhood during the War and for years after. My grandfather was also an elder in the Presbyterian church and he raised his family in the same Presbyterian tradition that his ancestors in Skye were raised in.

In addition to this atmosphere of traditional stories and Presbyterian religion, I have had a lifetime association with Scottish culture. I was raised in the midst of the Scottish cultural revival in North Carolina since my family was intimately connected with it. My uncle Donald F. MacDonald was the co-founder of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and I had another uncle, an aunt, and cousins who were also involved. Some of my fondest memories in my youth were of pipe bands and men wearing kilts and high feathered headgear. My uncle Donald married a Gaelic singer from Lewis, and therefore my first experience of Gaelic and Gaelic song occurred at a very early age.

When I finished my university training, I took a job as a psychologist with the school system in Harnett County. This location offered opportunities to extend my knowledge of the Highland settlement in North Carolina. There I met Malcolm
Fowler, the Rev. Mr. James MacKenzie, the Shaw brothers, Malcolm and Lauchlin, and many others of Highland descent as well. It became apparent to me that the older men and women in the Highland settlement area of Carolina who were born in the early part of this century were beginning to disappear and a vast amount of lore was being lost with their passing. This older generation was the last one before television became popular and therefore was witness to an unbroken tradition of stories and tales that had been passed down from one generation to the next for many years. I felt a sense of urgency to collect as much as possible of these oral traditions before they were lost forever and thereby form as accurate a picture of the social history of the Cape Fear Highland settlement in Carolina as possible.

There has been much written about the Highland emigrations to America and Canada in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but previous studies have in the main focused on general movements of people and political events and trends, rather than the individual experience of the emigrants. The Highland Scots of North Carolina by Duane Meyer is the most comprehensive study of Highland emigration to North Carolina published to date, but Meyer concentrates mainly on the motivations for emigration, the settlement patterns, and the events and the principal historical figures associated with the American Revolution. He makes considerable use of earlier histories and historical documents such as deeds, court records, land grants, legal contracts and official correspondence, but little is said about the individual lives of the Highland emigrants or of the oral tradition and life of the communities.

Recently, there have also been a number of books published by writers such as Fischer, Cunningham, and McWhiney which have focused on Celtic cultural transfer in the United States. These attempts to discover Celtic culture in America are generally romantic and anecdotal in nature and contain little or no analysis of cultural transfer and adaptation based on a sound understanding of both cultures. In some cases, as in Fischer’s book, the Highland cultural experience in North Carolina is grossly misrepresented.

The present work attempts to record the oral history and folk traditions of the Highland settlement of Carolina and draws on recorded personal interviews with descendants of Highland emigrants and family histories. An effort has also been made to include contemporary accounts, unpublished manuscripts, and personal letters, many of which have remained in private hands. Published materials are used to reinforce oral and family tradition and to fill in the gaps when oral tradition is incomplete. It is hoped that the current study will add a new dimension to the current political histories of the Highland settlement.
My major aims in this research were to:

1. Give a comprehensive social history of the Highland settlement in North Carolina, including settlement patterns, customs, beliefs, religion, social organisation, oral traditions, livelihood, and leisure activities.

2. Draw on all available resources on Highland Scottish culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to assess culture transfer and adaptation in Carolina.

3. Determine which Highland cultural traits were imported into North Carolina and track the survival and disappearance of these cultural traits.

5. Discover distinctive Highland cultural elements which have survived to this day or within living memory of the descendants of the original emigrants.

6. Assess the nature of the Highland identity in North Carolina today with regards to its expression and meaning.

What sets this thesis apart from other studies is the interplay between oral and written material and the emphasis on folk culture rather than political and economic trends. I have also undertaken this study with a sound knowledge of both Highland Scottish and North Carolina culture. The last five years have been spent living in Scotland and studying its way of life. In addition to taking classes in Scottish history, Scottish ethnology, and Scottish Gaelic at the University of Edinburgh, I have lived, studied, and worked in the Hebrides for extended periods. Previous American investigators have been handicapped by the lack of first-hand knowledge of Scottish culture and have often relied on erroneous generalisations which do not take into account the variety of Highland experience through the emigration period. Other American and British investigators have also committed factual errors owing to their lack of an in-depth knowledge of North Carolina history, geography, and culture. For example, in the recent work Albion's Seed, David Fischer displays a serious lack of understanding of both contemporary Scottish and North Carolina culture when he
makes assertions such as "even in the twentieth century, the Cape Fear people sent to Scotland for ministers who were required to wear the kilt, play the pipes, and preach in Gaelic."³

Methods and Sources

I began my study by developing a basic questionnaire consisting of questions about customs, religious practices, family stories and traditions, social events, etc. to ask my informants in Carolina.⁴ My interviews were loosely structured around this questionnaire, which allowed for appropriate expansion, to insure that I asked similar questions of all my informants. Once I arrived in North Carolina to conduct my research, I contacted key individuals such as the Rev. Mr. James MacKenzie and the Rev. Mr. Douglas Kelly. These two ministers already knew of many descendants of Highland emigrants in Carolina that would be appropriate to interview. I also visited county libraries in the Highland settlement area and the Museum of the Cape Fear in Fayetteville and asked about local historians who might help me. Often one informant recommended other informants, and it was not long before I had constructed a list of possible contacts. Appointments were set up, and eventually recording sessions were held with over twenty-three informants, although others were interviewed but not recorded. A list of all the informants recorded can be found in the appendix. The audio tapes, which were deposited in the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archives, were then indexed and transcribed and appropriate quotes selected for the text.

Although audio tapes of personal interviews with the descendants of Highland emigrants comprise the principal source material for this study, family histories and genealogies also proved to be a valuable tool. An effort was made to collect as many family histories as possible and the genealogies of all my informants were also taken down. Other sources consulted were contemporary accounts, unpublished manuscripts, letters, books on related subjects, church histories, local histories, state histories, pamphlets, journal articles, maps, photographs, and television documentaries. Allied with this approach was the development of a large network of informants by personal correspondence. This proved an invaluable means of locating family, church, and local histories, as well as manuscripts in private hands, and of gathering information at a distance.

Inevitably some problems were encountered. The task of locating substantial numbers of appropriate informants was time consuming. The distinctive Highland culture has been diluted with each successive generation, and most of the informants
for this study were four or five generations away from their Highland emigrant ancestors. No single informant knew about all the areas of enquiry and a large number of informants had to be interviewed in order to obtain a comprehensive collection of oral historical data.

Tales, legends, folk customs, and remnants of the Gaelic language are quickly disappearing in North Carolina today. Advances in communication and transportation have created a new popular culture that ignores the once traditional forms of oral transmission of knowledge. For example, the oldest generation in Carolina today remember hearing traditional tales and stories, but it has been so long since they were told, that most have forgotten the details. The television has replaced the hearth in homes from the Hebrides to Carolina. Often I was told by an informant, "Oh, you're too late. If you had just come twenty years ago, well my father could have told you all you wanted to know." This feeling of inadequacy to impart information that my informants felt probably arises from the fact that they remember a time when oral tradition flourished in Carolina, and their elders were much more conversant on traditional culture and lore than they are themselves. However, in spite of this I was able to collect a large amount of oral material which would have otherwise gone unrecorded. This material provides unique insights into Highland cultural transfer, survival, and adaption in the Cape Fear Valley and Sandhills of North Carolina.


3. David Hackett Fischer, p. 818.

4. See appendix for a copy of the basic questionnaire.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Much has already been written about Highland emigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not the purpose of this thesis to focus on the reasons for Highland emigration or the emigrations themselves. A review of the history of emigration and its antecedents, however, is important in order to gain a perspective on the Highland settlement area of North Carolina. Although this section relies heavily on historical documents and previously written accounts, an effort has been made to integrate personal testimony and family and local history in order to add to or dispute the current body of knowledge concerning Highland emigration.

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

Rapid changes in the economic, political, and social systems in eighteenth century Scotland resulted in the displacement of thousands of Highlanders whose ancestors had occupied their lands for generations before them. For many Scots, emigration appeared to be the best solution to the problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment, displacement, and overpopulation that faced them.

The economic changes were brought about by the improvement of agriculture and the shift to a cash economy. The "agricultural revolution" as it is sometimes called, began in England and southern Scotland and slowly spread into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The old system of "runrig" farming, where fields were shared by several families and divided into strips which were re-allocated periodically, was dying out. Landowners discovered that it was much more profitable to enclose these fields and lease them to one family only, whose job it was to improve the land through new methods of drainage and fertilisation. New crops and livestock were also introduced to the area to enable the land to be more productive.

The introduction of new breeds of sheep from the Lowlands also proved much more profitable than the raising of crops. A landowner could expect to receive three or four times the rent on his land from a sheep farmer than what he was previously getting from his tenants. Not only was the financial return greater on sheep, but the number of men that a landowner needed to employ in order to raise sheep was much smaller than the number needed to grow crops. Therefore the introduction of sheep was responsible for drastically reducing the need for farm labour. Many small holdings were often combined to form large sheep walks, or grazing areas for sheep. Farmers who raised crops could not compete with the sheep farmers for land and
were subsequently displaced. Although some modern historians play down the influence of the creation of sheep farms on eighteenth century emigration, periodicals of the day made numerous references to this cause. An article in the *Scots Magazine* in 1772 blames the transformation of farmland to pasture as the reason for the displacement of a large number of families from Sutherland:

> In the beginning of June about (48) families of poor people from Sutherland arrived in Edinburgh, in their way to Greenock, in order to embark (sic) for North America. Since that time we have heard of two other companies, one of 100, another of 90, being on their journey with the same intention. The cause of this emigration they assign to be, want of the means of livelihood at home, through the opulent grasiers, ingrossing the farms, and turning them into pasture.

The following letter to the editor also appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1775:

> While so many things are said in the public papers in favour of the woolen manufacture, I am surprised that none of your correspondents say anything of the harm done in the Highlands by turning whole baronies into sheep farms, and thereby depopulating the country. If an account could be got of the number of tenants dispossessed, it might open the eyes of the public. Several hundred families have been dispossessed in the braes of Perthshire, and many more in Argyleshire.

Improvement in agricultural methods and the switch to sheep farming induced many landowners to reduce the population on their estates, which resulted in the redundancy and displacement of tenants or farm labourers. Malcolm Shaw’s great-grandfather Torquil Shaw emigrated to North Carolina around 1830 because he felt he was going to be made redundant, like so many Highlanders before him. On a visit to Jura, Malcolm Shaw found a relative, Donald Darroch, who remembered hearing why Torquil left Jura:

> He [Donald Darroch of Jura] told me the reason I was born here. He said my great-granddaddy worked for a laird, like a landlord you know. He decided he was going to try some farming and he hired some extra help, but he couldn’t make a go of it. You know, the climate just wasn’t suitable. So he just had to cut that off and stay with his cattle and sheep. He had to let go three. He wanted to keep two - one to take care of his cattle and the other to take care of his sheep. I reckon my great-grandfather was, had already thought about coming over here, you see...See his wife had a sister over here. In other words he had close kin over here. I guess he had heard all the good stories about how things were over here, and old man Darroch [Torquil’s wife’s relation] - he had three hundred acres of land...He was over here before my people
came. Anyway, he told me the reason that I was over here was that the laird had to get shed of three of his men and my great-granddaddy had done made his preparations to come over here anyhow... So he went ahead and made his plans to come over here. Then the man - he was one of the ones the feller had intended to keep and he told him about it - but he had made his preparations to come over, so he come on over anyhow. But he didn't have to come - he had a job, but I guess one of the other fellers got the job."

Political changes contributed to the displacement of people in the Highlands as well. With the cessation of clan warfare and the pacification of the Highlands, the need for tacksmen diminished. The tacksmen were usually close relatives of the clan chief who received a longterm tack or lease on a large farm in return for their loyalty and military service. They sub-let these large farms to tenants and often lived the lives of refined gentlemen. In the days of clan warfare, a chief’s power was reckoned by the number of able bodied men that he could muster for battle and the tacksmen were responsible for organising and leading this fighting force. After the cessation of hostilities the tacksmen outlived their function and they became a liability to the chief rather than an asset.

After the Jacobite rising of 1745 and their subsequent defeat at Culloden in 1746, the government enacted laws stripping the chiefs of any political power. The Highland chiefs were then relegated solely to the position of landlord. If they were to emulate the life style of their southern neighbours, they had to extract higher rents from their tenants. The chiefs, now only landlords, raised the rents of the tacksmen, who tried to pass on these rises in rent to their tenants, who were often not able to pay. It became more expedient for the landlords to cut out the tacksmen all together and lease directly to tenants. After the breakup of the clan system, kinship was devalued and when the lease for a tack was due to be renewed, landlords often gave it to the highest bidder. The Duke of Argyll did this on his lands as early as 1737.\(^5\) (It is interesting to note that this was only two years prior to the first great tacksman emigration to North Carolina in 1739.) To make it even more difficult for the tacksmen, the landlords began to forbid the sub-letting of their land. The farms therefore went to anyone who was willing and could afford to pay the high rents demanded by the landlord, with little regard to kinship or clan affiliation.

Tacksmen were being forced out of their genteel position of middlemen in the Highland social hierarchy by these economic and political changes. Rather than subsist on a poverty level or engage in the drudgery of farm work, many tacksmen decided to emigrate to America. According to Margaret Adam, an article which
appeared in the Edinburgh Advertiser in 1772 gives a contemporary account of the plight of the tacksmen and the solution to their problems that many were considering. The tone of the account is rather bitter:

Such of these wadsetters and tacksmen as rather wish to be distinguished as leaders, than by industry, have not taken leases again, alleging that the rents have risen above what the land will bear; but, they say, in order to be revenged on our masters for doing so, and what is worse depriving us of our subordinate chieftainship by abolishing our former privilege of subsetting, we will not only leave his lands, but by spiriting the lower class of people to emigrate, we shall carry a class to America, and when they are there they must work for us or starve.

The ancestors of Douglas Kelly, a minister from Robeson County with Moore County connections, were tacksmen from Sleat in the Isle of Skye. Kelly describes the motivation for their emigration:

They had been fairly well-to-do tacksmen...I was told that they had a good bit saved up, but they were losing it fast. There was land available [in North Carolina] and they wanted land. So the tradition is that one or two of them came...and found it was all right. Then they came as a colony - Kellys, McIvers, Mackintoshes together in 1803 from Skye. All three of these families were tacksmen from Sleat...The McIvers, Kellys, and Mackintoshes definitely wanted to better their economic condition. They wanted land and they were able to buy.

A.I.B. Stewart, present Sheriff Substitute from Kintyre, believes that there were other political reasons for emigration in the first half of the eighteenth century. Stewart asserts that the tacksmen who led the emigration to North Carolina in 1739 known as the Argyll Colony were motivated by dissatisfaction with the 1707 Union of Parliaments:

Most commentators have been satisfied that American emigration was led by tacksmen and was due to the collapse of the tacksmen system and later to the clearances. While these considerations undoubtedly apply after 1745, it would seem that they have no relevance to 1739. All the leaders [of the Argyll colony] were apparently engendered by disillusionment with the Union, a desire for improvement, and the hope of more prosperity than they could expect in the rather forlorn Scotland of the immediate post-Union period.

There were also social changes that contributed to the pressure to emigrate. The population of Scotland, as in the whole of Europe, was expanding at a great rate during the eighteenth century. The inoculation for smallpox and the introduction of
the potato may have been greatly responsible for this rise in Scotland. The potato was much more dependable than oats, and thus it became widely cultivated, providing the Scottish diet with a better source of nourishment than was previously known. This rise in population exacerbated the problems of unemployment and scarcity of arable land, increasing the poverty of the people.

The Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 also contributed to the poverty of the Highlands. Besides the obvious loss of life and property, the fortunes of many of the chiefs and tacksmen were also reduced by the penalties the government exacted for their participation. This is often cited as a major reason for the "embarrassment" of Alan MacDonald of Kingsburgh's financial affairs. Alan's father paid a high price for his participation in the rising of 1745 and Alan inherited his father's financial woes. In 1774, Alan and his wife Flora MacDonald decided to try to improve their financial situation by emigrating to Carolina.

Most North Carolina historians in the past have blamed the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1745 for the great emigration of Highland Scots to Carolina in the eighteenth century. Through a careful study of the shipping records, landgrants and the deeds of sale for property in North Carolina in the years immediately following the collapse of the rebellion, Meyer disputes these early historians and simply dismisses this belief as a popular folk myth. Certainly, during the height of the Highland emigration in 1774-1775, most emigrants gave high rents and oppression, scarcity of bread, want of employment, and extreme poverty as their reasons for emigrating. Hector MacDonald was emigrating from Sutherland to North Carolina with his three sons on the Bachelor of Leith when their ship was blown off course by a storm. While the passengers on board were waiting to re-embark, the port officials at Lerwick seized the opportunity to elicit lengthy testimonies from the passengers about their reasons for emigrating. MacDonald gave the following typical reasons:

Left his own country because the Rents of his possession had been raised from one pound seven shillings to Four pounds, while the price of the cattle raised upon it fell more than One half and not being in a Corn Country the price of bread was so far advanced, that a Cow formerly worth from 50 sh. to £3 Could only purchase a Boll of Meal. He suffered much by the death of Cattle, and still more by oppressive Services extracted by the factor, being obliged to work with his People and Cattle for 40 days and more Each year, without a bit of Bread. That falling into reduced Circumstances he was assured by some of his Children already in America that his Family might subsist more comfortably there, and in all events they can scarce be worse. Ascribes the excessive price of Corn to the Consumption of it in Distilling.
In addition to the poverty and redundancy forcing people to abandon Scotland, there were forces pulling them towards Carolina. In the 1730s, the interior of North Carolina was just starting to open up for settlement. Gabriel Johnson, royal governor for North Carolina from 1734-1752, was himself a Scot and encouraged his countrymen to settle in his colony. The land in Carolina was much more fertile than in Scotland and the climate much warmer. At a latitude between thirty-five and thirty-four degrees, the same latitude as Tunisia in northern Africa, at least two crops a year could be grown. Land was also free to those who wanted it. All that was asked of the emigrants was a small yearly quit-rent, whose payment was usually delayed for several years until the settlers became well established. Each new emigrant was allowed fifty acres for each person brought into the colony, an enormous amount of land. With the cheapness and availability of land, a poor cotter in Scotland could aspire to become part of the landed gentry in Carolina.

Letters from friends and relations who had already emigrated became a very strong factor in convincing Highlanders to emigrate. A few unfavorable reports were sent home from Carolina, but by far the reports were favourable, asking friends and relatives to join the settlers and share in their prosperity. The parish minister of North Uist, writing about the state of his parish in the 1790’s for the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, confirms the importance of letters from America in inducing individuals to emigrate:

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. From 1771 to 1775, several thousands emigrated from the western Highlands to America, among whom their were more than 200 from North Uist. These in their turn gave their friends at home the same flattering accounts that induced them to go.

An extensive record of correspondence between Carolina and Scotland has been preserved in the MacAlester Papers in the North Carolina Archives. Alexander MacAlester, who emigrated to North Carolina with his family when still a boy, wrote many letters to his brother in Arran and to others in Scotland who were interested in emigrating and desired a report on how they might fare in Carolina. He was a very enthusiastic promoter of Carolina and strongly urged his fellow Scots to leave the
oppression of landlords and join him there. The following exchange between Alexander McAlester and Angus McAlester of Loup gives one the tone of many of the letters in the collection:

ANGUS MCALESTER OF LOOP TO ALEXANDER MCALESTER

[Ardpatrick, by Inverary] [August ?, 1770]

SIR

Though I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with you I have taken the Liberty of Introducing the bearer, Alexander McAlester, who goes from this country with several others to settle in the part of the world you live in. As I am informed you left this Country when young, you'll know little or nothing of me, but I readily believe that you have heard of the family of Loop, of whom you are Descended. As I have the Honour at present to represent that family, I beg leave to introduce this man to you, not doubting but you'll do him all the good offices in your power. He has a large and Beautiful family. Pray, Sir, may I beg the favor of your correspondence, and let me know what sort of a Country you live in, what encouragement those that go from this Country may expect when they go to settle there. I can assure you they have wondrous high notions of it...I am with Esteem, Sir

Your most obedient servant

ANGUS McALESTER

ALEXANDER McALESTER TO ANGUS McALESTER OF LOOP

Barmore November 29th 1770

SIR

I have received your favor by Alexander McAlester which gave me great pleasure to hear from you and families welfare. May God direct you to represent that worthy and ancient family as may be to your one [own] honor and God's glory. Excuse my freedom. It is my sincere wish as I have a particular regard for the family and would do anything in my power to support their honor and dignity.

As for McAlester, I have done everything to his satisfaction as you neglected doing it for him in that country. If God spares him and will be [in health?], I'm in great hopes he can send you a good account of [the] Country in a few years.

As for the people's notion of this place, they see but through a dark glass. If they could see clearly, not one poor man would stay in that Country where they are always kept at hard labour and never get ahead. This is the best poor man's country I have [heard] of. We could live
very happy here only the great [scarcity] of mony as ther [is] but very little circulating amongst us. As for other necessaries of life we have in great plenty...

As for encouragement I think that there can be no greater than if they can but pay their fright to this place they are freemen. They may for the first year be little put to their shifts, but after that they may live very plentiful...

Landlords who required a local workforce for industries such as kelping or who feared the economic impact of large scale emigration on estate income did not want their tenants to emigrate. Misinformation was rife about Carolina, and some landlords did their best to discourage emigration by spreading stories of failure and dissatisfaction in the colonies. A pamphlet written in Port Askaig, Islay in 1773 and signed Scotus Americanus tries to dispel many of these incorrect assumptions about North Carolina. This pamphlet, entitled Information Concerning the Province of North Carolina Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, serves as a contemporary record of life in the Upper Cape Fear Highland settlement of North Carolina in the period preceding the American War of Independence. Dr. Alexander Murdoch, who has made an extensive study of documents in the Scottish record office relating to North Carolina, suggests that Scotus Americanus may have been Alexander Campbell of Balole in Islay. Campbell of Balole was a great exponent of North Carolina and his favourable accounts of the settlement were circulating as far north as Skye in the eighteenth century.13

There were also more individual reasons why some Highlanders emigrated. Family tradition asserts that Daniel Graham, who emigrated to North Carolina in 1803, left Scotland to avoid persecution by the authorities or being pressed into military or naval service. The following story is from a written family manuscript:

Daniel went fishing, caught a big fish, on his way home he met one of the King's men (called Sir Archie) who asked him for the fish, he replied he was taking it home to his father and mother. Sir Archie replied, 'I'll put the Red Coat on you in the morning', which meant the Galley's 'Man of War'. Daniel told his father the conversation that took place, his father said 'they'll come for you in the morning.' When they were observed marching up to the door, he fled out the rear of the house and Sarah [Daniel's sister] met them with the fire tongs and with the tongs, knocked down the leader of 'The Kings Regiment.' They then blindfolded her, then drummed her out of town and back. Daniel lay in hiding until a boat sailed for the U.S. which landed near Wilmington, N.C. and from there he made his way to Lumber Bridge, N.C.
Douglas Kelly heard that an ancestor of some of the Blue family in Moore County left Jura because of some kind of difficulty, probably a failed business venture:

There is a tradition in part of the Blue family that Duncan Blue got himself into some kind of trouble in Jura and found it expedient to leave. The trouble was misjudgement on his part.\(^\text{15}\)

According to a manuscript concerning the Duncan and Mary McLaurin family in Richmond County, they left Scotland with seven sons and two daughters because they did not want to lose any sons to the British Army:

It was no lack of prosperity, nor desire to better their fortunes, that led these parents to take this step, for they carried on a large farm in one of the most fertile and picturesque parts of Scotland. Their home was a large white house, so my grandfather, Neill MacLaurin, used to tell his children, in the beautiful Glen near Lock [sic] Etive, surrounded by majestic mountains and situated upon a stream so clear that the salmon could be seen living twenty feet below upon its pebbly [sic] surface; but they had seven sons, and the British Government had since the last uprising of the clans in 1745 become very strict in requiring the Highlanders to serve in the army. Mary MacLaurin had had ten brothers in the battle of Culloden, several of whom were slain, so she naturally had a horror of war and bloodshed. When, therefore, the eldest of these sons reached the age of conscription, 18 years, they determined to leave home and country rather than part with their children.\(^\text{16}\)

All the emigrants who decided to leave Scotland for North Carolina had their own set of reasons for going - some personal and some general trends, but it probably was never an easy decision. The prospect of leaving family and friends and setting out on an often grueling and perilous voyage to an unknown foreign land must have been terrifying. Since most of the emigrants knew that they would probably never see their homeland again, the poverty, hunger, and oppression must have been miserable enough and the promise of Carolina encouraging enough to convince them to leave.

2. *Scots Magazine*, July 1772, p. 395; hereafter referred to as *S.M.*


4. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15B.


7. Douglas Kelly, Tape 18A.


9. See Violet R. Cameron, *Emigrants From Scotland to America 1774-1775*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980). The only years in which full records were kept on emigrant ships destined for America were 1774 and 1775. During that time, the British government required all ports to make detailed reports on emigrants. One of the questions that the emigrants were asked concerned their reasons for leaving Scotland.

10. Violet Cameron, p. 12.


14. Graham-Weir MS, Mable Lovin, Red Springs, North Carolina. Daniel Graham was a Baptist who was a charter member of the Providence Baptist Church in Lumber Bridge started by the Rev. Daniel Whyte. The Grahams donated the land for the church.
15. Douglas Kelly, Tape 18A.

EMIGRATION

It is very difficult to estimate just how many Highlanders actually left Scotland for North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ports were not required to keep extensive records on sailings of emigrant ships except in the years 1774 and 1775. By late 1773, the British government had become so alarmed by the tide of emigration that it decided to require accurate records to be kept in order to study why people were leaving, their destinations, and their numbers. Even the records made in 1774-1775 were incomplete, many sailings being missed and not recorded. Only the major ports kept these records when they were kept, while many emigrant ships are known to have sailed from small Highland and Island ports.

One source of data for estimating the number of Highland emigrants who left during the eighteenth century is found in the journals of contemporary travellers in the Highlands. John Knox, who made a tour of the Highlands in 1786, gives the following figures regarding emigration:

It is difficult to ascertain with exactness, what number of people have emigrated...since the year 1763. Some raise their estimates as high as 50,000; but certain it is, that above 30,000 have in that time gone to America, besides a continual drain to other parts.

Thomas Garnett, in his Tour Through the Highlands published in 1811, gives an even higher estimate of over 30,000 emigrants for the years 1773-1775 alone.

Another way of trying to estimate the numbers emigrating is through the reports of sailings in the contemporary press. If the numbers of emigrants listed in the Scots Magazine before 1775 are added together, the total comes to about 10,000 persons. Meyer, however, points out that the Scots Magazine failed to report one quarter to one third of the sailings that the Port Records for 1774-1775 show. Estimates of the number of Highland emigrants prior to 1776 therefore range from 10,000 to over 50,000, the true figure probably lying somewhere in between.

Emigration from the Highlands tended to be in large extended family groups as opposed to the emigration of individuals and small family units as was the case in England and Lowland Scotland. Almost all the emigrations from the Highlands prior to 1776 were organised and financed by tacksmen. The tacksmen had traditionally occupied positions of leadership in the community and people were likely to trust their judgement and follow their example. Tacksmen also possessed the capital to make emigration possible. They were able to hire ships and
recruit paying and non-paying passengers. If a tenant farmer sold all his livestock and equipment, he often had enough money to pay for his passage along with his family’s. If a man could not afford to pay the cost of passage required, he had the option of hiring himself out as indentured labour. These redemptioners, as they were called, would agree to work for no wages for three to seven years after their arrival in America. The redemptioner could either contract to work for someone before he left Scotland, or could be sold once in America to pay for his passage. Indentured labour was a form of slavery, but many felt willing to pay the price in order to gain passage to a new land of promise. In the previously mentioned eighteenth century pamphlet on emigration written under the pseudonym of Scotus Americanus, it is explained how many redemptioners were able to avoid the obligatory period of labour:

A friend of mine, a few years ago, carried over passengers to Cape Fear; among these there were many poor people unable to pay for their passage, who therefore went as redemptioners; that is, after 40 days after landing, if they could not find money among their friends or acquaintances, or by some shift of their own, to pay for the passage, they were then bound to serve for three years after landing; there was none of them but relieved themselves before this time; many of them having no friend or acquaintance in the place, got people there to take them by the hand, and pay for their passage, and soon fixed them in such a manner as they had plenty to live on.

An emigrant who was set up in this manner by an established landowner gave his landlord a third of the produce of the farm until his debt was paid off. According to Foote, Alexander Clark, one of the original settlers of the Argyll Colony, paid the passage of many poor emigrants and gave them employment until their passage was repaid.⁷

Although North Carolina was the favoured destination for Highlanders during the eighteenth century, there were groups of Highland emigrants that settled in other parts of America. According to Meyer, of the emigration notices in the Scots Magazine from 1768-1775 that mention destination, ten of the nineteen groups involved were bound for North Carolina (53%), four for New York (21%), three for Nova Scotia (16%), and two for Georgia (10%).⁸ It should also be stressed that the Highland settlements in America were not mutually exclusive, and there was sometimes movement between them, that is, a Highlander might emigrate with one group and later move on to another settlement. This was the case for one Angus McAllister, who emigrated to New York in 1738 with the Argyll Patent group, but was said to be living in Carolina in 1763.⁹
Some of the earliest Highland emigrations were to New Jersey, Georgia, and New York. Possibly the very first was led by Lord Neill Campbell, brother to the Earl of Argyll. He came to New Jersey in 1685 with a number of his followers after the unsuccessful rising of the Earl of Argyll against King James VII. They settled the area in New Jersey now known as Perth Amboy.\(^{10}\)

In 1735, a number of Highlanders from the Inverness area emigrated to Georgia with their families.\(^{11}\) James Oglethorpe, the founding father of the colony, was well aware of the Highlander's fighting prowess and recruited these men to protect the Southern border of his colony from attack by the Spanish. The Highlanders settled in the area known as Darien, on the perimeter of Georgia near the border with Florida. This area was disputed with the Spanish and they made successive raids upon the Highlanders to try to take it back. Many of the Highlanders were killed during these skirmishes and their military leader, John M'Or Macintosh, was taken prisoner and sent to Spain. The colony survived, however, and descendants of this colony of Highlanders are still to be found in Georgia today.

Between 1738 and 1740 groups of Argyllshire families totalling 472 persons emigrated to New York State under the direction of Capt. Lachlan Campbell.\(^{12}\) The governor of New York had offered the Highlanders a thousand acres of land for each adult and five hundred acres to each child who paid passage. In spite of great effort on the part of Captain Campbell, the governor in fact failed to honour this agreement. In 1764, however, a large number of these colonists did succeed in securing a grant of 47,450 acres, known as the Argyle Patent, which lay mostly in Washington County. Other Highlanders followed the original emigrants of 1738 to New York, including an emigration of 400 Catholic Highlanders from Glengarry, Glenmorison, Urquart, and Strathglas to the Albany area in 1773.\(^{13}\)

The colonisation by Highland Scots of what is now Canada did not begin until later in the eighteenth century, with the emigration of 200 Catholics to St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island) in 1772. This group was organised and led by John MacDonald of Glenaladale, a tacksman on the Clanranald estates in Moidart. The Highland settlement of PEI was followed by settlements in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. In the nineteenth century, Highland emigration to British North America (Canada) escalated and Highlanders settled in many other provinces as well.

By far the bulk of Highland emigration in the eighteenth century was to North Carolina. Highlanders were part of a succession of emigrations begun much earlier. In the 1580s, Sir Walter Raleigh organised an emigration to Roanoke Island off the
Although two attempts were made to colonize Roanoke Island, one in 1585 and one in 1587, the project failed. This has become known as the Lost Colony, because when ships returned several years later, no trace could be found of these settlers.

Although the first direct attempt to colonize North Carolina failed, English settlers began moving into the coastal region of North Carolina from Virginia in the seventeenth century. The first attempt at settling the Cape Fear region in the 1660s failed, but settlement resumed again in early 1720s, once the Indians in the area had been subdued. The port of Brunswick on the Cape Fear was one of the best in North Carolina, which served to attract settlers to this region. The valuable land near the coast was taken up fairly quickly by the English settlers and by the time the Highlanders came to North Carolina, they were compelled to move inland to find land. A story popular in North Carolina offers a humorous explanation for why the English remained on the coast while the Highlanders moved inland up the river, and points to a sense of ethnic pride and identity. This tradition says that when the Highlanders arrived in Wilmington, they saw a sign that read "Best Land Upstream". Since the cultured Highlanders could read the sign, they heeded its advice and kept going. The English, it asserts, were not as literate and were unable to follow suit.

It is not certain exactly when the first Highlanders arrived in North Carolina to take up land. The Rev. Mr. Henry Foote, one of the first historians of the Cape Fear Valley, believed that there were Highlanders in North Carolina in 1729, and many other historians since that time have repeated this claim. Some family traditions in North Carolina also support Foote's position. Judge James C. MacRae even states that a reliable informant told him that there was a strong tradition in the McFarland family that members of that clan may have arrived in North Carolina as early as 1690. Duane Meyer, however, disputes Foote's claim since there are no historical documents to substantiate it. According to Meyer, the first settlement of Highlanders in the Cape Fear region probably occurred in 1732. In that year, land was granted to a William Forbes, a Hugh Campbell, and a James Innis. James Innis is reported to have been from Caithness and Meyer bases his assertion that the other two men were Highlanders on their surnames. We can not be positive however, that any of these men were actually Highlanders, although they all could have been. Although located in the far north of Scotland, the county of Caithness has closer historical and linguistic connections with the Lowlands. Therefore, whether or not one can call Innis a Highlander is questionable. There is no evidence that he spoke Gaelic, a good indicator of Highland background in the eighteenth
century, or even considered himself a Highlander. The surname Forbes is found both in the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland, so this is again inconclusive. Finally, although Campbell is certainly a Highland name, Hugh Campbell may have been born in the Lowlands or even in Northern Ireland. There were many Ulster Scots who came to Carolina of the name Campbell. Meyer deduces that Campbell, Innis, and Forbes may have brought about seventy-six people with them, judging by the size of their landgrants, but there is no proof of this either. In 1734-1737, there were other land grants awarded to individuals in the Cape Fear Valley who Meyer asserts were Highland.17 Once again, however, it is difficult to tell by the surnames of these grantees if they were actually Highlanders. The names Meyer puts forth as evidence are Lyon, Dunn, Gray, Legg, Campbell, Smith, Clark, Macknight, Gill, and McDaniel. Some of these names, such as Clark, Smith, Campbell, Gray, and MacDaniel, could indeed have been Highland but they could also have easily been Lowland or Scotch-Irish. More evidence is needed than simply surnames.

The first large emigration to Carolina from the Highlands of Scotland for which we have good historical records, however, was in 1739 and was known as the Argyll Colony. The ship Thistle of Saltcoats sailed from Campbeltown, Kintyre with about 350 passengers on board and landed at Brunswick on the Cape Fear in September of that year. This emigration was led by tacksmen, as most of the emigrations prior to the American War of Independence were. The principal men responsible for organising the emigration were Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland in Knapdale, Dougald McNeal of Losset in Kintyre, Daniel McNeal of Ardminish in Gigha, Coll McAlester of Ballinakill in Kintyre, and Neal McNeal of Ardelay in Gigha. After extensive investigations into the genealogies of these men, Sheriff A. I. B. Stewart from Campbeltown has determined that all these men were closely related to each other, either through blood or through marriage.18 The Argyll Colony consisted of emigrants from Kintyre, Knapdale, Jura, Gigha, and probably Islay. The men of the Argyll Colony who received land grants settled on the banks of the Cape Fear River in what was then Bladen County, now Cumberland and Harnett. The colony of Highlanders on the Cape Fear grew rapidly. From 1739 to 1748, a period of nine years, the Argyll Colony increased from 150 households to 350.19

It was commonly believed by historians as well as lay people that a large number of Highlanders left Scotland for North Carolina immediately after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. The Rev. William Foote, one of the early historians who wrote about the Cape Fear Valley, claims that "shipload after shipload" of Highlanders landed at Wilmington in 1746 and 1747.20 According to Foote:

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A large number [of Jacobites] were pardoned, on condition of their emigrating to the plantations, after having taken the solemn oath of allegiance. This is the origin of the large settlements of Highlanders on the Cape Fear, for a large number who had taken up arms for the Pretender, preferred exile to death or subjugation in their native land; and during the years 1746 and 1747, with their families and the families of many of their friends, removed to North Carolina.

This belief is still current in oral tradition in North Carolina, and many of the informants for the present study repeated this story. Duane Meyer disputes this belief, however, owing to the lack of corroborating contemporary American and British documents. He found no evidence of a large Jacobite emigration to Carolina in the American Colonial records, the British records, or the North Carolina landgrant records. The fact that most of the Highland emigrants to North Carolina came from areas of Scotland which did not support Charles Edward Stewart during the rebellion lends credence to Meyer's findings.

Highland emigration to Carolina continued to advance in waves and reached its peak from 1768 to 1775 in the years preceding the American War of Independence. By the 1770s, Highland landlords and the British government became very concerned about the loss of so many people and so much capital through emigration, but they could do little to stop the exodus. Emigration fever spread from Argyll to the islands of Skye and North Uist, and to the mainland districts of Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, Sutherland, and Caithness. There was also emigration from the Orkney Islands to Carolina. The contemporary Scottish press was filled with notices of ship departures, and the Scots Magazine has been mentioned earlier as reporting many of these sailings. The following examples from this magazine demonstrate the frequency of the departures:

Edinburgh, May 21 [1768]
We are advised from the Western Islands of Scotland, that a number of settlers have lately embarked for America from these islands; in particular, betwixt forty and fifty families have gone from the island of Jura alone, for Cape Fear in Carolina, to settle thereabouts, and in Georgia. Some of them are persons of good circumstances.
On the 21st of August, the Mally, Capt. Sprout, sailed from the island of Islay, for North Carolina, full of passengers, to settle in that province; and it is said, that this is the third or fourth emigration from the shire of Argyll since the conclusion of the late war.

Brunswick, North Carolina, Sept. 25 [1769]
A hundred families of highlanders are arrived here, as settlers, and two vessels are daily expected with more.

Edinburgh, August 2 [1770]
We are well informed, that since the month of April last, six vessels have sailed from the western islands, and other parts of the highlands, all full of passengers, for North Carolina, in order to settle in that colony. At a moderate computation, it is thought that of men, women and children, no fewer than 1200 have embarked in the above ships.

We are informed from the western isles, that upwards of 500 souls from Islay, and the adjacent islands, prepare to migrate next summer to America, under the conduct of a gentleman of wealth and merit whose predecessors resided in Islay for many centuries past; and that there is a large colony of most wealthy and substantial people in Skye making ready to follow the example of the Argathelians in going to the fertile and cheap lands on the other side of the Atlantic ocean.

Edinburgh, Sept. 20 [1771]
We hear from the isle of Skye, that no less than 370 persons have lately embarked from that island, in order to settle in North Carolina. Several of them are people of property, who intend making purchases of land in America. The late great rise of the rents in the western islands of Scotland is said to be the reason of this emigration.

On Sunday, Aug. 19 the Adventure, Capt. Smith, sailed from Loch Erribol, with upwards of 200 passengers on board for North Carolina, emigrants from the shire of Sutherland.

Yesterday sailed the Jupiter, from Dunstaffinage bay, with about 200 emigrants on board, for North Carolina, from Appin in Argyleshire. Though formally among the first to take up arms against the reigning family, they now declare their readiness to support government, in case they find it necessary, on their arrival in America. They allege, in justification of their emigrating in these troublesome times, that it is better to confront an enemy in the wildest desert in that country, than to live to be beggars in their native land; that the oppressions of
their landlords are such, that none but the timid will bear with them, while an asylum can be found in the wild, but happy regions of America, for those that have a spirit to seek for it. Many of them are among the best in circumstances in the neighbourhood; one of them went away with his seven sons. This day will sail the ship Glasgow, with emigrants from the port of Fort William, bound for New York. They assign much the same reason as the former for their conduct. In short, the emigrations of the sheep-grasiers from the south, and the uncharitable extractions of the proprietors of the lands, will soon banish the old inhabitants, and depopulate this poor, but once happy country, which, as Ulysses says of Ithaca, is "A barren clime, but breeds a generous race."

**Emigrations Continue [1775]**

Towards the end of August, two vessels lay off Gigha, one of the western isles, ready to take in emigrants for Cape Fare, from Kintyre, Knapdale, and the circumjacent islands, so soon as beds could be fitted up, 150 for each vessel; and they sailed before the order of the commissioners of the customs arrived.

In a letter to John MacKenzie of Delvine, dated 2nd March 1773, Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh describes the situation in Skye at the time:

The only news in this Island is Emigration [sic]. I believe the whole will go for America. In 1771 there shipped [sic] and arrived safe in North Carolina 500 souls. In 1772 there shipped and arrived safe in said place 450 souls. This year they have already signed and preparing [sic] to go, above 800 souls, and all those from Skye and North Uist.

When Boswell and Johnson visited Skye in 1774, they witnessed a dance called "America", which was meant to portray the effect emigration was having on the Island:

We performed, with much activity, a dance which, I suppose, the emigration from Sky [sic] 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 shew how emigration catches, till a whole neighbourhood is set afloat.

In 1775, the Scots Magazine also reported the impending war between the American colonists and the British, and the role that Highlanders were about to play in that conflict:
Edinburgh, Sept. 27 [1775]
A ship sailed lately from Greenock for America with shoes, stockings, plaids, belts, etc. for a regiment on emigrants now raising by the government in America, to be called, The Royal Highland Emigrants. Coats, arms, and ammunition are to be sent from London.

Large scale emigration ceased with the advent of the American War of Independence, although some Highlanders may have reached North Carolina while the revolution was still in progress. Family tradition states that one Alexander Graham was a Jacobite who was persecuted by the British authorities and desired to escape from Scotland. He managed to persuade Captain John Paul Jones of the American Navy to give his family passage to Carolina. The following is from a family manuscript written by Mrs. Charles Purcell and now in the possession of her son Archie. Mrs. Purcell is a descendnt of Isobell Graham, the daughter of Alexander Graham:

Isobella Graham was the daughter of Alexander Graham, land owner in Knapdale, Scotland. With her father and mother, she came to America in 1780 in a ship commanded by John Paul Jones. Graham was outlawed by the British government for his sympathy with the people fighting for their independence in America and arranged passage for himself and family on an American vessel. Isobell Graham was ten years old when she left Scotland and arrived with her parents at Charleston, South Carolina on the 12th of May 1780. The vessel, originally destined for the port of Wilmington, after fighting British cruisers for three months on the voyage, arrived at night and the light of burning houses notified them of the capture of the city by Cornwallis. They had to land in Charleston and they came overland from there. A long and tedious journey was before them on foot to reach a relative, Archibald MacLaurin, on the east side of the Cape Fear River. After resting a few weeks, Alexander Graham bought land in western Cumberland, and went to the raising of cattle. Here Cornwallis paid him a visit on his retreat from Guilford Courthouse and supplied his army with beef. The cause of the British hostility was Graham's sympathy with the struggling colonies. He lived to an advanced age, and left many descendennts in Cumberland and Robeson Counties, and also in Alabama and Texas.
Emigration continued shortly after the peace in 1783 and reached a peak in the years 1790-1803. The years 1790 and 1791 particularly saw large emigrations to North Carolina from Appin and the island of Lismore. There is also a record of a ship General Washington which left Argyll in 1791 for North Carolina with men, women, and children from Islay, Jura, Colonsay, and Mull. The group from Mull consisted of only eight adults to one hundred and twenty-five children. This is a quite disproportionate number of children for only eight adults. The children may have been orphans or simply unmarried teenagers going with relatives to seek their fortune. The brig Mally, also carrying emigrants from Mull, including the ancestors of former North Carolina governor Angus Wilton MacLean, left Scotland in September 1792, while another ship carrying emigrants from Mull left in 1794. Emigrants continued to pour out of Skye headed for North Carolina as well. By the early 1800s, Highland landlords and the government were beginning to get very worried again about the tide of emigration leaving the Highlands and going to America - both British North America (later Canada) and the newly formed United States. Eventually legislation was passed in 1803 that served to stem the tide somewhat. The Passage Act of 1803 was ostensibly created to improve the conditions on emigrant ships, but its main effect was to curtail emigration by increasing the cost of passage to America about threefold, putting the price beyond the reach of many ordinary Highlanders.

Although the Passage Act slowed down emigration to Carolina, it certainly did not stop it. In 1803, the same year it was enacted, a large emigration from Skye occurred which included the tacksmen families of Kelly, MacIver, and Mackintosh who settled in Moore County. In 1804, a ship called the Pandora, which was outfitted entirely for passengers, left Kintyre for North Carolina. Among the passengers were the Sutherlands and Ramsays who settled Duplin; MacLeans and Blacks who settled in Robeson, Moore, and Harnett Counties; John and Alexander MacBride, Sinclairs, MacEacherns and Johnsons, who settled Robeson; and the MacGregors and MacLauchlans who settled in Cumberland County. Neil Sinclair, a passenger on the Pandora who settled in Robeson County, stated that:

The MacGregors were fond of dancing, and I well remember that at Tarbert, in Kintyre [sic], on the evening before our departure for America, many neighbours assembled to bid us adieu, and among the dancers was the grandmother of Effie MacGregor (the wife of Archibald McGregor) who kept step to the music of the pipes, though she was a very old woman.
Highland emigration to North Carolina continued for the first half of the nineteenth century. Although MacLean states that the last large emigration to Carolina occurred in 1811, when eight hundred Highlanders set sail for North Carolina, there is much evidence of emigrations after that time. In 1820, Neill MacEachern and his wife Effie MacKeller left Kintyre and settled in what is now Dillon County. The Rev. Mr. James MacKenzie mentions that a number of new families emigrated from the Highlands to the Barbecue Community during the pastorate of Colin McIver from 1839-1849. Malcolm and Lauchlin Shaw's great grandparents Torquil and Ann Shaw left Jura for North Carolina in about 1830. Ann Shaw's sister Jenette and her husband Alexander Darroch followed them to North Carolina in 1847. In 1848 Malcolm McLean, ancestor of Dr. James Wilton MacLean from Fayetteville, emigrated from Jura to the Union Church Community in Moore County. According to the Rev. Mr. Douglas Kelly, these McLeans were known by the locals as the "Scotch McLeans" because they were only newly arrived from Scotland. Donald McArthur and his wife Janett emigrated to North Carolina from Islay in 1850 and settled in Cumberland County. They brought five children with them - three daughters and two sons, Gilbert and Alexander. Mrs. Kate McArthur McGeachy, interviewed for a newspaper article in the Fayetteville Observer in 1962, remembered that her father Alexander spoke fluent Gaelic and on one occasion was invited to speak and read from his Bible in Gaelic at Flora MacDonald College.

Few Highlanders emigrated to Carolina during and after the American War Between the States. The war devastated the state and it took years for the population to recover from its ravages. At Longstreet Church, one of the most important in the Highland settlement, there were no babies presented for baptism for sixteen years after the War. This demonstrates the destructive effect the war had on the population of young men in the Highland settlement area. The last Highland emigration to North Carolina of any size occurred in 1884 and will be covered in a separate chapter.


20. Foote, p. 130.


34. R.W. Chapman, ed., Johnson's Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 346. An interesting modern reference to the dance described by Boswell and Johnson can be found in the song "Dance Called America" by the popular Scottish rock group Runrig:

They did a dance,
Called America
They danced it round, and waited at the turns
For America
They danced their ladies round. (Runrig, "Dance Called America," Heartland, Ridge Records, RR005, 1985).

35. SM, XXXVII (December 1775), p. 690.

36. Archie Purcell, Tape 4B.


38. A.I.B. Stewart, Scottish Genealogist, p. 16.

39. Angus W. MacLean, p. 443.

41. Douglas Kelly, Tape 18A.

42. Angus W. MacLean, p. 443.

43. Angus W. MacLean, p. 444.

44. Angus W. MacLean, p. 444.


47. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10A.


North Carolina.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Know Ye, that We, for and in Consideration of the Rent hereinafter mentioned, Have Given and Granted, and by these Presents, Do Give and Grant, unto the said

Acre, lying and being in the County of

As by the Plat hereunto annexed doth appear, together with the Land belonging or appertaining thereto, and Appurtenances, the said Acre, in our County of, in Our Heirs and Successors, forever:

 Hollows, Water, Minerals, Minerals, one half of all Gold, Silver, Minerals, and other Metals, and all other Products and Revenues:

that we, in our Province of North Carolina, for the Consideration of the

At the 31st Day of May, in the one Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighth Year of our Reign.

Duncan Villasenor

Historian and Governor in Chief,

Elizabethtown, May 1788.
Settlement Patterns

The Highland emigrant ships arrived at Brunswick or Wilmington on the Cape Fear River and from there the emigrants took flat boats up the Cape Fear into the interior of the country. These boats were propelled by poles and the journey of one hundred miles up the Cape Fear took about six days to complete. Mable Lovin of Red Springs, whose Highland ancestors made that trip up the river, remembers an expression which has survived to the present day that probably had its roots in the old pole boats. When people saw someone they knew coming, it was customary to say "Look who just poled in!"2

The first Highland settlers in North Carolina received land grants of rich alluvial soil situated directly on the Cape Fear River. As new emigrants arrived to take up land, they moved up into the backcountry and settled by the rivers and creeks that flowed into the Cape Fear - Cross Creek, Rockfish Creek, Barbecue Creek, and the Little River were quickly settled. Later emigrants took up land along the creeks and rivers which eventually drained into the Pee Dee River in South Carolina - Drowning Creek, Naked Creek, Shoe Heel Creek, the Little Pee Dee River, and Lumber River, to name a few. Although not all of the Highland settlement was on land directly draining into the Cape Fear River, historians refer to the settlement as the Cape Fear Valley Highland settlement, since certainly the Cape Fear runs through the very heart of it and was once the lifeline of the community. Other writers have referred to the area of Carolina where the Highlanders settled as the Sandhills area because much of the settlement makes up that geographical area in Carolina, but certainly not all of it. Scotus Americanus explains the method of obtaining land in the province of North Carolina:

The method of settling in Carolina, is to find out a space of King's land, or unpatented land, and to get an order from the governor, which order is given to a surveyor; when the survey is finished, he draws up a plan of that space of land, which plan is returned to the office for recording patents, etc. Then he gets the patent signed by the governor, which is good for ever after.3
The Old Market House in Fayetteville. This building, located in the middle of the downtown area of Fayetteville, once served as a meeting house and a marketplace. Merchants rented stalls from which they could sell their products. Slaves were occasionally sold here when estates were auctioned off, but it was never a regular slave market such as the one in Charleston.
The Highland settlement area in Carolina comprised the present North Carolina counties of Cumberland, Hoke, Harnett, Moore, Lee, Richmond, Robeson, and Scotland, while bordering areas of Anson, Bladen, Montgomery, and Sampson Counties could also be included. The settlement spilled over into the South Carolina counties of Dillon, Marlboro, and Chesterfield as well. Present day place names in these counties bear evidence of the Highland settlement which occurred over two hundred years ago. The inhabitants of the Highland settlement area were not all of Highland origin, however. There were also Lowland Scots, Ulster Scots, English, Welsh, and Germans, with a sprinkling of other European nationalities to be found in the Upper Cape Fear Valley. Meyer doubts that the Highlanders ever numbered many more than fifty percent of the population of Cumberland County, although they were by far the largest ethnic group.

Although the counties in the Cape Fear Valley were not completely Highland, the Highland emigrants tended to settle in tight homogeneous communities and townships which were decided Highland. Since they usually settled near relatives, communities were sometimes associated with one particular island or area of Scotland. Flat Branch Community in Harnett County was settled largely by emigrants from Jura in Argyll. The Longstreet and Bluff Communities were originally mostly made up of Argyllshire families, especially those from Islay and Jura. The Union and Bethesda Communities of Moore County, as well as the Carolina Community in Dillon County were heavily settled by emigrants from Skye. The Little Pee Dee Church Community in Dillon County contained a large number of families from the island of Lismore and the Black River Church Community in Sampson County was settled by families from Arran. Accordingly, the first minister called to Little Pee Dee was from Lismore and the first one at Black River was an Arran man.

If one looks at the counties of the Upper Cape Fear, a pattern of Highland communities and townships can be established. Cumberland and Richmond Counties, for example, had well defined areas of Highland settlement. John McDuffie published a map of Cumberland County in 1884 and one of Richmond County in 1886. These both included the location of the different farms and the owner's name for each. One can get a rough idea of the pattern of settlement from the distribution of surnames on these maps. Beaver Dam, Cedar Creek, and Black River townships in Cumberland County have few families with Highland surnames listed, while they are plentiful in Seventy-first, Carvers Creek, Little River, and Quewhiffle. In Richmond County, the townships of Wolf Pit, Black Jack, and Steeles have few Highland names, while they are quite numerous in Mineral Springs, Laurel Hill, and.

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Stewartsville. It is interesting to note that both of these counties underwent territorial changes in the early twentieth century. Hoke County was formed by the breaking off of the Highland townships of Quewhiffle and Little River in Cumberland County and Scotland County was formed by the breaking off of the Highland townships of Laurel Hill and Stewartsville in Richmond County.

Several small villages grew up along the Cape Fear River in the early years. The towns of Cross Creek and Campbellton, situated on Cross Creek near its junction with the Cape Fear, were settled in the 1760s. Although Campbellton was named the county seat of Cumberland County in 1768, Cross Creek had already surpassed it in size and became the trading centre for the Highland settlement. Campbellton remained only a small residential area with a court house. After the American War of Independence, the two towns were incorporated together under the name of Fayetteville, commemorating the great French hero of the war, the Marquis of Lafayette. Fayetteville continued to be the focal point and trading centre for the Highland settlement after the Revolution and it is still the largest city in the area today.

The enumeration of heads of households for Cumberland County in the United States census of 1820 gives an idea of the names of the Highland emigrants who came to North Carolina and their origins in Scotland. The names most frequently found in Cumberland County were Campbell, MacNeill, MacLean, Shaw, Cameron, Ray, Monroe, Buie, Clark, and Stewart. All these names were common in Argyllshire, although the main body of Camerons originated in Lochaber. The names Johnson and Smith were also very plentiful, and certainly many of these were Highlanders, but it is difficult to tell how many were not. The names of MacDonald, MacMillan, MacRae, MacLeod, MacArthur, MacDougald, MacKay, MacLaurin, MacDuffie, and MacIntyre also occurred frequently, but they were not as numerous as the first group. Except for MacDonald, MacRae, and MacLeod, these names also predominated in Argyll, although the main body of MacKays was from Sutherland. The MacDonalds, MacLeods, and MacRaes were part of the great Skye migrations.

Many other names occurred less frequently in the Cumberland County census of 1820, but are conspicuously Highland in origin. Some of these were Bethune, Black, Blue, Calhoun, Carmichael, Darroch, Ferguson, Finlayson, Gillis, Graham, Kelly, Kennedy, Lamont, Leach, MacAlester, MacAlpine, MacArm, MacColl, MacCaskill, MacCallum, MacCorquadale, MacCormick, MacCranie, MacEachan, MacFarlane, MacFadyen, MacGill, MacGilvery, MacGregor, MacGugan, MacInnis, Macintosh, MacKenzie, MacIver, MacKellar, MacKinnon, MacKeithen, MacLauchlin, MacPhail, MacPherson, MacQuaig, MacQueen, MacRimmon, MacSwain, Morrison,
There are also Highland names that are listed in other counties, but not in Cumberland. Examples of these are Chisolm, Curry, MacAulay, MacBride, MacLennan, and Matheson in Moore County; Galbraith, Gilchrist, MacDermid, MacEachern, MacGeachy, MacIntagaret, MacNair, MacNatt, MacVicker, and Sutherland in Robeson; and Frasier in Richmond. It should be stressed that even with the addition of the previous names to the ones from Cumberland County, this still does not comprise a complete list of all the Highland surnames of the families involved in the settlement of North Carolina, and should only be used as a rough indicator of the variety of names that were once to be found there. Some Highland surnames that are still common in North Carolina are now infrequently found in Scotland - for example, Bethune, Blue, Ray, and MacKeithen.

Shelter and Livelihood in the Highland Settlement

Housing

Once the emigrants made their way up the Cape Fear to the Highland Settlement, they either obtained a land grant in the early colonial days, or they purchased land. A landowner who was already well established in the settlement might also give an emigrant a plot of land in return for a share of the produce of the farm. The first shelter to be constructed was usually a lean-to made with poles and thatched with brush and pine straw. Rassie Wicker from Moore County remembers the turpentine men using this type of structure while they were out in the forest harvesting the sap from the pine trees.

The first permanent structure that the Highland emigrants built on the land was usually a log cabin. These cabins usually had a mud and stick chimney - a lattice work of wood covered with hardened mud that had been mixed with pine straw. The fireplaces were very large and the cook would sit inside it while cooking. These old mud and stick chimneys had a distinct disadvantage in that they often caught fire.

The Highlanders were not unfamiliar with this type of "mud and stick" construction, however. Wood was much more plentiful in the eighteenth century Highlands than the present landscape would suggest. Where the appropriate wood was to be found, it was often used in the construction of walls:
Clay walls, especially those serving as internal partitions, were often formed of a structural skeleton of timber, either of uprights with ladder-like cross-pieces, or a wattle frame, clayed and smoothed on each side. The ladder-like form is filled with a mixture of stiff clay and long straw, which may be left flush with the upright standards, or may cover them.

Evidence of a chimney of "wattle and daub" construction in the Highlands of Scotland is provided by the School of Scottish Studies Photo Archives, where there is a picture of such a chimney in Inverness-shire.

When an emigrant became prosperous enough, he built a frame house, usually a ground floor with a loft. The first frame houses were little different in floor plan from the log cabin, but a style of frame house soon developed in the Highland settlement sometimes known as the "shot-gun" house. Rassie Wicker of Moore County describes these early frame houses:

A somewhat larger, and later house would be built with a central wide hallway, with front and back doors and two bedrooms on one end, and a living room (perhaps also with a bed) at the other. This central hallway with its two outer doors, afforded a cool spot in the summer. The writer's grandfather's house was of this type, built about 1820. A front piazza was universally attached, and this was often closed in at one end, forming an additional bed room, generally assigned to "company."

This bedroom off the porch, which was reserved for company, was entered from the outside and not through the house and was often called the "parson's quarters". An example of this kind of frame house can be found today in Dillon County, South Carolina on a farm owned by R. L. McNiel. The house was originally built around 1790 by a John McKay, an emigrant from Kintyre and McNiel's wife's ancestor. McNiel has restored the old frame dwelling to its original condition.

After the frame house was constructed, the old log cabin was usually retained and used for a kitchen and dining room. This kept the heat of the kitchen out of the dwelling houses during the long, hot summers. Nettie Henly reports that most people in her neighbourhood in Scotland County were still cooking over the open hearth when she was young in the 1870s.

In the early nineteenth century, some of the more affluent planters began to build two story frame houses. These had a central staircase and external chimneys on both gabled ends of the house. The Mill Prong House, originally built by John Gilchrist, is an example of this type of house.
Cypress Swamp in the Cape Fear Valley. These swamps are a typical topographical feature in much of the Highland settlement area of Carolina.
An old log cabin of the type that the Highland emigrants built. This particular structure was built by bachelor Angus Shaw, who died in the early part of this century. The cabin is located in the Flat Branch Community of Harnett County and once served as a post office named Paolia. The remains of the mud and stick chimney can be seen at the gable end.
Detail of the construction of the mud and stick chimney of Angus Shaw’s cabin in Flat Branch Community.
Daniel MacKay house in Dillon County, South Carolina. This house is probably the oldest dwelling in the Carolina Community, and was constructed by Daniel MacKay (pronounced MacKoy) in about 1790. MacKay was an emigrant from Kilcalmonell parish in Kintyre. The house has been restored to its original condition by R.L. McNiel, whose wife Jane is a descendant of Daniel MacKay’s. The house is of the central breezeway construction and includes a "parson’s room" off the front porch.
The upstairs (2 rooms) exactly covers the two main downstairs rooms.

A small closet is under the stairs.

A storage area to the loft opens on the stair landing.

The side door opened to the dining room or to the kitchen that was not connected to the main house.

The big porch once had a banister exactly like the front elevation shows. The holes are still there for the spoked to fit into.

Diagram of the Daniel MacKay house in Dillon County, South Carolina built around 1790. (Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. R.L. McNiel)
Mill Prong House

Mill Prong House was built circa 1795 by John Gilchrist, a prominent Scottish emigrant. The handsome Federal structure was first named Lowery Hill but its name was later changed to Mill Prong by Colonel Archibald McEachern who bought and enlarged the house to its present size in the 1830's.

Situated in a rural setting, it is easy to imagine the stage coach making the daily stop to change horses here, as it did, so long ago, on the route from Fayetteville to Cheraw. Many prominent people, including Marquis de Lafayette, stopped to rest here. The house features a back room that was always called the “stage room.”

Mill Prong is located in southwest Hoke County on Edinburgh Road, 3 miles east of US 401.
Ballachulish Plantation in Scotland County. This old ante-bellum house is the second structure on the site. It was named by the original owner of the plantation, a McLaurin from Appin in Argyll. The house is no longer lived in and is today in a state of decay.
Although some Highland emigrants to North Carolina were teachers, doctors, skilled craftsmen and tradesmen, most of the Highlanders were interested in purchasing land and farming because land was cheap and the produce of the land great. Before the land could be fully planted, however, it had to be cleared of trees, a process which took some time. At first the emigrants "girded" the trees, that is, made a cut around their trunks to kill them. After the branches and leaves died and he had burned the saplings and undergrowth, the farmer would plant his crops in-between the dead trees. It was not until later that land was actually cleared. *Scotus Americanus* lists the commodities produced in the Highland settlement during the colonial period:

Its [North Carolina's] commodities and general produce are very valuable, consisting of rice, indico [sic], hemp, tobacco, fir [sic], deer skins, turpentine, pitch, tar, raw hides, tanned leather, flower [sic], flax seed, cotton, corn, pease [sic], pottatoes [sic], honey, bees wax, Indian corn, barrelled beef and pork, tallow, butter, rosin, square timber of different sorts, deals, staves, and all kind of lumber.

The produce of the land in North Carolina was much more plentiful and varied than it was in Scotland at that time. In Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, published in the 1790's, the only crops of any consequence in the Highlands were barley, potatoes, oats, and flax. Black cattle were the major source of farm income, but sheep were on the increase and a few goats were kept also. Although plentiful in North Carolina, swine were rarely found in the Highlands.

With the invention of the cotton gin, the raising of upland cotton became extremely popular in North Carolina in the nineteenth century, becoming the primary cash crop in the Highland settlement area. An 1884 pamphlet on Robeson County edited by D.P. McEachern gives one a good idea of the farm and forest products raised in the settlement in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The staple commodities in Robeson County at that time were cotton, corn, wood shingles, lumber, naval stores¹⁴, and sweet potatoes. In addition, oats, rice, rye, wheat, and "Irish" potatoes were raised in large quantities, while fruits, a variety of vegetables, and sugar cane were also grown. Tobacco and soybeans are very important crops in the Highland settlement area today, while the growing of sugar cane and cotton has declined and the production of rice has ceased.¹⁵
Cotton-picker at work on John Balfour's farm in Robeson County. Balfour's father emigrated to Robeson County from Scotland in 1907 and took a job as a farm labourer. A little over eighty years since his father emigrated, John Balfour now farms about one thousand acres of cotton.
Animal Husbandry

The Highlanders in Carolina allowed their livestock to range freely, as they had in Scotland. *Scotus Americanus* describes how they gathered the stock together every summer for marking:

In the months of May, June, and July they gather all their cattle into one place on the great common; they range all day at pleasure through the forest; but the calves are separated, and kept in fenced pastures. In these months they make their butter and cheese, and mark their young cattle (for each has a particular mark given to him by the province and this mark is recorded) and then they are turned loose into the common again till that time twelve months later, except a few milk cows for their families.

This tradition of allowing the livestock to range freely continued in the North Carolina Highland settlement into living memory. Dan McDonald from Moore County remembers seeing his father marking pigs in order to identify them:

My father, when he married my mother...they still had no fence law. They still had the house and the fields fenced in - rail fences, made out of "fat lighter" (heartwood pine). They notched the cattle, ears of the hogs, and branded the cattle in some way. I've seen my dad notch in pigs' ears...with their own brand, whatever it was, two little notches in the ears of the pigs. They'd cut a little hole in there, a little notch out of the ear. He did it with a knife, a real sharp knife. That is the way they identified them.

The practice of marking the ears of livestock was traditional in Scotland, and it still is common. For years the *Stornoway Gazette* and other Highland newspapers would run announcements of lost sheep which were described by their ear marks.

The Highlanders in North Carolina raised cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, and poultry. In 1883, there were 1,833 horses, 1,656 mules, 10,041 sheep, 10,724 cattle, and 33,443 hogs (pigs) in Robeson County. Sheep and mules, however, have now all but disappeared from the landscape in the Cape Fear.

Black pudding, a Scottish dish derived from the blood of the livestock, was produced in Carolina within living memory, but has now disappeared. In Scotland, however, blood pudding, or black pudding, known as marag dhubh in Gaelic, is still very popular. Rassie Wicker, Moore County historian, remembered families in his area of Carolina making it when he was young:
It may come as a surprise to the more fastidious to learn that the blood, not only of hogs, but of sheep and cattle was used (as) an article of food in those days, being made into pudding with the addition of meal and a little fat, seasoned with onions. This was known as blood- or black-pudding. The writer has never tasted this "dainty", but in the late 1800s, a few families in his neighbourhood did make it and eat it.

Donald MacDonald from Dillon County, remembers his own mother making blood pudding, or simply "pudding" as she called it:

She [my mother] had got it from her mother, Molly MacQueen - black pudding. They always made it from the hogs. Instead of calling it black pudding, they just called it puddin’ and she loved it. We didn’t like it particularly... it had this liver taste and as children we didn’t like it, but later on I did. But that was what it was - it was black pudding, but it was hog [pig], not cow.

Forest Products

In the Sandhills area of the Cape Fear Valley, which comprised a large part of the Highland settlement area, the soil was not very good for farming, except in the fertile bottom lands. The area was well supplied with long-leaf pines, however, which produced lumber and naval stores in abundance. The heartwood pine from these trees made excellent building material, and it was used in the construction of many of the old houses still standing in the Cape Fear Valley. The wooden sailing ships were also extremely dependant on tar and pitch for their construction and maintenance, and North Carolina was a major supplier of these throughout the colonial period and after. The tar and turpentine production in the Sandhills ended about the First World War, but Lauchlin Shaw still remembers how they cut depressions into the pine trees (called boxes) so that the sap would drain out and they could collect it to produce spirits of turpentine:

It went out about 1914, but I do remember the old pines that was streaked where they cut it to make it run down in the box... They’d cut the box in the tree - it was cut in there. The thing would hold about a quart and they’d use that long bladed box axe because it would go down there and cut it out and they’d bring the chip out and make an oval shaped box, and when it [the sap] would come down the tree, it would run into that box.

The depressions were cut in the pine trees in March and the sap was harvested for approximately thirty-five weeks.
Heartwood pine was also stacked and slowly burned to produce tar and pitch. Dan McDonald of Moore County remembers how they used to construct the tar kilns:

I've seen the tar kilns in Scotland County and not many years ago in Scotland [County], beyond Laurinburg in the Tar Hill area, they were burning tar kilns. They did right here for many years. But I saw the wood stacked up in Scotland County - long tiers with a slanted, with a little pit dug, not very deep, and the pit went down slanted towards the front and they built the fire in the back. There would be many, many cords of wood in there. It would be higher than your head, six to eight feet high, and stacked just very close together as you could and some dirt thrown on top of it a little. And they'd build a fire in the back and it would eventually burn through in a week - melting the tar out of the wood as it went down and went out the other end and they caught it in barrels. That was black rosin from those, and you could pick up the rosin once in a while. I've done this as a boy... you could take that home with you and use it on your fiddle bow.

The tar, turpentine, and pitch were packed in barrels and were usually shipped to Wilmington on the Cape Fear River for use in paint manufacture and ship building and maintenance. The tar and turpentine business in the Sandhills is now no longer profitable, but the cutting of timber is still engaged in.

The Highland emigrants to North Carolina had to be self sufficient. They built their own houses, raised their own food, and cut their own fuel from the forest. There was plenty of wild game and fish to supplement the Highland diet and animal skins were used for early clothing. There emigrants raised sheep and wove their own cloth from the wool they provided. Little money was obtained for crops until the cotton boom of the nineteenth century.

Placenames

Upper Cape Fear Valley is rich with placenames of Scottish origin which the Highland emigrants and their descendants gave to counties, townships, communities, plantations, hills, creeks, ponds, roads, and streets. Very few, if any, original Gaelic place-names (i.e. names which have not been transplanted from Scotland) have survived in the Highland settlement area, although there must have been quite a number at one time. Highland emigrants whose only language was Gaelic would logically tend to name local features such as hills, creeks, farms and fields in their native language, and might designate whole localities in a similar fashion. Many
Gaelic placenames were probably short-lived, however, being replaced by names that were less foreign to the English speaker's ear or by names chosen by official for mapping purposes. Most of these Gaelic placenames would not have been recorded in a written or printed form.

There are several placenames in North Carolina that are thought to be of Gaelic origin, but have been corrupted to the point of not being easily recognised if they indeed are. The first of these is Quewhiffle, of Quewhiffle Creek and Quewhiffle Township in Hoke County. The Gaelic alphabet does not contain the letters Q or W, although Gaelic letters can be used to approximate the sounds that these two English letters make. "QU" was often used in old spellings of English placenames to represent the sound of "WH", therefore the name may have originally sounded like "Whuwhiffle". There is a swamp in Sampson County, however, named Cuwhiffle Swamp, which suggests that the original pronunciation might have been "Quewhiffle" after all. According to William Powell, author of the North Carolina Gazetteer, the name Quewhiffle may have been derived from a faulty pronunciation of the Gaelic culmhutar, which means smuggler or mutineer. The Gaelic dictionary by Edward Dwelly does indeed list a word culmhutaire, which can mean smuggler or mutineer. The pronunciation of the Gaelic culmhater or culmhuítaire is so different from Quewhiffle, however, that it casts a strong doubt on this theory. The Gaelic language never contains a double "F" sound, whereas the double consonant sounds are very common in American Indian languages, which would seem to be a much more likely source for the word than a Gaelic one.

Two more placenames of questionable Gaelic origin are Shoe Heel and Quhele, the former names of Maxton in Robeson County. The community of Shoe Heel, named for nearby Shoe Heel Creek, began in 1861 as a railroad depot and was later incorporated as a town in 1874. The name was changed to Tilden in 1877 to honour a democratic presidential candidate who eventually lost the election. In 1879, the name was changed to Quhele and in 1881 it was changed back to Shoe Heel.

Although the English spellings of Quhele and Shoe Heel are unrecognisable as Gaelic words, some believe that Shoe Heel is just a further corruption from the Gaelic which Quhele represents. This belief is supported by an article in the Wilmington Star of April 17, 1878 which was written at the time when the legislature changed the name from Tilden to Quhele:
Congressman Steele sat in front and was giving the true origin of the name Shoe Heel; said it was Scotch, corrupted from Quhele, which is pronounced like a man had his mouth full of mush, and Mr. Steele gave the gutteral sound. Powell suggests that the name Quhele derives from the Gaelic word *caoile*, meaning the narrow part of a stream. This is a form of the Gaelic word *caol*, which does mean narrow or a narrow body of water, although according to Ian Fraser of the School of Scottish Studies Placename Survey, it is never associated in Scotland with streams, but with large bodies of water like a kyle, or strait.

There is a historical reference to the name Quhele, however. In 1396, a famous battle took place on the North Inch of Perth. Two very powerful clans, referred to by historians as the Clan Yha and the Clan Quhele met in fierce combat to settle a dispute. Thirty men were chosen from each side to represent their clan and the battle took place before an audience which included the King. The oral traditions of the Macintoshs, MacPhersons, Davidsons, and Camerons all claim participation in the battle, and there continues to be much speculation and controversy about who the two clans actually were and who actually won the conflict.

W. C. MacKenzie believes that the Clan Yha was the *Clann Dhat* or Davidsons and the Clan Quhele or "Quheuyl" were the MacPhersons. MacKenzie suggests that "Quheuyl" is probably a corruption of Coul or Coull, McCoull being a recognised transliteration of the Gaelic name *MacDhùghaill*, or MacDougall. The clan name MacPherson was not known in 1396, and this family may have called themselves MacDougalls instead, after their ancestor Dougall Dall. Therefore MacKenzie reasons that the MacQuheuyls or McCouls, hence MacDougalls were actually the Clan MacPherson. There are many other such hypotheses such as this one, but they are all difficult to prove and one will probably never know for certain who the original participants in the feud were. There is a general consensus, however, that one or both of the combatants were connected with the Clan Chattan.

Sir Walter Scott used this historical Battle of the North Inch of Perth in one of his novels, *The Fair Maid of Perth*. It is therefore also conceivable that North Carolinians of Scottish heritage, after reading Sir Walter Scott's novel, may have decided to name their town after the famous clan in his novel. There is, after all, a precedent. The town of Ivanhoe in Sampson County was named in the 1880's for the hero of the Scott novel of that name. The town of Ivanhoe is situated on the Black River and the original settlers contained many Highland Scots. The connection between Sir Walter Scott and the name Quhele is made even stronger by the spelling of the Robeson County town. There are several different spellings employed by Scottish historians; *clanwhewyl* was used by Wyntoun, the earliest chronicler of the
event. Other historians have spelled the name Quheule, while Sir Walter Scott was among those who spelled it Quhele. The spelling used in Robeson County was Quhele - the same spelling as that employed by Scott.

Judge James C. MacRae of Robeson County, writing in 1905, however, mentions a "Clan Quhele" which emigrated to North Carolina:

- When the Quhele clan located in Cumberland it is now impossible to tell; but they probably came over about the same time that the McFarlands settled in what is now Scotland County.

This gives a small amount of credence to the theory that the town was named after a family who resided nearby.

After the name Quhele, the town of Maxton was renamed Shoe Heel. Powell asserts that the name was changed to Shoe Heel "for the imagined meaning of Quhele", but the town was named Shoe Heel before it was named Quhele. Judge Henry McKinnon from Robeson County, a native of Maxton, has done an extensive study of the names Quhele and Shoeheel. According to McKinnon, the name Shoe Heel first appears in 1756 in a landgrant to one Isaac Odom, for "one hundred acres on Shewheel". There were also two other spellings of this placename on documents relating to this grant as well: "Showheel and "Shoeheel". The name Shoe Heel Creek appeared on the Mouzan map of the Carolinas in 1775, long before the town Shoe Heel became incorporated in 1874. Stories about the origin of the name Shoe Heel range from corruptions of Indian or Gaelic words, to a story of a prehistoric Indian with a peculiar footprint who roamed the nearby swamp, while Judge McKinnon himself remembers his father telling him that the name had something to do with the Shaw family, the Shaws being prominent among the early settlers of the area. Donald F. MacDonald and Marietta MacLeod MacDonald, in an article in the Raleigh News and Observer, July 9, 1961, suggest that the name might be connected with the Gaelic word seaghail which according to the MacDonalds, means pithful and is thought by some to be the origin of the name Shaw in Gaelic. The modern version of the Gaelic name Shaw is spelled Sithech, or Seaghach. Seaghach is currently pronounced approximately as shay-uk in Argyll. On this basis, the word seaghail would probably be pronounced approximately as shay-ul, which is close to the English Shoeheel, but still is only one of many Gaelic words with a similar sound. Although MacDonald only suggests the derivation of Shoe Heel from the word seaghail, his hypothesis has now been accepted by some as fact and has even been repeated by other scholars.
Other possibilities of Gaelic derivations of Shoe Heel that have been suggested by Judge McKinnon are süil, pronounced approximately sooill \( \text{[s\text{\textipa{\text-xv}}]} \) and süil-chritheach or süil-chruthaich, pronounced approximately sooill kree-ehk \( \text{[s\text{\textipa{\text-xr}}]} \) or sooill kroo-heek \( \text{[s\text{\textipa{\text-xu}}]} \). \(^{39}\) Süil, which usually means an eye in Gaelic, can also sometimes mean a loop hole. Süil chrithaich means quagmire or quicksand, which, although it does not sound much like Shoe Heel, would be very appropriate for that area of swampy country.

The town of Shoe Heel has officially born the name of Maxton since 1887. Local tradition states that it was called Mackstown or Maxton due to the fact that so many of the inhabitants had Highland surnames beginning with Mac. The postal authorities may be the source for the spelling "Maxton" instead of Mackstown. \(^{40}\) According to Judge McKinnon, however, the name Quhele refuses to die and can still be found in Robeson County today:

In recent years Maxton developers named a new apartment complex "Quhele Apartments", and the more recent choice of the slight variation "Queheel Fire District" shows that it remains as part of the tradition of the Maxton community. \(^{41}\)

The places that we know of today in North Carolina which were given names which can be said to definitely be Gaelic or derived from Gaelic are almost all transplants from Scotland. For instance, there was a post office in Moore County named Carinish which was established in 1837 and discontinued the following year. \(^{42}\) Carinish is a Gaelic placename from North Uist and the postmaster was an Allen MacDonald, a name common in North Uist, which may explain the origin of this placename. The placename Carinish has now disappeared, which suggests that there may have also been other communities with Gaelic names that have long been forgotten.

Although the name Carinish disappeared, there are many placenames transplanted from Scotland that have survived. Ardlussa, a small community on Rockfish Creek in Cumberland County takes its name from an estate in the Isle of Jura in Argyllshire. \(^{43}\) This estate was owned by the MacNeills of Colonsay from 1737 to 1773, close relatives of the MacNeills who emigrated to Carolina. Argyle, a former community on Little Rockfish Creek in Hoke County which is now within the military reservation of Fort Bragg, was named for the county on the west coast of Scotland from whence so many of the Highland emigrants to Carolina came. \(^{44}\) Campbellton or Campbelltown, the county seat of Cumberland County at one time, was thought to be named for Campbelltown in Kintyre. Others believe that it
may have been either named for the Campbell family or for an individual named Campbell, but no one seems to be able to prove its origin. Morven is a small town in southeast Anson County, named after the home in Scotland of the parents of Hugh MacKenzie, the first postmaster.\(^{45}\) Tobermory, in northwest Bladen County, is named for the town on the Island of Mull, off the west coast of Scotland.\(^{46}\) There is also a community called Bowmore in Hoke County, named after the town in Islay.\(^{47}\) Perhaps the most obvious placename of this type is Scotland County, North Carolina, so named because the majority of the inhabitants were of Scottish descent.

The name for Dundarrach, a community in Hoke County, was probably taken from a place in Argyll, but it is uncertain today where this may have been located. Dundarrach means "hill of the oak" in Gaelic, but most residents of Hoke County today do not recognise it as a Gaelic placename. One folk etymology currently in circulation about the origin of the this placename has to do with General Sherman’s Union Army during the American War Between the States. The story is told that when Sherman’s Brigade was travelling through Hoke County, night was about to fall and the troops needed to find a camp for the night. According to the story, one of the soldiers remarked that "we'd better camp here 'cause it's done dark." Maud Thomas in Away Down Home: A History of Robeson County, however, states that Dundarrach was a post office by 1850, fifteen years before General Sherman arrived in North Carolina.\(^{48}\)

Houses and plantations in Carolina were also given imported Scottish placenames. Dunvegan Plantation in Blenheim, Marlboro County, South Carolina was named after the great castle and ancestral seat of the MacLeods on the Isle of Skye.\(^{49}\) As might be expected, this plantation belonged to a family of MacLeods. Ballachulish, a plantation in Scotland County, was named after the ancestral home of its owner, a Hugh MacLaurin. MacLaurin was born in Appin in 1751 and emigrated to North Carolina from Slate Quarry, Ballachulish in 1790.\(^{50}\) Ardnave, the plantation in Cumberland County owned by the Rev. Angus McDiarmid, was named after an area of Islay, his native island.\(^{51}\)

By far the greatest number of placenames of Scottish origin that are to be found in the Highland settlement area in North Carolina are those connected with Highland surnames, a pattern which one also finds in areas of Australia and Canada which were settled by Highlanders in the nineteenth century.\(^{52}\) McDonalds, Buie, and McMillan in Robeson County all derive their names from individuals or families of Highland descent. The former community of Laurinton in Marlboro County and the town of Laurinburg in Scotland County were named for McLaurins. The townships of Stewartsville in Scotland County and McNeills in Moore County were also named for
the respective families who settled in that area. Many present towns in the Upper Cape Fear Valley once had names of this type, but were later changed. The town of Aberdeen was once Blue’s Crossroads, Wagram was once Gilchrist’s, Rennert was once McAlpin’s Grove, and Pembroke was once Campbell’s Mill.

Highland surnames were also attached to features of the landscape. Although there are not many hills in the Highland settlement area, a few managed to get Highland names. Cameron Hill in Harnett County, the place where Flora and Allan MacDonald once made their home, is probably the most famous of these.

The most plentiful features of the landscape associated with Highland surnames, however, are creeks and branches. (A creek is the name for a stream in North Carolina, not as wide or deep as a river. A branch is a small stream that usually runs into a creek.) These creeks and branches were usually named after the settlers who lived along them. Neill’s Creek and Hector’s Creek, in Harnett County, were named for two early settlers in the area, Neill McNeill and Hector McNeill, respectively. Possibly the best known of these creeks is Buies Creek in Harnett County, formally Archie Bule’s Creek. The creek has given its name to the town of Buies Creek, where Campbell University is located. Although the number of creeks in the Upper Cape Fear Valley which were named in this manner is great, the number of branches which were named in this fashion is even greater. In Robeson County alone, you find branches named with twenty different Highland surnames: Campbell, Black, Blue, Buie, Clark, Frazier, Leach, McBride, McColl, McCorquodale, McEachern, McGougan, McKenzie, McKinnon, McLaurin, McLean, McQueen, McRae, Patterson, and Stewart. There are also many ponds named in this manner. Interestingly, two ponds in Robeson County are named for women - Ann McGeachy Pond and Flora McNeill Pond.

In a similar manner, many roads and streets in Carolina are named after descendants of the original Highland settlers. A number of secondary roads maintained by the counties in the Cape Fear Valley have recently been given names which are taken from the names of individuals and families who reside on them. In the city of Fayetteville, many streets have Highland names - from Blue Street, Cameron Road, and Campbell Avenue all the way through the Mac surnames from McAlister to McRae. There are also streets in Fayetteville associated with place-names in Scotland that point to the origin of many of the Highland emigrants, although the names of some are of more recent origin. One finds a Highland Avenue, Argyll Road, Scotland Street, Inverness Road, Lochcarron Drive, and Dunvegan Street. The most indicative for the Highland settlement in Carolina, however, are Jura Drive, Kentyre Street, Isley Street, Arran Circle, and Skye Place.
There is a final placename in the Upper Cape Fear Valley worth mentioning which does not fall into any of the previous categories, but is associated with the Highland settlement. This is the Seventy-first Township in western Cumberland County, which is one of the most thickly populated by Highland descendants in Cumberland County today. According to tradition, it was named for the 71st Highland Regiment, or Fraser’s Highlanders, who served in the American Revolution. The relationship between the Seventy-first regiment and Cumberland County is not clear. The only apparent connection between the two appears to be a short visit that occurred in 1780 after the Battle of Guilford’s Court House. Cornwallis and his army, which included the Seventy-first Highland Regiment, spent about a fortnight in Cross Creek on their way from Guilford’s Court House to Wilmington. While they were there, the Highlanders in Cumberland County offered to bring about 1500 fighting men into the field under Cornwallis and to furnish everything but arms and ammunition, with the stipulation that they would be commanded by their own officers. After about twelve days of negotiation, Cornwallis refused their offer and the Highlanders retired to their homes. With only this brief encounter with the Seventy-first regiment, it is difficult to determine why the Highlanders in North Carolina would name a township after them. It is possible that some of these Highland soldiers returned to Cumberland County after the war to settle, but there is no evidence to support this.

The Highland settlement of North Carolina took a little over one hundred years to complete. It is recorded in oral tradition that Highland emigration occurred prior to the 1730s, although there is no historical documentation at the present time to support this. From its modest beginnings, the colony of Highlanders began to increase rapidly in the years 1768-1775. Highland emigration to North Carolina continued to take place up until shortly before the American War Between the States, although at a somewhat slower pace. While the eighteenth century was the period of Highland settlement in North Carolina, the nineteenth century was to see the great cotton boom and a great out-pouring of the North Carolina Highlanders and their descendants to the newly opened states to the south and west.

Placenames are some of the most durable reminders that a people once inhabited a region. This certainly is true of the Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina. The placenames of Scottish origin that are most plentiful now, however, are not Gaelic descriptive words, or names of places in Scotland, but are derived from Highland surnames.

2. Personal interview with Mable Lovin, February 1990.


4. Some Highland emigrants also settled in other North Carolina counties, although in much smaller numbers. Mention has been found in the literature of families settling in the nearby counties of Chatham, Randolph, Columbus, and Pender as well. The same is true for neighbouring South Carolina counties such as Marion.


7. See section on forest products for a discussion of the turpentine industry.


14. Tar, pitch, and turpentine. See the section on forest products.


17. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.

21. Donald MacDonald, Tape 22A.
22. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.
24. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16A.
25. Personal interview with Ian Fraser, head of the School of Scottish Studies Placename Survey, November 1991.
29. Personal interview with Ian Fraser, November 1991.
33. Oates, p. 31.
34. Henry A. MacKinnon, Jr., *The Robesonian*.
41. Henry A. MacKinnon, Jr., *The Robesonian*.
43. According to Johnston, the placename of Lussa in Mull means "the bright, clear water". James B. Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, (London: John Murray, 1934), p. 245. Therefore, Ardlussa may mean "the height of the bright, clear water".
45. Margaret May, Tape 13B. Powell, p. 335. The original Morvern in Scotland takes its name from the Gaelic A' Mhorbhairn. According to Watson, A' Mhorbhairn comes from muir (sea) and bearn (gap or fissure). He reasons that "sea gap" refers to the great indentation of Loch Sunart which makes Morvern a peninsula and nearly an island. W.J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 123. Johnston claims that Morvern comes from mòr (big) and bearna (cleft or passes). J.B. Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 257.
46. The Gaelic name is Tobar Mhoire, or well of the Virgin Mary, and was Anglicised in Scotland to the present form. Johnston, p. 311.
47. According to Johnston, Bowmore derives from the Gaelic both mòr, or big house. Johnston, p. 113.
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE HIGHLANDS

Although the Catholic Church and the Episcopalian Church played prominent roles in the religious history of Scotland and still remain strong in some areas, while other smaller denominations add to the picture, by the eighteenth century the Presbyterian church order had become dominant in the country. At the time of the first organised Highland emigration to Carolina in 1739, the Argyll Colony, much of Argyll was already staunchly Presbyterian. Until 1770, the majority of the Highland emigrants came from Argyll. The great emigrations to North Carolina from 1770 to 1775 were dominated by people from the Presbyterian strongholds of Skye and Sutherland as well. Although the Anglican Church was the established church in colonial North Carolina, the Presbyterians held firmly to their faith.

The Presbyterian church was governed by ruling elders and teaching elders. The ruling elders were pious men who were elected to the office because of their wisdom and godliness and an elder could be removed by the church if he was deemed unfit for the position. The teaching elders were the clergy who were ordained to preach and administer the sacraments. The ruling elders and the minister made up the church session. The next highest level of church authority and administration was the Presbytery, which was made up of the ruling elders and ministers of a particular geographical region. Above this level of organisation was the Synod, which encompassed a much larger area than the Presbytery. The last and highest level of administration for the Presbyterian church was the annual General Assembly, drawing representatives from throughout the country. In Scotland this encompassed the whole country, namely the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterians required their ministers to be university educated and these ministers usually completed their religious education at one of the great Scottish universities - Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, or St. Andrew's. The Presbyterian ministers came to possess much power and influence in the Highlands of Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After 1745, as the power of the Highland chiefs and tacksmen declined, the position of popular leadership was taken up by the parish minister. Because of the great size of the Highland parishes and the difficulty that travellers faced in getting from one place to another in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, the parish ministers were assisted by itinerant missionaries, catechists, and "The Men", or the ruling elders.1
Since the Presbyterian faith regarded the scriptures as the ultimate source of religious truth, a great emphasis was put on the reading and exposition of the scriptures. Many Scots, especially Highlanders, however, were not literate in the eighteenth century. While there are no accurate statistics for literacy in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, a study published in 1826 called the *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* gives an idea of the level of literacy in part of the west Highlands in the early nineteenth century. This report states that of 22,501 people in seven West Highland parishes, eighty-six percent were not able to read either English or Gaelic. The S.S.P.C.K. or the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge had begun to set up schools in the Highlands early in the eighteenth century, but only a small proportion of the populace could attend. Travel was difficult; and often when would-be scholars wanted to attend they were unable to do so. Consequently, only a few Highlanders were able to read the Bible in English, and even fewer actually understood what the words meant. The New Testament was not published in Gaelic until 1767 and the complete Bible was not published until 1801. For this reason the people were dependent on the Shorter Catechism to teach them the basic tenets of Presbyterian belief. At first ministers were given the task of instructing the populace in the Catechism, a duty which was later assumed by lay catechists. The catechist was called *an ceister* in Gaelic, which literally means the questioner. These lay catechists were either devout church members with an extensive knowledge of the scriptures, students studying for the ministry; or school masters. For example, the famous Gaelic poet Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair or Alexander MacDonald was one of these school master/catechists. Often one member of the family would learn the Catechism and then teach it to the rest. The Highlanders were known for their preference for oral memory, so this was probably a very natural way for them to learn. Before one could become a member of the church and take communion, the Kirk session would first examine him on his knowledge of the Catechism.

The ministers were also assisted in the administration of the church work by the ruling elders, who were the devout, pious male church members. In the Highlands these elders were called "The Men" and along with the minister they comprised the Kirk session. The Men became a type of religious aristocracy in the Highlands, known for their great knowledge of the Scriptures and their propensity to pray. The elders set the example in the parish of righteous living and also were watchful that the other members of the community lived a godly existence, reporting wrongdoers to the session.
The elders played an important role in the Presbyterian evangelical movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with its emphasis on personal religious experience and commitment. It was The Men who often presided over the Fellowship and Prayer meetings held weekly or monthly in the parish.

The Kirk session, comprised of the minister and the elders, exerted a great degree of social control in the Highlands. Civil law was still not developed to any great degree in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, and the Kirk session served as a court trying all sorts of offences like theft, excessive drinking, fornication, and Sabbath infractions. According to Calum Brown, in his *Social History of Religion in Scotland*, the overwhelming majority of cases before 1850 that were brought before the church sessions were for fornication and adultery. Fines were often given for these offences and the money was used for poor relief. The Kirk session would often discipline their members by public rebuke in church as well. The method of this public rebuke varied widely; but often the offenders were subject to "ranting" by the minister on successive Sundays. They could also suspend church membership. Brown reports that this social control by the churches was disintegrating by the 1870's in Scotland, however.

One of basic characteristics of the Highland church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the practice of family worship. The father was seen as the spiritual head of the family and it was his duty ensure their spiritual welfare. Daily devotionals and Bible readings in the home were central to family worship, as they still are in many homes in the Highlands today. Even before the family had a Bible to read from, they would have morning and evening prayers. In Lewis family worship is called *curs cha bh an aoraidh-theaghlach* or just *curs bh an aoraidh*. In other places in the Highlands it is known as *a’ gabhail nan leabhraichean* (taking the books), or simply *gabhail an leabhair* (taking the book).

The Psalms played an important role in Presbyterian worship in the eighteenth century, while religious poetry and hymns were used for family and personal devotions. During the Sabbath services at the church, only psalm singing was deemed proper. The hymns, known in Gaelic as *dàin spioradail* or *lochd an*, were actually religious poetry set to popular secular tunes and were sung at prayer and fellowship meetings as well as in the home. Music and poetry were extremely important to the Gael, and in a society where few could read or write, religious poetry proved an important means of religious instruction.

The eucharist, or the re-enactment of the Lord’s Supper, has been an important part of Christian worship since the very beginning. When religious holidays and festivals were discontinued after the Reformation because of their Catholic
association, the yearly or biannual communion celebration emerged as a festive event and the only real religious holiday on the Protestant calendar. By the eighteenth century, the yearly sacramental season had turned into a type of "holy fair" with people coming from miles around to attend the services which often lasted for a week. Parishes would hold their communion services at different times; although usually in the summer or late autumn. The communion seasons were fixed to coincide with the slack periods in agriculture when there was no planting or harvesting to be done. Sometimes individuals would travel from parish to parish attending other communion services and church members of the parish holding the communion would open up their homes and provide food and accommodation for those attending from elsewhere. At least two other ministers would usually be invited to help with the communion services and they would traditionally reside with the host minister during the length of the sacramental week. The services traditionally ran anywhere from two to six days, with five day communion seasons being the most common. There were often two or more services every day.

The first day of the communion season was designated as a fast day. This was usually Thursday and was observed in the same manner as a Sabbath day; all work ceased, no business was conducted, and all secular activities were discouraged. Church services were held and sermons were preached on confession and penitence. Friday was often reserved for the male fellowship meetings. These meetings were closed at first and only attended by the most devout men, but eventually the meetings became open affairs where the male church members would discuss religious questions. A question would be put to the membership by one of the elders, and everyone would get a chance to expound on the question. On Saturday more sermons were preached and often individuals were examined to determine their worthiness to partake of the sacraments. If a person was deemed worthy of partaking, they received a token on Saturday which they were required to produce on Sunday before they were allowed access to the sacramental table.

The climax of the communion season was on Sunday, when an often lengthy service would take place culminating in the partaking of the sacraments. The first sermon preached on Sunday was called the "action sermon". Then, before anyone was allowed access to the communion table, an address from the pulpit would be given "fencing the table". In the fencing of the table, the minister would delineate the sort of behaviour that would disqualify people from partaking of the sacraments. This would insure that only the pure in heart and deed would be permitted to approach the table. The number of people who would actually partake of the sacraments was usually only a very small proportion of those attending the services. When called to
the communion table, the members would actually sit at a long table and break bread together, passing the bread from one to another as in a meal. The wine was also served in large metal communal cups. When there were large numbers of people taking the sacraments, they would have to allow for additional seatings of the table. The communion season would usually terminate on Monday with a thanksgiving service.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a great evangelical movement swept Scotland. Evangelicals believed in the need for powerful spiritual conversion before one could actually be proclaimed a Christian. The evangelical Presbyterians used the communion seasons as the focus of their activities. The communion gatherings became integrally associated with religious revivals and ministers would strive to win as many converts as possible during the week of services. Although revivals without the focus on communion were introduced to Scotland in the early nineteenth century, revivals continued to be centered on the communion season for many years after.

It was against this background that the religious life of the Highland Scots in North Carolina was set. The Highlanders continued the religious practices that they brought with them in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for many years. Today, the Presbyterian religion among the people of the Cape Fear Valley is one of the strongest reminders of their Highland origins.

6. MacInnes, p. 262.
Highland Presbyterianism in North Carolina

Probably the most enduring cultural trait that the Highland emigrants brought across to North Carolina with them was their strong adherence to the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian form of worship. Nettie McCormick Henly gives a comprehensive description of the religious beliefs of the descendants of the Highland emigrants in late 19th century North Carolina:

The main thing with us was that we were sure of God and the goodness of God. Jesus had died to save us from our sins and we were saved. He ordained everything to be good in the end, though some things seemed hard to bear at the time they happened. All was part of a good plan, for our own good, and we were all taking part in it. The Presbyterian ministers that came to our church were educated men, sometimes from Edinburgh, even. We respected them and looked to them for a good example and leadership, but not especially representatives of God. We felt and believed that God was as close to us as he was to them, yet it made anyone of us feel important to be spoken to personally by the preacher. From them we heard of John Knox, but much more of John Calvin. We treated the church buildings with respect, too, but as places to gather for worship, and no closer to Heaven than anywhere else a decent person might be. We understood well the answer to the Child's Catechism questions "Where Is God?" God was with us everywhere and all the time...We had to memorize the Westminster Catechism, and were proud of being able to say the long words like foreordination, justification, sanctification, but I thought the Bible was easier to understand than some of the catechism explanations. In our homes, the Bible lay on a table in the parlor and nothing could be laid on top of it. When we were baptised as babies, our parents promised as part of that rite, to teach us to read the Word of God. This insured some education even with the poorest of us. We were sure that we believed the Bible from cover to cover, word for word. But when it came to particular parts that seemed to go against other parts, we thought it right in using common sense in understanding them- to fit them into our faith as we need them, which was what the Lord meant us to do. Jesus was a real person, God in man... Heaven and Hell were as real to us as Jerusalem or Paris or any other earthly place we had ever seen. Revival preachers often gave full detailed descriptions of both places, the golden street and the blazing tar pits. Sin was real, caused by letting yourself be tempted by Satan...This was the sinner's own fault, not God's, not his father's or mother's or schoolteacher's, not the big corporations'. With us a sinner was a real person, somebody, not what I hear today called a "maladjusted social organism."...if I had to find two lines of the Bible that show what we lived by every day, I think it would be "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."
To this day the Presbyterian church is still very strong in the Highland settlement area of the state. In fact, up until World War II, the descendants of these emigrants retained many of the religious practices that the original emigrants brought over with them. They also kept close ties with the Church of Scotland.

Family Worship

Although the practice of family worship has all but disappeared in Presbyterian homes today in Carolina, it is still fresh in the minds of some Highland descendants over the age of 60. Donald MacDonald, born in 1926, grew up in Carolina Community, a Scottish settlement in upper Dillon County, South Carolina. Both his parents were descendants of Highland Scots and were staunch Presbyterians. Donald describes family services in his home during his youth:

Whenever Daddy felt like he wanted to have a service - and that would be often....I can just remember we would always as children, we would kneel down on the floor-and he insisted on our kneeling-not just sitting-you couldn't sit and bow your head....and we all knelt around just looking - if you had been sitting on the settee...then you would just get up and turn around and put your backside to the middle of the room and you would be facing the settee and your hands would be on the bed part of the settee - your hands and elbows on there and you would be looking into the back of the settee - of course you were supposed to have had your eyes shut, but many's the time I was just sitting there counting the squares on the back of the settee- cause we were most - a lot of the time we were just simply bored - wishing it would get over. But at the same time it was a wonderful thing to do cause it certainly made us read - we read the Bible and heard the Bible read far more than that way - and beautiful prayers because Daddy could do beautiful prayers.

Mrs. Anna McIver Henderson Parham, born in 1914, grew up in Carolina Community during the 1920’s and 30’s as well, about a mile from Donald MacDonald. Mrs. Parham’s parents were also staunch Presbyterians and they followed the old Highland tradition of family worship. When Anna was growing up, they had what they called their "devotional" every night.

Well, he [my father] would read the Bible and when the children got big enough, one of the children would read the Bible - and then we would all kneel down and he would pray - he’d have prayer.
Martha McLeod of Moore County. Martha’s emigrant ancestor, John McLeod, emigrated to North Carolina in 1775 from Skye. She still lives in a house that John McLeod built.
Mrs. Parham reports that they still have a daily devotional in her house in Dillon County today - a practice that stretches back many generations but is now a rare occurrence in Carolina.

Martha MacLeod, born in 1925, grew up in that same period before World War II. She was raised in and still lives in the house her emigrant ancestor built in Moore County. Because of the physical isolation of the homeplace and the great love for tradition in Martha's family, much of the Scottish culture brought over from Skye by her ancestors survived intact and Martha grew up the recipient of a rich oral tradition. The Presbyterian religion was a strong influence in Martha's home. She describes the family prayer that occurred in her house every night:

"Usually it was just before - well, if it was school time we studied and then after we finished our homework we would have prayer. We were supposed to learn a Bible verse every day and he [my father] would read the Bible and have a prayer, and then we all would say the Bible verses that we supposedly learned, but sometimes we repeated. Then as we got older he would ask us to read it - to take turns reading it."

When Martha's mother was growing up in Moore County, an interesting variation was added to the traditional nightly family worship:

"My grandfather McKay every night read the - before he would read the Bible he read in Burns - and my mother knew almost as much Burns as she did Bible."

Elements of Worship Service

Prayer

The Presbyterian services in Carolina retained the same elements as the Church of Scotland services that the Highlanders had attended before they emigrated. Members of the congregation were often called on to pray in Carolina as was the practice in Scotland. This was often a revered elder, but anyone could be called upon. This close similarity was remarked upon by Donald MacDonald of Dillon County, South Carolina. In 1960, Donald married Marietta MacLeod, a woman from the Isle of Lewis who had grown up in the Free Church. In describing the prayers at Carolina Presbyterian Church in his youth, he compares them to his wife's experience:
In the prayers in church - that was something that Kitty and Marietta [my sister-in-law and wife] always said was exactly the same as they did in the Highland churches - is praying - calling on elders and deacons or anyone in the congregation to pray and the minister would call on them to pray and often he would have never given them any warning. They had always to be ready to stand up and pray. It seemed that amongst the elders that were the older men, it was a feather in their cap if they could pray for a long time. 

Donald also comments on the prayers given by Lauchlan McInnis, a man legendary in Carolina Church Community for his prayers.

Cousin Lauch McInnis - I think he would pray the longest of anybody. He would say this - it would always occur about halfway through the prayer and as children we would remember, we would be listening for that halfway mark. Invariably he would say it and we would know he was halfway through...What he said was this - and I love the play on words..."For we all know that there is none other name under heaven whereby we may be saved - save the name of Jesus." 

Vera McRimmon, who grew up in the Carolina Church at about the same time, also remembers cousin Lauch and his prayers.

Now Cousin Lauch McInnis had almost a standard prayer...Mrs. Arch Henderson was saying one day that Lauch made such a pretty prayer and then her husband said "Well - he's practised that prayer long enough."

The ability to give lengthy, elaborate prayers was much revered in the Scottish Kirk, as it still is in the more conservative denominations in the Highlands. Graham describes this behaviour in eighteenth century Scotland, the time of the great emigration to Carolina:

The clergy of the Revolution, distinguished by unction and pious fervor, had boundless belief in prayer, and great admiration for those who had the gift of praying, which was shown by its fluency, its lengthiness, its holy ardour.

Martha McLeod from Moore County recalls prayers at Bethesda Church in her youth. She could have been describing prayers in many of the churches in the Gaidhealtachd today, where the congregation stands to pray and sits to sing.
We had a minister, a retired minister that was there quite a lot of times and he prayed - they stood up for their prayers and he would pray for half an hour - and I don't know exactly what he said but I got awful tired of standing.

Mrs. Janie McKeithen Harrington of Cameron tells of an experience she had in the 1860's when she went with her teacher to a Methodist church:

I was ten years old before I was ever inside any church but the Presbyterian. I entered the female academy at Carthage and boarded with my teacher Miss Cattie Robertson, afterwards Mrs. Martin MacQueen. On Sunday I went to the M.E. [Methodist Episcopal] church with her, and when the time came to pray I stood up. I looked around, saw everyone kneeling, (they knelt in those days). For a moment I was thunderstruck. Then I quietly knelt down feeling like a criminal, expecting my teacher to reprove me, but she didn't. She knew I was a good Presbyterian.

Gaelic Sermons

As in the Highlands of Scotland today, two church services were often held every Sunday by the Highland Scots in Carolina- one in English and one in Gaelic. The morning service would be in English and the afternoon service would be in Gaelic - or the other way around. Not all the ministers in the Cape Fear Valley Presbyterian churches could speak Gaelic, however. At times churches had to settle for a minister who could not, but a Gaelic speaking minister was preferred. In his book on Laurel Hill and Smyrna Churches, Rev. G.F. Kirkpatrick illustrates this point:

While the Scotch immigrants to the community soon learned to speak English they never ceased to love their native speech, the Gaelic. For many years they insisted on their ministers preaching in Gaelic. It is said that the Red Bluff minister would at the morning service preach a sermon in English in the church, and in the afternoon he would preach in Gaelic at the "Stand". The church simply could not hold all the Scotch who would assemble to hear the gospel in their native tongue.

The Rev. W.D Paisley was called as the first pastor of Union and Buffalo Churches in Moore County in 1799. Although Mr. Paisley was popular with his congregation, he was "hampered in his work by the fact that he could not speak the Gaelic, while many of his people could not understand English. The third pastor at Union and Buffalo, Rev. Murdock McMillan, was called in 1804. Although born in North Carolina, he was very fluent in Gaelic and held two services a day until 1830
when he asked to be dismissed to serve a church in Tennessee. The fourth pastor at Union and Buffalo, Angus McCallum, was not a Gaelic speaker and this distressed some of the congregation since they had had the advantage of a Gaelic speaking minister for the previous 26 years. One of the elders at Buffalo, Duncan McIver, strongly objected to Mr. McCallum’s appointment on the grounds that several families in the congregations who had been members of the church for years would derive no benefit from McCallum’s pastorate due to his inability to preach in Gaelic.

The last regular Gaelic services in Carolina were held by Rev. John Sinclair from Tiree. These regular services ceased after the War Between the States, but Gaelic services were then held irregularly at the Presbyterian churches of the Cape Fear. Douglas Kelly, a minister from Robeson County, North Carolina, describes these services:

Periodically they would have services until about World War One. Somebody would just come through and visit several churches - Union, Bethesda, Euphronia, Barbecue, Bluff, and also sometimes they would have respected lay elders to hold a service. The actual system on which they hired a preacher saying "you be our minister in Gaelic and English regularly" - that broke down about 1860.  

Exactly when the last irregular Gaelic service was held in North Carolina is still uncertain. Although Kelly believes that they were holding services up until World War One, there is no documented evidence of this. The Rev. James MacKenzie, in his book A Colorful Heritage, states that J. Stedman Black preached in Gaelic at Flat Branch and Big Rockfish as late as 1903.

In his spare time J.S. Black translated his sermons into Gaelic for the benefit of those around who spoke it still. I do not know that he ever sweetened the air at Bluff or Barbecue with the dear old language, but he did at Big Rockfish and Flat Branch. He was the last Gaelic preacher in North Carolina.

Psalm Singing and Precentors

The early Presbyterian churches in Carolina carried on the Highland tradition of psalm singing and precenting. When Hugh McAden, a Presbyterian missionary from Pennsylvania, visited the Argyll Colony in 1755 and preached to a group near Longstreet, he reported that the congregation sang the psalms and that they were "the worst singers that he had ever heard." McAden did not speak Gaelic and his lack of
understanding of Highland Psalm singing may account to some extent for his dislike of their singing. Some churches had two precentors, one for the Gaelic service and one for the English service. Rev. John Roberts describes the singing at Union Church:

The precentor and his assistant occupied a bench close up in front of the pulpit facing the congregation. The minister after reading his hymn and repeating the first two lines, sat down. The preceptor's assistant would then pitch the tune and lead the singing. The precentor would take up the hymn at this point and line out the hymn two lines at a time.

Psalm singing was not limited to the Presbyterian churches in Carolina. McNeill describes psalm singing at Spring Hill Baptist Church near Wagram:

We always heard them sing to one tune - a common meter- said to be "Communion"...The individual traits of each singer stood out in bold relief - some fast, some slow- but all indescribably solemn.

Eventually Gaelic psalms were replaced by English hymns, but just when the Gaelic psalms ceased to be sung is difficult to tell. One of the problems is that most of the church histories only mention "hymn" singing. Whether this term "hymn" also includes the psalms is not clear. Whether in English or Gaelic, precentors led the singing in the Highland churches in Carolina until well after the American War Between the States.

Psalm singing may have even been practised in the 1870's and 1880's at Barbecue Church. Sometime after 1870, when Rev. James MacQueen ceased to be the pastor there, a succession of people filled the pulpit, including seminary students. One particular seminary student tried to modernise the services at Barbecue and one sabbath he announced from the pulpit:

From this day forward, there will be no more of these mournful Gaelic psalms sung in this church. Instead we will sing modern hymns, like everybody else, set to good American tunes.

According to MacKenzie, one of the members of the church and his family got up and left. Later on that day, the man was visited by the minister to find out why he had left the service. The man replied:

You may sing those silly little ditties if you wish, but as for me and my house, we will sing the Psalms of David, to the tunes of David, and in the language of David.
At Laurel Hill, the congregation used precentors until 1882, when they obtained an organ.

The first organ was placed in the church in 1882. Before that a song leader, who was called a precentor, led the singing, getting the correct pitch by means of a tuning fork, and singing altogether by shaped notes...We are told that the congregational singing was far better than now, in that a larger proportion of the people entered into this feature of the worship and had a more accurate knowledge of singing by note than is the case today.

Rev. William Lacy, who compiled the history of Buffalo Church, apparently also felt that the singing suffered with the use of a church organ:

In olden times, the precentor would stand beneath the pulpit, lead the music and keep the time in view of the whole congregation. No droning, intervening, often interfering instrument would be used, but only God's chosen instrument of praise, the human voice.

Martha MacLeod remembers hearing about precentors at Bethesda Church, and relates this story that she heard about one:

There's a story - this is was before my time. They told a story about the precentor one time that a - he got up and instead of starting a hymn he said - I don't know whether this is true or not - but it's the story that has come down through the church. He said, "The light is dim I cannot see, I left my specs at home." And they started singing. "Now good friends you've got me wrong I cannot read the words" - and they sang that and that made him mad. He said "I cannot see the words at all, the devil's in you all". And they sang that.

Nettie Henly also reports hearing this same story in Scotland County, North Carolina. Although Martha McLeod heard this story connected with the Old Bethesda Presbyterian Church in Moore County, it appears to be common to both Scotland and Carolina, and indeed can probably be found in Canada as well. An almost identical story was collected in County Londonderry, Ireland by Isobel Reid, an undergraduate student at the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh for a first year Scottish Ethnology project. The informant, Mrs. Kathleen Wright, originally from Kirkcaldy, Scotland had heard the story years ago from a Mrs. Mary Owen from Dundee, Scotland, who used to visit in Mrs. Wright's grandmother's house in Dundee. The following is the story as collected by Mrs. Reid:
One day the precentor got up to start the Psalm, but someone had left a piece of paper on top of his Psalter. His eyesight wasn’t very good and he couldn’t recognise the Psalm, and so he looked at it and... They were going to sing this Psalm to the tune of “French” and they expected the precentor to read the line. So the precentor, not being able see the words of the Psalm, said “Mine eyes are blind I cannot see”; and the congregation sang:

Mine eyes are blind I cannot see.

Meantime the precentor was looking and getting more and more frustrated and he said “I cannot see at all”; and they sang:

I cannot see at all.

He was getting quite annoyed by this time and he said, "You do not understand my words"; and so they sang:

you do not understand my words

And finally in desperation he said "The devil take you all." Mary Owen, telling the story, rocked back and forward and said, "I dinna ken whether they sang it or not, but ae my wasn’t it awfae."27

This story may also be related to the famous old Army song "The Quarter Master’s Store". The song is known worldwide and appears to be to the tune of an old hymn, which further ties it to this precentor story. The chorus to this song goes:

My eyes are dim I cannot see,
I have not brought my specs with me.
I have not brought my specs with me.

Social Control By Churches

Religion was an integral part of the life of the Highlanders who emigrated to Carolina. The church was the central focus of the community, as it still is in many rural communities in Carolina today. Rural communities are still referred to by the church that serves as its central focus. There is the Carolina Community in Dillon County, the Philadelphus Community in Robeson County, and the Hamer-Kintyre Community, named in part for the Kintyre Presbyterian Church in Dillon County.
Religion permeated both work and leisure for the Highlander in Carolina and was not simply limited to Sundays at the church. In Carolina, as in Scotland, the church served as a form of social control in the community and the church session punished those who did not conform to accepted standards of conduct. The old records kept by the Clerks of Session at Highland churches in Carolina are filled with instances of church members being called before the session for misbehaviour. The most common offence seems to have been intemperance with the use of alcohol. It appears to have been permissible to drink alcohol in moderate amounts, but the sin was in overindulging. This overindulgence often led to brawling and fighting, another common offence. Fornication was also a major cause for discipline and in many cases dancing was held in contempt. At the session meeting held at Philadelphus Presbyterian Church in Robeson County on 5th October 1829, it was resolved that:

All members who drink in excess, attend places of public amusement, being concerned with shooting matches or any other species of gambling shall hereafter be suspended from the church for 12 months. After which they may be restored if they show satisfactory evidence of reformation.

The session minutes demonstrate the way in which censure was carried out. For example, the minutes of Philadelphus Church session contain an account of one member of the church who seemed to stay in trouble with the session for his intemperance. According to the minutes, on 2nd June 1829, Malcom McMillan, a ruling elder, was cited by the session for intemperance at the Lord’s Supper and they resolved to form a committee to investigate. On 29th June 1829, the session met again and the committee reported that Mr. McMillan was "sensible of his fault" and was subsequently asked to withdraw as an elder. He received a solemn admonition and professed his desire to do better. He was then struck off the list of elders for the church. Ex-elder McMillan’s temperance did not last long for on 23rd August 1829 he was again cited to appear at the next meeting of the session due to rumours of intemperance and fighting. On 27th September 1829 he appeared before the session and admitted intemperance but denied fighting. Then on 4th June 1831, McMillan again appeared before the session and wished to make an acknowledgement of intemperance. He stated that on the morning of the 26th of May last that he was driving cattle to Fayetteville and the drive was very difficult. When he arrived at Mr. Dugal McKay’s he was very much fatigued and he took a dram which “operated on him too much.” His case was deferred and then postponed several times until 16th
October. At that time he appeared before the session saying that although he had "tasted it", he had not taken too much intoxicating liquor since the time in question. Once again he was admonished and warned. Then, on 8th January 1832, a rumour reached the session that there had been dancing at the home of Malcom McMillan on the evening of 24th November, after the wedding of his daughter. On 27th of May, McMillan appeared to answer the charge. He denied any guilt on the grounds that the dancing had occurred after he had retired to bed upstairs and he produced a witness to testify to this fact.

The church also exerted a certain control through the baptism of children. Fathers were required to be able to answer questions of faith from the catechism before the church agreed to baptise their children. The morality of the father might also come into question when baptism was requested. This would therefore serve as a control on the behaviour of the members, since a child was expected by the community to be baptised. The Scots believed that a baby could not be saved without a name, therefore it was imperative to baptise the child before it died.\(^\text{31}\)

The sessions seem to have rarely meted out any punishment greater than suspension from church membership for a period of months. Where in Scotland fines were imposed for misconduct, it does not appear that monetary sanctions were used much, if at all, in Carolina. In the records of the Carolina Presbyterian Church in Dillon County, SC, there was only one instance recorded of anyone being suspended indefinitely for an offence. This was associated with a fornication case where the woman admitted her guilt but the man continually refused to confess and ask for forgiveness. The man was suspended indefinitely for his obstinacy.

Ministers could also fall under the censure of the church. One of the most tragic cases of church censure occurred in 1841 and involved the minister of Smyrna and Laurel Hill, a Mr. Archibald MacQueen. Mr. MacQueen was a man of great intellect and talents. Before he entered the ministry, he had been trained and served as an attorney at law and a medical doctor. MacQueen was married three times. His first wife was a daughter of a Col. James Stewart, but after Miss Stewart died, he married a Miss Julia McLeod, daughter of William McLeod, an elder at Laurel Hill. Following his second wife's death, he married Miss Mary McLeod, his second wife's sister. There was an article in the Confession of Faith at the time that forbad a man to marry his deceased wife's sister on scriptural grounds. At ordination, all ministers were required to state publically that they accepted the tenets of the Confession of Faith as the teaching of God's word and that they would abide by the principles therein. Mr. MacQueen was aware that his third marriage was in violation of the Confession of Faith, but he was confident that the Confession of Faith was in error.
and that the scriptures did not actually forbid this type of union. Despite a great public outcry, the Fayetteville Presbytery suspended MacQueen from the ministry in 1841 and sent a minister to declare the pulpit of Laurel Hill vacant. They also suspended Mr. MacQueen’s wife from communion for this offence. After an appeal to the General Assembly, the suspension was upheld. There was much strife and bitter fighting in the church and Presbytery for the next few years over this issue. After petitions were signed by hundreds of people, Archibald MacQueen was finally reinstated by the Presbytery as a minister five years later in 1846. He only lived for five years after this, however, and never held another regular pastorate. Years later the clause in question was removed from the Confession of Faith as the scriptures were judged to be too vague on the issue of marrying one’s deceased wife’s sister to warrant leaving it in.

The Catechism and Religious Instruction

As in Scotland, much emphasis was placed on the learning of the Shorter Catechism in religious instruction in North Carolina. According to the Rev. Douglas Kelly, a minister from Robeson County, North Carolina, the Christian Observer used to send out diplomas for catechism. Kelly has his own diploma and many of those belonging to his deceased relatives. He explains that on the Blue side of the family they have been memorising the Shorter Catechism for at least five or six generations. Although they sometimes object, the Rev. Dr. Kelly is now requiring his own children to learn the catechism. Learning the Shorter Catechism has therefore been an unbroken tradition in Kelly’s family since the time of emigration from Scotland until the present day. Most of the older people in the Cape Fear Highland Settlement area remember memorising the catechism and many can still quote from it.

Sabbath Observance

Sunday, the Sabbath day in the Scottish settlement in Carolina, was observed in the same way as in the Highlands of Scotland until very recently. Lauchlin Shaw, from Harnett County, explains that according to the Shorter Catechism, only "works of necessity and mercy" were allowed on the Sabbath Day. All they did was feed the stock.
The food for Sunday dinner was all prepared and laid out on Saturday. The following incident, recalled by Mrs. Annabella McElyea about her grandmother MacQueen, illustrates the strict Sabbatarianism practised by the emigrant Scots in Carolina.

On Saturday afternoon, everything was prepared for the morrow- meal and flour sifted, coffee ground, and chickens killed and dressed for the Sunday dinner. Under no circumstances was the axe ever heard on the Lord's Day. On one occasion some company arrived unexpectedly at the old home on Sunday morning; and my mother, not having any fowl prepared on the previous day, decided to have one killed. Dinner came on, the guests assembled at the table, blessing was asked, and at the proper time my father helped our dear old grandmother to her favourite bit of chicken. I will never forget the look of sorrowful surprise that overspread her features, when, suddenly turning to my mother she quietly asked, "Chattie, was this chicken killed today?" and my mother replied, "Yes, Ma; it was." She instantly laid down knife and fork and refused to touch another morsel of food.53

Everyone went to church on Sunday in the days before World War II and not going to church was unheard of in most families. People would sometimes walk for miles to get to church. The procession to Union Church on a Sunday in former days is described by the Rev. Mr. John Roberts in his history of the church:

On a Sabbath morning along every road as the people grew nearer the church the crowds would be increased in numbers by parties joining them from every by-path along the way. Just before reaching the church grounds they would stop to put on their shoes. These spots were known as "Settin' down places." So universal was this custom that families had certain logs or rocks as their "Settin' down place" and none dared to trespass.54

This practice of carrying the shoes to church was also described by MacKenzie in Colorful Heritage:

Old timers at both Barbecue and Bluff recall carrying their shoes to church and putting them on just before they rounded the last bend in the road...There was a log to sit on - felled for just that purpose.53

Sometimes families would attend one church in the morning and another in the afternoon. After church, the family came home and often relations would come to visit and eat Sunday dinner. If someone was an invalid and could not get to church, their relatives would stop in to visit them on Sunday as well.
Children were not allowed to play outside on the Sabbath and there seems to have also been a particular ban against cutting with scissors as well which many of the older people remember. Lauchlin Shaw of Harnett County relates how Sundays were at his home when he was young:

They was supposed to have been pretty quiet cause they didn’t like boys to be out hollerin' and disturbin' the neighbourhood. They called that "disturbin' the neighbourhood".

Anna McIver Henderson remembers that they were not allowed to do school work on Sunday:

We didn’t do anything on Sunday except pray and read the Bible. We couldn’t study on Sunday...I would get my books and get in a room and cover up so that I could hide what I was reading if they came in.

Donald MacDonald from Dillon County remembers that his father would never punish them on Sunday. If he was acting up in church with his brothers, his father would only glower at them and they all knew what that meant - they would get a "whippin" on Monday. Kitty MacLeod, Donald's sister-in-law, was raised in the Free Church in the Isle of Lewis and according to Kitty, parents in Lewis would not punish their children on Sunday either. They waited until the next day, known in Gaelic as Di-luain a' bhreabain, the Monday of the kicking, to whip them. Kitty explains that this Gaelic term refers to how a child will dance around and kick his feet when he is being given a whipping.

Most of the children of Carolina today would be very upset if they were as restricted in their activities as their grandparents were. Martha McLeod reports that her uncle, a Presbyterian minister, did not let his children read the paper on Sunday. They had to wait till Monday to read the comics.

Although much has changed in the Cape Fear Valley today and the Sabbath is not as strictly adhered to, there are some of the older people who still feel very strongly about keeping the Sabbath holy. Dan McDonald from Moore county relates a recent incident that illustrates this point.

I'm a member of the committee on the ministry for the Presbyterian Church - our Presbytery - and not long ago we visited a church and I will not tell you where, but it's in the area, and they'd had a new minister come in, and they had some trouble. So that's the duty of the committee on the ministry - to go and try to keep peace in the family. So, we went there - the committee assigned to that particular church because they were having this trouble, and the elder was sitting beside me at the round table discussion that night and he was really mad. He was angry. He said to me "How would you like
to come by your church with your manse and find your minister washing his boat and cutting his grass on Sunday?" That minister had come from Florida and he had done the wrong thing - and that was just this year.

Communion Seasons

As in Scotland, Communion services would be held once or twice a year, usually during idle times in the agricultural cycle. R. A. McLeod describes communion season at Longstreet Presbyterian Church:

In those former days it was a custom of people to come there from great distances to attend the Fall and Spring Communion services. It is said that the Elders and other leading members of the church kept on hand several extra coverings or ticks for bed mattresses and when the communion season came they would fill these with wheat straw, and at bedtime they were put down side by side in two of the largest rooms of the house. The men took one of these rooms and the women and children the other. The host always killed one beef and often added two or three muttons. For three and four days these people would dwell together in Christian fellowship hearing the Gospel preached and examining their own spiritual condition.

The communion season at Ashpole Church is described by C.J. McCallum:

In the early years there was a "stand" or an "arbor" near the church for use when the congregation was too large to be accommodated inside. It was always necessary to use this stand on the third Sunday of May, when from time immemorial Spring sacrament has been observed. This was the event of the year for all the Ashpole community. The people came from far and near, in every kind of conveyance available, many of them walking miles to be present. The sacrament itself was always observed in the church. In the earlier years it was customary in Ashpole on communion occasions for the session to give each member in good and regular standing a small metal disk, known as a token. When the elements were passed around only those who had a token were allowed to partake.

Ashpole Church still has some of its communion tokens which are square shaped and stamped with the initials "KS" said to stand for "Kirk of Scotland". Reference is also made to communion tokens in the Sessional records of Smyrna Church as late as 1870.

In former days, the communion goblets in Carolina were very large and were shared by many people. Nettie McCormick Henly describes the communion service at Smyrna Church when she was young, in the 1870's and 1880's.

Communion services were held twice a year- in April and October- instead of quarterly as now. The unleavened bread and wine would be set on a table below the pulpit on a plain white linen cloth - perhaps hemstitched, but
nothing fancier than that. There were no fine laces or embroidery, no flowers, no candles - plain and simple as it was with the first Communion was the way we wanted it. Ladies who were leaders in the church work, in the family of the minister or a leading elder, usually furnished the linen and prepared the elements, I think - always careful to leave a long strip of bread among the small pieces, so that the minister could break it as he said the solemn words, "This is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me." Now they have little cups or glasses for the wine or grape juice, but then the best wine that could be had was served to the congregation in large silver goblets, and every member touched the wine to his or her lips. This was the one time I was glad the women sat separate from the men, most of whom never got all the tobacco juice off their mustaches. A number of women dipped snuff, but they were usually careful to have clean mouths when they went to Communion.

Ashpole Church still has a pewter communion vessel from the old days. The Bluff Church session is in possession of two silver communion goblets that were presented to the Rev. John MacLeod by friends in Edinburgh for use in communion services among the Highlanders in North Carolina prior to the American Revolution in 1776.

One of the most detailed descriptions of the communion services at a Highland Presbyterian church in Carolina in the first half of the nineteenth century was given by Rev. Daniel McGilvary:

The great event of the year was the camp meeting at the Fall Communion. It served as an epoch from which the events of the year before and after it were dated. For weeks before it came, all work on the farm was arranged with reference to "Buffalo Sacrament" - pronounced with a long "a" in the first syllable. It was accounted nothing for people to come fifteen, twenty, or even forty miles to the meetings. Every pew holder had a tent, and kept open house. No stranger went away hungry. Neighbouring ministers were invited to assist the pastor. Services began on Friday, and closed on Monday, unless some special interest suggested the wisdom of protracting them further. The regular order was: A special prayer meeting, breakfast, a prayer meeting at nine, a sermon at ten, an intermission, and then another sermon. The sermons were not accounted of much worth if they were not an hour long. The pulpit was the tall old-fashioned box-pulpit with a sounding-board above. For want of room in the church, the two sermons on Sunday were preached from a stand in the open air. At the close of the second sermon, the ruling elders, stationed in various parts of the congregation, distributed to the communicants the "tokens", which admitted them to the sacramental table. Then, in solemn procession, the company marched up the rising ground to the church, singing as they went:

"Children of the Heavenly King,
As ye journey sweetly sing."

It was a beautiful sight, and we boys used to climb the hill in advance to see it. When the audience was seated, there was a brief introductory exercise. Then a hymn was sung while a group of communicants filled the places about the communion table. There was an address by one of the ministers, during the progress of which the bread and the wine were passed to the
group at the table. Then there was singing again, while the first group retired, and a second group took its place. The same ceremony was repeated for them, and again for others, until all communicants present had participated. The communion service must have occupied nearly two hours.

Cary MacLeod, from Moore County North Carolina, remembers hearing stories about the Communion week at Union and Bethesda Churches and the preparatory services associated with these:

That used to be a kind of a - they had what you call preparation services, which was held on - it might start on a Wednesday sometimes if I understand it right - it might be an all week meeting. But a lot of times it was just on Saturday - what you called Saturday preparation service. You need to show up there and get your token so you could take Communion. The tale is told a few years ago whenever Mr. Martin MacQueen was preacher. I presume he served Bethesda at one time, but anyway I know he was down there and they were havin' a preparation service. Captain Archie Ray, who I presume was an elder in the Bethesda Church, didn't make it to the preparation service. He was enjoying his wine and cider he was makin'. He had a lot of grape vines and apple trees. Kind of a red-faced fellow and drinkin' quite a bit. Red hair too, and drinkin' a little bit it was even redder. Martin MacQueen was the preacher that was ridin' his buggy. He could see along that road. It's a long stretch down there where the McDonald place what it is now. He could see him sittin' on the porch down there and realised he was, had been drinkin' right well and was drunk really. I guess you might say he was feelin no pain up on his porch; and he (MacQueen) decided he - he could see him- ridin' that buggy and the wheels grindin' in the sand goin' kind of slow and he (MacQueen) had time to think about what he was going to say to him to shame him about not showin' up. He said, when he got up to where he could talk to him he stopped and told him - he says, "Well, Captain Archie Ray, I see you didn't make the preparation service". And he answered back, "Well, eh, uh, eh, it don't take me long to get ready." The communion season was observed in the Cape Fear Highland Presbyterian Churches for some time after the Highlanders emigrated. There do not appear to be any records that help to determine when the communion week itself ceased to be observed, but at least Saturday preparatory services are within living memory and ended in Carolina as late as the Second World War. Mrs. Marie Williamson Glenn, historian for the Kintyre Church in Dillon County, remembers that they had Saturday preparatory services when she was young. She reports that they discontinued this practice after World War II in the 1940's due to lack of attendance. Apparently the Saturday preparatory services at that time were not compulsory. Douglas Kelly also reports that he remembers his father saying that they had Saturday preparatory services at Union Church in Moore County when he was young.
Although the Communion season eventually disappeared in the Carolinas, it was replaced by another two church events - the series of services or summer revival and the meeting of the Presbytery. The revival grew out of the evangelical movement that swept the Southeast in the early 1800's. Although the revivalists at first used the Communion season as a focus for their activities, the series of services or "summer revival" survived long after the Communion season was done away with.

The behaviour of the people at these early evangelical revival meetings in the nineteenth century was quite different from Presbyterian practice now. Angus McCallum, an elder in the Ashpole Church at the time of the great revival of 1802 describes this behaviour:

I was greatly astonished to see the exercises of the body; to see perhaps the third or fourth of the congregation being on the ground or on the floor, praying and crying for mercy, mourning and confessing their sins. They appeared to be in earnest, and young converts here and there throughout the congregation leaping and praising God for redeeming love; old Christians praying and rejoicing; others standing and looking on with amazement.

The series of services are still going on today in the Upper Cape Fear Valley, although the participants are much more restrained. Russell Lee, in his history of Mt. Carmel Church written in 1982 states:

Each year in the fall, the Mt. Carmel Church holds a week of special services called revivals. Former pastors, friends of the church, and others are invited to preach.

Donald MacDonald of Dillon County remembers the "big meetings" or revival services held at his church for a week every July. He describes these revival services in his youth:

Every summer we would have...it was a revival service - a series of revival services - a whole week. There would be morning services at about eleven and evening services about seven-thirty or eight and it was in the middle of the summer. It was right after the laying-by time. Now laying-by time would occur round about my birthday - between July 10th and 20th...They literally "laid-by" the cotton. By that they meant that they would plough it one more time and bank it...and the ploughing would literally be over for the summer...By mid-August you'd start picking the cotton...It would of have been no good to have had a revival in the middle of June when everybody was so busy at their work - they couldn't have gone to it.

MacDonald goes on to describe the services that were held in the evening:
One of my abiding memories is of the night—the nights were so hot and so warm and so still... I can remember now the lights. We had what they called a Delco battery engine. It was in the back where the pulpit is... It was right behind where the Sunday school rooms are now. The electric lights were powered from these Delco batteries. When the Delco engine hadn’t been run for a long time, the batteries would start losing their power—and the lights would start fading—and the lights would get dimmer and dimmer and dimmer and finally they would get so dim they would just go out... There would be some nights during the revival when the lights would be quite dim. The windows would have been heisted high. Every one of them would have been up and people would be fanning... The paper fans that they had in the church—they were presented to the church by funeral homes in the area—either in Dillon or Bennettsville or Laurinburg or places like that—and they always advertised funerals and funeral homes. You just sit there fanning yourself with these paper fans. Sometimes the women would have Palmetto fans made from the Palmetto leaves—Palmetto fronds.

Lauchlin Shaw of Harnett County remembers the revivals in the Flat Branch Community:

They used to have what they called series of services—about a week of that. That was when I was a boy right on up until I was grown... generally in the summer, no particular date. Might be one year be in June and maybe the next one be July. See back then there was a little leisure time about that time of year— till people got into tobacco and then there was no let up to that at all.

Another religious event that replaced the Communion season was the bi-annual meeting of the Presbytery. Nettie McCormick Henly describes these meetings:

Presbytery was held in turn by all the churches able to have it, April and October. Some of the smaller churches were too poor and their buildings too little. Smyrna, Laurel Hill, Centre and Laurinburg were the ones in our section to have it... When the Presbytery was held at Laurinburg, it was a big time for all of us. Preachers and ruling elders would come from all over the Fayetteville Presbytery—sometimes with their wives. Members would have to take the visitors to their homes for the length of the meeting, Sunday-to-Sunday, eight days, as public accommodation was unheard of. Even after hotels came, no church could allow such a blot on its hospitality as to allow presbytery visitors to go to a hotel. All the ladies had to get something new to wear—we would be powerful dressed up for Presbytery. This is the only season that mattered at all about clothes. New clothes for Easter were worn only if Easter fell during the April Presbytery... Presbytery meant a picnic dinner every day in the oak grove downhill from the church. The week before, we cooked up two or three hams and a dozen or two cakes of all kinds, and each Presbytery day from sunup till time to go we cooked pies, chickens, eggs, biscuits, potatoes, and stripped our shelves of pickles, preserves and jellies. The ministers and elders had their business meetings, and a different preacher, sometimes two or three, would preach each day. These were not loud and rousing like revival meetings held by other churches, but the effect of the continuous preaching, the week...
long contact with many deeply religious people, and the hospitality of the spirit as well as of the picnic tables freshened up our religious feelings, and drew us closer to our faith, gladdened and satisfied us.

An American innovation to the religious calendar in the Cape Fear Valley Presbyterian Churches is the "ingathering". These meetings were usually held once a year and helped the church to raise money. Originally the ingathering was in the Autumn and the farmers would tithe at this time with a tenth of their produce. Donald MacDonald of Dillon County describes the ingathering at Carolina Presbyterian Church in his youth:

All it is, it's a harvest home, at harvest time...The ingathering was bringing the produce to the church - the produce of the farms - and giving it to the church. It was paying your church dues in kind rather than in cash. In the old days, in Daddy's generation, they tithed. They gave a tenth of their income to the church. The way that the farmers would give that tenth would be that they would give enough that would make up a tenth in cotton bales. At the day of the ingathering, which later became the homecoming, the whole front yard or front grounds in front of the church building was covered with cotton bales. It was very picturesque. They had these cotton bales lined up one beside the other and they used them as a table. You'd have about twenty or thirty cotton bales all lined in a straight line and lying flat on the ground - and you know the size of the cotton bale was like the height of a table. They would just spread sheets or table cloths over that and they became one long table - and everybody came and spread the food out on that and after the church service they ate. They were every year - generally around Armistice Day on November 11th.

They are still holding ingatherings at the churches in the Cape Fear Valley today. These are in the form of bazaars and suppers aimed at raising money for the church.

Many of the elements of Presbyterian worship that set it apart from other faiths in Carolina have now disappeared. In the nineteenth century, Presbyterian religious belief and practice in Carolina was similar to the beliefs and practices of the Free Church of Scotland in the Highlands today. The Presbyterian churches in Carolina witnessed a gradual shift towards a more liberal approach to religion during this century, however, and now their beliefs and practices are little different from the Methodist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, and the more progressive Baptist churches in Carolina.

2. Donald F. MacDonald, (SF 1988/1 A) See the section on prayer for a more detailed discussion on the practice of extemporaneous prayer in Scotland and among the Scots in North Carolina.

3. Anna McIver Henderson Parham, Tape 17A.

4. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5A.

5. MacLeod, Tape 5A.

6. Donald F. MacDonald, Tape SF87.05.B2.

7. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF87.05.B3.

8. Vera MacRimmon, Tape 1A.


10. Martha MacLeod, Tape 14A.


12. Kirkpatrick, p. 35.


14. Douglas F. Kelly, Tape 2A.


17. For examples of Highland Psalm singing and extensive notes on the practice by Miss Morag MacLeod of the School of Scottish Studies, see the record *Gaelic Psalms From Lewis*, Scottish Tradition. Series, No. 6, Tangent Records, TNGM 120, 1975.


22. See section on music for information on shape note hymns.


25. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5A.


32. Dougals Kelly, Tape 2B.

33. MacElyea, p. 21-22.

34. Roberts, p. 10.


36. This may be an extension of the ban on cutting one's hair or nails on Sunday that was practised in Scotland. Margaret Fay Shaw mentions this practice in South Uist in Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist, 3rd ed. (1955; Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press), p. 13.

37. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.

38. Anna McIver Henderson Parham, Tape 17B.


40. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16B.


43. MacCallum, p. 13.

44. Kirkpatrick, p. 34.
45. Henly, pp. 118-119.
47. Cary MacLeod, Tape 9A.
49. Kelly, Tape 2A.
52. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF87.05.04.
53. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF87.05.04.
54. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.
55. Henly, pp. 115-117.
56. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF87.05.010.
Besides family worship, the Highland emigrants established churches in order to worship collectively. At first this public worship would take place in private homes and taverns. Three of the earliest churches, Longstreet, Barbecue, and Bluff Presbyterian Churches began in this manner. In more remote places, church services were held outside under the trees. These outdoor services were often held at the cross roads accessible to many people. The Rev. G.F. Kirkpatrick gives evidence of the use of outdoor stands:

Doubtless the first house of worship that old Red Bluff used was a "stand and arbor." These stands were numerous in the early days of this country. There were no roads worthy of the name and means of transportation were slow and tedious; so in neighbourhoods that were some distance from the church the people would erect brush arbors and ministers would come there and preach.

These outdoor stands used for preaching were also common in Scotland and in what is now Canada. Outdoor preaching had a special significance to Scottish Presbyterians, as it harked back to the days of illegal conventicles held at remote gathering places during the covenating period when the Episcopal Church was the only recognised denomination in Scotland.

Eventually the first log churches were built, often at the same location as the outdoor services or close to the houses where services were held. When Flora MacDonald lived in North Carolina and attended Barbecue Church, it was no more than a simple log building. These log churches often served as a local school house as well. The log churches eventually gave way to frame churches, and as the congregations grew, these frame churches were eventually replaced by bigger frame structures. Nettie McCormick Henly, from Scotland County, describes the churches in the mid nineteenth century:

All the churches were of wood - a few of them painted white, many not painted at all. They were all built about the same, a sort of big barn with a steeple belfry rising from the roof at the front, centered or at one corner. The steeple point was usually a plain rod, never a weather vane like you see on some Yankee churches. You would hardly think anything as changeable as a weathervane belonged on a house of God. There was never a cross either, for that sign belonged to the Roman and English Churches.....At the back of the church a little chimney would
rise for the stove. So, with the big steeple in front and the little chimney perking up behind, the churches sort of reminded me of a broody hen sitting on a nest."

Mrs. Annabella McElyea describes the first frame building at the site of Smyrna Church, built in 1837 -

I recollect quite distinctly the plan and the formation of the old church. It was a large, plain, wooden building, sharp roofed, minus any softening curves within or without, and no Sunday school room or any kind of annex whatever. There were four doors, two at each end; and between the two front doors, stood the pulpit, highly elevated by an exceedingly tall platform, underneath which was a closet with a lock and key wherein were deposited the church books, papers, etc. I can not give its dimensions, but the pews were very long and very thickly set. A tier of seats in the rear were set apart for the coloured slaves, divided from the front by a railing.

The seating pattern in the Cape Fear Valley Presbyterian churches may also have been a cultural artifact brought to North Carolina from Scotland. Kitty MacLeod, who grew up in the 1920s in Ness, Isle of Lewis, remembers the sexes sitting separately in the Free Church of Scotland in Lewis when she was young. This apparently ancient practice, which may have had its roots in Judaism, was found in other Calvinist sects on the European continent as well. In North Carolina, prior to World War II, the men in at least some of the Presbyterian churches in the Cape Fear Valley sat on one side of the church and the women and children sat on the other. Some of the older residents in the Highland settlement in Carolina still remember this seating pattern. The old churches had two doors - one for the men and one for the women, and this can still be seen at some of the older churches like Longstreet and Big Rockfish. Other old churches like Ashpole and Carolina have been modernised and changed their entrance to one large central door. Originally, there were partitions running the length of many of the old churches separating the men and the women. At Kintyre Church in Dillon County, the partition went from the floor to the height of the pews. These partitions were taken out in the 1940's when the young people of the church began to marry non-Presbyterians. Janie McKeithen Harrington, in a letter written in the 1860's, describes Old Union Presbyterian Church in Moore County and the seating:

The pulpit was between the two front doors, and mounted by six steps. In front of the pulpit was a low platform enclosed by a railing. In this place sat the "Precentors" or the men who led the singing, S. E. Johnson and J. M. Ferguson. The whole length of the church was divided by two
railings separating the men from the women. If by chance some young people could get next to that railing and sing from the same book, it was something pleasant to think of the next few weeks.

Mrs. Nettie McCormick Henly describes the seating in the Presbyterian church in Laurinburg around 1880 in *The Home Place*:

> When I first started to go to church, the women sat on the left as we entered, the men on the right. Sometimes newly married couples would sit together on the women’s side. If a young man took his girl to church, he might sit with her on the women’s side, but a woman never sat on the men’s side. Children might sit on either side, depending on which parent they were with, but if both parents were there, the girls sat with their mothers and the boys with their fathers.

According to Janie McKeithen Harrington, however, men never sat on the women’s side of the church at Old Union. Once she had a young man come down to visit from Raleigh and he went to church with her and sat with her. One of the men in the church sent a message to the young man telling him to “go back to Raleigh and stay there until he learns some sense.”

Mrs. Henly, who was born in 1874, mentions that the pews in her church were new in her day. Before that the congregation sat on benches without backs, which supports the fact that in previous days it was not considered right to be comfortable in church. The earliest churches had no heating for this same reason.

In the eighteenth century, the slaves sat with the family during services and looked after the children and the very old. In the early nineteenth century, however, slave galleries became incorporated into the design of many of the larger church buildings. The slave gallery was a balcony in the sanctuary that was often accessed through an outside door. Therefore, the slaves entered through a different door from freemen. The history of Laurel Hill Church mentions these galleries:

> During Slavery days and for a number of years afterwards the coloured people occupied the south gallery of the church... To give them ready access to the south gallery there was a flight of stairs leading down from it to an outside door.

At Laurel Hill and many other Presbyterian churches, after the emancipation of slaves, Blacks continued to sit in the gallery when they attended services. Eventually, however, the churches founded by the Gaels lost most of their Black membership to their own separate Black churches. The slave gallery continued to be used by the Blacks who drove the carriages for white employers and it also sometimes functioned
as a nursery for the children with the Black "mammies" minding the young ones. In 1936, C.J. McCallum reports that a number of the old Black members and their descendants were still attending Homecoming every May at Ashpole Presbyterian Church. 11

Often there were outdoor "stands" and brush arbours on the grounds of the frame churches as well, which were used on special days when they had unusually large crowds. This is a practice that the Highlanders brought with them to Carolina. In Scotland, however, the outdoor stands were known as "tents".12 The Rev. R.A. McLeod describes the outdoor stand or "tent" at Long Street:

......there was at one time a stand in the grove where overflow crowds gathered to hear a sermon by the pastor or some visiting brother. This stand was a simple little structure with a floor some three or four feet from the ground and a roof to cover the minister.13

Because of the large crowds, communion services were often held outside, although the communicants would file inside the church building itself to receive the sacraments. This was true for Smyrna Church:

These stands were not only built in communities where there were no houses of worship, but most of the churches had an arbor nearby to be used at communion seasons when the church building was too small to hold the crowds that would assemble.14

Compare the description of the outdoor stands in Carolina to the ones still in use in Scotland this century:

In fine weather the services are held in the open when the churches cannot accommodate the crowds that come a long distance to worship...Some sheltered dell is chosen and a wooden kiosk serves as a pulpit from which the preacher addresses a congregation seated on stone ledges, rocks or improvised seats of plank, ing, places on stones, or merely squatting on the grass or heather.15

Old Bluff Church, Big Rockfish, Old Bethesda, Ashpole, and Longstreet Church were all built not long before the War Between the States and all are magnificent structures, complete with slave galleries. The architecture of these churches reflects the prosperity of the Cape Fear Highland Community at the time they were built.
Gradually, these frame churches began to be replaced by brick structures, a process which is still ongoing. Big Rockfish is still using their old building today, as well as Ashpole. The congregations at Bluff Church and Bethesda Church, however, have both moved into new brick structures. Longstreet Church was taken over by the United States government in 1918 and is now located within the Fort Bragg Military Reservation. Its membership was absorbed by other churches, as many of the people in the Longstreet community were forced to move as well.

Highland Congregations

It is difficult to determine which was the earliest Highland Presbyterian congregation in Carolina. There were certainly groups of people meeting regularly for worship even before they organised as churches. The only formal proof of the age of a congregation, however, comes from the date at which they officially organised. The earliest churches for which there is evidence in the Upper Cape Fear Highland settlement were Bluff, Barbecue, and Long Street in Cumberland County. These churches, along with Black River and Brown Marsh, served as the nucleus for all the churches in the Fayetteville and Wilmington Presbyteries. Raft Swamp in Robeson County was established very early as a preaching point, although they did not organise until later. Churches in the Robeson, Hoke, and Scotland County area later drew on Raft Swamp for their membership.

It is not certain when the Black River congregation came into existence, since their records were destroyed by fire. According to oral tradition, the first log church building connected with this congregation was constructed in 1740, which could make it the earliest church building in the settlement. A number of supply ministers and missionaries occasionally preached at Black River over the years, but they did not call their own minister until 1790.

The three churches of Bluff, Barbecue and Longstreet were associated with each other for many years. These three churches served as the nucleus for many of the Presbyterian churches in Cumberland, Moore, Harnett, and Lee Counties. The churches of MacMillan, Godwin, and Dunn were all formed by members of Bluff Church. The membership of Barbecue was greatly responsible for setting up Mt. Pisgah, Cypress, and Buffalo. Longstreet Church served as the nucleus for many churches, including Galatia, Cypress, and Sandy Grove. It also contributed to the charter membership of McPherson, China Grove, Bethel, Bethesda, Union, and Buffalo.
Frontal view of the Longstreet Presbyterian Church, located in Cumberland County on land that is now within the Fort Bragg Military Reservation. The Longstreet congregation was one of the oldest in the Cape Fear Valley and served as the mother church for many Presbyterian churches in the surrounding area. This particular structure was erected from 1845-1848. The church was taken over by the United States Army in 1923, who still care for the building and the grounds.
Interior view of the Longstreet Presbyterian Church. The pulpit was located between the two front doors and faced the back of the church. The balcony can be seen in the upper right corner of the picture. This balcony was probably used for seating slaves and was entered from two outside doors at the rear of the church. There is a indentation in the front of the pulpit where the precentor may have sat. The minister in the pulpit is the Rev. Mr. John McLeod, the nephew of R. A. McLeod, the last minister to serve Longstreet Church.
Old Bluff Presbyterian Church in Harnett County. The Bluff congregation is one of the oldest in the Cape Fear Valley. This particular structure was erected about 1858. It resembles the Longstreet Church, with the many windows and two front doors. The access doors to the balcony appear to be on the front of the church, however, instead of the rear. This structure is only used for homecomings and special occasions, since the congregation now worships in a more modern building in the nearby town of Wade.
Laurel Hill Presbyterian Church in Scotland County. The present building was built prior to the War Between the States and is still being used for regular worship. The Old Scotch Fair was held very close to this spot.
Raft Swamp Church was located in Robeson County in what is now Hoke County, about five miles west of Red Springs. The church was officially organised in 1789, but there had been services held there since about 1750. Hugh McAden preached there during his missionary ride through Carolina and the Rev. James Campbell preached at Raft Swamp regularly. There were services held at Raft Swamp until 1833, when the name of the church was changed to Antioch and the church itself moved to a location several miles north of Red Springs. Seven churches grew out of the old Raft Swamp church: Antioch, Philadelphus, Centre, Rockfish, St. Pauls, Ashpole, and Laurel Hill. Although some are gone now, the following is a list of most of the early Highland Presbyterian congregations in the Cape Fear area:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>ORGANISED</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbecue</td>
<td>Harnett County</td>
<td>1758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longstreet</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluff</td>
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<td>1758</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black River</td>
<td>Sampson County</td>
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<td>Brown Marsh</td>
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<td>South River Chapel</td>
<td>Bladen County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mt. Carmel</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1776</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>Hoke County</td>
<td>1776</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raft Swamp</td>
<td>Robeson County</td>
<td>1789</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bethesda</td>
<td>Moore County</td>
<td>1790</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1796</td>
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<td>Ashpole</td>
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<td>Laurel Hill</td>
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<td>Centre</td>
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<td>Union</td>
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<td>1797</td>
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<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Galatia</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cypress</td>
<td>Moore County</td>
<td>1830</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>Hoke County</td>
<td>1833</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mt. Pisgah</td>
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<td>1835</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mineral Springs</td>
<td>Moore County</td>
<td>1835</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smyrna</td>
<td>Scotland County</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bensalem</td>
<td>Moore County</td>
<td>1838</td>
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<tr>
<td>Big Rockfish</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1844</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montpelier</td>
<td>Scotland County</td>
<td>1852</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandy Grove</td>
<td>Hoke County</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iona</td>
<td>Robeson County</td>
<td>1870</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flat Branch</td>
<td>Harnett County</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipi</td>
<td>Hoke County</td>
<td>1886</td>
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The Presbyterian Churches in upper South Carolina were included in the Orange Presbytery until about 1840. Some of the early churches in this area were Red Bluff, organised before 1802; Little Pee Dee, organised in 1828; and Carolina Presbyterian, organised in 1848.

After Highland surnames, the Presbyterian churches are probably the most obvious reminder of the huge Highland emigration to North Carolina that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One must not forget, however, that some Highlanders were not Presbyterians. As will be seen in the section on Highland clergy, some of the Highlanders were Baptists and others Methodists. There may have been others who attended Episcopal churches as well, but we have no record of Gaelic services at Episcopal churches. Due to the fact that North Carolina was originally a Protestant colony, few Catholic Highlanders chose to emigrate there. The few that did emigrate to Carolina usually joined the Presbyterian Church.

The Highland churches in the Cape Fear Valley have not forgotten their origins. Worshippers at Barbecue Presbyterian Church in Harnett County to this day are greeted with Ceud Mìle Fàilte on the sign outside the church. Some of the grand old churches have closed now and others only have a fraction of their original numbers on the rolls. The decline of these Highland emigrant churches is related to the general decline in population within the rural farming areas of the United States.

2. The construction of the outdoor stands is described below.

3. Henly, p. 113.

4. Kirkpatrick, p. 35.

5. Personal interview with Kitty MacLeod, March 1991.

6. Personal interview with Marie Glenn, Historian at Kintyre Church, November 1989.


9. Kelly, p. 44.


13. R. A. MacLeod, *Historical Sketch of Long Street Presbyterian Church*, (Sanford, NC: Cole Printing Co., 1923), p. 15. In Scotland these stands were known as "preaching tents".

14. Kirkpatrick, p. 34.


18. Dail, p. 4.


22. MacLean, A., p. 482.

23. MacLean, A., p. 484.

24. Although Smyrna Church was officially formed in 1836, the congregation was much older. Red Bluff Church in Marlboro County, South Carolina, which was formed in the eighteenth century, dissolved itself and moved their congregation to North Carolina to form Smyrna.
RULING ELDERS AND CLERGY

The Presbyterian ministers and elders in North Carolina played a central role in the life of the Highland community in North Carolina. They were much respected and loved by the people and were the focus of religious life in the community. In this sense they were little different than their counterparts in Scotland. Any account of the Highland settlement in the Cape Fear Valley should include a discussion of these important men who had such influence and were accorded so much respect by the Highland emigrants and their descendants.

Ruling Elders.

As in the Highlands of Scotland, the elders or "The Men" in the Highland settlement of Carolina played an important part in the religious life of the people. Due to the scarcity of Presbyterian ministers in the Highland settlement area, elders were called upon to perform many of the functions usually carried out by them. These elders often displayed the qualities and skills of a good minister but lacked the education to become ordained. Presbyterians insisted that their ministers be university trained, in contrast to the Baptists and Methodists in Carolina.

Before the Highland congregations acquired ministers and whenever a church was without a regular pastor, services were held under the leadership of the lay elders. The Rev. John K. Roberts, in his history of Union Presbyterian Church, states:

I am satisfied in my own mind, after a careful consideration of the traditions as well as of a more intimate knowledge of the devout character of the early Scotch, that from the beginning of each settlement religious services were held at some convenient point, under the leadership of elders. At irregular times they would be able to secure the services of a preacher who would administer the baptisms and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

At Barbecue church, four of the elders were actually referred to as the "little ministers of Barbecue"—Gilbert Clark, Duncan Buie, Archibald Buie, and "Hill" Daniel Cameron. There appears to be some disagreement however on how they received this epithet. Some are of the opinion it was because of their piety, knowledge of the Bible and the fact that they often held services in remote areas without ready access to a church. Another tradition has it that they received this name
because they had a propensity to meddle in the affairs of others. Both of these were probably true, as an additional function of the ruling elders in Carolina as well as in Scotland was to keep a close watch on the behaviour of church members.

In the eighteenth century, Presbyterian ministers were never very plentiful in the Highlands of Scotland or in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina alike. One Presbyterian minister often served the pulpit of several Carolina churches concurrently. This was a common practice at the time because there was a scarcity of what the Scots considered good ministers and it was also more economical for several churches to share the burden of the minister’s salary. The Rev. James Campbell, the first Presbyterian minister in the area, was called to Bluff, Barbecue, and Longstreet concurrently in 1758. Buffalo, Union, and Bethesda churches were grouped together at one time as well as Ashpole, Laurel Hill, Red Bluff and Centre. This sharing of ministers is still in wide practice in the rural areas of Carolina today. For example, Carolina Presbyterian Church and Clio Presbyterian church, South Carolina churches in the Cape Fear Highland Settlement, were still sharing a minister in 1990.

In addition to their regular pastorates, ministers also served on an irregular basis as supply to congregations without a pastor. These supply ministers would travel to remote areas and preach, baptise, and administer the sacraments. In this manner the Presbytery endeavoured to serve all the congregations within their area.

Gaelic Speaking Ministers from Scotland

The Highland emigrants who formed the group called the Argyll Colony that went out to Carolina in 1739 tried very hard to find a Presbyterian minister to accompany them on their voyage. On February 27, 1739, the members of the Argyll Colony petitioned the Presbytery of Invereray for the services of one Rev. Robert Fullerton of Glassary. Fullerton was a Gaelic speaker who was related by marriage to the MacNeills in the Argyll settlement. At the time of the petition, Fullerton was unhappy with his situation in Glassary and was involved in a dispute with the heritors involving his lack of support. Whether Fullerton really wanted to go to Carolina or whether he was only using the Argyll Colony as a bargaining tool with the heritors of Glassary Parish is unclear. The heritors eventually agreed to redress his grievances and prevented Fullerton from accepting the call from the colonists.
In April 1740, the Rev. Robert Fullerton again appears in the Presbytery of Invereray minutes as the heritors had failed to keep their promises and he once again was threatening to leave. Yet again the heritors appear to have appeased Fullerton, for he continued in his post at Glassary until his death in 1762.4

Since the colonists had been so unanimously in favour of the appointment of Fullerton, they did not have any alternate candidates. Furthermore, there was not enough time to look for another minister. The Argyll Colony therefore sailed in the summer of 1739 without a member of the clergy.

There were ministers living and preaching in North Carolina in the eighteenth century, but they were deemed unsuitable as they were either not Presbyterians or they spoke no Gaelic. For this reason the Highland emigrants had a difficult time obtaining a minister. The Argyll Colony continued to petition the Synod of Argyll hoping that the synod would take notice of their plight and send someone out to them. They also petitioned the SSPCK to help finance a pastorate. The SSPCK, however, decided to wait to see if the colony was a success before supporting a minister. The bureaucratic shuffling went on for years with no minister forthcoming.

The Highlanders of the Cape Fear had failed time and again in their attempts to secure a minister from Scotland. They now turned their attention to the Synod of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. After many pleas for assistance, the Synod finally sent a missionary in 1755 to visit them on his rounds through Carolina and Virginia. This man was Hugh McAden and he arrived in the Cape Fear Highland settlement in January 1756. On 25th January, 1756, he preached a sermon at the home of Hector McNeill, near where the Old Bluff Church stands today. Unfortunately, McAden was of Scotch-Irish descent and having no Gaelic, he was forced to preach to the Highlanders in English. McAden reported in his journal that there were some who came to hear him preach that scarcely understood a word that he said.5 The following Thursday he preached near the Long Street Church but he was rather disappointed. McAden reports in his journal:

Preached to a small congregation, mostly Highlanders, who were very much obliged to me for coming and highly pleased with my discourse, though alas I am afraid it was all feigned and hypocritical.5

That night the Highlanders had kept him from sleeping with their drinking and revelry.

McAden was convinced by his missionary trip south that the Highland Scots in Carolina were in need of a minister. He was acquainted with a Rev. James Campbell, a Gaelic speaking minister from Scotland who was attached to the Philadelphia
Presbytery and was pastor to a congregation in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. According to tradition, McAden convinced James Campbell to go to Carolina to minister to the Gaels there.

James Campbell

The Rev. James Campbell was born in Campbelltown, Kintyre around 1700. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in about 1730 and became associated with the Presbytery of Philadelphia in May 1739. Campbell left his pastorship in Pennsylvania to come to North Carolina in about 1757. At first Campbell probably preached at his own residence, but later regular meeting points for services were established. Three of the main points were at Bluff, known then as "Roger McNeill’s meeting house"; at Longstreet, which was called MacKay’s; and at Barbecue, which was known as "Clark’s meeting house." The congregation at Barbecue met at John Dobbin’s Ordinary [Inn] as well. In 1758, elders were selected in these congregations and the first three Highland Presbyterian churches in North Carolina were founded. The elders at Bluff, Long Street, and Barbecue jointly issued a call to Rev. James Campbell to be their minister on October 18, 1758.

James Campbell preached one Sunday a month at each of his three churches. On the fourth Sunday, he would visit another settlement which had no minister. These other settlements included Raft Swamp in Robeson County and probably preaching points in upper South Carolina. Campbell preached in Gaelic as well as English and he continued to preach to the North Carolina Highlanders unaided by any other clergy until 1770. In 1776, Campbell was forced to flee Cumberland County and to seek sanctuary in Guilford County because of his sympathy for the American cause during the troubled times of the American Revolution. Apparently in ill health, Campbell returned home in 1780 and died later that year. He was buried near his home by the Cape Fear River, but a monument was later erected at Old Bluff Church to his memory.

John MacLeod

In 1770 Campbell was joined by another Gaelic speaking minister from Scotland - John MacLeod. According to tradition, MacLeod came over with a ship load of emigrants from Skye. He was educated in Edinburgh and went to Carolina to
minister to the Highlanders at the time of the great Skye emigration of 1770-75. MacLeod was as fierce a Loyalist as Campbell was a Whig, however. His political leanings got him in trouble with the Whig government in North Carolina and he was eventually forced to leave the colony. According to the Colonial Records of North Carolina (Volume XIII), MacLeod had left North Carolina by August 1777.9 Everett McNeill Kivette of North Carolina has discovered in the Col. Alexander McAlester papers what he believes to be a letter from the Rev. John MacLeod written to his congregation just before he left.10 MacLeod explained that he was sorry to leave his congregation but was forced by circumstances to do so, although he still hoped to return someday to minister to the Highlanders of the Cape Fear. Kivette believes that this letter was written by MacLeod in 1777 on his departure from New Bern, a port on the North Carolina coast. George Stevenson, of the North Carolina Archives, however, believes that this letter was written in the summer of 1781 on the eve of MacLeod's departure for New York from the Yorktown area of Virginia. Stevenson also believes that MacLeod was a chaplain in Tarleton's Legion.11 In the Loyalist claim for John MacLeod, submitted by his brother, the Rev. Roderick MacLeod of Bracadale, it states that MacLeod was lost at sea in 1779 or 1780.12 If MacLeod did write this letter from Yorktown, he would have been alive in 1781. Roderick MacLeod did not file a loyalist claim on behalf of his brother until 1788. The exact year that the Rev. John MacLeod died is still a mystery.

In addition to speculation about John MacLeod's life after he left the Cape Fear Valley, there has been speculation about his life beforehand as well. The Hon. A.I.B. Stewart of Campbeltown, Kintyre has suggested that the Rev. John MacLeod in Carolina was the same Rev. John MacLeod from Skye who went to America prior to 1742 to minister to the Highlanders in the settlement at Darien, Georgia through the auspices of the SSPCK.13 If this was the same John MacLeod, however, he must have been at least in his sixties by the time of the War of American Independence. As Everett Kivette points out, it seems unlikely that he could have kept up with the rigours of an army campaign at that age, especially if he was in Tarleton's Legion. John MacLeod was a very common name in Skye in the 18th century, as it still is today. Although it is interesting to speculate about John MacLeod, minister of Barbecue, what is most important is that he was a highly respected minister to the Highlanders in Carolina from 1770-1777.

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Most of the histories of the Presbyterian churches and clergy in the Carolina Highland settlement fail to mention the Rev. John Bethune, who served the Gaelic speaking Presbyterians in North Carolina for several years. He is well remembered by the congregation of Mt. Carmel Presbyterian church in Richmond County, however, which he organised. Although the first records of the church were burned in 1897, a short handwritten history appears at the very beginning of the new session minutes started that year. The following was written by the Clerk of Session D. A. Clark, who probably wrote down what he could remember from the first records:

A brief history of the Mt. Carmel Church. Organized by the Rev. Donald Bethune in the year 1776. He having preached there until 1779. After that he was compelled on account of the Revolutionary War to remove to Canada. The church was then left without a preacher until 1799, when the Rev. Colin Lindsay, a native of Scotland, became pastor of the church; preaching until about 1812.

Mr. Clark was surely mistaken about both the first name of the Reverend Mr. Bethune and the dates of his pastorate. For most of 1776, Bethune was in jail in Philadelphia. He must have organised Mt. Carmel earlier, possibly in 1773.

Bethune was born in Skye in 1751, received his ministerial training at King’s College in Aberdeen where he received his MA in 1772. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Skye soon after receiving his MA and then emigrated to America with other family members in 1773.

Captain Bethune served as Chaplain to the Highland army at Moore’s Creek in February 1776 and was captured after the battle. He was subsequently jailed in Philadelphia along with the other officers of the Highland army and was one of the officers from the Moore’s Creek campaign who petitioned for their release from jail in October 1776. After his release from jail, Bethune left for Halifax, Nova Scotia where he became Chaplain to the Royal Highland Emigrants. After the war he first settled in Montreal where he founded a Presbyterian congregation of Loyalists in 1786. Although this congregation was short lived, it was the precursor to the St. Gabriel Street Church, the mother church of Presbyterianism in Canada. After only a year in Montreal, Bethune accepted a call in 1787 from a group of Gaelic speaking Highlanders in Upper Canada, in an area that was to become Glengarry County. He formed four churches there, in Williamstown, Lancaster, Martintown, and Cornwall. Bethune died on 23 September 1815 in Williamstown, Upper Canada.
Dugald Crawford

Dugald Crawford was the first minister to the Highland Presbyterians in North Carolina after the American War of Independence. He was born 15 May 1752, a native of the Isle of Arran. Crawford received his education at Glasgow and was licensed by the Presbytery of Dounoon, March 27, 1781. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in October 1781 and served as Deputy Chaplain to a British regiment during the American War of Independence. After the war, several gentlemen from the Raft Swamp congregation went to Charleston to meet Crawford and convinced him to return with them to Robeson County and become their minister. Crawford also served Longstreet, Bluff, and Barbecue.

Local legend states that Crawford fell in love with one of the girls at Barbecue, a Jane Dobbin. Miss Dobbin did not return his love and he was so devastated that he left Carolina and returned to Scotland in about 1790. Crawford resumed his ministry in Scotland in Arran and Kintyre and was drowned on 22 March 1821 in the sea off the coast of Arran while going out in a small boat in order to board a ship bound for Greenock. There is a Barbecue legend that persists, however, that Crawford drowned himself the day Jane Dobbin was married in 1795.

Some of Dugald Crawford's Gaelic sermons were published in North Carolina. Two of these sermons are still in existence, entitled simply "Sermon preached at Raft Swamp" or "A Sermon which was preached at Raft Swamp on the twentieth day of the first month of autumn, 1790." The First Presbyterian Church of Fayetteville has original copies of these sermons in their archives.

Angus MacDiarmid

Angus MacDiarmid was a Presbyterian minister from Scotland in the old tradition who did not care for the new ideas of the young clergy who were trained in America. He was born in Islay in 1757 and emigrated to Carolina in 1793. Once in America, he took up ministering to the three old Presbyterian Churches - Bluff, Barbecue, and Longstreet. MacDiarmid held his worship services in the afternoon, one in Gaelic and one in English. His sermons were popular and he attracted large crowds.
As in the Highlands of Scotland, a strong evangelistic revival was sweeping America around 1800. Angus MacDiarmid and his friend the Rev. Colin Lindsay (see below) were both vehemently opposed to the revival and its attendant theatrics. They objected to the falling down, rolling on the ground, moaning, shouting and barking that accompanied many of these ceremonies. The revival movement was being pushed by the young local native-born American ministers who had recently been ordained. The pro-revival ministers finally got control of the Orange Presbytery in 1801 and in 1803, MacDiarmid was ejected from the Presbytery because of this vehement stand against the movement. This did not stop him from preaching, however. He simply formed a new presbytery with Colin Lindsay that was opposed to the revival movement. Several years later after the controversy had subsided, MacDiarmid was reinstated. He died on April 1, 1827 and is buried in the Longstreet Church cemetery.

Colin Lindsay

Colin Lindsay was probably the most colourful and indeed controversial of all the Gaelic speaking ministers in Carolina and his memory is still fresh in the minds of the descendants of the Highland emigrants. Lindsay was a native of the Isle of Arran and was ordained in Ireland in 1779 and served the congregation of Dundalk until 1785. He emigrated to North Carolina about 1790 where he was first associated with Black River Chapel in what is now Ivanhoe in Sampson County. While at Black River he became embroiled in a controversy over some oxen that he had purchased. He had apparently purchased the oxen on Saturday and had them delivered on Sunday. According to Lindsay he did this because of lack of food at the place of sale. To this charge of breaking the Sabbath was added the additional charge of overindulging in the use of alcohol. Lindsay only stayed at Black River for two years after which he moved to Robeson County and ministered to the people at Raft Swamp. He later preached at other churches including Bethel, Red Bluff, Longstreet, Mt. Carmel, and Bensalem.

Colin Lindsay was quite outspoken and had a quick temper. He also enjoyed partaking of spirits, which some of the Presbyterians in Carolina frowned upon. This story was told by Martha MacLeod of Moore County about his drinking:

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When he (Lindsay) would have communion - you know they didn’t have church every Sunday, but when they did have communion he would bring a keg of brandy with him and invite the elders to come out and have a drink before the service. I think that was one of the things that the Presbytery took exception to. 

Lindsay and his friend and colleague Angus MacDiarmid were once accused as follows at a meeting of the Synod:

They and their parishioners, after worship, even on Sabbath evenings repair to a house were spirits’ are to be sold, and spend the evening drinking; and sometimes deal out such hard blows to each other, that not long since, some of them were adjudged by court, to pay Forty Dollars each, on one of those occasions.

Colin Lindsay was ejected from Orange Presbytery on three separate occasions for his eccentric behaviour. Martha MacLeod recounts the stories she heard about Colin Lindsay and the Presbytery:

He (Lindsay) had problems apparently with drinking that they took some exception to in the Presbytery...In the presbytery records, they called him (Lindsay) up for what was said was intention of dwelling and we don’t know what that means but we can sort of speculate. In another place they said a morals charge...They suspended him, and everytime they suspended him, the people from the churches would go to the next Presbytery meeting and plead for them to let him back in - because they loved him. He apparently was a very elegant speaker and he was much loved by his congregation.

As mentioned previously, Lindsay took a stand with Angus MacDiarmid against the revival movement that was sweeping the country. He was tolerant at first with the revivalists, but then became violently opposed. He would begin his sermons by requesting that "the devil’s children remain quiet while God’s children hear his word," in order to try to suppress the shouting, barking, and moaning that was fashionable with the evangelical movement of the day. The congregation at Red Bluff became divided; half of them sided with Lindsay and the rest sided with the revivalists. At first the revivalists remained within the congregation, but hired Murdock Murphy, a young revivalist minister from Robeson County to preach to them on a separate day. According to tradition, on the night before their first meeting, the anti-revivalists built a wall around the church to deny Murphy’s congregation

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entry. They managed to leap over the wall, however, and hold their service without incident. Murphy's congregation then worshipped in members' houses until a separate church, called "Sharon" was erected.29

Lindsay's stand against revivalism was heated and passionate. He stopped a meeting of the Orange Presbytery in 1802 by an argument over the ordination of a pro-revival minister. During an argument with one of the elders, Angus Gilchrist, Lindsay called for duelling pistols.30 The Presbytery subsequently had him expelled and excommunicated, although he continued to preach within the Presbytery that he had formed with Angus McDiarmid.

Colin Lindsay died in 1817 and was buried in the graveyard at Stewartsville, where so many other Highland emigrants were laid to rest. An interesting story about Lindsay, however, is still in circulation. Kirkpatrick gives his version of the legend:

Several years before his birth the woman who was later to become his mother became very ill. Falling into a prolonged state of unconsciousness, and giving every appearance of being dead, she was buried late in the afternoon in the family burying ground hard by her home. Just after dark grave robbers disinterred her body in order to secure a very valuable ring. Having some difficulty in removing the ring on account of its being somewhat embedded in the flesh,, one of the thieves undertook to cut off the finger. As soon as he cut into the flesh the blood started flowing and consciousness returned. She moved and attempted to sit up, whereupon the robbers fled in terror. Mrs. Lindsay managed to crawl to her home nearby and frightened her husband terribly as she appeared at the door clad in her cerebral garments. She was soon nursed back to health, however, and six years later a babe was born whom the parents named Colin, and who afterwards entered the ministry. This story is as well authenticated as any tradition can be, and its truthfulness is not questioned among the Scotch of this section.31

Although the descendants of the Highland emigrants in North Carolina believe very strongly in this legend, some have disputed its authenticity. Although there is no proof that this actually happened to Lindsay's mother, there is no proof that it did not either. This type of story was very popular in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland, especially in light of the events such as the muders perpetrated by Burke and Hare to provide cadavers for medical research. The legend apparently circulated the country and was attributed to different women, although usually it was associated with the wife of a minister. It has also been attributed to the mother of the brothers Rev. Ebenezer Erskine and Rev. Ralph Erskine, ministers from Chirnside in Berwickshire in the Lowlands of Scotland. Their father was the parish minister and Mrs. Erskine was said to have been buried in the churchyard at Chirnside and then
The late Calum MacLean of the School of Scottish Studies recorded separate Gaelic versions of this same story in Lochaber, North Uist, South Uist, and Argyll. Donald A. MacDonald, currently with the School of Scottish Studies, has recorded two Gaelic versions of the story, one in Islay and one in South Uist. In addition, the late Ian Paterson, of the School of Scottish Studies, collected a Gaelic version of this story in Berneray, Harris. There is also a lullaby in Gaelic collected in South Uist and Benbecula called Cha Tig Mór Mo Bhean Dhachaidh that is associated with this legend.

John MacIntyre

John MacIntyre was one of the most well known and loved of the Highland ministers. He was born in Argyleshire in August 1750 and spent his childhood there in Lismore. Young John obtained the nickname "Preacher MacIntyre" as a boy because of a religious experience he had when he was only five years old. He joined the church at 20 years of age, which was not customary at the time. As a young man MacIntyre was bound as an apprentice to a shoemaker in Glasgow. He did not care for this work and he eventually paid for his indenture and left for the Highlands. MacIntyre became a shepherd in Perthshire, work which had a greater appeal to him. In the year 1789 he married a Miss MacCallum and emigrated to North Carolina about two years later in 1791, settling in Cumberland County, near the Phillippi Church. In 1802, he attended a camp meeting where he experienced an intense religious conversion. He began to study for the ministry, first under the Rev. James Smylie, then under the Rev. Murdock MacMillan. He also became involved in missionary work under ordained ministers.

After seven years of study, John MacIntyre was ordained in July 1809 at the age of 59. He was fluent in Gaelic, and regularly preached in both languages. MacIntyre preached at many points in North and South Carolina, but he was the regular pastor at Lumber Bridge, St. Paul's, Bethel, and Philadelphus Churches. He was also one of the organisers of the Fayetteville Presbytery and the Synod of North Carolina.

Father MacIntyre, as he was affectionately called, was a strong prohibitionist. This was contrary to the feelings of most Scots in Carolina at the time, and stories are still remembered in the Cape Fear Valley about his stand against alcohol (see section on traditional narrative). MacIntyre is said to have been good friends with Colin Lindsay, despite their obvious differences.
At the age of eighty-eight, Father MacIntyre made a missionary trip on horseback through South Carolina and the Southwest. He died in 1852 at 102 years of age and is said to have preached his last sermon at Montpelier Church in Wagram just a few weeks before his death.37

Duncan MacIntyre

In contrast to John MacIntyre, not much has been written about Duncan MacIntyre. He could easily be confused with Father John MacIntyre, since they were both Scottish emigrants and preached the Gospel in Cape Fear Valley. We find a small reference to Duncan MacIntyre in the history of Laurel Hill Church.38 He was ordained in August 1828, soon after arriving from Scotland and was installed in the pastorate of the Laurel Hill, Centre, Ashpole, and Red Bluff group at the time of his ordination. He only remained a little over a year, however, since Kirkpatrick reports that the pastoral relationship was dissolved in December 1829. MacIntyre was instrumental in the organizing of Little Pee Dee Presbyterian Church in Dillon County, South Carolina in 1828. According to the history of Mt. Carmel Church, he then served as supply for the Harmony (Ellerbe First), Ottery’s (Bensalem), Mineral Springs (Jackson Springs), and McGill’s (Mt. Carmel). He was preaching at Mt. Carmel from 1829-1831. In 1831, MacIntyre apparently became ill with "dropsy" and died the next year in 1832. The Mt. Carmel minutes state that he is buried in the church graveyard in an unmarked grave.39

Colin McIver

Colin McIver was born in the Isle of Lewis in March 1784 and he lived in Stornoway until he was nineteen. McIver emigrated to America in about 1803 and came to Fayetteville to teach in 1809. A few years later he was ordained to preach and eventually became Clerk of Fayetteville Presbytery and then Clerk of the Synod of North Carolina.

In 1839, when the Fayetteville Presbytery was contemplating closing Barbecue Church, McIver came to its rescue by offering to serve there, without pay if necessary. During his ten year pastorate at Barbecue, the church membership boomed. A number of new families emigrated from the Highlands about that time and Highlanders came from miles around to hear McIver’s sermons in Gaelic.
It was during Colin McIver's time that over 400 ministers seceded from the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland in what is known as "The Disruption" of 1843. The dispute centered around the right of congregations to select their own ministers, rather than having them appointed under a patronage system by local heritors. Support for the new Free Church was especially strong in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The Presbyterians in America followed the events in Edinburgh and many of them gave support to the new Free Church. Colin McIver, the minister for several of the largest Highland churches in the Cape Fear Valley, was one of those North Carolina Presbyterians that supported the new church. In a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers in Edinburgh dated 2nd October 1843, McIver gave his support to the "Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland":

I feel a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of my countrymen, and especially in the "Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland" my most ardent prayers, for her purity, peace, harmony, extension, and permanent prosperity.

In 1843, when the Free Church sent a delegation to America to raise money, the South donated a large sum of money to the Church.

...the Presbyterian community and many Scots in the South probably contributed beyond their means. It is difficult to estimate the exact total of Southern responses in dollars to the deputation's appeal. It was probably over $9000.

At the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly in Kentucky in 1844, it was recommended that all congregations take up collections for the Free Church in the places where the deputation had not visited. Colin McIver was one of these Old School Presbyterian ministers, so it is very likely that collections were taken up in his churches in Carolina. The contribution of money from the slave holding South caused quite a furor in Scotland and even the great Black orator Frederick Douglas visited Edinburgh to convince the Free Church to send back the money. The campaign to "send back the money" was unsuccessful, however, and the funds remained in the Free Church of Scotland treasury.

Colin McIver was forced to cease preaching at Barbecue in 1849 due to ill health. He died in Fayetteville in January 1850 and is buried there at the First Presbyterian Church.
John Campbell Sinclair

John Sinclair was the last regular Gaelic minister in the Highland settlement. He was born in Tiree around 1800, studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh, and became a minister associated with the old Secession Church in Scotland. The Rev. John Sinclair is mentioned in a letter of 28 March 1838 from Donald "Cubair" MacLean in Bailephuil, Tiree to his brother, the great Tiree bard John MacLean, resident in Nova Scotia:

"Tha 'n duthaich ni's fear a thaobh teagaisg na bha i riamb thaobh spoilean is ministearain...Agus tha tri Ministearan eile againn do na daoine ris an abairer anns a bheurla (Dissenters)....Tha fear Mr. Farquharson Independent againn o Shiorramachd Pheart agus taigh aoraidh aige air an Druimbhui. Tha fear eile againn do na Baisdidh, Dughalach agus taigh aoraidh aige ann an Bailemhartain...Agus fear eile do'n Seceders a mhuintir na ducha so fein Mac do Phadrug na cearda a bhann an Manal. Cha' neil gin do'n aidmheil sin againn fhathast ach e fein."

TRANSLATION

The country is better concerning teaching than it was ever as concerns schools and ministers...And we have three more ministers of which the people call in English "Dissenters". We have a man Mr. Farquharson (Independent) from Perthshire and he has a house of worship in Drimbuidh...We have another man who is Baptist, a MacDougall and he has a house of worship in Balemartin. And another man of the Seceders from the people of this very place, the son of Patrick Sinclair who was in Mannal. We do not have any of this sect still except for him.

The son of Patrick Sinclair of Manal was John C. Sinclair (he is known in Gaelic as Iain MacPhadruig). He appears to have been ministering to the people of Tiree in 1838 under the old Secession Church.

Sinclair married a Miss Mary Julia MacLean in 1822 and together they had nine children, two of whom became ministers as well. Sinclair taught for a number of years in Mull before emigrating to Pictou County, Nova Scotia in 1838. From there
he went to Prince Edward Island in 1843 and then to Massachusetts in 1852. In 1854, he moved to Pennsylvania where his sons James and Alexander attended seminary.\(^{45}\)

James Sinclair, John Sinclair's son, came to the Fayetteville Presbytery in 1857 where he held the pastorate of Ashpole and Smyrna. He recognised a need there for a Gaelic minister and he persuaded his father to leave Pennsylvania and come to Carolina. John Sinclair was called to the pastorate of Galatia and Barbecue in 1857 and in 1864, he organised St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church and resigned the pastorate at Galatia.

MacKenzie relates two stories that are associated with the pastorship of John C. Sinclair.

Like so many Scottish preachers of the period, Sinclair opened each sermon with a rhetorical question. One Sunday he started out: "My subject this day is Mary, the mother of Jesus. Now just who was Mary, the mother of Jesus?" One old lady in the congregation roused up, spit out her snuff and replied, "I'm not quite certain, but I've always heard that she was a McNeill."\(^{45}\)

In a further version of this story, a MacDonald woman in the congregation spoke up and said that she did not believe that Mary was really a McNeill because she was a virgin - she must have been a MacDonald instead.\(^{47}\)

Another story is told at Barbecue about the time that Sinclair was trying to stress the necessity of having nightly prayers. Mr. Sinclair asked a little boy in the congregation, "What is the last thing that your father says before you go to sleep?" The boy answered in Gaelic, "Cuir a-mach an cú" (put out the dog).\(^{48}\)

John Campbell Sinclair preached at Barbecue and St. Andrew's until 1865, the year that the Presbytery of Fayetteville set up a committee to look into rumours about the conduct of his son James. An account of the Rev. James Sinclair is given in the history of Smyrna church:

In 1857 Rev. James Sinclair, of Allegheny City, PA, was called to the pastorate of Smyrna and Ashpole. He was a very unpopular minister with the Smyrna people from the start, and deservedly so; for he proved to be a very unworthy man...In 1865, when charges of a serious nature were pending against him in the Presbytery, he hurriedly departed for the North whence he had come. Nevertheless Presbytery suspended him from the ministry. He returned to this section in Reconstruction days as a carpet-bagger under the employ of a corrupt regime then in authority in Washington.\(^{49}\)
John Sinclair was very angered by the accusations about his son which he felt were unfair. He subsequently asked to be dismissed from the Fayetteville Presbytery in order to take up a ministry with the Presbytery of the Isle of Mull. Sinclair was dismissed as he requested, but he and his son James decided to go to Philadelphia instead, where they were commissioned by the board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA. The Rev. John and the Rev. James Sinclair both returned to North Carolina in 1865 to preach to the freed slaves. At the time, the Northern Presbyterian church was trying to lure away black members from the Southern Presbyterian Churches and to set up their own churches which were affiliated with the Northern organisation. John Sinclair organised Love Grove Church using the congregations of Barbecue and St. Andrew’s as a nucleus. He is said to have preached to the freed slaves in Gaelic at Love Grove. Sinclair continued to preach there for a few years until his health failed. He died in Wheeling, West Virginia in April 1878.

Gaelic Speaking Ministers of Other Denominations

Daniel Whyte (White)

There was much Baptist missionary activity in Argyll and Perthshire in the early nineteenth century associated with the great revival movements sweeping Scotland at that time. Although the number of Baptists is now rather small in the Highlands, it was a much stronger denomination in the nineteenth century, before it lost so many members to the great emigrations. The missionary activity was particularly strong in Argyll, where Donald MacArthur, a cobbler turned fish processor, abandoned his profession and turned to evangelism. He began to preach and baptise by total immersion in the neighboring districts Cowal, Arran, and Bute. Daniel Whyte/White was born in the Cowal Peninsula in Argyll around 1784. When he grew to manhood, he was caught up in the great revival of 1800 and was baptised by the famous evangelist Donald MacArthur and became an evangelical Baptist minister as well. Lil Buie of Scotland County, North Carolina, recalls the legend surrounding this great historical figure:

Daniel Whyte was a wanderin’ Baptist minister...and he was evangelical and mystical and got a reputation for being a charismatic preacher. This was in the late 1700’s or mid 1700’s - and Catherine Campbell who lived in a palace called Roseneath and some of her young friends decided they’d go hear this charismatic preacher and
probably make fun of him and so they did. She was fascinated by him
instead of laughing at him and she fell in love with him and he visited
her in the rose garden regularly and the family was a little bit disturbed
that their daughter would even consider this young minister who was so
different from them. Well, nothing could stand in the way of love and
she agreed to marry him, but she wanted him to stay there and preach
to the people around that part of Scotland. He tried to do that because
he did not want to take her away from her comfortable living at
Roseneath. Well, he was very unhappy and he would have dreams at
night and she realised that he was unhappy and in his dreams he kept
seeing the congregation that God was calling him to preach to. It was
on the banks of a river and they were dressed in calico and bonnets and
didn't have very much and he could feel their call to him. He kept
telling Catherine about his visions, and he said that "It is not a dream, it
is a vision - this is what I really want to do. So she told him that she
couldn't be happy if he were not happy and she would sail with him. So
they came to South Carolina I think in the 1700's, I'm not sure. He was
preachin' in South Carolina near the North Carolina line, near the Cape
Fear. He saw the very people he had seen in his dreams were there. He
knew that God had directed him there and they did a lot of their
missionary work on horseback - and they came by the way of the
Lumbee River into Scotland County and established a church down
here. I think that church was established - I'm not sure if it's an 1825
date on it or not - Spring Hill Baptist. Catherine and Daniel reared their
children here. They had several daughters and one son, and the son died
as they were killing hogs one year. He fell into the fire and could not be
revived. He was about three years old. The girls intermarried with Scots
people who were already here for the most part, but the oldest home
here - is on the banks of the Lumbee, and that girl, I think her name
was Mary, married a young Scotsman who was coming through this
area to go from New York to New Orleans or reverse - stage coach -
and this was a main line here. So he stopped off and spent the night in
the home of Catherine and Daniel Whyte and met Mary, and fell in
love with her so he didn't leave. He built the home on the river there.
That's one of the oldest homes. His name was Livingston. He was
directly from Scotland... That's how the Baptists came to this
community.54

According to biographical accounts, Daniel Whyte emigrated to Carolina in
1807.55 He preached his first sermon at Lumber Bridge, North Carolina and he
remained there for about a year. Whyte then received a call from Welsh Neck Church
near Society Hill, South Carolina which oral tradition says that he recognised as the
church that had appeared to him in his dream. After several years at Welsh Neck, he
located permanently at Spring Hill, near what is now Wagram in Scotland County.
Daniel Whyte purchased about 2,000 acres of land in an area now called Riverton, on
the banks of the Lumber River and this area is still owned by Whyte's descendants to
this day.56
In 1813, Whyte organised the Spring Hill Baptist Church near Wagram where he preached his morning sermons in English and his evening sermons in Gaelic and also continued the tradition of psalm singing. John Monroe, who was from the area of Spring Hill Church, was baptised by Whyte and eventually became his assistant. Whyte did not confine himself to Spring Hill, but carried the Gospel message to backwoods settlements in North and South Carolina. It was on one of these missionary trips that he became ill and died in Pender County, North Carolina on 24 October 1824 at the age of forty. The Rev. John Monroe continued the work that Whyte had begun in Carolina.

Allan McCorquodale

Allan McCorquodale was born in Argyllshire in March 1798 and reared in the Presbyterian faith. He emigrated with his family to North Carolina when he was a young man and converted to Methodism in Carolina. He became a Methodist minister and was assigned to preach in the Fayetteville District as a circuit rider, where he preached in both English and Gaelic and drew large crowds of Scots to his services. One of the churches that he served was called the Thompson Place Episcopal Methodist Church which he renamed Caledonia, in honour of his native land.

Native North Carolina Ministers

The Highland Presbyterian churches in the Upper Cape Fear Valley were soon producing their own ministers. Although these men were born and raised in America, many of them were fluent in Gaelic and held regular services in both Gaelic and English, just as the Scottish born ministers had done. Although there may have been more, there is evidence that at least eight native born North Carolinians held services in both Gaelic and English in Carolina - Murdock MacMillan, Malcolm McNair, Archibald MacQueen, Sr., Archie Buie, Daniel Brown, Stedman Black and John Monroe.

Murdock MacMillan was born in Robeson County, North Carolina in 1776 of Highland emigrant parents. "Being a fluent speaker of both English and the Gaelic, he held two services on the Sabbath, one in each language, with an intermission between the services." MacMillan remained at Union Church for twenty five years,
being dismissed to a Presbytery in Tennessee in 1830. Malcolm McNair was a native of Robeson County and was able to converse and preach in Gaelic. He was called to Ashpole, Laurel Hill, Red Bluff, and Centre in 1802 and spent his whole ministerial career serving this group of churches. He died in 1822 at the age of forty-six. Archie Buie was either the son or grandson of Archie Buie the "little minister" of Barbecue. He spoke Gaelic, and according to Hector MacLean's diary, he preached in Gaelic as well. Buie was responsible for organising Antioch Presbyterian Church in Hoke County and also served Bethesda in Moore County and Little PeeDee in South Carolina. Daniel Brown was the son of Hugh Brown, a "pious and influential citizen" of the Philadelphus Community in Robeson County who was greatly influential in setting up the Philadelphus Presbyterian Church sometime before 1794. Daniel Brown was the first pastor at Philadelphus, called in 1802. According to the history of the First Presbyterian Church in Red Springs, Daniel Brown preached in both English and Gaelic. Stedman Black was probably the last Gaelic minister in North Carolina and he only preached Gaelic services irregularly, when there was a demand. The Rev. James MacKenzie states that he talked to some of the elderly members of the Flat Branch Church in the 1960's who remembered Stedman Black preaching a communion service in Gaelic. These sermons would have been given around the turn of the century.

John Monroe, a Baptist minister, was born in North Carolina and baptised by the Rev. Daniel Whyte. Whyte hand picked him to be his successor at Spring Hill Baptist Church. Monroe was a fluent Gaelic speaker and preached in Gaelic as late as 1884, possibly even later. When an emigration from Skye arrived in North Carolina in 1884, newspaper accounts of the day stated that he intended to preach to them in Gaelic. The Rev. Monroe lived to a great old age and remained the pastor of Spring Hill for most of his life.

The MacQueen Ministers

The MacQueens of Rigg in Skye hold a most impressive record of ministerial service to the church in Scotland. "Nine MacQueens, spanning seven generations, served the churches on the Isle of Skye for a combined period of 291 years." Many of these MacQueens emigrated to Carolina and continued the tradition there. According to MacKenzie, the ministerial directory for the Presbyterian Church in the United States (the Southern Church) lists 13 MacQueens between 1861 and 1967.
Archibald MacQueen, Sr.

The Rev. Archibald MacQueen, Sr. was one of the first of this line to be born in America. He was the son of Col. James MacQueen and his wife Anne MacRae, Scottish emigrants who arrived in Carolina in the great wave of emigration in the early 1770's before the American War of Independence. Archibald was born in 1791 in Robeson County and was an extremely intelligent and capable man. MacQueen graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1812 and subsequently practised law. He later felt the need for physicians in his area and took up the study of medicine, which he also practised. It is interesting to note that MacQueen never asked for compensation for his services as a lawyer or a physician.68

Archibald MacQueen then sensed a great need for Gaelic-speaking ministers in Carolina and enrolled at Columbia Theological Seminary. After graduating in 1827, he was ordained to preach by the Fayetteville Presbytery in 1829. Archibald MacQueen served Laurel Hill, Red Bluff/Smyrna, Ashpole, and Centre Churches in North Carolina and PeeDee, Carolina, and Bennettsville in South Carolina. As detailed elsewhere, MacQueen was banned from performing his ministerial duties by the Presbytery in 1841 because of the dispute over marrying his deceased wife's sister. After a long and arduous battle, MacQueen was reinstated in 1846. After this he held no regular pastorate, but devoted his energies to evangelism and organising the Carolina Presbyterian Church in Dillon County. He is considered the first minister of that church, although he was apparently never formally called. MacQueen died in 1851 and is buried at Stewartsville.

Rev. Martin MacQueen

The Rev. Martin MacQueen was the son of Col. Donald MacQueen and Catherine MacQueen. Col. Donald was an emigrant from Skye who married his third cousin, Catherine, daughter of Col. James MacQueen and Anne MacRae. Martin, the oldest of two sons of Donald and Catherine who became ministers, was born in September 1823 and graduated from Davidson College in North Carolina in 1851. He then attended Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina, where he graduated in 1854. MacQueen served the Second Presbyterian Church in Wilmington for a while, but he resigned that position to become a chaplain in the Confederate Army during the War Between the States.69 After the war, he laboured at Union and Carthage Presbyterian Churches in Moore County for more than twenty five years.
MacQueen was a great evangelist, and he is said to have brought 1200 people into the Presbyterian Church during his ministry. The two MacQueen brothers, Martin and Archibald, Jr. often held revivals together.

Rev. Archibald MacQueen, Jr.

Archibald MacQueen, Jr. was Martin MacQueen’s younger brother and nephew of Archibald MacQueen, Sr. The younger Archibald was born in Robeson County, North Carolina and graduated from Davidson College. He then finished his religious training at Columbia Theological Seminary in 1856. The Rev. Archibald, Jr. was pastor at Ashpole, Smyrna, Iona, Lumber Bridge, and Bethel Churches.

Other well known MacQueen ministers in Carolina of this distinguished family were the Rev. James MacQueen, pastor of St. Andrew’s Church for twenty-five years until death in 1892; the Rev. Angus R. MacQueen, the son of the Rev. Martin MacQueen and pastor at Dunn for many years; and the Rev. Mack Carmichael MacQueen from Clinton, Moderator of the Synod of North Carolina in 1966.

Conclusion

There were many more ministers of Highland descent who served the churches in the Upper Cape Fear Valley area of Carolina, but to elaborate on them all would be beyond the scope of the present study. At least some of these ministers could speak Gaelic and occasionally preached sermons in the language. The transition was made in the Cape Fear Valley from ministers born and trained in Scotland to ministers who were born and trained in Carolina. These ministers were influenced by American culture and by spiritual movements sweeping America at the time. They were more evangelical than their Scottish counterparts and probably were less comfortable preaching in the Gaelic language. Although the Rev. Mr. Archibald Buie was able to preach in Gaelic and did so on occasion, regular Gaelic services appear to have been abandoned during his pastorate at Barbecue Church. The American born ministers were probably responsible for other changes in the Presbyterian church in their efforts to “modernise” or bring the church into line with other denominations in America with which they came into contact. The real changes in the Presbyterian churches of the Cape Fear Valley occurred after the War Between the States, when many ministers who were not of Highland descent came to the area from other parts of the country.


17. Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923), No. 4, p. 63; hereafter referred to as *Fasti*.


22. The Black River Chapel community was settled largely by families from Arran, so it is fitting that the first minister that they called was also an Arran man.

23. Foote, p. 179.

24. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5A.

25. Foote, p. 468.

26. This was probably misread from the records. The records most likely said "intention of duelling".

27. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5A.


29. Kirkpatrick, p. 25.


34. Donald Archie MacDonald, Tape SA 1968/85/A.8 (Islay) and Tape SA 1975/118.A1 (South Uist), Sound Archives, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

35. Ian Paterson, Tape SA 1969/83/A5, Sound Archives, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

36. "Cha Tig Mór Mo Bhean Dhachaidh," *Tocher*, Number 4, pp. 120-123.

37. The account on John MacIntyre given here is based on an Autobiographical MS dated 13 April 1821, privately owned by Archie Purcell, Cumberland County, North Carolina, one of MacIntyre's many descendants.


42. Shepperson, p. 519.
44. Donald "Cubair" MacLean, Letter to his brother John MacLean [emigrant to Pictou County, Nova Scotia in 1819], 28 March 1838, Private Collection, Halifax, Nova Scotia. [translation by J.M.]
50. Before the War Between the States, the Presbyterian Church had split into the Northern Branch and the Southern Branch.
53. Although it has proved impossible to identify Catherine Campbell, Roseneath did belong to the Campbells of Argyll, and it is quite possible that she was connected with this family.
54. Lil Buie, Tape 12A.
60. Roberts, p. 9.
62. Hector MacLean, Hector MacLean's Diary, Manuscript in private hands, Lumberton, North Carolina, p. 8. When Hector MacLean was ordained and installed as pastor at Antioch Church on December 14, 1833, Archibald Buie was present and preached a sermon in Gaelic.
63. Historical Sketch of First Presbyterian Church of Red Springs Presbyterian, (n.p.: n.p.,
64. James MacKenzie, p. 78.
69. MacElyea, p. 98.
70. Roberts, p. 20.
73. Angus W. MacLean, P.486.
THE GAEIC LANGUAGE

There is ample evidence that Gaelic was spoken in North Carolina well into the twentieth century. Just how numerous Gaelic speakers were in Carolina and the period through which Gaelic continued to be a vital medium of communication are much more difficult to establish. There are three main types of evidence which show that Gaelic was prevalent in North Carolina at one time - Gaelic publications, historical references (both written documents and oral tradition), and actual remnants of Gaelic among living North Carolinians.

Gaelic Publications

Although evidence of the first type, Gaelic publications, is not extensive, what survives is of considerable interest. The earliest extant examples of Gaelic printed in North Carolina are two published Gaelic sermons now in the archives of the First Presbyterian Church of Fayetteville. These sermons were written by the Rev. Dugald Crawford while he was ministering to the congregation at Raft Swamp and published in Fayetteville in 1791 by Sibley, Howard, and Rowlstone. The first was simply entitled "Searmoin Chuaidh a liobhairt aig an Raft Swamp" (A sermon preached at Raft Swamp) and the second is "Searmoin A chuaidh a liobhairt aig an Raft Swamp, air an fhicioda' latha don cheud mhios do'n fhoghmhar 1790" (A sermon that was preached at Raft Swamp, on the twentieth day of the first month of autumn 1790).

The Presbyterian Historical Foundation in Montreat, North Carolina is in possession of one Gaelic book which was printed in North Carolina, a reprint of the famous Gaelic collection of hymns by Peter Grant of Strathspey entitled Nuadh Dhain Spioradail (New Spiritual Songs), originally published in Scotland in 1818. The North Carolina edition of this book, published by a man named William Hunter, was printed at the Telegraph Office in Fayetteville in 1826, within eight years of the original publication.

These Gaelic publications provide testimony to the fact that there was a demand in North Carolina and a local market for such works. They may also have been printed with a wider North American market in mind. The tradition of publishing
sermons was well known in Scotland, and was associated with evangelism and the 
commitment to making the scriptures and their interpretations accessible to all in 
their own language.

Many Gaelic Bibles still exist in North Carolina, but these all appear to have 
been published in Britain. There is no evidence of any Gaelic Bibles ever being 
published in Carolina. In a letter to his brother written in 1817, "River" Daniel Blue 
from Moore County mentions that many in his neighbourhood have purchased Gaelic 
Bibles: "We got Gaelic Bibles from London so that all that could use them has one as 
far as I know."¹ The Presbyterian Historical Foundation Archives at Montreat is 
compelled to refuse donations of family Gaelic Bibles because of the quantity already 
in their possession. Gaelic psalters are also still in existence in Carolina, although 
fewer in number. An original copy of a Gaelic psalter which once belonged to a 
Margaret McIver Buie (1774-1858) in Moore County is kept at the North Carolina 
Archives in Raleigh. Another copy of a psalter, *Sailm Dhaibhaidh* (Psalms of David), 
printed by Ian Smith, Edinburgh, 1787, is kept in the library of Saint Andrew’s 
Presbyterian College in Laurinburg.

Although historical references state that copies of the *Shorter Catechism* in 
Gaelic were prevalent among the Highlanders in Carolina, these have not survived as 
frequently as Bibles and psalters, as none have been uncovered in the present 
investigation. Copies may have been so well used that they disintegrated with time. 
According to a history of the Scotch settlement at Union Church, Mississippi, 
however, a copy was still in existence there in 1906 which was carried to Mississippi 
with the Highland settlers who migrated there from North Carolina in the nineteenth 
century.² In a letter to Thomas Chalmers dated 2/10/1843 now kept in the archives at 
New College in Edinburgh, the Rev. Colin McIver from Fayetteville confirms that 
the Gaelic *Shorter Catechism* was indeed in use in Carolina and also reveals that he 
is working on his own Gaelic publication at that time, associated with the *Shorter 
Catechism* in Gaelic, although we have no evidence that this was ever published:

I have at present in preparation, and if God permit, will soon finish a 
little volume, the copyright of which I would be glad to offer to that 
honourable society [SSPCK], provided I am not already anticipated by 
some one else. It is a Gaelic translation of the excellent Matthew 
Henry’s "Scripture Catechism". I have undertaken the translation, 
chiefly for the benefit of my own people: but, I can, at the same time 
extend the benefits of it to my countrymen beyond the Atlantic, it will 
afford me a double gratification. In my Gaelic version of the work, I 
am endeavou ring to make some improvement on all the existing Gaelic 
translations of the "Shorter Catechism" ... The translations we have, [are] 
though, in the main, very good; yet in my judgement, fall very far short 
of what might be called exact translations.
Other Written Gaelic Sources

In addition to the three Gaelic items that were known to have been published in North Carolina, a manuscript exists of a Gaelic charm which was written down by hand in about 1750. The original is kept at the North Carolina State Archives and is known as "Dugald McFarland’s Charm". The following is a tentative transliteration of this charm and a tentative translation of the transliteration:

1 In the name of the father, son and holy ghost.
2 Na Naodha. Uba seo air a h-ule mir
3 a thubhait Calum Cille, is rinn e
4 naodha dubh-mlorbhalà mora a
5 chuir brigh anns na facal seo air
6 an t-saoghal bheag agus air an t-saoghal mhòr ‘s
7 air a’ Chruinne Ché: ’s nach bogaich
8 naodha beanna is ar naodha
9 gleanna naodha conaire seanga
10 sithe th’ aig sthi, a-null
11 ud thall, gu’n tog Critosd dhiotsa, I. D. (Iesus Dominus),
12 gach olc ’s gach tinneas ’s gach farmad, is bu leat Dia ’s Calum Cille.

Tentative Translation

1 In the name of the father, son and holy ghost.
2 "The Nines." This is a charm for every part
3 that Calum Cille uttered, and he performed
4 nine great arcane miracles that
5 put substance in these words on
6 the little world and on the big world and
7 on the Universe: and won’t
8 nine mountains and our nine
9 glens shift nine slender fairy paths
10 that are at peace, to over
11 yonder, until Christ lifts off you, Lord Jesus,
12 every evil and every sickness and every
13 jealousy, and may God and Calum Cille be with you.

Another item of written Gaelic that has survived to this day in Carolina is a Gaelic inscription on a gravestone in the graveyard at Longstreet Church. The verse is from the New Testament, James, chapter four, verse fourteen. The inscription reads as follows:

In memory of Capt. Angus McDiarmid, son of Darmid and Janet McDiarmid, who died May 3, 1856, aged 24 yrs. 5 weeks. A native of the Island of Islay, Scotland.
Oir cied i bhur beatha is deatach i a chither re uine bhig agus an deigh sin a theid as an t-seallath.

Translation

For what is your life? It is but a mist that is seen for a short time, and after that disappears from view.

More recently, in the twentieth century, an incantation for a rheumatism cure was collected from an old woman in Montgomery County, preserved in oral form, not in manuscript. Unfortunately, the Gaelic associated with this cure is lost, either because the informant did not remember it, or the collector had no knowledge of Gaelic.

2070 - A conjuration cure for rheumatic swelling: In Montgomery County, Sara McLean, an old Scotch woman, has this method. The afflicted person must come when the moon is new. She looks at the moon and says, "What I see I know will increase, what I feel I hope will decrease." This is not to be told to anybody. Other words followed in Scotch.6

Historical References to Gaelic.

Perhaps the greatest amount of evidence confirming the prevalence of Gaelic in Carolina that we have comes from historical references, both written and oral. One of the earliest references that we have to Gaelic being spoken in North Carolina is in the diary of Lady Liston, who toured North Carolina in 1796:

...Not far from Mrs. Smith's we first heard of the settlement of Highlanders; a Set of people who suffered severely in the War, for their Loyalty, - it extends thirty miles, - the Gallic language is still prevalent amongst them, their Negros speak it, and they have a clergyman who preaches in it.7

The fact that Gaelic was widely spoken in the Highland settlement of North Carolina is also well attested by a letter to Duncan McLaurin in Simpson County, Mississippi from his nephew John C. McLaurin dated December 22, 1838. John McLaurin quotes a letter that he had received from his cousin Neill McLaurin of Wilmington, North Carolina, who had recently returned from a trip to Europe.8
Neill McLaurin was born in Appin in 1779 and emigrated to Carolina with his family when he was eleven or twelve years old. His family settled at Laurel Hill in Scotland County, where he spent the rest of his youth. When he reached adulthood, he went into business in Wilmington, North Carolina, the port city at the mouth of the Cape Fear. He returned to Appin for the first time apparently in 1832, at the age of fifty-three. Neill McLaurin writes:

...I started out for Scotland in the Glasgow Steam Boat John Blood on the 15th of July and arrived in Glasgow next day at 12 o'clock. In three days I went to Edinborough [sic] by Canal in 8 hours from Glasgow. I returned to Glasgow and after two days departed in the Steam Boat Maid of Morvin for Appin when I arrived at Port Appin in about 30 hours from Glasgow.... There was a crowd at Port Appin when I landed. I spoke in the Gaelic language which by the by I speak better than any of them. For the English to them (shame be its kin) is the language most commonly spoken in conversation among the natives and they speak it well though of course with a copious seasoning of the Brogue. I spoke in the Gaelic language as I said before and in a few minutes I was summoned by every body in the immediate neighbourhood and after I had told them who my father was they received me as their countryman.

This letter confirms that Gaelic was being spoken in North Carolina in the nineteenth century and spoken well - in Neill McLaurin's opinion better than the natives in Appin in Argyllshire.

A reference to the Gaelic speech in Carolina is given in the Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, in 1859:

It may perhaps, be worth mentioning that in the vicinity of Fayetteville, a small town fifty miles south of Raleigh, the capital, there are many Scotch Highlanders. The emigration of these people to North Carolina began in the early colonial days, and has been continued to the present time....They still speak Gaelic, and there are even one or two churches in the State in which services are performed in that tongue.

Gaelic speech was a factor that bound the people of Highland descent together in Carolina and gave them a sense of community. The Rev. David MacRae relates an anecdote about Gaelic speech in Moore County which he heard on his travels through Carolina:

The story is told of a man, who, travelling through Moore County and finding himself likely to be overtaken by the darkness, called at a farm-house and asked for shelter for the night. The farmer taking him for a "cracker", or one of the idle vagabonds who are found in
abundance everywhere in the South, called to him to go about his business. The man, speaking in Gaelic, said, "Good-night," and turned away. At the sound of the old and cherished language the farmer started to his feet, hurried after the man, and brought him back, welcoming him in Gaelic to all the hospitalities of his house.

The Rev. Mr. MacRae also relates a story about Gaelic in the courtroom in Fayetteville:

It is also said that in the court of Fayetteville on one occasion, Mr. Banks, the State Solicitor, finding that the jurymen were all Highlanders, addressed them in Gaelic. Not a word was intelligible to the Judge, but the jury were intensely delighted, and it seemed certain that Mr. Banks would carry his case. It happened, however, that Mr. Leech, the prisoner's counsel, was even a better Gaelic scholar than Mr. Banks, though nobody in court was aware of it. Mr. Leech, to conciliate the judge, began in English, and then said that as the State Solicitor had addressed the jury in Gaelic, he would crave permission to follow him in the same language. He first upbraided Mr. Banks for his bad Gaelic, and declared that if he heard one of his own children speaking the ancient and noble language so ungrammatically he would take the tawse to him. He then took up the case, made a magnificent speech in Gaelic, carried the enthusiastic jury with him, and got a unanimous verdict for the prisoner.

Judge James C. MacRae, from Cumberland County, writes in 1905 how Gaelic was once as common as English in the Upper Cape Fear Valley:

Among these people for half a century and much longer after the Revolution, for it is in the memory of the writer, the Gaelic tongue was as commonly spoken on the streets of Fayetteville and in the sand hills of Cumberland, and in parts of Richmond and Robeson, as the English. The older ones spoke little else; the younger understood and could speak it, and did speak it to their fathers and mothers. Even the negro slaves, who were treated with the greatest kindness, some of them spoke the Gaelic.

Negro slaves were often taught the Gaelic that their masters spoke. The Rev. John C. Sinclair, minister to the Gaels in Carolina from 1857-1865, states that he has "met with a number of coloured people who speak the Gaelic as well as if they had been raised in any of the Hebrides". It is very likely that the people of Highland descent would speak to their slaves in the language that they felt most comfortable in - the language of the hearth.

There is a well known anecdote, still current in oral tradition in both Carolina and Scotland, about the Gaelic speaking slaves in North Carolina. A young Scottish lady had just arrived in Wilmington from Scotland and was disembarking from the
emigrant ship. She was delighted to hear the familiar strains of her native Gaelic being spoken, but as the speakers drew nearer, she discovered to her horror that they were black. The woman had never seen a black person before and she is reported to have exclaimed "A Dhia nan gràs, am fhàs sinn uile mar sin?" (O Lord of grace, will we all become like that?) When someone playfully told her that everyone became like that after a few months, she ran back on board the ship and refused to disembark. 15

After emancipation, some Blacks continued to speak the Gaelic, as it was their mother tongue. After the War Between the States, Blacks left the white churches and formed their own congregations. One of these churches was Love Grove, formed by Blacks who broke away from Barbecue and Saint Andrew’s and Douglas Kelly believes that Gaelic services were held there occasionally for a number of years, even into the present century. 16

Living Remnants of Gaelic in North Carolina

The most convincing evidence of the prevalence of Gaelic in Carolina is the fact that some of the descendants of the Highland emigrants living in Carolina today still possess remnants of the language that their ancestors brought over with them from Scotland years ago. Many Highland descendants in Carolina probably have one or two Gaelic words in their vocabulary but are unaware of it. A good example of this is the term "maol-headed cattle". Most of the older men in the settlement who grew up on farms can tell you right away what this term means, but none of them will be aware that maol is actually a Gaelic word meaning bald, or in this case, hornless.

Gaelic may have survived in some areas longer than others. Some of the last places where Gaelic was spoken appear to be in Moore County and Harnett County. The reason that Gaelic persisted for so long in these areas may be twofold: both were rural isolated counties and both received later emigrations from the Highlands in the middle of the nineteenth century. Douglas Kelly, born in 1943, may be the youngest North Carolinian to have learned any Gaelic from his relatives, who passed the knowledge down through the family. He learned Gaelic words and phrases from his great aunts in Moore County with whom he visited as a youth.

The ones that I remember that had the most knowledge were Aunt Ethel Blue and Aunt Regina Blue. Those two had the most knowledge of it [Gaelic]. The one who had the very most-remembered the most phrases, sort of proverbs, little snatches of songs and old sayings was
Aunt Ethel was born in 1898 the daughter of Patrick Blue - lived all her life in Moore County. She died in 1975. Aunt Regina was born in 1889 and she died in Moore County in 1976.

Kelly learned short phrases and greetings like Ciamar a tha thu? (How are you?), Fàilte (Welcome), Slàinte (Health), Oidhche Mhath (Good night), and Meal is caith e ("Wear and enjoy it", repeated when a gift of clothing is given) from his aunts. He also reports that they could recite the Twenty-Third Psalm and knew a few songs.

Harnett County seems to be another place where the Gaelic survived until recent times. Malcolm (1908- ) and Lauchlin (1911- ) Shaw are brothers who were born and raised in Harnett County. Their great-grandfather Torquil Shaw emigrated to North Carolina from Jura in 1830 and settled in what was then upper Cumberland County - now Harnett. Torquil and his wife were not able to speak much English, so their children naturally learned Gaelic and spoke this to them exclusively. Malcolm Shaw mentions his great-grandfather Torquil's Gaelic:

My great-grandfather -[Gaelic]- that's about all he could really talk. You know, he learned some English but he was just about as broken in it...

Malcolm and Lauchlin never knew their grandfather Gilbert, who was a fluent Gaelic speaker, because he died before they were born. Gilbert Shaw was reputed to be a Gaelic singer as well as speaker. Lauchlin Shaw says of him:

My granddaddy...he could speak and sing too - sing the songs, Gaelic songs. He'd sing the songs in Gaelic - or Gàidhlig they called it. They never called it "Gaelic" around here - Gàidhlig.

In his history of Fayetteville, Oates tells a story concerning Gilbert Shaw:

Old Mr. Laclan [sic] Campbell of Barbecue Creek became seriously ill in his later days and was attended by Dr. John McCormick. Their mutual friend, Gilbert (Gibb) Shaw of Flatbranch, heard of the illness of his old friend and kinsman at Barbecue, hitched his horse, and with his wife, drove to Mr. Campbell's home to see how seriously ill he was. Arriving, he put up his horse, seated himself by the bed and began conversing with Mr. Campbell in Gaelic. Gaelic accents, coupled with the use of certain spirits offered in hospitality to fortify him against the effects of a long, cold drive, inspired Mr. Shaw to begin singing old hymns in Gaelic for the edification and entertainment of his invalid friend. Meanwhile, Dr. McCormick arrived, spoke genially to Mr. Shaw (who had been his host at old time New Year's parties each year for years past), examined his patient and then went to the kitchen to speak to Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Campbell. Mrs. Shaw said "Doctor, you
take Gilbert with you tonight. Cousin Laclan [sic] is too weak to stay awake and listen to his conversation and his Scotch songs all night." The doctor agreed, and returning to the sick room he said: "Mr. Shaw, you come now and spend the night with me. Mr. Campbell will be alright and he will get some good sleep tonight"..."No, no, doctor, "I'll have to stay here and visit Cousin Laclan." Turning back to the bed, he touched the old man on the shoulder. "Cousin Laclan", he said, his voice breaking, "It will not be long before there'll be nobody left to sing the old songs in the Gaelic." 20

Although Gilbert Shaw, their grandfather, died before Lauchlin and Malcolm were born, he was survived by two sisters, Flora (1850-1931) and Margaret (1841-1926), who were fluent Gaelic speakers as well. According to Malcolm:

They [my great aunts] could talk a lot more Gaelic than I've ever been able to remember. They could talk about things I didn't - they might have been talking about me for all I know....They talked a lot of Gaelic...I learned a little...They could talk Gaelic if they wanted to. 21

Malcolm and Lauchlin both learned some Gaelic from their great aunts. Since Malcolm is three years older, he seems to remember a little more, although Lauchlin's pronunciation is a little clearer. One of the most striking features of the Gaelic that Lauchlin and Malcolm speak is the way they pronounce some words in the old Argyll-shire dialect. Lauchlin Shaw demonstrates this:

I don't know what it was really, but speakin', they used to say "Gu dé mar a tha thu, gu dé mar a tha thu fhé?" I don't know what in the heck - but its somethin' like "Howdy" or "How you doin'?" I don't know how in the world you'd spell that - I wouldn't know. 22

In standard modern Scottish Gaelic (non-dialectical) one would say "Ciamar a tha thu? Ciamar a tha thu fhéin? According to David Clement, an expert on Gaelic dialects at the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh, the way Lauchlin pronounces "ciamar" is "gu dé mar", an older form of "ciamar" and the way it is still pronounced in Donegal in the North of Ireland. The linguist Nils Holmer found "gu dé mar" in use in Kintyre 23 and Arran. 24 The dialectical use of fhé instead of fhéin (self) is also linguistically significant and Holmer found this form in use in Kintyre as well. 25

Malcolm spent a great deal of time helping the older members of the family when he was young and he remembers some of the Gaelic he learned from them. According to Malcolm, his Aunt Flora knew the Twenty-Third Psalm and recited it to him often. Malcolm can still recite what he learned from his aunt as the Twenty-Third Psalm. On close examination, however, this does not seem to be the Twenty-Third Psalm, but only part of it, combined with verses from other sources. 26
Verse One

_Air d'uíle thròcair, O mo Dhìa_  
_tràth dhearcas mi gu dlùth._

This first verse that Malcolm recites is not from the Twenty-Third Psalm at all, but is the first line of the first _Dan Spioradail_, or hymn, given at the end of the Gaelic New Testament - "When All Thy Mercies O My God! My Rising Soul Surveys."

Verse Two

_Tha Dia fein as buachaill ann_  
_cha bhith' maid gun an dia._

This second verse is indeed the first verse of the Twenty-Third Psalm which reads _"Is Dia féin as buachaill dhomh, Cha bhi mi ann an dìth"_. (The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want.)

Verse Three

_Gun / chan eagal e cha (nuair?) bhithinn sios_  
_air lèir nan clachan a sios._

This verse is unclear. It appears to be from one of the psalms, but not the Twenty-Third.

Verse Four

_Fòs ri taobh nan aibhnichean_  
_théid seachad sios gu mall._

This is once again a verse from the Twenty-Third Psalm. It can be translated into English as "Also beside the still waters."

Verse Five

_A' ruith 's na piob 's a' ruith gu luath_  
_A ribhinn dubh gum bidh thu cùi._

This last verse is an enigma. The transcription is the best possible at the present time, but it does not make much sense and could easily be in error. The first line of this verse is nonsense and could be translated as "running in the pipe and running quickly", while the last line is possibly something from a popular song which could be translated as "O dark haired maiden, you will be wrong."
In addition to his version of the Twenty-Third Psalm, Malcolm Shaw also learned an old Gaelic rhyme:

One other little bit of Gaelic that I learned and the way it come about - I was just a little fellow....If there was a bird's nest in a tree anywhere, I guess that was just little boy nature, I had to see inside that bird's nest - see what was in there. There was one great big old tree down there....Anyway, I climbed up in that big tree and then I crawled out onto a limb to where that bird's nest was. I'd been seein' it, you know. Well, 'bout the time I got up there and got a good look at the bird's nest - she saw me! My great aunt saw me and told me to come down and she says:

Piop, piop, Cò creach mo nloch?\(^{27}\)
Ma's e duile\(^{28}\) beag, cuiridh mi 'sa bhog.
Ma's e duile mòr, cuiridh mi 'sa creag.

And then she told me what it meant. The little bird said- "Peep, peep. Don't bother my nest." If it's a little boy they'd waller him in the mud, or a little person you know - ma's e duile beag cuiridh mi 'sa bhog. If he was little they'd waller him in the mud and ma's e duile mòr cuiridh mi 'sa creag - if he was a big one they'd dunk him in the creek. I reckon that's the reason I remembered that. It had me kind of upset. I was just lookin' for about a billion buzzards, crows, blackbirds, robins, doves, and all kinds to get hold of me at one time and carry me towards the mud hole.\(^{29}\)

Malcolm's translation is close to the meaning of the text, but it is somewhat in error. A better translation would read "Peep, peep. Who plundered my nest? If it be a little person, I will throw him in the fog. If it be a big person, I will throw him over the rock. Malcolm is confusing the Gaelic word creag (rock) with the English word creek.

The preceding rhyme is well known in the Highlands of Scotland to the present day. There are many different versions of it, but they are all very similar. The following version is more complete than what the Shaw brothers remember:

Bid, bid, bidein, có chreach mo neadan?
Ma's e duine mòr e, cuiridh mi 'sa lón e;
Ma's e duine beag e, cuiridh mi le creag e;
Ma's e duine gun chiall gun nàire;
Fagaidh mi aig a mhùthair fhéin e.\(^{30}\)

Translation:

Peep, peep, peepan, who robbed my nest?
If it be a big man, I will put him in the fog;
If it be a little man, I will cast him over the rock;
If it be a man without sense or shame,
I will leave him with his own mother.
Alan Lomax collected a version of this rhyme as well from the piper Calum Johnston on Barra in 1951 and included it in his collection of Scottish folk songs for the "Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music" series:

Ig, ig, igein, có chreach mo niodan?
Ma 's e duine mór e, bogaidh mi 'sa lón e;
Ma 's e duine beag e, cuiridh mi le creig e;
Ma 's e duine beag blodach, gun chiall, gun nàire,
Gu'n gleidheadh Dia dha athair 's dha mhàthair fhéin e. 31

Translation:

Peep, peep, peepan, who robbed my nest?
If it be a big man, I will dunk him in the water;
If it be a little man, I will cast him over the rocks;
If it be a tiny man (a child), without sense or shame,
May God preserve him for his own father and mother.

In addition to the rhymes, verses and phrases in Gaelic, Malcolm and Lauchlin Shaw heard a few oaths in Gaelic uttered when their father would get "fretted about something" and also a few epithets used to describe people. The most interesting of these epithets - "a mhic an Diuc" - was remembered by Lauchlin, who said that he thought it meant a "sorry person". 32 This may be simply a softening of the epithet "a mhic an diabhail", or "son of the devil", an epithet still common in Argyll today. 33 "A mhic an Diuc" means "son of the Duke" and there is only one Duke in Jura to which Lauchlin's ancestors could have been referring to - the Duke of Argyll. As an authority figure the Duke of Argyll and his offspring would not have been popular in nineteenth century Argyll and apparently some were of the opinion that there was not much difference between the Duke of Argyll and the devil.

Remnants of Gaelic can not only be found among those living in the Upper Cape Fear Valley. They may also be found in other places where the descendants of Highland emigrants have made their homes. There is a woman in Charlotte, North Carolina, Mrs. John Boyd, who still speaks a little Gaelic. 34 Mrs. Boyd's grandfather, Alexander MacRae, emigrated to Carolina from Glenelg around 1884 and first settled in Robeson County, later removing to Mitchell County. Mrs. Boyd learned her Gaelic from her mother, who was a fluent native speaker, although she was brought up in North Carolina.
Lauchlin Shaw, 78, of Harnett County. His great-grandfather Torquil emigrated to North Carolina from Jura around 1830. Lauchlin is a farmer in Flat Branch Community and is also a well known and accomplished fiddler. Lauchlin and his older brother Malcolm both remember Gaelic words and phrases that their great-aunts taught them.
Decline and Disappearance of Gaelic in North Carolina

Although the Gaelic language was "as common as English" in the Upper Cape Fear Valley at one time, the nineteenth century saw its gradual decline. In his history of Fayetteville, Oates charts the persistence of Gaelic in the Sandhills of Carolina and describes a stage that the language went through on the way to its disappearance in the area:

The Gaelic lasted through several generations of the Scotch settlers and descendants throughout the Sandhills: As late as the twentieth century, old Scotchmen would meet and carry on a friendly conversation in Gaelic. Children would stop their play and listen fearfully at the sound of short, snappy syllables and deep tones which sounded as though a severe bodily encounter between the conversing parties was imminent. The language was sometimes understood by individuals who never spoke it. One Sandhills lady would occasionally have a caller spend a day in conversation during which the visitor would never speak an English word - and the hostess never speak a word in Gaelic!

This intermediate stage which the Gaelic language went through in Carolina is well known in parts of Scotland and is referred to as passive speech. Individuals who can understand the language but not speak it are known as passive speakers. The state of the Gaelic language in Lochmaddy, North Uist at the present time gives one an idea of the decline of Gaelic in Carolina in the nineteenth century. Gaelic and English are now intermixed in a type of "macaronic" speech. Speakers alternate between Gaelic sentences and English sentences when conversing; English words and constructions are used in Gaelic speech; and sentences are begun in one language and finished in the other. Most of the men over fifty-five in Lochmaddy seem more comfortable conversing in Gaelic, and do so when they are in the company of other Gaelic speakers. Men between thirty and fifty-five appear to be equally comfortable in both languages and converse alternately in each language with their peers. Most of the men between the age of twenty and thirty can speak Gaelic, but they only do so when conversing with the older men. They rarely speak the language to their peers. Most teenagers in Lochmaddy are able to understand Gaelic but are not able to speak it fluently - that is, they are passive Gaelic speakers. They answer in English when spoken to in Gaelic by their parents. Children under ten are rarely heard to speak Gaelic. If they speak any Gaelic before they attend school, they rapidly lose it when they begin to do so. Their Gaelic is usually limited to the language of imperatives, i.e. close the door, be quiet, etc.

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David Hackett Fischer, in his book *Albion’s Seed*, states that "Gaelic continued to be spoken even into the late twentieth century" in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina. Fischer is out by close to one hundred years. There certainly have been no Gaelic speakers in the Cape Fear Valley in the last half century. From the available evidence, Gaelic did not survive as a spoken language for more than one or two generations in most families in Carolina, although there were probably exceptions. In the early days of the settlement there was greater isolation, and the Gaelic language may have seen a greater longevity in these early families, but most families which arrived around the time of the American Revolution and afterwards knew no such isolation. Mrs. MacElyea, in her *History of the MacQueens of Queensdale*, remembers hearing her grandmother speak Gaelic, but states that she herself had no knowledge at all of the language:

She [my grandmother] loved her native Gaelic tongue, and spoke it with great fluency. Very often she was visited by her Scotch friends and neighbours, when my childish curiosity was excited to a high pitch as I sat in open-mouthed wonder listening to the animated conversation, not one word of which was intelligible to me.

Mrs. MacElyea was only a second generation American, yet the Gaelic speech was already lost to her. Mrs. MacElyea’s grandmother was Ann MacRae MacQueen, who emigrated to Carolina in the 1770’s. Mrs. MacQueen died in 1855, and Mrs. MacElyea was not born until around 1850, so the period her evidence illuminates is from around 1850 to 1855.

The Rev. William Foote, writing in 1846, states that the Gaelic language was already passing out of use in Carolina, but that the process had been a very gradual one:

The influence of this language has been great among the Scotch settlements in Carolina. There have been some disadvantages attending it, and the language is fast passing away. For a long time it was a bond of union, and a preservation of those feelings and principles peculiar to the Scotch immigrants, many of which ought to be preserved forever. The change has been so gradual in putting off the Gaelic and adopting English, that the people of Cumberland have suffered as little from a change of their language, as any people that have ever undergone that unwelcome process. They have retained the faith and habits of their ancestors, things most commonly thrown away or changed by a change of the common dialect.
In 1872, the Rev. John Sinclair writes that: "The ancient Celtic language is nearly dead [in Carolina], except for the few families who arrived within the last thirty years." The Rev. David MacRae confirms Sinclair's view in his book *Americans At Home*, written after his visit to the Carolinas shortly after the War Between the States, which ended in 1865:

Gaelic has almost entirely died out in the settlement. For a long time it was the common language. The early settlers taught it even to their negro slaves; but English seems now universal. I met with very few who could either read or speak the Gaelic; though many had been more or less familiar with it in childhood....I was told that in some parts of the settlement which I had not the opportunity of visiting, Gaelic is still understood, and cherished by a few enthusiastic Highlanders with a romantic attachment.

Nettie McCormick Henly, a third generation American, born in 1874 in Scotland County, North Carolina in the heart of the Highland settlement area, states that she never heard any Gaelic spoken:

Our language was English, with some Negro softening. Scotch dialect such as in Ian McLaren's *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* has no resemblance to the way we talked, and I never heard anybody speak Gaelic.

Governor Angus Wilton MacLean, a noted authority on the Highland settlement in Carolina writes in 1919:

The Gaelic language weathered the storm fairly well until the outbreak of the Civil War. So far as can be ascertained, there are only two persons in this section who speak the Gaelic language, both belonging to the Longstreet congregation.

The Gaelic language has now all but disappeared in the Sandhills of Carolina, two hundred and fifty years after the arrival of the first colony of Highland Scots. There were several leading factors that caused the decline and disappearance of the language: the War of Independence, the church, education, and intermarriage. Because of the political stance taken by many Scots during the American War of Independence, they were often thought of as enemies of the American government. After the War was over, those Highlanders who chose to stay in North Carolina may have tried to distance themselves from their Scottish identity, including the Gaelic...
language at its heart. Americans of German descent experienced the same type of prejudice after the First World War and many Anglicised their names and refrained from speaking German in public.

MacLean feels that the church played an important part:

A factor which tended most from the beginning to break down the Gaelic language among the inhabitants of the Cape Fear was the fact that the clergy preached in both Gaelic and English.

From the very beginning, church services were held in both Gaelic and English, one service usually being held in one language in the morning and in the other in the afternoon. This was necessitated by the fact that there were always a few people within the church community who were ignorant of the Gaelic, even in the eighteenth century, and the ministers were all trained in English, so they were more than qualified to hold services in both languages. Regular Gaelic church services were finally abandoned after The War in 1865.

Certainly the need to speak English to transact business was an important impetus to acquiring it. In addition, as the years progressed, more and more Highlanders came to attend school where English was the medium of instruction. Highlanders also intermarried with neighbouring families who could not speak Gaelic and the use of the language declined further.

Interest in Gaelic has been once again on the rise in North Carolina in the 1980's along with an interest in Scottish culture in general. Several years ago Sandhills Community College in Moore County offered a continuing education course in Scottish Gaelic, although it has since been discontinued owing to the poor health of the instructor. Saint Andrew's Presbyterian College in Scotland County is establishing a program in Scottish Heritage Studies and is planning to offer a college level course in Gaelic in the near future, once an instructor is obtained.


5. I am grateful to Mr. Ronald Black, lecturer in Celtic at the University of Edinburgh for this transliteration and translation. Charms similar to this, although not precisely the same, can be found in the *Carmina Gadelica*, collected by Alexander Carmichael.


9. John C. McLaurin, p. 27.


12. David MacRae, p. 201.


16. Douglas Kelly, Tape 2A.

17. Douglas Kelly, Tape 2A.

18. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

19. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.

21. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.
22. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.
26. I am grateful to Dr. Donald Meek of the Celtic Department of Edinburgh University for this analysis of a recording of Malcolm's Twenty-Third Psalm which was made at the Shaw home in North Carolina in October 1989. According to Dr. Meek, although Malcolm's Gaelic is not always perfectly clear, his Twenty-Third Psalm seems to be a "sort of pastiche of favourite verses from hymns, psalms, and a possible popular Gaelic song."
27. Nloch is either a dialectical form of neadan / niodan, nest, or simply an error on Malcolm Shaw's part.
28. Duile is simply a dialectical variant of duine, or man. The "L", "N", and "R" in Gaelic are rather fluid and tend to replace each other in dialectical speech.
29. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.
32. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10A. In North Carolina usage, a "sorry person" is a person who is no good or bad.
33. I am again grateful to Dr. Donald Meek for commenting on this.
34. Personal interview with Mrs. John Boyd, October 1990.
36. Nancy Dorian has done an indepth study of the disappearance of Gaelic in East Sutherland. The disappearance of Gaelic in East Sutherland probably closely parallels the disappearance of the language in Carolina. Dorian describes the different stages that the language goes through on its way to extinction. (See Nancy Dorian, *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.)


41. David MacRae, pp. 199-200.


44. Angus MacLean, p. 445.
All cultures possess their own distinctive customs and beliefs, and the study of these helps us to gain insight into how the members of that culture view the world and how they adapt their behaviour to this world view. Many customs are now simply ritual behaviour that has become deeply ingrained and remains as a cultural artifact long after the original meaning of the custom has been forgotten. Customs associated with birth, marriage and death, calendar customs, and belief in the supernatural all fall within this category of folkculture. Although customs change with time, the following chapter provides data on the customs and their associated beliefs that were once common in the Cape Fear Highland Settlement in Carolina.

Birth Customs

"Birthing", as it was known in the South, was done in the home in Carolina, and this practice did not cease in some places until after the Second World War. At first only lay midwives attended the mother at birth, but by Nettie McCormick Henly's day in the 1870's, doctors also attended births. Mrs. Henly gives an account of birthing in the latter part of the nineteenth century:

I do not remember any trained nurses at all in my early days. In every neighbourhood there were one or two women like my maiden aunts, Christian and Margaret, or some widow whose children were grown, who went to help out whenever there was sickness or birth...There was nearly always a comfortable colored woman around, too, who could be depended on at a "birthing"...These midwives, white or colored, were nearly always called Aunt by everybody, and they were referred to as nurses and not midwives. Usually a doctor and a midwife, white or colored, would be called for the same birth in white families; the midwife only for the colored babies, though sometimes the landowner stood with the doctor for his colored tenants' babies. The midwife usually came a day or two ahead of time to be on hand to take care of the mother and the baby after the doctor had done the delivering. Somebody had to go on horseback to get the doctor from miles away, and if the baby was quick in arriving, as often happened, the midwife did the delivering as well, and did it well, too.

Black women in the Highland settlement were often used as wet nurses for the white children. Sarah Louise Raleigh, a former slave in Cumberland County, was interviewed for the Federal Writer's Project in the 1930s. She provides an eyewitness
account of what life was like for slaves in the Highland settlement area prior to the
War Between the States. Ms. Raleigh mentions that her grandmother served as a wet
nurse:

She was called "Black Mammy" because she wet-nursed so many white
children. In slavery time, she nursed all the babies hatched on her
master's plantation and kept it up after the war as long as she had
children.2

Marriage Customs

Very little has survived in oral tradition or has been written about traditional
marriage customs in the Highland settlement area of Carolina. Certainly for the first
fifteen years or so, no Presbyterian minister was available to perform the marriage
ceremony in the Cape Fear region, so the Highlanders had to either simply live
together without the sanction of marriage, or try to get an itinerant minister of
another faith to perform the ceremony. Scots law recognised "common law"
marriages as perfectly legal, and couples in Scotland often married without benefit of
a minister simply by public declaration.3

We know from the early nineteenth century church records that there was great
celebration, drinking, and dancing at weddings in the Highland settlement area.
Church members were often admonished for immoderate behaviour at these events
(see section on religion).

Nettie McCormick Henly gives us some idea of marriage customs in the latter
half of the nineteenth century:

Engagements to marry, which bring on so much celebration and so
many parties these days, were usually kept secret with us right up until
the invitations went out for the wedding. Engagement rings were not
used, though some other gift such as a bracelet or watch was often
given and worn without obligation. There might be a quiet wedding
breakfast or supper, but never anything like the big receptions
nowadays.4

Most weddings in the nineteenth century were performed in the home. Since the turn
of the twentieth century, however, most weddings have been performed in a church.
Marriage customs in the Highland settlement area today differ very little from the
customs in the rest of the state. The customs that were particularly Highland probably
broke down early as a result of Highlanders marrying partners who were of Scotch-
Irish, English, or other descent. There is no mention in oral tradition or written histories of North Carolina of particularly Highland wedding customs such as the reiteach or betrothal ceremony once very common in Scotland.

A similarity can be seen between one town in the Highland settlement area of Carolina and Gretna Green, Scotland. Dillon, South Carolina is the place where many people of Highland descent now go to elope. The marriage laws in South Carolina are much more lenient than the laws in North Carolina, so many couples make the trip south to get married in one of the famous "marriage mills" located there. Many couples in England have been doing the same thing for years - eloping to Gretna Green to take advantage of Scotland's more lenient laws.

Death and Burial Customs

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were no funeral homes or morticians in the Upper Cape Fear Valley Highland Settlement. The preparation of the corpse was done in the home, just as it had been done in Scotland. In North Carolina, bodies were prepared for burial by the family or slaves. The account provided by the former slave Sarah Louise Raleigh includes information on death and burial customs in Cumberland County before 1865:

When one of the white folks died, they sent slaves around to the homes of their friends, and neighbours stood on the porch and in the house while the services were going on. The bodies were carried to the grave after the services in a black hearse drawn by black horses. If they did not have black horses to draw the hearse, they went off and borrowed them. The coloured people washed and shrouded the dead bodies. My grandmother was one who did this.

The practice of holding a wake for the dead, so long a practice in Scotland, was also still observed in Carolina until quite recently. Nettie Henly gives an excellent description of burial customs in the Highland Settlement in the late nineteenth century. She remembers the wakes or "settin' ups" that were still held in her early years:

It was customary to "sit up" with the corpse at night, before the funeral. (There was no embalming then, so bodies were usually buried soon - usually only a day or two after death.) The neighbours would send food for a midnight meal, and plenty of coffee would be drunk, but nothing stronger among our class. Persons known to like liquor too much were
not allowed to come. The "settin' up" was partly out of respect for the family; partly because it was thought that animals, such as cats or varmints, would be attracted by the dead, and would claw the body. 6

This same belief, where cats are attracted to the body, was recorded by Paul Greene and included in Frank Brown's North Carolina folklore collection. 7

Wakes must have passed out of fashion in the early 1900's, because by the time of Donald MacDonald, who was born in the 1920's, only Blacks were still holding wakes in his area:

I remember hearing of what we called "settin' ups". Now a "settin' up would be a wake. I never heard the word "wake" used at all, it was just simply a "settin' up"... We associated it by the time I came along with the Blacks. The Blacks would have settin' ups, all night settin' ups so they'd be all night wakes. As far as I knew, white people didn't have that any more. I'm sure they did in the old days 'cause Daddy used to tell me, Daddy once told me, rather, about a wake at a place called the Turnout in Robeson County...

The caskets in the nineteenth century were made in the community by craftsmen such as coopers and joiners and were constructed as the need arose. Dan McDonald's grandfather was a cooper in Moore County whose responsibility it was also to make coffins for the community. He describes the making of the caskets in his community in Moore County:

He [Dan's grandfather] said he made them [caskets] out of the best pine wood they could get... It was against their religion to prepare ahead for the dead. They waited until a person died and then made a casket. They lined it with silk and put satin on the outside - a real good job.

Nettie McCormick Henly's father in Scotland County also built caskets and by Mrs. Henly's description, some of them appeared to be much fancier than the ones at McDonald's Chapel in Moore County:

These coffins were "shaped", that is, broad at the shoulder level, angled in a little at the head, and tapering in narrow at the feet. The outside was covered with black velvet and the linings were made of silk for the more expensive kind (ten or fifteen dollars); black calico instead of velvet, and cotton instead of silk were used for the poorer customers (five or six dollars). The finished coffins looked very neat, with silvery handles and silvered screws showing up pretty on the black velvet. The outer case in which the coffin was placed before lowering it into the grave was usually plain pine, a simple oblong box, not shaped and not painted. 8
The nineteenth century saw several changes in the funeral services held for the deceased in the Highland Settlement of Carolina. The Rev. John Roberts describes the changes in the funeral service at Union Church in Moore County at the time of the War Between the States and after:

From time immemorial it had been the custom to bury the dead and at some convenient date afterward, preach a memorial sermon of the deceased. Mr. Russell [minister at Union 1859-1864] announced that he would preach no funeral sermons except on the day of burial. He thus broke up a custom the beginning of which went back beyond the memory of those living. The custom, however, of taking the remains into the church for the funeral service did not come into practice at Union until much after the time of Mr. Russell.  

Mrs. Henly describes the funeral services in her community and the changes that took place in the latter part of the nineteenth century:

Funerals were always preached at the graveyard and lasted at least an hour. The Presbyterian sermons were impersonal, and it was thought odd if the preacher talked much about the deceased, his character and doings in life. A visitor of another denomination attended a funeral at the McKinnon graveyard, and at the end of it turned to his neighbour with pained surprise, "To hear that preacher, you wouldn't know who was dead, a man or a hog." In addition to the sermon and the appointed Scripture, there were usually one or two hymns sung by all those gathered at the grave. In later days, there might be a funeral at the church, and more at the graveside, when the church burying ground was to be used.

The behaviour at funerals and wakes appears to have changed greatly in the Highland Settlement in Carolina during the nineteenth century as well. The Rev. Mr. Robert Tate, minister at Black River Church in Sampson County around the year 1800, reported that gambling, horseracing, and the imbibing of spirits were quite popular at funerals in his area. At the Old Scotch Graveyard in Moore County seven miles west of Carthage on the west side of MacClendon's Creek, one can still discern a track encircling the graveyard that tradition says was used for horseracing. In 1811, the Rev. John McIntyre, a staunch prohibitionist, announced that he would refuse to officiate at any funeral where strong drink was served. This announcement apparently followed a funeral at which he officiated where "a keg of brandy and other refreshments had been carried to the funeral in the conveyance with the corpse, and, after a long and tiresome journey, all partook of it freely, after reaching the place of burial." The practice of drinking at funerals was still common in the Northeast of Scotland in the late nineteenth century:
If the church yard was at a distance, whisky was carried; and on the road was usually a fixed spot for resting and partaking of it...Fame has it that the quantity now taken in addition to what was formerly taken, not infrequently put not a few of the coffin-bearers into a state far from seemly...When the grave was again covered over with the green sod, whisky was in many cases partaken of when each took his way home.

In North Carolina, by contrast, we find no mention of anything but solemn, sober behaviour at funerals by the late nineteenth century.

Because of his family connection, Dan MacDonald has quite an elaborate knowledge of burial customs in the Sandhills area of Carolina. He explains just how the graves were dug in his neighbourhood and the coffins placed in them.

The way they dug a grave here - they call it a tomb: They first dug down the four foot into the land - dug a hole four foot deep - a square, you know - the shape of the grave - and then inside of that they dug deeper - just deep enough to fit that casket they made out of those pine boards, and then they nicely shaped it with a flat pointed shovel. My grandfather - I've seen one of them - he told me how to do that. They would dig into the hard clay - our land over there was clay. They dug into that very carefully and made it just to receive the casket - you had no box. They put that little casket, with the body in it of course, down into that other grave - the tomb that had been lined with cloth too to make it nice and pretty. They dropped it in there with ropes underneath it and pulled the ropes out. Then they put some boards across the top of that and then they put that four foot of dirt back on top of you. So you were buried - not only four foot deep, but the depth of the casket was four foot underground too...That's the way that he had it [grandfather] and he was buried that way too....You got a ledge down there - you could work on that ledge if you wanted to. See there's two holes - a wide hole and then a narrow one....I'm sure you'll find that throughout the Sandhills. I don't think my grandfather was an exception....I think that that was just the way of doing it. I know that my grandfather insisted that he be buried that way and that's how he was buried.

At first the Highlanders in Carolina buried their dead in family cemeteries which were situated on the family's property, often close to the house. Sometimes private burial grounds later developed into communal graveyards for the whole area. The Old Scotch Cemetery mentioned previously is one of the oldest of this type in the settlement. The land was originally purchased by a Scottish Loyalist named Captain John Martin and he buried his wife on this property. He intended to be buried there himself, but after the American Revolution he went to Nova Scotia to live and was buried there.

One of the earliest and most important graveyards in the Sandhills area was Stewartsville Cemetery in Scotland County. According to a North Carolina tradition, a man named Stewart was buried there in about 1785. His burial party was passing...
by the site when they happened to stop and rest and they found it so pleasant and
peaceful that they decided to bury the corpse there instead. Other graves eventually
joined that of Mr. Stewart. Since there were no church graveyards at the time,
Stewartsville became a well known and popular burial ground and Highlanders from
far distant parts of the settlement brought their dead there to be buried.

The Cape Fear Scots later began to bury their dead in the churchyard and the
graveyards at Longstreet, Old Bluff, Barbecue, and Old Bethesda all contain the
remains of many Highland emigrants. Although there are many old graves at Phillipi
Church, the graveyard was there long before a church was ever built. Phillipi has one
very interesting gravestone - that of Catherine Campbell to whom the inscription
gives the distinction of being a niece and adopted child of the Duke of Argyll.
According to Alastair Campbell of Airds, Chief Executive of the Clan Campbell, no
mention is made in the Campbell family documents at Inverary of this women. It is
possible that she was an illegitimate child of one of the Campbell family, and
therefore was never mentioned in the official records.

The graveyard at Longstreet Church has preserved an example of the building
techniques brought to Carolina and practiced by the Highland emigrants in the
drystane dyke which defines the perimeter. Originally constructed in the early
nineteenth century, the wall was only built around a small portion of the graves.
About thirty years later it was decided to enclose all the graves. 19

Grave markers were very simple at first in the Cape Fear Highland Settlement.
The first markers were made of heartwood pine, also known as fatwood, fatlighter, or
lightwood. If these markers originally had inscriptions, they were soon worn away by
the weather. After the fatwood markers, brown sandstone markers came into use.
These were rectangular with a rounded top, with indentations at the sides where the
rounded top began. The sandstone was easily cut and shaped, but it too became
weathered and the inscriptions illegible very quickly. Slate was also sometimes used,
but it did not prove satisfactory since it tended to break easily. It wasn’t until later in
the nineteenth century that granite and marble markers came into wide use. In some
areas like the McDonald Chapel Community in Moore County, they did not have
many stone markers until the early twentieth century:

In the early days, my grandfather John Alexander [McDonald] told me
that - he made many of the tombstones...and they made the monument
out of this fat-pinewood [heartwood pine] that we have around here. It
will last forever and they made round tops...As a boy I could see "McD"
carved on some of them, but they all went away, weathered
away...We didn’t have any monuments here out of stone until
somewhere in the late twenties or early thirties. 20

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Headstone in the cemetery at Phillippi Church in Hoke County. The Clan Campbell archives at Inveraray Castle have no record of this woman.
Drystane dike that surrounds the oldest part of the graveyard at Longstreet Church in Cumberland County.
The inscriptions on grave markers in the Highland graveyards were usually very simple, often giving no more than the name, spouse's name, and date of birth and death. Highland emigrants in Carolina continued the Scottish tradition of listing a woman's maiden name on her tombstone. For example, in Longstreet Cemetery the following inscription can be found:

In memory of Janette Gillis consort of D.A. McDirmid Died Aug 11, 1863, Aged 55 years A native of the Island of Islay Argyll-Shire, Scotland

Inscriptions of emigrants usually include "Born in Scotland" or alternatively the name of a specific area of Scotland - most often Skye or Argyll. Some are inscribed with short epitaphs which are frequently verses from the Bible. The only Gaelic epitaph known to exist in Carolina is on a gravestone at Longstreet Church and is mentioned in the section on Gaelic.

According to Nettie Henly, all of the graves in her community also faced in the same direction:

The graves of both family and church burying grounds are laid with the headstones to the west, and the foot towards the east, so that on the morning of Judgement Day the resurrected may come from their graves facing the sunrise.

The Frank Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore lists several similar beliefs. One belief says that all graves should be dug east and west so that the dead will be facing the east toward Gabriel when he blows his horn. Slaves were usually buried in a separate area from the whites. Their burial plots were often situated on lower ground than the area for the white graves, which was usually situated on a hill. The slave graves were often decorated with brightly coloured bottles, sea shells, and pieces of glass. Furman McDonald describes a slave graveyard on the McDonald property:

I have all idea now that that graveyard is all growed up. When I was fairly young, well when I was a teenage boy and all, they was a lot of rocks for markers, tombstone markers like, but they'd be big white rocks they'd have there. And then they'd have all kind of little bottles of all descriptions and seashells and stuff like that on the graves...little odd shaped bottles of all descriptions like little perfume bottles and stuff - they'd be stuck down in the grave.
A few of the oldest cemeteries in the Upper Cape Fear Highland Settlement have fallen into disrepair through neglect. The descendants of some of the deceased have devised ways to preserve these old burial grounds, however, through the annual "graveyard dig". Graveyard digs are social gatherings organised to remember the dead and to maintain the graveyard itself. Dan McDonald describes the graveyard dig at the cemetery at McDonald Chapel in Moore County:

The family knew everybody. While they could put up a monument - they just didn't do it. They put the wooden marker up and told each other who they were and every spring of the year they'd have what we called a "graveyard dig". They would go over there and clean it off and talk about them. That's all the history we got - that one day of experiencing the graveyard was about it. The whole family would get together and go do that - clean off the graveyard they said.

Family or community "decoration days", "memorial days", or days for "graveyard working" on which people gather at the cemetery for clean-up work, recreation, and to remember those who have passed away is quite common throughout the South.

Second Sight

The belief in second sight, or bà shealladh, is a widespread phenomenon in Highland culture. In the folklore of the Gael, stories about second sight abound. Usually these stories have to do with the prediction of someone's death: funeral processions are seen days or even years before they actually occur; the sounds associated with the construction of caskets are heard when no source for the noises can be ascertained; individuals who have not been seen in months or years are seen walking past; or someone's death is revealed in a dream. This belief in second sight and the stories associated with the phenomenon were preserved in the Highland community in Carolina and stories of second sight are still in evidence there today.

Angus Wilton MacLean, in his unpublished manuscript about the Highland Scots in Carolina, gives three vivid examples of second sight. The first example is attributed to Lauchlin Bethune, who served as a member of the US House of Representatives. One evening about dark, Bethune was coming home along Chicken Road, an old road through the Highland settlement (now NC Highway 52), when he saw lights and heard the sound of hammering and sawing in an old deserted house. The next day he investigated, but no trace of anyone or anything was found in the house. Several days later, there was an accident on the road near the deserted house - the driver of a covered wagon was thrown off the wagon and killed. The other
members of the wagon train stopped at the deserted house to lay out the body and construct a casket. The Bethune family heard about the accident and went to the house to sit up with the corpse. As Lauchlin Bethune neared the house, he experienced the same events that had transpired several days earlier—lights in the old house and the sound of a saw and hammer.\textsuperscript{27}

The second story that MacLean relates concerns a man named John C. Currie, schoolmaster, who bought a farm near Raeford from another Scot named Malcolm Stewart. Stewart had sold out his holdings in Carolina and emigrated to Alabama. One day while Currie was out in his field at about dusk, he saw Malcolm Stewart pass across the field. On returning home, he announced to his family that Stewart was dead, but he would not tell them how he knew. Several months later word arrived in Carolina that Stewart had died the exact day and time that Currie had seen his vision in the field. He then explained to his family what he had seen previously.\textsuperscript{28}

The last example that MacLean gives concerns a rather elaborate vision seen by a young Highlander named Malcolm Baxter. Baxter saw a fight occur between two men and one of them was slain. About three years later a muster occurred on the site that Baxter had seen the vision, and the events occurred just as he had experienced them previously.\textsuperscript{29}

Dan McDonald heard stories about second sight when he was growing up in Moore County. He tells one story he heard from his grandfather:

My grandfather, John Alexander [McDonald], made barrels. He had a cooper's shop over in Manly back north of Southern Pines and made barrels for the tar and turpentine industry. He told stories about—ghost stories that he used to sit on the porch at night and tell us. The gristmill—the water-mill—you know they sawed the lumber with a water-mill and at night the mill started up by itself—started running for a little while and then somebody knocks on the door and says: "John Smith is dead and we need you to make a casket for him." The mill had already started you see...started by itself.\textsuperscript{30}

This sort of second sight experience was recorded in Argyll, Scotland by the late Calum MacLean of the School of Scottish Studies. According to this story, a saw worked itself at night just before a death.\textsuperscript{31} The sound of saws going in a joiner's shop before a coffin was required appears in tradition in Caithness,\textsuperscript{32} Isle of Harris,\textsuperscript{33} and Islay.\textsuperscript{34} In addition, the Frank Brown Collection includes a story collected in the Highland Settlement near Fayetteville, North Carolina about sounds coming from a coffin shop before a death.\textsuperscript{35}
Occurrences of second sight still occur in Carolina, most of them reported from dreams. A sister of Anna MacIver Henderson from Dillon County had a dream that foretold their father's death:

In our family, the night that my father died...my sister dreamed that she had...one of my sisters the night before dreamed....She called my brother the next morning, she was in Spartanburg, and she said "Daniel, did you call me last night?" and he said "No, I didn't call you," and she said "I must have dreamed it." She said, "I dreamed last night that you called me and told me Poppa was dead" - and that day he died. That was the day they got the message that Poppa was dead."

Douglas Kelly from Robeson County heard about second sight phenomena from his relatives when he was growing up in Robeson and Moore Counties.

Very often a person would see a light in someone's bedroom before they were going to die. I think it was a kerosene lamp that wasn't there and things like that. That's regularly told that they wake up at night and there's a light in the room and they say "Why did you have the light this late?" They didn't have a light on and the next day they died.

Kelly states that many members of his family have had the power of second sight:

Several have had it - my great-grandmother Mary MacRimmon had it; Aunt Maude had it; Aunt Regina had it; Aunt Ethel had it - those great-aunts and my great-grandmother - all of those had it in the sense of dreams before members of the family died - seeing who it was that was going to die - and that has been - that's still in the family. That's been told that that was in the Rays and the MacRimmons - the second sight involving the death of family members.

According to Kelly, he has inherited the power of second sight himself. He describes a dream that he had where he foretold the death of an acquaintance:

Well I can tell you this - when I was in Edinburgh in 1968 - cause it's come down to me too, which I don't like it. It's not particularly pleasant cause you can't do anything about it. The odd thing is, often it comes sometimes as a person of no particular consequence to you....In 1968 I had a dream about one of the deacons in the Raeford Presbyterian Church dying. It was very vivid. I saw him take a fall and that sort of thing, and I thought: "Well, in a week or two I'll hear he is dead" - and I didn't, so I wrote his family and I didn't tell them my dream, I just said: "I wondered how you were getting along?" They wrote back and they were doing fine. Six months later he died exactly the way I'd seen...he had a fall at home and died. That's happened a number of times.
Old Christmas

When the Julian calendar was abolished and the Gregorian calendar was adopted in Britain in the eighteenth century, many Scots refused to adjust to the change and continued to observe Christmas on the fifth or the sixth of January instead of the twenty-fifth of December. For this reason, Scots referred to the fifth or sixth of January as "Old Christmas" and continued to observe Christmas on this day even after they had emigrated to Carolina. Lauchlin Shaw heard stories in his family about his great-grandfather Torquil, who emigrated from Jura in 1830:

He didn't recognise the new date then - Old Christmas they'd called it - is what he went on. That is when they changed their calendar. There was some dispute about it in Scotland. Some of them never did go for it. The sixth was Old Christmas - he didn't like the new one- he didn't as long as he lived. I heard my Daddy say he did not recognise it.

In her book The MacQueens of Queensdale, Mrs. MacElyea mentions that the family of Col. James MacQueen continued to observe Old Christmas as well:

The MacQueen children, after marrying and moving to different localities, always met together at Queensdale, on old Christmas Day, the fifth of January, which was designated as "MacQueen Christmas".

Although Old Christmas is no longer observed in Carolina, some families in Carolina of Highland descent once had customs and traditions associated with it. Both Margaret May from Anson County and Furman McDonald from Richmond County remember members of their family telling about receiving fruit on Old Christmas:

My great aunt who lived with us had old Christmas...The fifth or sixth of January, I really don’t know...She would always save fruit, some special things, for the Old Christmas.

Seems like Daddy told me, and maybe Mama too, that they would expect a little something like a special fruit or something like that on Old Christmas.

Furman McDonald also heard a tradition from his father about the livestock at Old Christmas:
I remember Daddy saying that that was when you could go out there, at that particular time of the year on a - at night, at midnight - the cows would get on their knees. I believe - January the sixth I believe is when it was.47

The belief that cattle and other livestock get on their knees at Christmas is common throughout Scotland as well as in other European cultures. Alexander Carmichael records this belief in Breadalbane.48 It has also been noted by Trotter in Galloway; the cuddies (small horses or donkeys) were believed to get down on their knees and pray on Christmas eve.49 Cattle kneeling on Christmas eve has also been recorded in other areas of North Carolina.50

Dan McDonald from Moore County tells about the observance of Old Christmas and how it figured in the folk prediction of weather:

The Old Christmas, some people even celebrated that to some extent. It was always remembered, if not celebrated. The sixth of January I guess - and the days between the Christmases described the weather - and I've never been able to determine whether you begin on Christmas Day or the day after. [Dan's daughter interjects that it is on Christmas Day that you begin]

Daughter: If Christmas Day is warm it means that January will be a warm time - and the second day, that's for February - all the way down. Epiphany would be the weather for December the following year. Christmas of 1989 is going to show you what all the months of 1990 are going to be.

Dan: Each day represented a month until you arrived at the 12th month. It foretold the weather that you are going to have in the coming year... Some of them recorded that and remembered it, and actually it kind of works. There's enough truth in it to make it interesting enough for people to try to follow it.51

The practice of divining the weather from the first twelve days of the year was common in Scotland and was noted by Pennant in his tour of Scotland in 1772.52 It was also noted in the diary of a physician in Cromar in the 1790s.53 This practice was found in Skye as well, although the reckoning of the days began on Hansel Monday, the first Monday in the New Year.54 The belief is also widespread in North Carolina. The Frank Brown folklore collection lists six different sources for this belief in widely separated localities.55
New Year

The New Year was once observed in Carolina in the nineteenth century as it is still in Scotland. The following account of Scottish New Year celebrations in North Carolina was in oral tradition in Harnett County in the 1950s and was written down by Leon MacDonald of Olivia, an expert in the Highland lore of Carolina:

Old Archie MacGregor, son of Gorrie, lived in the neighbourhood of Old Longstreet. He, like most of the old Scotch Presbyterians, refused to adopt the Gregorian calendar, or any other product of Roman Catholicism, and continued to hold his old New Year’s party on January 12th. All the people from miles around came to MacGregors on that night; danced until daybreak and drank a dram whenever they chose. Church rules of the Presbyterian Church forbade both dancing and drinking. MacGregor was an elder in the Cypress Presbyterian Church, then newly organized in 1830. This church of which he was a member could not ignore these widely publicised parties held at the home of one of its leading members. The session hailed MacGregor to account, sitting as a trial body, charging him with violation of the church rules in both dancing and dram-drinking. Macgregor denied nothing. He told them of the ancient Scottish custom of holding an all night party to see the New Year come in according to the old calendar. He stood up and his parting words were, "Ye may session and ye may session, but when auld New Year's night comes MacGregor will shake his foot and cruik his arrum (bend his arm).

Most Highland descendants living in Carolina today, however, have never heard of Hogmanay or first-footing. The customs that they observe on the first of January are the same as their German, English, and Ulster Scot neighbours. Furman McDonald describes the custom of partaking of black-eyed peas and collards cooked with hog meat that is widespread in Carolina today:

Mama would want to always have black-eyed peas and collards and hog jowls. That was the tradition that we’d always follow. She’d say, always say to you: your collards was for the green-backs for the future and your black-eyed peas was for your pennies.

Martha McLeod from Moore County also mentions firing guns off at New Years as well as Christmas - both a common practice in Carolina.

Dan McDonald reports a belief handed down in his family that was associated with the New Year:
You didn't borrow any money, you didn't spend any money - whatever you did on New Year's Day might be what you do the whole year. So my mother wouldn't let me borrow any money or anything like that - prefer not to buy anything much. Just live a model life on New Year's Day. It sets the example for the whole year.

Beltane or May Day

The celebration of Beltane or May Day has all but been forgotten in the Sandhills of Carolina today. There was only one family interviewed in the Highland settlement area that had any traditions at all associated with the first of May. Anna McIver Henderson describes how she and her brothers and sisters would make "May baskets" for their parents:

The first day of May was a big thing in our family. Every May Day we would gather baskets of flowers and we would pick out walnuts - we had walnuts. My father loved walnuts - and we'd fix a basket - a May basket we'd call it and we'd put all this stuff in it - the flowers and everything. The children would do this and then we'd put it on the front porch and knock on the door. Then we'd go hide and Mama and Papa would go out and get their baskets. We thought they didn't know anything about it - that we were doing it on the sly. But I know now that they that we were doing all the time. "I wonder who brought this basket?" They would carry on about how good it was and how beautiful it was. Then we'd come out laughing and tell them who did it.

Because of modern transportation, communication, and immigration into North Carolina from other areas, states and countries, the customs in the Highland Settlement area of Carolina associated with birth, marriage, death, and the calendar are now conforming to practice in the rest of the state, the South, and the nation. One does find vestiges of Highland culture in the memories of the older Cape Fear Valley residents, but new generations will probably have to learn of these through written sources.


3. There are numerous references to irregular marriages in Scotland, notably those in the Sound Archives of the School of Scottish Studies. For example, on Tape SA1975/51, Betsy White states that this custom survived among the traveler population until WWI, when women were required to have legal proof of their marriage before they could receive army wife benefits. Margaret Bennett mentions living together without a marriage solemnized by a the church in a similar emigrant community in Newfoundland, where there was probably no minister or priest available. [Margaret Bennett, *The Last Stronghold*, (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd., 1989), p. 33.]


8. Donald MacDonald, Tape 22A.

9. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16A.


17. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16B.

18. Angus MacLean, p. 664.

frank brown gives several different references to this custom in carolina, attributed to the blacks from africa. (hand, vol. i, p. 259)

24. furman macdonald, tape 3b.

25. dan macdonald, tape 16a.


27. angus maclean, p. 596.

28. angus maclean, p. 597.

29. angus maclean, p. 598.

30. dan macdonald, tape 17b.

31. tape sa 1958/88/b5, sound archives, school of scottish studies, edinburgh.

32. hugh oog ms, school of scottish studies, edinburgh, p. 31.

33. tape sa 1968/176/a4, b1; sound archives, school of scottish studies.

34. tape sa 1968/84/a7a,a7b; sound archives, school of scottish studies.


36. anna henderson parham, tape 17b.

37. douglas kelly, tape 2b.

38. kelly, tape 2b.

39. kelly, tape 2b.

40. for a extensive study on scottish calendar customs, see banks, m. macleod. british calendar customs: scotland. 3 vols. london: william glaisher, ltd., 1937,1939,1941.

41. there was an eleven or twelve day discrepancy between the gregorian and the older julian calendar, depending on how and when one made the corrections for the new calendar.

42. frank brown states that "the keeping of old christmas, january sixth, instead of the "man-made" christmas of december twenty-fifth can safely be said to be southern [the southern states in america], although isolated instances of its observance have been recorded in other areas." (hand, vol. i, p. 224) old christmas was still observed
quite recently in the Outer Banks area of North Carolina as well. This area was settled by English and lowland Scots at a very early date and was isolated from the rest of North Carolina for years.

43. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.


45. Margaret May, Tape 13B.

46. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3A.

47. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3A.


51. Dan MacDoanld, Tape 16B.


57. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3A.

58. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5B. According to Frank Brown, shooting of firecrackers and the discharging of firearms at Christmastime are customs rarely, if ever, observed anywhere in America north of the Mason Dixon Line. (Hand, Vol. I, p. 224) [The Mason Dixon Line is an imaginary line, like the Highland line in Scotland, which separates the Southern states of the Confederacy from the northern states of the Union.]

59. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16B.

60. This tradition may be quite common in America, as Jan Harold Brunvand mentions the giving of May baskets in his book The Study of American Folklore, [Brunvand, p. 251.]

61. Anna Henderson Parham, Tape 17B.
Social Organisation

The social organisation of the Highland settlement of the Upper Cape Fear region in Carolina was highly influenced by ties of kinship, location of one's home and holdings, and church membership. Occupational groups did not play much of a role in social organisation until more recently because in the early days of the settlement, most families performed all the tasks needed for survival themselves and engaged in little regular work beyond the home place. There were a few societies and organisations that cut across kinship, church, and residence lines such as the Masonic Order and the Temperance Society, but these were much fewer in number than there are today. The musters for the local militia afforded periodic social interaction for many of the men, but women were excluded.

Kinship also played an important part in the English, German, and Scotch-Irish settlements in Carolina, but it was particularly strong in the Highland area because of the history of the clan system. When the Argyll settlement was first established in Carolina in 1739, the clan system was still in force in Scotland. In Scotland, townships were often composed of extended family groups, and Highlanders continued this tradition after they emigrated to Carolina by settling close to relatives. Physical proximity also influenced the choice of marriage partner, so once in Carolina, an ever expanding web of familial ties was constructed in these communities. Nettie Henly explains the importance of kinship and the extended family in her community in Scotland County in the late nineteenth century:

It was pretty good for a child to grow up in a community knowing that besides his father and mother, sisters and brothers, there was a tremendous number of aunts, uncles, and cousins to the first, second, and third degrees (kissing cousins) and beyond, ready to play with him, take care of him when he was sick, see that his family did not want if he died - that his motherless children would be mothered - as was the case with us. The wild ways of the Scotch clan were mostly buried under quiet farming customs, but the feeling of blood kin still ruled.¹

This idea of strong ties of kinship or clannishness can still be seen in the little community of Riverton in Scotland County today. According to Lil Buie of Wagram, virtually all the homes in the community are owned by descendants of the Rev. Daniel Whyte and his wife Catherine Campbell.² The Whytes had a large family and their descendants are scattered throughout America in all walks of life. Only a few
houses in Riverton are occupied year round, but the idea of clan and kinship bring their owners back to Riverton every year to spend their holidays and summer vacations among their kin.

More than physical proximity was involved in selection of marriage partners in the Highland settlement. Highland ancestry and church affiliation also played most important roles. Gordon McLaurin, born in Marlboro County, South Carolina in 1887, heard stories in his family about the pressure to marry within the Highland group:

I had an old - I didn't know her, she died I reckon before I was born, I'm not sure. They called her Old Aunt Christian. She came from Scotland and they used to laugh about it and say that if any of the family were figurin' on getting married, if it wasn't to a Scotchman, she would [say], "Unh-uh, unh-uh, he's not white, he's not white. If he wasn't a Scotchman, he wasn't white. She objected to everyone who was not a Scotchman getting into the family."

Dr. John MacLean of Fayetteville also reports that he was always told that the family "didn't like you to marry out". They were very upset when his father married a woman who was of English descent. The Rev. J.A.W. Thomas, in his History of Marlboro County, gives an example of endogamy among the McColls, Highland emigrants from Appin who came to Carolina about 1790:

The intermarriage of Scot with Scot has been especially characteristic of the McColls. Attached to the old "clan", proud of their pure blood, they have married and intermarried until they are all kin, more or less.

Mrs. Janie McNiel, of Dillon County recalls the reaction to her family when she told them she was marrying a McNiel:

Well, I was a college student at Winthrop [College] in Rock Hill [South Carolina] and I met this air cadet during World War II, and he was from Alabama. That was a long ways off, but when I told that his name was McNiel, my great aunt Jennie McKay said, "Well, he's alright. He's a Mac."

Evidence of similar attitudes can be found in other areas of Highland settlement in North America. For example, the Tiree settlers who emigrated to Ontario in the nineteenth century believed that it was not "good form " to marry out of the group, that is, to marry someone of English or Irish extraction.
Naming Traditions

In the Highlands of Scotland, children have been traditionally named for relatives. One often finds the first born son named for the father's father with the other sons being named for relatives on both the father and the mother's side, although it sometimes varies. Female children are also named for relatives. Often one girl is named for the mother's mother or father's mother, but the naming system for females does not seem to be as rigid.

Because children are named for relatives, sooner or later the same names become established in families and the situation may even develop where one may have two or more children in the same family with the same name. For example, Roderick MacLeod, the last chief of the MacLeods of Lewis, named three of his sons Torquil and two Norman. The problem is compounded because relatives tend to live close to each other and therefore many people within close proximity have the same last names as well. In North Uist, for instance, the most common last name is MacDonald. The most common first names appear to be Angus, Alasdair (Alexander), Donald, and Ian (John). With the number of Angus, Alasdair, Donald and Ian MacDonals living within a small area, it is often difficult for the outsider to tell them apart.

Because so many Highlanders have the same names, patronymics, double-names, and nicknames are employed to identify them. In Gaelic, the traditional way to distinguish people was through their patronymic, or line of decent, known as sloinneadh. An example of this would be Domhnall mac lain 'ic Sheumais, literally, Donald the son of John the son of James. Individuals are also called by double names, or their first and middle names, e.g., John Angus, to help distinguish them from others with the same first names. Nicknames are also employed to distinguish individuals. These may develop from a physical, personal, or family characteristic, one's livelihood, place of residence, or family relationship. Examples of the first three above would be Donnchadh Bàn (fair haired Duncan), Padruig Post (Patrick the postman), and Alasdair Cheann a' Bhaigh (Alasdair from the head of the bay). Nicknames can be associated with a family characteristic and two families in the Isle of Lewis provide good examples of this type. There is a group of MacRaes in Newmarket, Lewis whose members are known as "the Carolinas" because one of their ancestors emigrated to Carolina around 1883 and remained there for a short time before returning. There is another family in Lewis where the members are given the epithet piopar (piper), although no one in the family can now play the pipes and indeed no one seems to remember the individual who did. Family relationship...
nicknames are also very common and are similar to patronymics in that someone is associated with another well known family member, usually one's father, mother or spouse - for example "Para Shandaidh" (Sandy's Patrick) or "Annag Marsaíl" (Marjorie's Ann) or "Seonag Alasdair" (Alasdair's Joan). Nicknames can also be applied in a joking fashion, as when one receives a nickname which is the opposite of a personal characteristic. Examples of this would be calling someone beag (small) when he or she is really quite large.

When the Highland Scots emigrated to the Upper Cape Fear Valley, most of them continued the old system of naming. Malcolm Shaw explains how children were named in his family:

They mostly used the family names right on down, down, down. For instance now my great grandparents, one of them's name was John and one of them's name was Duncan. The next generation - my grandfather had one named John, one named Duncan.

Martha McLeod of Moore County describes the system of naming that pertained to the male children in her family:

They broke with tradition in the last couple of generations, but before that they named the eldest child for the father's father, the second child for the mother's father, and the third child for the father.

Surnames were becoming standardised in Scotland by the eighteenth century, but Highlanders held on for years to the patronymic tradition. A Highlander was known by two names: the outside world knew him by his surname, while his friends and relatives knew him by his patronymic. The patronymic system disappeared in North Carolina with the Gaelic language, but a manuscript about the history of the McLaurins in North Carolina gives an example of a final stage that patronymics may have gone through on their way to extinction. There was an old Scotsman living in Carolina named Duncan McLaurin (1740-1833) who was known as Duncan McJohn by the other Scots around him because his father had been named John McLaurin, or Culloden John.12

Nettie McCormick Henly from Scotland County explains the use of double names in the Highland communities in Carolina:

The first American generation of babies mostly had one Christian name apiece, strong Bible names like Daniel, John, Mary, Elizabeth, or Scotch names like Duncan, Dougal, Angus. Following generations repeated these names but, usually a second name was added to tell the
child from half a dozen other relatives who bore the same first name. So we called the baby by the full two names, like Mary Catherine, or the first name and initial, like John C. or Duncan A.

Dan McDonald from Moore County describes the system of nicknames used in his area to distinguish people:

You separated the person by his height or something, whatever...Hollarin' Tom, Lighter Knot Will, Whistlin’ Rufus...We used to listen to Hollarin’ Tom...My Dad could associate people like that. I don’t remember all their names, but, you know, he could identify the family by some tradition like that...He had some descriptive word for them.

Douglas Kelly from Robeson County explains how the MacKenzies, who were very plentiful in his family’s community, distinguished each other:

They [MacKenzies] have about six or seven first names and that’s it. They would name them either by the place they lived, the church they’d go to, sometimes profession or husband or father and grandfather.

Vera McRimmon from Dillon County, South Carolina gives examples of the use of nicknames in her area to distinguish four men named Duncan. Two of the nicknames are descriptive, one is occupational, and one is a form of patronymic.

I remember four Duncs - Dunc McInnis and three Dunc McLaurins. Dunc McInnis, Mama and Aunt Blanch always called him Little Dunc because they had a brother Dunc [McLaurin]. I’ve heard of him called Dunc George. His Daddy was George. Then Dunc near Clio weighed cotton and he was called "Cotton-Weighing Dunc". I’ve heard the other Dunc called Big Dunc because he was great big.

Cary McLeod from Moore County tells of an interesting form of nickname employed in his family, a nickname that falls into the family relationship category.

....The woods was full of Kellys. The McDonalds was the same way. One of them - it was great-great granddaddy’s brother’s name was John McDonald and there was H. B. beside it. We always wondered what the initials were. There were so many John McDonalds that he put H. B. to distinguish that he was Hughie’s brother. That’s the way it went - "John H. B." is the way we signed his name.
Often women in the Cape Fear Highland Community would be called by their own Christian name along with their husband’s first name. Doug Kelly and Cary McLeod both comment on this type of nickname in the Union and Eureka Church communities in Moore County.

There would be - what they would do is - there would be so many, say women by the name of - I remember there were several Mary McCaskills so they would take their husband’s name. Mary Walter McCaskill - her husband was Walter.  

Now in this neighbourhood we have all these Mary Blues - Marys in Eureka Church so we have Mary Zeb, Mary Walter, Mary Iva or Mary Thad they called her.  

Many parents of Highland ancestry in Carolina today have now begun to name their children in a non-traditional manner. Indeed, many may not even be aware of the old practices which have been so recently forgotten. The North Carolina Scots are not alone, however, because this same trend can now be seen in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Church Activities

Much of the community and social life in the Highland settlement area in Carolina before World War II centred around the church. The church was often the focus of the community and most of the people attended regularly. Church membership also played an important part in selecting a marriage partner, for religious reasons as well as social ones. The Highland settlers would most often interact socially with other Presbyterians, therefore making it more likely that they would find their mates within the church. Communion weeks and Presbytery meetings also afforded young people of marriageable age the opportunity to meet and find suitable partners from other communities, much as they did in Scotland.

Sunday services were the most frequent social events, although in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, services were not held every Sunday in the Carolina churches. Often services were only conducted once a month. On the Sabbath when services were held, people travelled literally from miles around to go to church, sometimes having to spend a night or two with members who lived close to the church. With families travelling so far to attend church, they usually were not in a hurry to rush home immediately after the service. They were often entertained by friends or relatives before they started back home. One would have had to take
sustenance on that day as well, which provided ample opportunity for visiting and socialising. Even when cars became plentiful in the community, "visiting" remained the major pastime and source of entertainment in the community on Sunday. Nettie McCormick Henly describes Sunday visiting in her community in Richmond County, now Scotland County, in the late nineteenth century:

Sunday was visiting day, and sooner or later you met all the kinfolks you had and a lot of others besides, just by Sunday visiting during the course of the year. We did not go out visiting every Sunday, for some Sundays we would go out and hitch up the horse, then we would look up and see a buggy coming from the west, and a carriage turning in from the Hasty road, and maybe a fellow on horseback, or later, on a bicycle, clipping along our way.

This custom is disappearing in many places in the 1990's, however. Today, families often pack the car and go to the beach or the mountains for the weekend, spend Sunday afternoon at the lake, or watch television at home. This is mainly the result of improvements in transportation and the resultant mobility of the population. More sources of entertainment and recreation are now available to almost everyone within a few hour's drive or within their own homes with television. The breakdown of the strict observance of the Sabbath also allows church members more alternatives when deciding how to spend the day.

The Communion season, the summer series of services, and the ingathering all served a social function in the Carolina Highland community as well as a religious one. The communion season was the major social event in the Presbyterian calendar in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and people would come from miles around to attend these events. Courting went on at these functions, and many met their future marriage partners there. Drinking also tended to be indulged in by the men. When Martin MacQueen was pastor at Union Presbyterian Church in the period just after the War of 1861-1865, he did away with the second service on Communion Sunday because, in his opinion, there was too much socialising occurring between services and during the afternoon service. The young people would often stay "out in the grove" during the afternoon and socialise rather than listen to the sermon.

After the Communion season ceased to be observed in the mid-nineteenth century, the Presbytery meetings took over much the same role of getting people together for social interaction. Douglas Kelly from Robeson County talks about the importance of the Presbytery in the social life in Moore County, where much of his extended family lived.
Another social occasion was the meeting of the Presbytery - 'cause I remember they said when my grandparents Ed Angus Kelly and Maggie Blue were courting that was their entertainment. Aunt Mavis said they went to Presbytery at Bensalem. The whole community would gather in for Presbytery and people would open their homes and Presbytery would go on for three or four days 'cause it was, you know, a big district. And they would just feed everybody and young people would come as an occasion to meet other young people.

The series of services in the summer and the ingathering [see Chapter III] also afforded much social interaction and were enjoyed by all, both young and old. Donald MacDonald from Dillon County looked forward to the week long "Series of Services" during the summer because it meant an opportunity to go somewhere exciting and play all day long:

We as children enjoyed tremendously the morning services because it meant going home with somebody from service that morning and playing with some friend all the rest of the day, all during the daylight hours, then coming back to church that night and then going on to your own homes...It was great fun because it meant a day's outing to someone's home.

Secular Activities

Aside from the social functions associated with the church, there were also many social activities of a secular nature. Often the focus for these gatherings was the aspect of communal labour - the gathering of many people together to accomplish a task by shared or exchanged labour. This lightened the work and gave a party atmosphere to it. Examples of these social occasions were corn-shuckin's, log-rollin's, quiltin's, candy-pullin's, and bee robbin's. At corn-shuckin's, many people gathered to remove the husks from ears of corn. A coloured ear of corn was often hidden in the pile and "the man that found the prize ear of corn, they'd get to kiss the prettiest girl."25

Quiltings were another good example of this kind of communal sharing of labour. Nettie Henly describes making quilts and quilting parties in the latter half of the nineteenth century:

The quilt tops were pieced together, usually by hand, during the winter when we had to sit by the fire...The hostess at a quilting had a lot to do besides getting the design pieced and the muslin or homespun lining basted on the quilting frame. The cotton batting for the filling had to be carded in a pair of bats - at least two pounds of it. Bats were thin short-handled pieces of board with thin, short, stiff wires close together in
rows like a brush. A small wad of clean cotton was laid against one bat
held in the hand, and the other bat pressed tightly against it. One bat
was pulled toward you and the other away from you. Then we
separated the bats, and took off the layer of cotton, which would then
be straight and flat... The layers of cotton are batting. The children in
the family might do this. Then the hostess cooked up a ham, baked a
poundcake, fried several chickens, brought out her best
preserves...made some pies, and any special receipts [sic] she might
want to show off. Then she got some of the menfolks to come move all
the furniture out of her best room, bring in straight chairs - ten or
twelve - and set up the quilting frame. The quilting frame consisted of
two pieces of rail about three yards long, and two others about two and
one-half yards long. Under the woman’s direction, the men would pull
the frame rails out until the lining was tight, and clamp the rails
together with pegs, or special quilt screws in later years. Then the
frame was laid on the low backs of chairs.... Then, often as not, his wife
would send him and the children to a neighbour’s house for the
day....Quiltings usually began about nine o’clock in the morning, and
lasted all day, with time out for that big dinner that the lady of the
house had fixed. And, believe me, all the gossip of the neighbourhood
got a good going over when all us women got together, not bothered by
men and children.  

Dan McDonald and his wife Nan both went to quiltings in Moore County. Nan says
that the men usually did something else such as cut logs while the women quilted, but
Dan remembers doing a little quilting himself as a boy:

Sure I quilted - over at the Patterson’s. We’d go over there and that was
a large family and they would invite all the boys and girls of the
neighbourhood. They had this quilt in the middle of the room - and of
course I couldn’t sew, but they let me put the needle through, and back
and forth through there - they didn’t really care if it was an expert job
or not. They had a line drawn out around there - even a fool could
follow it.

By contrast, at the quiltings that Nettie Henly wrote about, only the women were
invited and only the best seamstresses at that.

It was quite an honor to be invited to a quilting. Only the best needles
were welcome, and the first invitation to such a social event gave a
young lady (and her mother) as much pride and pleasure as a bid to an
exclusive women’s club.

A cultural parallel may be drawn to cardings, communal spinnings, and waulking the
cloth in the Highlands of Scotland. In Scotland, men were usually never allowed to
participate in these, although at least the waulking of the cloth was very hard work.
The women saw these activities as an opportunity to socialise and gossip without any

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men present. The quilting in Carolina as a party for both sexes seems a later development, although the inclusion of men may have even been an exception. This exclusion of men, however, finally gave way in the maritime provinces of Canada, where men were eventually allowed to take part in "milling frolics" where the cloth was waulked. This was observed in Newfoundland by Margaret Bennett and in Cape Breton by Charles Dunn. Nan McDonald reports that the women sang songs at the quiltings in Carolina - as was done at the milling frolics in Canada, but the songs were usually popular songs like "Seeing Nellie Home" and "Old Black Joe" merely sung for the sake of entertainment and not designed to accompany the task, as waulking songs were in Scotland and Canada.

Candy pullin’s were also very popular in the Scottish settlement in Carolina, since the Highlanders grew their own sugar cane. Anna Henderson Parham used to attend candy pullin’s in her community:

We just had loads of parties at Carolina. We had candy pullin’s. We had our own cane and they would make the syrup...there would be somebody who would come with a mill that would grind the cane and get the juice out of it. Then they’d put that in a pot and boil it and make the syrup - and on the day that we’d have the syrup makin’, we’d have a candy pullin’.

Dan McDonald of Moore County and his wife describe the courting that went on at a candy pullin’:

You would take homemade syrup and boil it down until it’s just so thick till it won’t boil no more, then you pull it...You could get the girl on one end of the string and the boy on the other end. Naturally, they’d come together after a while. You know they ate that candy - it’s sort of gooky stuff, it wouldn’t fall on the floor so they could keep chewing it until they were right up to the kissing stage. Of course everybody was watching all this crazy stuff. They all laughed, you know, chided and encouraged you to keep on going.

Bee robbin’s would be held when it was time to harvest the honey from the beehives. Dan McDonald talks about attending bee robbin’s when he was young and the dangers they were sometimes fraught with:

They’d rob the bees, you know everybody had bees. They’d dance, you know, and rob the bees, then they’d dance half the night or all night - eat the honey, fresh honey - and they had to separate the honey from the wax. It’s just another excuse to have a party. The older people - there would be a few who were trained in the husbandry of the bees...So they would go out there with the smoke and later they had a
thing like a bellows that would make the smoke... The early gums (hives) were homemade, they were made out of just wood. They'd take the top off and smoke down through it and drives the bees out or down into the bottom of the gum, and then they could cut the cone loose. Now that would only require three or four people. The other young people, they would be in the house dancin' and playin' the fiddle and having a good time. They would gather tub fulls of that honey and if they could get those young people to help them strain it or work with it - that's all well and good. It was a by-product of just getting the group of people together.

One night they had me to hold the light. I was eighteen or twenty. I had to pull my clothes off. Those bees got - they came to me, you know, came to the light - and up my trousers - and I can't get them off. I was in bad shape, but I learned a lesson.

A form of entertainment that by all appearances was a Highland ceilidh was witnessed by Lil Buie at Riverton in Scotland County when she was young. Lil was not raised in Scotland County, but she visited there, where she witnessed the following events:

Another thing that they've done at Riverton which I've found out is completely Scotch - I've forgotten what you call your get-togethers... just where everybody of any age gets up and does whatever he can do, whether he does it well or it's nothing much - but he does it. Well, as a teenager at Riverton, I thoroughly enjoyed what they called Riverton nights. It would start off with a song:

"Well it looks like to me its a Riverton night,
   Riverton night, Riverton night.
   Well it looks like to me it's a Riverton night"....
and everybody would clap and start doing their thing - and spontaneously they'd pop up. A three year old child might say "Jack Be Nimble" and six year old children would sing what they learned - and everybody sang the old songs together - all the ballads they'd ever learned that went way back. Then they'd have a barbershop quartet or they'd tell jokes and if the little children went to bed the stories got a little more risque. This would last a long, long, time....This would take place on the big porches of the log cabins of wherever the people lived. I had never really experienced that before in my upbringing. I thought it was enchanting. But I finally went to Scotland and I said - "I see where the people got that."

Dances were a major source of entertainment in the Highland Settlement area of Carolina. During the great evangelistic revival of the early nineteenth century, an effort was made to suppress dancing, but it still continued in popularity. Square dancing was common in North Carolina and dances were usually held in people's homes. Lauchlin Shaw of Harnett County used to play for many dances in his community:
They had square dances around here - in the homes. If you had a room as big as this [a large living/dining room at Shaw's house], you were in business - it would take about six to eight couples. I played for many a one.

Dan McDonald heard his parents talk about walking long distances to go to a dance, dancing all night, and then returning in the morning. Dan attended square dances in his youth in Moore County as well, where he would sometimes call the dances. He describes these dances:

Everyone loved to square dance in those days. You didn't have dance halls to go to when I was growing up. If they had a carpet, it would be the kind that you could take away in most of the homes that I visited. It was a fast foot movement, buck-dancin' type. You could call the figures - sort of cloggin' - same thing. Some people were extra good at it and others were not. You didn't have to be good. You needed a good caller, you know -

"Lady round the lady and gent don't go" -
I have called, but I was never a real caller, but I could in those days when I was younger - and you led them around the circle and you called. Say for instance you had four people - you called the figure that's the description of what you're gonna do like "Lady round the lady and gent don't go."

Nettie McCormick Henly attended square dances in her youth in Scotland County. Some of the parents did not allow their children to dance, so the young ones played a game called "steal partners" while the adults were dancing, but Mrs. Henly explains that "steal partners" was just as much dancing as a game.

The older folks danced the square dances, and the younger ones played "Steal Partners," which is a lot more fun. For this there must be one more boy than there are girls. The boys and girls pair off and dance at the wall, leaving one boy over. The boy without a partner walks up to the girl partner of another boy, and asks her to dance. She accepts and sashays off with him, while her former partner must find a new girl, and so on. Some parents would not allow their children to dance, so we called it a game, but did as much dancing as the square dancers. There was no waist held dancing with us.

Mrs. Henly lists some of the games that children played on the playground in Scotland County in the late nineteenth century when she was young. She mentions a game called "shinny" which she describes as a "sort of field hockey". This was the game shinty that is still played in the Highlands of Scotland today, known as camanachd or iomain in Gaelic. Mrs. Henly was apparently unaware of the game's origin.
Horse racing was another popular diversion in North Carolina in the past. The Highlanders were probably enjoying the sport of horse racing long before they emigrated to Carolina. Alexander Carmichael, in his book *Carmina Gadelica*, quotes a woman from Lewis telling about the diversions that the people of Lewis would engage in before the evangelistic movement and the Free Church changed things:

> There were many sad things done then, for these were the days of foolish doings and of foolish people. Perhaps on the day of the Lord, when they came out of church, if indeed they went into church, the young men would go to throw the stone, or to toss the cabar, or to play shinty, or to run races or to race horses on the strand, the young maidens looking on the while, ay, and the old men and women.

It has already been mentioned that races were often held after funerals at the Old Scotch Graveyard in Moore County. Some individuals also built their own racetracks on their property. Col. Donald MacQueen of Marlboro County, South Carolina was one Highland descendant who did this. Another was Alec McDonald, ancestor of Dan McDonald from Moore County:

> Old Alec McDonald built a racetrack to trot horses, to race horses - a mile long track. We always heard that, but we don't know why he had a racetrack.

Horse racing was also very popular at the Scotch Fair held twice a year in Laurel Hill, Scotland County.

**Scotch Fairs**

The Scotch Fair at Laurel Hill was established in 1798 in order to gather people together for the purpose of exchanging, buying, and selling goods. It was also an excellent opportunity for social interaction as well as commercial transactions. The men played the fiddle, gambled, and swapped horses while the women visited with each other, the children played, and the young people courted. There were always athletic events and a famous character named "Racer Jim Currie" made many bets - and won them - outrunning the horses.

The fairs at Laurel Hill were held during the second weeks of May and November, from the Tuesday until the Saturday. The dates for the Fair coincide with the Scottish agricultural feasting fairs that were held biannually in Scotland at
Whitsunday (15th May) and Martinmas (11th November), which is probably more
than just wholly a coincidence. A description of the market fair at Bogach Ollaidh in
South Uist in the early part of the present century, which bore a strong resemblance
to the Scotch Fairs at Laurel Hill, was given by John MacInnes, MBE, South Uist in
1983, to Donald A. MacDonald of the School of Scottish Studies:

'Se dìte mòr a bha 'san Fhèill, a thaobh bha daoine a' tachairt ri
chèile ann a shineach ge b'oil leotha... s thachradh tu ri feadhainn
nach fhaca tu fad bliadhna 's bhiodh seanchas ann 's bhiodh a chUIL
rud ann. 'S bha buithean ann 's bha stalls mar bhios aca an dràsda an
ANN 's bha daoine. a' reic a shineach... 'S ann air a' mhargadh tu
chUIL rud, tha fios agad. Gheibheadh tu saolitís aig a' mhargadh 's
rudan.. Mu dheidhinn a nist na sàbaid: bhiodh a' tachairt
culdeachd agus bhiodh deoch aca.

Translation:
The Fair was a great place, for people met each other there whether
they wanted to or not... and you'd meet people you hadn't seen for a
whole year and there would be yarning and there would be all kinds of
things. And there were shops there and there were stalls like they have
nowadays and people were selling things there... You could get
anything at the market, you know. You could get sweets and things at
the market. Now about fights: there used to be fights too and they had
drink there.

At the Laurel Hill Fairs, families brought tents and camped out on the
fairgrounds for the entire week. The event was mostly attended by people from the
southeastern part of North Carolina, although wagons came in with produce,
livestock, and wares from the "up country" counties and the distant mountain
counties as well. Cattle, horses, chickens, butter, eggs, farm produce, apples, cider,
brandy, cotton goods, leather goods and wool as well as other items were brought to
be sold or traded. Gov. Angus Wilton MacLean quotes an eye witness at the Scotch
Fair at Laurel Hill:

By the end of the second day, everything was in full blast. From the top
of the hill near the church clear down to the pond, the whole grounds
looked like a tented city. Conveyances of every description could be
seen: old fashioned phaetons, closed carriages, jaunty rigs and clumsy
carts drawn by fine horses and tired mules were on every side. The
hissing of geese, the cackling of poultry, the lowing of cows and the
neighing of horses blending with human voices made a combination of
sounds one would never forget. And the flavour of bacon cooked out of
doors! And the large ginger cakes and plaited candy - what youngster
can ever forget those delights? Young and old were there intent on one
idea and that was to have a good time.
There is also a vivid description of the Laurel Hill Fair in The Scottish Highlander Carmichaels of the Carolinas by Roderick Carmichael:

One of the interesting events of the early days was the Scotch fair which was held each spring and fall - one fourth mile south of Laurel Hill Church. The first fair was held in 1783 and continued until 1873. The fair was begun when there was no railroad in the world and no steamboats. Goods from foreign ports were brought into the interior of the country by navigation on rivers in small boats. The nearest inland port was Cheraw in South Carolina, on the Pee Dee river and the other river port was Fayetteville N.C, on Cape Fear River. It was chartered by the State of North Carolina to run as long as the water in Jordan’s Creek runs. Covered wagons came from [the] mountains with apples and other produce. There tanners with their leathers, hatters with their hats, tailors and shoemakers, those who had wool to sell, the ginger bread women with their cakes came to sell. Horse racing was the major diversion, there were booths for betting, booths for the sale of wine, whisky, cakes and other food. There was not a kerosene lamp in the country when the fair was abolished in 1873 - the only light was from lightwood [heartwood pine] fires built on elevated scaffolds on which soil was placed to keep from burning.

During the War Between the States and the reconstruction period following it, the popularity of the fair dwindled. Respectable people stopped attending the fair, it became very rowdy and degenerated into what was mainly an opportunity for gambling and drinking. The fair was finally abolished in 1871 after several people were injured in drunken brawls and at least one person was killed.46

The fair held at Laurel Hill was not the only Scottish Fair in the Upper Cape Fear Settlement. There was a competing fair at Ellerbe in Upper Richmond County. Blackwell Robinson mentions this Scottish Fair in The North Carolina Guide:

The early Highland Scot settlers organised a Scottish Fair here at the foot of the Uharies [sic] for games, horse-racing, drinking, dances, and music. As a result, it [Ellerbe] was long known as Fair Grounds.47

**Richmond Temperance and Literary Society**

The Richmond Temperance and Literary Society was formed in 1855 by Highland Scottish emigrants and their descendants in the part of Richmond County that now makes up Scotland County. According to its constitution, the object of the society was "uncompromising hostility to intemperance and an untiring zeal for the advancement of literature and art."48 The society maintained a library for use by its members and they met every two weeks to debate and discuss topics in history and philosophy, as well as current topics of importance to their country, state, and
An account of the transactions of these meetings has survived to this day in the form of the society minutes. Important issues were discussed such as equal education for females, whether or not North Carolina should secede from the union, and the pros and cons of the Scotch Fair.

At first the Richmond Temperance and Literary Society met in the Richmond Academy, but a beautiful hexagonal building was constructed in 1860 to house the organisation. The building was crowned by the symbol of the society - a wine glass turned upside down on the Bible. It is still standing today and serves as a historical monument.

Lil Buie lives in Scotland county not far from the Temperance Hall at Spring Hill. She has heard the story of the Temperance Hall told often and gives a short account of the society from oral tradition:

The Temperance Hall is over in Spring Hill right across from the Spring Hill Cemetery. It's one of the historical spots in North Carolina. It's interesting because it shows what intellectual people these Scots were. They loved to read; they loved to talk; they loved to argue. I guess this is true of Scots still. They like to debate - they also like to drink. So the Scots here had a problem with drinking too. Now what they decided to do about it was to establish a temperance hall....They made it a debating and temperance hall - called it a literary and debating society....and they had all sorts of issues to be discussed. Now women were not allowed to speak much in public in those days - they were supposed to be home bodies - but they came too and they would allow women to speak at certain times....They argued everything. Each member was represented by a star and took an oath not to drink anymore....Many of them could not keep the pledge and they got their star painted out - but they could redeem themselves. They met there regularly from the time it was built until Sherman marched through and destroyed part of it during the war.

A considerable interruption in the society's meetings occurred after the hall was damaged by the Yankee soldiers, but repairs were effected and debates were soon resumed. The records stop in 1871, however, so the society probably did not function long after this time.

The Highland communities in the Upper Cape Fear region have changed drastically since the late nineteenth century. This change has been accelerated by the increased movement of people into the community who are not of Highland descent and the movement of people of Highland descent out of the communities. After the War Between the States, trade and industry brought in people from the Northern states and other areas of Carolina. Fort Bragg, the largest military reservation in
America, was carved out of the Highland Counties of Cumberland, Hoke, and Richmond during the First World War. This continues to bring in people of many nationalities from all over the world.

Moore County became a winter resort for wealthy Northerners in the late nineteenth century, drastically altering the character of the rural communities. The same thing is happening in the Scottish Highlands at the present time, where many Lowlanders and English are purchasing holiday homes in the north of Scotland. After the War Between the States, many people of Highland descent also left the state to find work in Florida and the deep South. The rural farming communities of the Cape Fear Valley have experienced a sharp decrease in population since World War II. This followed the general trend in America of a population shift from rural communities to urban centres.

The increased mobility of the population after World War II signaled the breakdown of endogamy within the Highland group. Once the Highlanders were dispersed, they began marrying spouses from different national origins and religions. With the coming of the age of the automobile, patterns of social interaction and activities also changed. The social activities based in peoples homes were replaced by the cinema, bars, sporting events, and discos. Except for Scottish place-names and surnames, the Highland settlement area is now becoming almost indistinguishable from other areas of Carolina.

2. Lil Buie, Tape 12A.

3. Gordon McLaurin, Tape 7A.

4. Personal Interview with Dr. James MacLean, October 1989.


8. Letter received from Donald MacDonald, 18 July 1990.


10. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

11. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5A.


14. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.

15. Douglas Kelly, Tape 18B.

16. Vera MacRimmon, Tape 1A.

17. Cary MacLeod, Tape 9B.

18. Douglas Kelly, Tape 18A.

19. Cary MacLeod, Tape 9B.

20. The original meaning of the word cèilidh in Gaelic meant visiting, and this was a very important pastime in the townships of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

23. Douglas Kelly, Tape 2A.
25. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.
27. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.
31. Anna Henderson Parham, Tape 17B.
32. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.
33. Dan MacDoanld, Tape 11B.
34. Lil Buic, Tape 12A.
35. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10A.
36. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.
37. Henly, p. 165.
38. Henly, p. 142.
41. Dan MacDonald, Tape 11B.
46. Angus W. MacLean, p. 612.


48. Angus W. MacLean, p. 600.

49. Lil Buie, Tape 12A.
Music and song was important to the Highland settlers in North Carolina, just as it was to their kinfolk still in Scotland. The Highlanders brought over Gaelic songs, pipe tunes, and fiddle tunes with them, but not much survives today except for some of the tunes. A wealth of beautiful Gaelic songs must have vanished with the loss of the Gaelic language in North Carolina and the art of piping had all but died out until the revival in the 1960’s.

Gaelic Song and Iain MacMhurchaidh

At one time, however, the Sandhills area of North Carolina was alive with Gaelic song and piping. In 1774 the Gaelic bard Iain MacMhurchaidh, often referred to as John MacRae, emigrated to North Carolina from Kintail in Scotland. He had already composed many songs in Scotland and he continued to compose after he arrived in North Carolina. His songs provide us with a first-hand account of what life was like in Scotland for the Highlander at the time of the great emigrations of the early 1770’s and they also tell us much about the life of the Highland emigrant in Carolina in the time immediately preceding and during the American Revolution. Although none of the Gaelic songs by MacMhurchaidh is still in oral tradition in Carolina, they were carried back to Scotland and to the Highland settlements in what is now Canada by Scottish soldiers, loyalists, and returning emigrants. A number of MacRae’s songs survived in Scotland and Canada and several exhaustive studies have been done on these.¹

MacMhurchaidh composed his most famous song - "Dean Cadalan Sàmhach" (Sleep Quietly), a lullaby apparently for his daughter, shortly after arriving in North Carolina. It is still a popular Gaelic song to this day in Scotland, and gives one a taste of his poetry:

Dean cadalan sàmhach, a chuilean mo rùin;
Dean fuireach mar tha thu, 's tu an dràsda an dìt' ùr.
Bidh dìgearan againn làn beàrtais 'us cìù,
Ma bhios tu 'nad ìdre, 's leat fear-eiginn dhìubh.

Gur ann an Ameireaga tha sinn an dràsda
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu bràth.
Nuair dh' fh'albhas an dùlachd 'us thionndas amablads,
Bidh eìdhann is ùbhlan, bithidh an siùcar a' fàs.
Tha sinne mar Inniseanaich cinnteach gu leòir;  
Fo dhubhar nan craobh, cha bhí aon againn bed;  
Coin-alladh 'us béislean ag éigheach 's gach frògl;  
Tha sinne 'nar n-eiginn o'n thrèig sinn Righ Deòr's.

Thoir mo shoraidh le fàilte Chinn t-Sàile nam bó,  
Far an d'fhuair mi greis m'drach 'nam phùisde beag òg  
Bhiodh fleasgaichean donn air am bonnabh ri'céad  
Is nlonagan dualach 's an grualdh mar an ròs.

Translation:
Sleep softly, little puppy, my love.  
Stay just the way you are, now that you are in a new place.  
You will have many young suitors, full of riches and honour,  
And if you are vigilant, one of them will be yours.

It's in America that we are just now,  
Under the darkness of the forest that goes on forever.  
When the winter departs and the warmth returns,  
There will be nuts and apples and the sugar cane will grow.

We are all like Indians sure enough.  
Under the darkness of the trees, not one of us will survive.  
Wolves and other wild beasts howling in every den,  
We are in dire straits since the day we deserted King George.

Give my compliments with a greeting to Kintail of the cows,  
Where I received my rearing as a small child.  
There were dark haired young men dancing to music  
And curly haired young maidens with cheeks like the rose.

"Dean Cadalan Sàmhach" has been carried from North Carolina to distant parts of the globe. The version in the Celtic Magazine was collected in Scotland, while Fergusson collected his version in Cape Breton. Margaret Bennett collected the song in Newfoundland as late as the early 1970's.

Iain MacMhurchaidh, like so many other Highland Scots, became embroiled in the troubles of the American Revolution. Being a staunch Loyalist, he paid dearly for his political views. As happened with many other loyalists, he was eventually forced from his home, his property confiscated, and was forced to take refuge in the Carolina woods in order to elude his enemies. History does not record what happened to him after this time, but there are several traditions that have come down through the years. One tradition that was current in Kintail in the last century says
that he was captured while fighting for the King and subsequently died in prison. Another less well known tradition says that he was executed by being drawn by horses.

The man responsible for preserving many of the songs that *MacMhurchaidh* composed in Carolina appears to be *Iain Mac a' Ghobha*, or John son of the smith, who was coincidentally known as John MacRae as well. This John MacRae emigrated to Carolina in 1775 and settled in Anson County, where he soon got involved politically with the loyalist cause. During the "insurrection of the MacDonals" in 1776 which ended at the Widow Moore's Creek Bridge, *Iain Mac a' Ghobha* was wounded and lost his arm. This earned him the epithet "*fear na leth lèimh*", or the one armed man. *Mac a' Ghobha* subsequently returned to Kintail and brought the songs that *Iain MacMhurchaidh* had composed back with him and kept them alive in the oral tradition of Kintail.

Gaelic song has now passed out of oral tradition in Carolina. According to Douglas Kelly, older members of his family in Moore County, deceased by the 1970s, once knew "little snitches of songs" including *Dean Cadalan Sàmhach* by *Iain MacMhurchaidh* and the emigration song *Null Thar Nan Eileanan*. The church may have contributed to the decline in Gaelic song, since the evangelical Presbyterians were against such "vain" pursuits as dancing and singing, but the interest probably waned along with the number of individuals speaking the language in Carolina. The American War Between the States also had a permanent effect on the Highland Scottish culture in North Carolina. On his trip to the Highland settlement in Carolina shortly after the War, Rev. David MacRae observed: "Highland songs and dances were once common; but "Dixie's Land" [sic] is better known now than the piobrach."

**English Songs with Gaelic Tunes**

Some of the songs that were probably brought over as fiddle tunes and Gaelic dance songs, or *puirt-à-beul*, were preserved in North Carolina and given English words. The tune to the Gaelic *port-à-beul* "*Nam Biodh Tri Sgillin Agam*", for example, became known as "Uncle Joe" or "Hop High Ladies" in America. "*Nam Biodh Tri Sgillin Agam*" is to the same tune as "Miss MacLeod's Reel" or "Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay" in Scotland. In another example, the tune to the *port* "*Dhiùlt Am Bodach Fodar Dhomh*" became "I Love Somebody But I Won't Say Who". "*Dhiùlt Am Bodach Fodar Dhomh*" is the same tune as Burns used for "My Love
She's but a Lassie Yet". Donald MacDonald of Dillon County remembers his Father singing this tune as "I Love Somebody But I Won't Say Who", but he cannot recall the words. The crossover between Gaelic and Scots song tunes still occurs frequently in Scotland, so it is not at all surprising to find the phenomenon in Carolina as well. For example, the Burns song "Ae Fond Kiss" and the Gaelic love song "Gur Tu Mo Luaidh" share the same tune. The Gaelic "Mo Run Geal Dtleas" and the Scots song "The Bleacher Lass" also share a tune. Finally, the tune "Bunessan" is shared by the Gaelic hymn "Leanabh an Aidh", the English hymn "Child in the Manger", and the popular English song "Morning Has Broken".

Fiddling and Piping

Although the art of fiddling brought over from Scotland was preserved; the descendants of Highland emigrants eventually adopted a fiddling style with a distinctive American flavour which differs greatly from the present fiddling styles of both Scotland and Cape Breton. The art of piping fell into a severe decline in North Carolina; however, until its revival in the 1960's and 1970's. Judge James C. MacRae, whose article "The Highland Scotch Settlement in North Carolina" was published in 1905, wrote about a very old piper in Cumberland County when he was a young boy. The piper's name was Urquhart and he used to wander from farm to farm among the Highland settlers and pipe for them. Urquhart was very old when MacRae was a child and the piper appears to have been somewhat of a novelty to MacRae. It would therefore seem that pipers were very scarce in North Carolina by the mid-nineteenth century. Although there may have been others, the present study has identified only two or three pipers to date in North Carolina from the middle of the previous century until the 1950s.

Alexander MacRae, a Highland piper, emigrated from Glenelg in 1884 and purchased land in Robeson County. He later sold his property in Robeson and moved to Mitchell County, now Avery, where he was employed by Mr. Hugh MacRae of Wilmington. Old Alexander MacRae died in 1919, but two of his sons, John and Alick, remained in Avery County, and according to Donald MacDonald, co-founder of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, John MacRae learned the pipes from his father. John MacRae, who died in 1961, was probably the last traditional Highland piper in Carolina. There is a North Carolina tradition that when the games are over each year and almost everyone has left, if you listen carefully you can hear
"old man Alexander MacRae" playing his pipes on the meadow. The sound known as "MacRae's Pipes" is still heard by many. This is probably an auditory illusion caused by listening to almost continuous piping for several days during the games.

The reason for the decline of piping in Carolina may never be known, but several factors can be suggested. The difficulty of getting pipes and parts for pipes may be somewhat to blame. The great distance between Scotland and Carolina as well as the extreme poverty caused by the aftermath of the War Between the States combined to hamper the importation of pipes from Scotland, where most of the pipe makers were located. It was also difficult to keep pipes in good condition in the hot and humid climate of Carolina, which would tend to make them frustrating to play.

The Christian evangelical movement may have had a very detrimental effect on piping in Carolina, while the piping tradition in Scotland was protected from this influence by the preservation of piping in the British military units. Piping has seen a new resurgence of interest in North Carolina since the 1960's and now pipers can be found throughout the state.

Singing Schools and Shape Notes

The singing of sacred songs with the use of shape notes became very popular in the early 1800s in North Carolina. This paralleled the singing of Gaelic sacred songs known as dàin spioradail in the Highlands of Scotland. Although dàin spioradail were not deemed sacred enough to be sung at Sabbath church services, they were sung at fellowship meetings and family worship in the home. This sacred poetry was often sung to the tunes of secular songs that were popular in Scotland at the time, sometimes associated with words in Scots or English.

One of the most famous composers of dàin spioradail was Patrick or Peter Grant of Strathspey. When he was a small boy, Grant is reported to have been much impressed by hearing a man sing Dougal Buchanan’s poetry to secular tunes. Grant was to become a prolific composer and eventually published a collection of songs entitled Nuadh Dhàin Spioradail in 1818. This book proved so popular to the Highland emigrants and their descendants in North Carolina that the book was reprinted in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1826 in the original Gaelic.

In America the "shape note" spiritual songs, as they were called, started in New England and spread south. These were often sung to popular tunes and ballads of the day, in the same manner as the religious poetry in Scotland. Several collections of shape note songs were published, the most famous of these being The Southern
Harm any (1835), The Sacred Harp (1844), and The Christian Harmony (1866). The Southern Harmony was the collection most widely in use in North Carolina before the American War Between the States. Other song books employed the use of shape notes as well and it soon became fashionable in the nineteenth century to set up singing-schools in communities to instruct the people in the rudiments of music and singing.

In shape note collections, each note was represented by a syllable and each syllable was assigned a particular shape. There were different systems of shapes, but the most popular were the Fa-Sol-La system used by The Southern Harmony and The Sacred Harp, and the Do-Re-Mi system, employed by The Christian Harmony.

The Fa-Sol-La system was in vogue before the American War Between the States and used only four shapes which were named in the following manner: a right triangle- fa; an oval- sol; a square- la; and a diamond- mi. The ascending scale for an octave proceeded fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, mi, fa, a scale which was actually a cultural artifact from the Elizabethan period in England.

The seven note system was used by most of the song books published after the War Between the States. The Christian Harmony (1866), used the same shapes as The Sacred Harp, but added three additional shapes for do, re, and si. (Do was represented by a inverted keystone, re by a half-moon, and si by an isosceles triangle with its base vertical.) Therefore the Christian Harmony scale contained the familiar notes do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do.

When learning a new song, the names of the shape notes were sung instead of the words, until the tune was mastered. One finds a cultural parallel to this in Scotland where they were also often reluctant to sing sacred words when learning a new tune. The psalms were sung to nonsense rhymes until the tune was mastered. Maria Trotter mentions this practice in Galloway, Scotland in the book Galloway Gossip:

Singing-masters and precentors all through Galloway used to make use of popular rhymes for tune-lines, so as not to desecrate the Psalms of David by using them to teach children to sing.

Singing-schools became an institution in North Carolina, and itinerant singing-school masters were employed to teach classes during the weeks when there was little farm work to do. Malcolm McDonald was one of these early singing-school masters in the Cape Fear Valley. He was born on the Isle of Skye and emigrated to Cumberland County with his parents in 1802. After marrying in 1818, he moved to what is now Hoke County, and then after a few years settled in Carolina Community,
Marion District (Dillon County), South Carolina. In addition to teaching singing, McDonald played the fiddle and his fiddle is still in the possession of his descendants.

The singing-schools served a vital function in bringing people together for social interaction. The Rev. Mr. Lacy at Buffalo Church in Lee County mentioned the singing-schools during his address at the church centennial celebration in 1897:

In other days the singing-school was an institution, and the singing master was abroad in the land, and the lads and lasses were not ashamed or unwilling to take the patient old fashioned way of learning to "sing by note" by means of the syllables do, re, mi, etc. The singing school itself was a social function of high order in that day, and many an affair of heart was developed in singing the same tune among those perhaps too shy to sing out of the same book. Thus congregational singing was quickened. The evenings at home were spent in sacred music as neighbour boys and girls would come in for practice.17

They were still conducting singing-schools in Moore County when Dan McDonald was young:

They used to have singing schools. Somebody would gather together two or three dollars. That would be all it would cost to have a singing master come by. Even the schools, the grade schools would do that. We had no real knowledge of music and this person with any talent or education would show up and they'd solicit enough money to make it...That's how he got a little money, not much - and somebody would probably board him too while he was conducting the service or whatever... The last singing around here was when I was growing up. I was born in 1913 - I would say before I was ten years old or maybe after at Foxfire - in the school. They had a one room school house there - and that's where the last one was that I recall.18

Singings were an important part of the social life in Scotland County where Nettie McCormick Henly grew up:

Almost every Sunday night in good weather we had a "singing". The boys took their best girls to these singings, so there was courting, but a lot of singing, too. We met at different homes in the neighbourhood - Cousin Lauch McKinnon's, Uncle Murdoch's, the Blues', our house, Uncle Nath's, Uncle Dan'l's, Paisley McKinnon's, and King Gibson's. We sang the old-time songs and hymns, spirituals, and sad popular songs on these Sundays, adding livelier songs if the party was on a week night.19
Lauchlin Shaw remembers that they also had regular singings at people’s homes in his community in Harnett County:

They used to have singings around here - Flat Branch Church. Singings would take place where this old Shaw place was right over here and at other people’s homes.

Lauchlin Shaw’s father used to lead the singing at Flat Branch Church where they sang by the old shape note method. Edna Shaw Semple was Lauchlin’s niece, but she was raised in the Shaw household. She now lives in Fayetteville and writes poetry; the following is a poem that she composed about her grandfather, Malcolm and Lauchlin’s father, and how he used to lead the singing at Flat Branch Presbyterian Church:

MY GRANDPA LED THE SINGING

My grandpa led the singing
At Flat Branch years ago;
The notes were shaped with diamond mi
And half-a-diamond do.

All week he worked among his fields
And earned his day at rest;
Then Grandma tied his tie to match
The shirt he wore for best.

When early Sunday morning came
He chose the songs with care;
Tilted back against a tree
In his cane-bottomed chair.

The sun would scatter shadows
Across the favored song;
It seemed as if an angel choir
Joined in and sang along.

Heaven sounded very near
Whenever Grandpa sang;
And when he led that Flat Branch Choir
The wooden rafters rang.

The melody still lingers
With time’s soft afterglow
Since Grandpa led the singing
At Flat Branch years ago.
Although shape note singing and singing schools are still continuing in an unbroken tradition in the mountains of North Carolina, they are now a thing of the past in the Upper Cape Fear Valley. Like Gaelic song, they have all but disappeared. Shape note singing may experience a revival one day in the area, as is being seen today in Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem, but Gaelic song has now been lost forever. Piping, however, is very alive and experiencing a new surge of interest in Carolina, with a number of pipe bands being formed in the last twenty years.
SHAPE NOTATION IN AMERICA

Two different kinds of musical notation employing shape notes. The scale Fa Sol La Fa Sol La Mi Fa above was an early form of notation that was taught in the American South in the early nineteenth century. The other form of notation seen in the scale beneath, which became popular in America in the period following the War Between the States, used the shapes referred to as Do Re Mi Fa Sol La Si Do.
CORONATION. C.M.

"Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the land of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of God." Isa. 62:3.


Oliver Holden, 1793.

1. All hail the pow'r of Jesus' name! Let angels prostrate fall, Bring forth the royal diadem, And

2. Ye chosen seed of Israel's race, A remnant weak and small; Hail Him who saves you by His grace; And

3. O that with yonder sacred throng, We at His feet may fall We'll join the everlasting song, And

crown Him Lord of all, Bring forth the royal diadem, And crown Him Lord . . . . . . . . . . . . . of all.

crown Him Lord of all, Hail Him who saves you by His grace And crown Him Lord . . . . . . . . . . . . . of all.

crown Him Lord of all, We'll join the everlasting song And crown Him Lord . . . . . . . . . . . . . of all.

See History of Oliver Holden on page 313. Copyright by J. S. James, 1909.

2. The version of Dean Cadalan Sámhach given here and the translation is my own. For other versions, see Donald Fergusson, *Beyond the Hebrides*, pp. 20-21; Margaret MacDonell, *The Emigrant Experience*, p. 42; John L. Campbell, *Songs Remembered in Exile*, pp. 82-84; and Margaret Bennett, *The Last Stronghold*, p. 179.


7. Douglas Kelly, Tape 2A.


9. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF1987, Sound Archives, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.


11. See section on the Skye emigration of 1884.

12. Donald MacDonald, Tape 22B.


15. Jackson, p. 4.


17. William S. Lacy, *Historical Address Delivered on the Occasion of the Centennial of Buffalo Church, August 12, 1897*. (Sanford, NC: Cole Stean Printing Company, 1897), p. 22.
18. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16B.


20. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10A.

When the Highland emigrants came to North Carolina, they brought a wealth of stories, tales and legends with them. These stories were retold in Carolina, first in Gaelic and later in English. Many stories were also told in the Cape Fear Valley about the early pioneers and settlers of the area, such as Flora MacDonald, Jennie Bhàn McNeill, Red Neill McNeill, and Piper Archie Buie. There are few storytellers left today, however. Many of the older people in the Highland settlement area remember stories being told and short snatches of them, but they do not remember enough to re-tell the story themselves. They often have not heard these stories in years and have had little to no experience in story-telling themselves. The story-telling tradition in Carolina has declined in the present century in the same way as the Gaelic language did in the late nineteenth century, when many of the older people remembered Gaelic being spoken, and probably understood some of it, but the years had faded their memories and the language had been forgotten.

In another Highland emigrant area, however, Cape Breton, Canada, the storytelling tradition has survived. The repertoire of Joe Neill MacNeill, Cape Breton storyteller, has been recorded by Dr. John Shaw and examples of this rich store of narratives have been published in *Sgeul gu Latha*.  

The Highland settlement in Canada was later than the settlement in Carolina, occurring mainly in the nineteenth century. In addition, the communities of Cape Breton were more isolated than those of North Carolina, and the population was until recently very homogeneous, consisting mainly of people of Highland Scottish heritage. These factors can probably account for why many stories, as well as the Gaelic language itself, have survived in Cape Breton but not in Carolina. The Gaelic language is now quickly disappearing from Cape Breton and modern transportation and communication are diminishing the previous isolation, so the story-telling tradition will probably soon see the same sharp decline as occurred in North Carolina. Margaret Bennett found that the storytelling tradition was already on the decline in the Highland settlement in Newfoundland, when she did her research there in the 1970s:

> Once a vibrant tradition, storytelling was the one feature of the ceilidh which suffered most from the changes in the way of life that had taken place over the past few decades. Unfortunately, the decline was apparent by the time I first visited the area, for in spite of the fact that Allan MacArthur was once a main part of this tradition, he felt that it had faded to such an extent that the context in which the stories were once told, with the atmosphere they created were more alive in his memory than the stories themselves.
Legendary Historical Characters

There were many legendary characters among the early Highland emigrants to Carolina, and stories about these characters were once widely known. Evidence of the previous popularity of stories can be seen in church and local histories, as well as in the memories of the older generation still alive in Carolina. It is difficult to find anyone now who can tell these old stories, although many older people remember hearing them. Almost everyone now who tells any of these stories, learned them not at his or her mother’s knee, but from a book on local history, or at least had their memories bolstered by these written accounts. Stories of the early Highland settlers have been immortalised by men such as Malcolm Fowler (1901-1980), Harnett County historian, in his book They Passed This Way. Because of the lack of stories about these individuals extant in oral tradition, one must rely heavily on these printed sources. In this sense, journalists and local historians have taken the place of storytellers, and the stories continue in popularity, albeit, in printed form. It is not unusual, however, for stories to alternate between printed and oral forms. Stories often re-enter oral tradition from written sources and are subsequently written down again from this new oral source.

Flora MacDonald

The story of Flora MacDonald is well known on both sides of the Atlantic. Many children of Scottish descent in Carolina have been told of her heroic efforts to help Prince Charles Edward Stuart evade capture by dressing him as a woman servant and transporting him across the Minch from Benbecula to Skye. Many Scots do not realise, however, that Flora emigrated to North Carolina and that there was a rich oral tradition there about her exploits in the New World.

The oral traditions about Flora MacDonald in North Carolina, as well as stories about the other early Scottish settlers, may contain as much fiction as fact and it would be a difficult task to sort out all the inaccuracies. According to Malcolm Fowler, although her husband’s name appears, there is not even a mention of Flora MacDonald in the Colonial Records of North Carolina or in the records of Cumberland County or Anson County.³ The following account is therefore based on the oral history and traditions of the Highland settlement of North Carolina, and may sometimes deviate from historical fact.
Flora MacDonald emigrated to Carolina in 1774 with her husband Alan and their sons Alexander, Ranald, and James. Her daughter Anne also accompanied them with husband Alexander MacLeod and their children. Tradition says that Flora was given a heroine's welcome when she reached North Carolina's shores. Stories are told of the many parties and celebrations that were held in her honour while she and her husband Alan were making their way up the Cape Fear. Alan and Flora resided for a short time in Cross Creek (Fayetteville), then made their way to Mount Pleasant, now Cameron Hill in present day Harnett County where her half sister, Annabella and her husband, Alexander MacDonald of Cuidreach owned a plantation. While they were living at Cameron Hill, Flora and Alan attended church services at Barbecue Presbyterian Church, and almost everyone in the present Barbecue congregation knows the story of Flora MacDonald in North Carolina. Their home at Cameron Hill was only to be a temporary one, however, as Alan and their sons took trips to the outlying areas searching for land. Near the house site at Cameron Hill, there is a spring that is referred to as the Flora MacDonald Spring. Many stories in the Highland settlement area were once told of how Flora would sit on a rock by this spring "gazing into the bluish haze of the west, lonely and watching and waiting, waiting for her men folk out there hunting a site for their new home."4

Alan and Flora MacDonald eventually bought their own plantation in Anson County, now Montgomery and Richmond Counties, and probably moved there in 1775. This plantation was not far from her step-father's, Hugh MacDonald of Armadale. They were not there for long, however, before Alan and Flora became closely involved with the King's cause in the American Revolution. Alan was commissioned by Governor Martin, royal governor of North Carolina, to raise an army of Highlanders to fight for the King. The Royal standard was raised at Cross Creek in early 1776 and in another oral tradition, believed by some historians to be only romantic fiction, Flora reviews the troops from the back of a milk-white steed and urges them on to victory. Unfortunately, the Highland army was ambushed and defeated at the Widow Moore's Creek and Alan MacDonald and their son Alexander were taken prisoner. Flora was harassed and persecuted by her American neighbours with Whig sympathies and was finally turned out of her house in 1777 and stripped of almost everything she owned. She was then forced to seek refuge with Loyalist friends. One tradition locates her at Daniel Cameron's plantation while another says that she sought refuge at Kenneth Black's plantation on the Little River in Moore County.5 Flora was eventually allowed to leave North Carolina for New York in 1778, from whence she left for Nova Scotia where she and Alan resided before she returned to Britain in 1779.6
There is a very popular story in North Carolina tradition that says that Flora had two young children, a son of eleven and a daughter of thirteen, who died while she was living in Anson County and that they were buried there on the plantation. There is still a marker at the supposed place of burial in present day Richmond County, but a "token quantity" of earth was also removed from the graves and placed in a crypt on the campus of Flora MacDonald College in Red Springs, North Carolina, early in the present century. The likelihood that these children belonged to Flora MacDonald is highly improbable. None of the historical records in Scotland state that Flora had any young children in 1774 at the time that she and Alan emigrated except a girl, Fanny, born in 1766, who remained in Scotland and did not accompany them to America. It is also highly improbable that Flora bore any children while in Carolina, considering that she was fifty-two the year they emigrated. Flora and Alan did not emigrate until 1774 and Alan was captured and imprisoned in 1776, which did not even leave them much time to produce two children. Therefore, this tradition appears to be in error. Several explanations can be offered for the mistaken identities of these children. The children may have belonged to another Flora MacDonald, of which there were several in the neighbourhood at that time, or the children may have belonged to a friend or relative of Flora's. These children might also have been totally unrelated to Flora, although they could have been buried on land that was erroneously believed to belong to the MacDonalds.

Probably the most widespread myth about Flora MacDonald in North Carolina is that people living in North Carolina today are her direct descendants. From all the historical documents available, there is no record of Flora and Alan MacDonald leaving any descendants in Carolina. In her humorous exposé on Southern culture, Southern Ladies and Gentlemen, writer Florence King satirizes this common misbelief, which gives an indication of how popular the misconception is.

"...A few years later, Flora did something that has made hypertension the number-one health threat to anyone who works in a Southern archive. She emigrated to North Carolina. She should of had a hysterical bonny toddler with her, but she did not. She lived for a while in the colony, until the Tory sympathies she developed during the American Revolution inspired her to return to Scotland. Her brief stay in North Carolina has enabled all those Southerners who want to be descended from a Stuart to convince themselves that Flora was in such a hurry to leave that she forgot to take her bonny toddler with her...left roaming around in the piney woods, ready to grow up and become somebody's ancestor."
As mentioned before, there was more than one individual named Flora MacDonald who emigrated to Carolina, and many children born to Highland emigrants in Carolina were given that name. It would be easy for one to get confused and mistake his or her ancestor for Flora MacDonald, the Laird of Milton's daughter.

According to the Rev. Donald MacKinnon of Kennoway, Fife, Flora MacDonald had a half-sister who also could have been called Flora (both girls being named Fionnghal in Gaelic), who was the daughter of Hugh MacDonald of Armadale. This woman was named Flora or Florence MacDonald, depending on how Fionnghal is translated. She married Archibald MacQueen in Skye and they had children who emigrated to Carolina. Among these children was a Col. James MacQueen who left many descendants. Therefore, there are many descendants of Flora's half-sister of the same name living in Carolina today, but no one of actual descent from Fionnghal nighean Raghnaill 'ic Aonghais Oig except the following:

In the late 1980's there was a young woman, Elizabeth "Betsy" Shields Harrell, living in Durham, North Carolina who could genuinely claim that she was a direct descendant of Flora MacDonald's. Her grandfather, Reginald MacDonald XV of Kingsburgh, emigrated to the United States from New Zealand early in this century and she grew up in Richmond, Virginia. Therefore, she is the only person living in Carolina at the present time who can actually prove descent from the Flora MacDonald.

This belief that one is descended from Flora MacDonald probably has its roots in the romanticism associated with the Jacobite movement in the eighteenth century. As novelist Florence King points out, Flora was associated with the House of Stuart, once the royal family in Britain. Amateur genealogists often try to associate themselves with royalty and romantic movements, and Flora MacDonald can be connected to both. If one finds the name Flora MacDonald occurring often in his or her family, this also appears to lend justification to the claim of kinship.

Contrary to historical evidence, there is another North Carolina legend that says that Flora MacDonald received a letter from her husband Alan advising her to return to the Isle of Skye. Although she wished to stay in America, she bowed to Alan's wishes and decided to return to Scotland as soon as possible. With the help of Captain Eben Ingram, an American soldier, she was able to get a passport from Cross Creek to Wilmington, from whence she sailed to Charleston, which was in the possession of the British at the time. In order to defray her expenses, legend says that Flora was forced to sell her silver and there are individuals in North Carolina today that claim to be in possession of the silver which their ancestors purchased from Flora. According to the most accurate historical accounts, Flora did not have to
buy her passage on a ship, but was taken to New York by her son-in-law Alexander MacLeod, who arrived in Wilmington under a white flag of truce and was allowed to evacuate his family and Flora and take them to New York. The silver could have been sold by Flora MacDonald or it could have been stolen from her, but it is difficult to prove in either case if it truly once belonged to her.

The name of Flora Macdonald is still very well known in the Upper Cape Fear Valley. There is a Flora Macdonald Academy at the site of the old Flora Macdonald College and the annual highland games in Red Springs are called the Flora Macdonald Highland Games in her honour. There are also historical markers pointing out her different residences in Fayetteville, Harnett County, and Montgomery County.

Jennie Bhàn MacNeill

Jennie Bhàn MacNeill, although less well known than Flora MacDonald, was a leading pioneer and the focus of much folk tradition and legend in the Cape Fear Highland Settlement. Unfortunately, historians with no knowledge of the Gaelic language have dubbed her Jennie "Bahn" MacNeill and the mistake has been perpetuated by most writers today. The word bán means "fair" or blond in Gaelic, but when applied to a woman, the adjective becomes bhàn, pronounced "van". Jennie Smith MacNeill was born in Scotland and emigrated to Carolina as a child with her parents John Smith and Margaret Gilchrist. Jennie married Archibald MacNeill, who came to Carolina with the Argyll Colony in 1739 with his father Lauchlin and his grandfather "Black" Neill MacNeill.

Jennie Bhàn MacNeill was very good at business and although the property was in her husband's name, Jennie appears to have been the brains and talent behind their prosperity. She and her husband became two of the largest land and cattle owners in the state. Jennie Bhàn would ride on horseback visiting her cowpens at different points, and at market time, she would drive the cattle to Wilmington, Virginia, or Philadelphia for sale.

Many stories were told about Jennie Bhàn MacNeill, and in some cases the truth may have been embroidered. One story states that Jennie and Archie MacNeill divided their sons between the Loyalists and the Whigs during the American Revolution, in order to hold on to their land. Actually, only one of their six sons was a Whig, the other five holding commissions in the King's army. The fact that Jennie
and Archie MacNeill retained their land after the war was probably due to the fact that the MacNeills were old and well respected by their Whig neighbours. Another story has to do with the method of surveying land employed by Jennie MacNeill:

According to this tradition, when she purchased land, she would guess at the points of a compass, send a slave in a certain direction to mark lines until he was recalled by the ringing of a cow bell in Jennie Bahn's [sic] hand. Then he would be started in another direction to mark a line in the same way. This process was kept up until the lands were marked out, the implication being that she enclosed in this way more land than she was entitled to.

Angus W. MacLean, a lawyer by profession, believed that this story could not be true because the seller as well as the buyer would always be present at the marking off of land and this method would never be permitted by the other interested party. One should not be too quick to dismiss this story, however, for a parallel can be found in the oral tradition of the Highland settlement in eastern Quebec. The Highland emigrants there marked off their lots with the use of psalms:

They formed in a ...line. First they drew lots...to see who'd take the place in this procession...And they started from a surveyors point, outside one of the township lines, or something...And the number one man would start, and he'd take his axe and mark a tree. And they'd sing, what it was, the Twenty-third Psalm in Gaelic. And they'd sing that over so many times, and they'd keep time walking through the woods. And when that ended, the number one man would make a mark on a tree, and that was his. That square that they'd...he'd walk the frontage and back, and the two sides were the same distance they walked. And then the second man would take his place and he'd walk and they'd sing. And so it was got that way.

Nine or ten children were born to Jennie Bhan MacNeill. Some of best remembered of her children were "One Eyed" Hector, a British Loyalist colonel; "Nova Scotia" Daniel, a captain in the British army who settled in Nova Scotia after the war; Neill, captain in the British forces; and Malcolm, who fought for the Whigs and later served as Cumberland County sheriff. Jennie Bhan has many descendants in Carolina as well as in other states and Canada.

Jennie Bhan MacNeill died in 1791 and was buried in the family cemetery in Harnett County near the banks of the Lower Little River. A grave stone was brought over from Scotland by her four sons in about 1800, but during unloading, the base of the stone fell overboard and became lodged in the mud of the river bank. It was not retrieved until years later and the stone was not engraved until 1928.
The popularity of Jennie Bhàn, as evidenced by the number of stories about her and the length of time they have survived, can probably be explained by her pioneer spirit. Pioneers such as Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett have a popular appeal because they represent the rugged individualism and entrepreneurial abilities required of the early settlers. One had to be tough, cunning, and enterprising in order to prosper on the frontier and Jennie Bhàn fit that role model very well.

Red Neill MacNeill

Probably one of the most colourful legends about the early settlers in North Carolina was told about "Red Neill" MacNeill and was recorded by Malcolm Fowler in his book They Passed This Way. The following is Fowler's account of the legend of Red Neill MacNeill:

Neill MacNeill was an ex-sailor who was one of the earliest pioneers in the Upper Cape Fear Valley. According to tradition, he stood six feet six inches and had bright red hair and a curly red beard, and was known by his fellow Scots as Niall Ruadh or An Ruadh Mór. MacNeill acquired many pieces of land, and then later sold them to incoming colonists. According to Fowler, Red Neill was responsible for the names of two important creeks in Harnett County. Neill's Creek got its name because he owned so many pieces of property along that creek. There is also a tradition that MacNeill named Barbecue Creek as well, since the mist rising off the creek reminded him of barbecue fires he had seen in the West Indies. Red Neill held many a barbecue himself at his cabin on the east bank of the Cape Fear River near Smilie's Falls, inviting all his pioneer friends in the area. One of these good friends was "Bow-Legged" Archie Buie the piper, who would supply the music on these raucous occasions.

In 1759, Red Neill threw his last party. A great fever struck the Upper Cape Fear and took many of the men from round about. Neill spent much of his time attending to the sick and dying, but he finally succumbed to the fever himself. With the help of Archie Buie the piper, he carved his own casket out of a large gum tree, with the two sides pieced together with pegs. Red Neill wanted to be buried on the other side of the river, on the brow of Smylie's Hill, and he made Buie promise to take his body there to be buried. At the time of Red Neill's death, however, Buie was unable to transport his body to the west bank of the river because it had risen and it was impossible to get the coffin across. MacNeill was therefore buried on the east
side of the river, near his cabin. For a number of years after his death, stories were
told of a giant ghost with red hair and a red beard which stood on a rock overlooking
Smilie's Falls and pointed westward.

One hundred years later, in the spring of 1865, when General Sherman came
through Harnett County, Confederate troops met the Union army in the Battle of
Averasboro, which was fought in a driving rain. It rained for several days without
cessation, and the swollen Cape Fear River finally burst its banks and flooded the
valley in what was known as Sherman's Fresh. When the waters receded after the
flood, a large gum tree was discovered on the west bank of the river. The tree had
burst apart, and inside the hollowed out trunk, the remains of a skeleton with red hair
and a red beard were found. When the story of the red headed skeleton became
known, some of the older people in the settlement recalled the account that they had
heard years ago and retold it. Red Neill MacNeill was finally laid to rest on the brow
of Smilie's hill - on the west bank of the Cape Fear.

1. See MacNeill, Joe Neill and John Shaw. Tales Until Dawn: The World of a Cape
118.
3. Malcolm Fowler, They Passed This Way. (n.p.: Harnett County Centennial, Inc.,
1955), p. 36.
5. Angus W. MacLean, "Highland Scots in North Carolina," TS, North Carolina
Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, p. 115.
6. Reginald MacDonald of Kingsburgh, Notes on the House of MacDonald of
7. Angus W. MacLean, p. 117.
9. See the genealogy written by Reginald MacDonald of Kingsburgh on the descendants
of Flora and Alan MacDonald entitled Notes on the House of MacDonald of
Kingsburgh and Castle Camus. [USA]: privately printed, 1962.
10. Florence King, Southern Ladies and Gentlemen. (1975; rpt. London: Black Swan,
1989), pp. 33-34.
11. The Rev. Dr. Donald MacKinnon and Alick Morrison, The MacLeods: The Genealogy
of a Clan, IV, (Edinburgh: Clan MacLeod Society, n.d.),
12. Angus W. MacLean, p. 121.

13. See the following biographies of Flora MacDonald for more information on her life in North Carolina:


15. Angus W. MacLean, p. 185.


Stories From The War

Some of the old stories and tales were lost as Gaelic gave way to English, but a much greater number of them were probably lost in the great social upheaval that followed the American War Between the States. Thousands of men on both sides lost their lives and the Southern economy received a devastating blow from which it took decades to recover. Just as the First World War served as a watershed for Gaelic culture in the Highlands of Scotland, so the American War Between the States (1861-1865) served as a watershed for the Gaelic culture in Carolina. The loss of life in the Highland communities of Carolina was extremely high. Almost every family suffered loss of life and everyone suffered greatly financially. The whole cultural fabric of the communities was damaged, leaving a great vacuum in its place. This cultural vacuum was quickly filled, however, by songs and tales from the war period. In this sense, the culture of the South following the War Between the States can be compared to Highland culture following Culloden, where stories and songs about Prince Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobite movement came to dominate oral tradition.

In the last months of the American War Between the States in 1865, the United States government gave General William Tecumseh Sherman orders to burn a path through the South with fire and sword in order to destroy any final hopes of Southern resistance. General Sherman led his troops on a destructive march from Georgia through the Carolinas in what has become known as Sherman's "march to the sea." General Sherman's troops were bad enough by themselves, but there were also foragers following the main march of the Union Army. These foraging soldiers were known as "bummers" and were little better than outlaws, scouring the countryside for booty. Their main objective was looting and burning and they were under little restraint of command. Many of the counties that formed the Highland settlement were directly in the path of Sherman's March. In the years following the War, stories about Sherman and his "bummers" far outnumbered the other legends and folk tales told in the Highland settlement area.

Dan McDonald from Moore County heard stories about the war from his grandfather, who lived through the war. The following is typical of the stories that were told:

My grandfather said that he was over here at Deep Creek - the family lived just beyond the cemetery. When Sherman's army came through here, they [the MacDonalds] took the horses into the swamp and wrapped their noses and heads in burlap to keep them [from] neighing. They'd hear the other horses and they'd make a noise and Sherman -
his raiders, it wasn’t him - would come and steal the horses. He remembered doing that. He wasn’t in the army....They did come and they tore the corncrib down and the smokehouse - and all the food that they could find - and that that they couldn’t take with them, they just trampled it under their horses' hooves until it was no longer - it was useless. They stole and they took everything they could carry and what they couldn’t use, they just destroyed it. (Tape 16B)

Donald MacDonald of Dillon County heard similar stories from his father. Although the Scots in Carolina Community in Dillon County hid their horses in the swamp as well, they were betrayed by an old slave.

The Yankee troops set fire to the house - first of all taking all the chickens and the stock, and anything that was left, what they didn’t want to use, they ruined by putting it on the ground and stamping on it.... What they did, they took off all the horses from the community. Everyone in the community who owned horses had hidden the horses behind our house in the Little Pee Dee River swamp and the person in charge of them was an old Negro named Ben McInnis, who was a slave. And Ben obviously wanted his freedom, and who could blame him, and he decided to rat on the whites and to tell the Yankees where the horses were and so obviously [MacDonald is unsure about this part] sent a young boy up to the Yankees to tell them that if they would take Old Ben away, he would lead them to where the horses were in hiding. He did this and so they took Ben away. But as they were leaving the grounds of our house with all the horses and mules....The road in front of our house was very long and straight and eventually there was a left hand fork down the road near where the Smiths, the next door neighbours the Smiths lived, about a half a mile to a mile away, half a mile probably, and you could see all this long distance because it’s such a straight road. My father always said that my great-grandmother had begged the brigade major, after he had put the fire out, begged him to at least give her one horse or one animal of some type in order to have on the farm so that they could begin the spring ploughing. This was in March of 1865, just getting ready for the spring planting and they would have no animal whatsoever. And so the brigade major had allowed her to keep a colt, a very young colt, and what they did was they drove the mare into the lot with the colt following behind her and then they took the mare away and shut the lot gates thereby trapping the colt inside the lot - fenced in lot. Then they took the mare as well as all the other horses and mules away and the whole army brigade was marching down the long, straight road - and Daddy always said they were going along the straight "ratch" and I would say to him, "Daddy, what is that?" and he would say, "The straight ratch." They got all the way down the straight ratch and then just as they turned at the fork of the road, the little colt bolted and jumped the fence and went off with its mother and thereby leaving the whole community, not just our family, but the entire rural community with no stock whatsoever with which to begin the spring ploughing. I kept asking him what that word ratch would be, but he would - I would say, "Are you sure you got the right word?" I thought he might mean straight "stretch", but no, he
invariably said the straight ratch. And now that I've heard a little Gaelic here in this country [Scotland], I would think that the ratch might be road - rathaid - the straight road. (r-a-t-h-a-i-d)

Donald MacDonald's great-grandfather Alexander J. MacDonald was in Columbia, South Carolina when the Union army under Gen. Sherman took over the city and burned it. Donald's father was raised by his grandparents and "Grandpa Sandy" often told Donald's father the following story, which he in turn told to Donald.

One thing I want to tell you was about what he always told about his grandfather, my great-grandfather, the same man that I mentioned before, Sandy MacDonald, who was a swordsmith for the Confederacy. [He] was in Columbia, South Carolina, the capital of South Carolina, at the time of the - when Sherman's raiders set the city ablaze and burned it to the ground after having promised the mayor of the city that they would leave it standing - that they would never damage it. But of course they said one thing and did another. Anyway, my great-grandfather was apparently describing the march of the troops down the main street of Columbia and Daddy used to tell it. And see my father was, although he was two generations away from the Civil War, the American War Between the States, he was nevertheless brought up, he was reared by his own grandmother, instead of his mother because his mother died virtually at childbirth, eighteen days after he was born. So he was reared by his grandmother and she was this Catherine McInnis MacDonald who had gone through the War Between the States. She was the very woman that had given the distress signal to the Yankee troops - so it was her husband that Daddy was quoting. And he could never quote it without tears welling up in his throat and his eyes and he would simply get furious and this is sort of the way he would tell it - he says,

"I remember my grandfather's telling about when those damn Yankees came to Columbia. He said they were marchin' down main street of Columbia, and they were marchin' about eight abreast and every 500 yards there was a band and do you know what them devils were playin'? They were playin' Dixie! And you think I could love them devils? Oh no, I could never love them devils."

And he would get terribly emotional and almost weep.

According to MacDonald, there were still parts of Columbia that had not been rebuilt yet when he was a boy in the 1930's. Areas of the city reminded him of London after the blitz in the Second World War.

Amid all the stories of looting, burning, and torture, there were occasionally stories of unexpected kindness and mercy shown to the Highlanders by the Union troops. Vera MacRimmon remembers the following story about Sherman's March that was passed down in her family:

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I do remember hearing, and I'm not sure if this is authentic cause I've heard it from other sources too, that my grandfather McLaurin was sitting on the steps when Sherman's men came and they got off their horses - they may have been scouts, I'm not sure - but anyway, I've heard that they got off their horses and came toward him and he gave them the Masonic sign and they just turned and left. But now I think, I've heard that from other places too...They didn't bother the house.

This is apparently a common motif in accounts of the time among the families of Highland descent in Carolina and this same story has been told by others in Dillon County and Robeson County. Donald MacDonald of Dillon County remembers a very similar story from his father:

The story he would always tell us was about when the Yankee troops from Sherman’s raiders, whether it was actually Sherman’s army or not, or just simply a brigade from the periphery of the Army, were marching north from Savannah through Columbia, South Carolina, which was burned by the Yankees, then on northwards into North Carolina. They passed our own home - plantation - and were setting the house afire and the only person there was my great-grandmother, who was Catherine McInnis MacDonald, her husband was Sandy MacDonald, who was in the Confederacy and he was away in Columbia as a swordsmith. Before he had left, he apparently was a mason and had given her what’s known as the masonic distress signal, some very ultimate signal. If you were in direst straits, you would give this signal, and if it happens that your tormentor happened to be a mason, then he would possibly react in a kindly way. They then set fire to the house and she then gave this signal and the Yankee brigade major was a mason and apparently immediately called off all the troops.

Many other informants in the same area report that their ante-bellum houses which survived the war were owned at the time by members of the masonic lodge, giving credence to these stories. Tradition in Dillon County says that General Sherman himself was a mason and ordered his officers to show mercy to other masons.

Many of the stories told after the War concerned how the people of Highland descent managed to stay alive after the Union army ravaged the land. According to many reports, including the ones passed down in Dan McDonald and Donald MacDonald’s family, the Yankee troops took what food they needed and destroyed what they could not take with them. The Cape Fear Highlanders tried to hide anything that was of value to the Yankees. They would bury silver and hide horses in the swamp. They also managed to preserve some of their food by concealing it in their houses. The main source of meat in the Highland community before the War was from pigs and hams would be salt cured and smoked for later consumption. The
Highlanders in Carolina often hid these hams in their attics and many stories have survived to tell about this practice. Furman McDonald of Richmond County gives his version of the story.

The old part of the house there that’s still standing - the ceiling joists was bare to the eye and the boards was over the top of the ceiling joists and when I was a young boy, I can remember seeing where they had painted over it, but the grease streaks still came out through the paint where it had dripped down from up in the attic. I’ve been told that there’s still a piece of side-meat still down there in the attic of that house that was put up there in the Civil War Days.

The home of “Squire” Lauch McLaurin in Marlboro County was built just before the War. The men were just getting ready to paint the house when they had to leave for the War, and to this day, the house is still unpainted. In the interior of the house there are grease stains on the ceiling of one of the rooms. The familiar story is still told about the hams in the attic by the descendants of "Squire" Lauch living in the house today.

Although most people of Highland descent supported the South and the war, some openly opposed it and refused to serve. Lauchlin and Malcolm Shaw’s family in Harnett County were some of those opposed to it. Their grandfather and great uncles hid out in the woods during the War to avoid conscription. Stories about the Shaw family during the War were passed down to Lauchlin:

My people, my granddaddy and his brothers, all except John the oldest one, went to the woods here in Anderson Creek. They didn’t serve in the Civil War. Granddaddy didn’t own any slaves and he just didn’t like the idea of fightin’ for slavery - which is what it amounted to. These boys went to the woods and stayed four years, right in this area...They’d set food on the fenceposts...where they could pick it up. They’d use straw [pine straw] and things like that. Poles - stand poles up like a hog shelter and sleep under that. If the South had won the war, they would have killed them, all of them, but they never did catch them.

The Home Guard knew about the Shaw brothers and the Shaws had to be vigilant to make sure that they were not caught. The Home Guard was constantly on the look out for deserters and young men who refused to fight for the Confederacy. Lauchlin remembers a story that their family tells about an encounter that their great uncle Duncan had with the Home Guard during the war:

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Uncle Duncan - that was Uncle Duncan Shaw - and Mr. McCormick lived right close by to where Katie [Shaw lives]...Hugh McCormick was a home guard and they were both after the same turkey gobbler in the spring - gobblin' time - yelpin' time. They were both pretty close together and a Mr. Hugh McCormick said "Shoot him Duncan!" "Get him Duncan!" And he [Duncan] wouldn't empty his gun. Uncle Duncan says "Damn it, you shoot him." They laughed about it in later years after the Civil War was over, but they would have killed them [the Shaws] if they had got them, no question about it. But they never did get them.

According to Malcolm Shaw, the Union sympathisers built a cave in the woods to hide in.

Back during the war there was a bunch of them fellers, and some of my people was in it. They dug them a cave down in the ground. I reckon they toted the dirt off somewhere...You can see where it was now...They didn't want to go to war.

Dan McDonald of Moore County also heard stories about the Home Guard from his father:

My father told stories that he had heard about the deserters leaving the army and coming home to help the family. The family was starving, you know, and they had home guards and he knew who these home guards were. He told a story about someone in the Roseland area, and the names of the people I don't know, but anyway, one man was home looking after his family and the home guard came and saw him and talked to him and didn't do anything about it. My father asked him "What would you have done if he would have attempted anything?" He said, "I would have killed him." So the home guard probably knew that he was in dangerous territory. He didn't dare try to arrest him or do anything because it seemed like the other guy had the advantage of him - he had his gun with him.

There were also a great many stories told during the War and after about the Lowrie gang, a group of outlaws who terrorised the Highland settlement area in Carolina. The Lowrie gang consisted of Lumbee Indians with a small number of Whites and Blacks, but were also assisted by escaped Yankee prisoners of war. The nucleus of the outlaw band were either Lowries or else they were related to the Lowrie family by blood or marriage.

The Lowrie family was descended from James Lowrie who married Sallie Kearsey, a halfbreed Tuscarora Indian, and emigrated from Bute County, North Carolina to Robeson County in about 1769. By the time of the War Between the
States, the Lowries were a mixture of White, Black, and Indian blood, but for legal purposes they were considered Indians. They lived in the back woods and swamps of Robeson County, which enabled them to elude the authorities for years.

During the War Between the States, Indians were not allowed to fight as the Whites were, but were drafted into service by the Confederate Army as labourers. Rather than be pressed into service, many of the Lumbee Indians went into hiding in the swamps, including the young men of the Lowrie family. Most of the white men were away at the time, fighting for the Confederacy, and the Lowrie gang took advantage of their absence by plundering the countryside. At first it appears that escaped Yankee prisoners aided the gang by entering the houses where the Lowries would be recognised while they remained outside. The Lowries later became so bold that they no longer tried to conceal their identity. Their reign of terror lasted for ten years, from 1864 till 1874.

The Lowrie gang was led by Henry Berry Lowrie. The nucleus of the gang consisted of his three brothers Stephen, William, and Thomas; Calvin Oxendine, Henderson Oxendine, Boss Strong, and Andrew Strong, related to the Lowries by blood; William Chavis and George Applewhite, related to the Lowries by marriage; a Black man, Shoemaker John; a white man of Scottish descent, Zack McLauchlin; and John Dial, who turned state's evidence and betrayed the others. The gang was probably responsible for at least fifteen or sixteen murders and numerous robberies.

Donald MacDonald of Dillon County remembers one of the stories about the Lowrie gang that his father K. McLaurin MacDonald used to tell.

One particular story he knew quite well about two MacLean brothers who were killed. He used to always point out the spot in North Carolina, it was in Robeson County...It was on the road to Maxton in Robeson County that the Lowrie gang waited behind an old mill dam, waited for these two brothers named MacLean, I think their names were Hugh MacLean and Rob MacLean 13 and they came along in a buggy. They were due there on a Sunday afternoon - they were due to pass. Somehow the Lowrie gang...In this particular case they were lying in wait for these McLean brothers because they felt that they were - the MacLean brothers had been amongst the people who had shot their father or something like that...Anybody who would go out against them was almost a marked man because the Lowries would then lay in wait for them and pick them off one by one. And they ended up killing quite a lot of the prominent land owning gentry of that area for ten years after the War....One by one all the gang members were eventually killed, but Henry Berry Lowrie, who was the leader of the gang, was apparently never killed and there was a story that went out that he actually accidentally shot himself, but it could have been a ruse in order to - there have been stories later on that he eventually escaped to
Mexico and went off in hiding and that the story about his having accidentally shot himself was just simply a ruse to keep anybody from trying to find him.

The members of the Lowrie gang eluded capture for years. Henry Berry Lowrie was captured twice and he escaped both times. As Donald MacDonald states, however, one by one all the gang members were eventually killed except for their leader - Henry Berry Lowrie. The memory of the Lowrie gang lives on in the Cape Fear Valley today. Furman McDonald of Richmond County remembers that when he was small, adults would try to scare the children by mentioning the Lowrie gang.

I can remember when we would be outside playing and they'd say, "Come on in" or "don't go there, some of that Lowrie gang might get you." "You better not wander too far from the house - some of Henry Berry Lowrie's gang is liable to get you."

Archie Purcell from Scotland County had the following experience when he was a boy in the 1920's.

I had the experience of riding on the bus and having it stopped by the Lowrie gang when I was a little boy...This was in the 20's...We were goin' from Lumberton to Laurinburg. I was just a little boy, maybe four or five years old riding with my aunt on the bus and all of a sudden the bus stopped because there were three trees thrown across the highway in front of us. They came on board the bus - of course I was real thrilled to see that. They didn't bother anybody to my knowledge. They were looking for somebody and didn't find them, so they left and helped pull, move the trees out of the way so we could go on...The reason I knew they were the Lowrie gang is because they said they were.

Fifty years after the demise of the Lowrie gang, the Indians of Robeson County appear to have been using the Lowrie name to strike fear into the populace.

The oral tradition of the Lumbee Indians in Robeson County portrays the Lowrie Gang as a group of heroes who were forced to resort to violence due to the severe oppression that they experienced at the hands of the whites. The Lowries are immortalised today in the outdoor drama at Pembroke "Strike at the Wind", which tells the story of the Lowrie gang from the Indian point of view. In this play written and produced by Lumbee Indians, Henry Berry Lowrie is seen not as a murderer and thief, but as a nineteenth century Robin Hood.
Although stories about the War tended to dominate story telling in the Cape Fear region for many years, some traditional stories with themes also found in Scotland did survive. Douglas Kelly remembers the following story being told in his youth:

This is one that's told among them. This husband, supposedly in the Scottish section of the Cape Fear Valley, his wife would sort of disappear and not show up for periods at a time - days at a time. He couldn't understand it. Then she'd be back and everything would be fine. He had also noticed out in the woods - he hunted a lot - a white deer - and he shot the deer. He knew that he had shot the deer at least two or three times and it didn't seem to affect it at all. And someone told him to make a silver bullet and so he made a silver bullet and shot the deer in the heart. Well, when he got back home, his wife was dead in bed with a silver bullet in her...That was one that was passed down among the Curries at Lumber Bridge...I heard that as a child.

There are numerous stories in Scottish folklore where witches have the power to turn into animals. A similar story about a white hind can be found in the Gaelic tradition and was recorded in Lochaber by Calum Maclean. In this story, the white hind is shot and killed with a silver six-pence. A story with this same motif can also be found in the Scots language in Sheila Douglas's King of the Black Art. In this example, called "The Silver Sixpence", an old woman would turn herself into a hare and steal the milk from all the cows. The hare was shot with a silver six-pence and later that day the old woman was discovered wounded in her bed with the six-pence in her wound.

Donald MacDonald of Dillon County remembers his father telling the following story, which Donald believes is a variant of a story told in Scotland:

This was such a favourite story of mine and I remember when I was in the eleventh grade in high school, we had to write some short stories, so I used it as the theme of a short story that I had to turn in in English class. I got a B+ on it, and I called it "The Peddler's Tale". It was just as my father told it to me. It went something like this: Somewhere in this rural community - when I remember his telling it to me, I thought perhaps he was talking about our own community at home itself, because it had some, it had hogs and hogmeat involved in it. Anyway, this peddler is supposed to come to this rural community late in the afternoon to offer his wares. And in those days, this was the days before the commerce of the area, before the towns were well developed and before the roads were tar-macadamed and it was difficult for people to get to shops and peddlers would go through rural areas selling their wares, just as tinkers did in the Highlands. This particular peddler came into this rural area, to this house, farm house at the very late afternoon and was showing his wares off and it was so late, a big
thunderclap came up... The peddler didn't want to have to start out in it, possibly he was riding a mule or simply walking. So the couple, to be hospitable, asked him to stay the night until the storm had passed and the next day he could go on his way. So for a bed they put him into what would be called in those days the smokehouse. Now we had a smokehouse at home and it was a log house in the back yard - back garden at home. The smoke house would be where you hung the hams - the smoked haunches of hog meat... The hams were salt cured and sometimes smoked with hickory smoke to preserve them - that was the days before refrigeration. The smokehouse was a place where the meat was hung and you'd just come along and cut off what you would need for the day's bacon, or the morning's bacon. You'd just come in the early morning and cut off the stuff from the hanging haunch and take it back to the kitchen and fry it up. Anyway, the smokehouse is where they prepared a bed for the peddler. Well in the early morning, according to the tale of Daddy's, the farmer needed some meat, so he went out to the smokehouse without waking the peddler up. He just sort of walked in and reached above - he started walking very slowly, trying to be quiet, towards the peddler in the early morning gloom holding a knife. The peddler thought that the man was about to kill him, but all the man was doing was getting ready to cut the haunches of ham hanging there. But the peddler jumped up in fright and rushed out of the house screaming "He's trying to kill me! He's trying to kill me!" - and got away. The farmer tried to explain to him, "No, all I'm trying to do is to cut down the haunch of meat above your head." That was the story that Daddy told me that I used as my peddler's tale.... Many, many years later here in Scotland I read in the Tocher magazine of the School of Scottish Studies, a folktale from Skye which has quite a similar theme - in that there was a peddler arriving at this rural cottage late in the afternoon and then a storm arose and the cotter and his wife offered him hospitality to stay the night, which he did. During the night, the old couple didn't go to bed, but the tinker went to bed, probably in the stable part of the but and ben of the house... They also had sheep tethered there as well. The family had a particular sheep, a wedder, which is a castrated ram, and this wedder was so cantankerous and so contentious... He was so cantankerous until they called him the Irishman - an t-Eireanach. And according to Willie Matheson, there is a word in Gaelic for wedder very similar to an t-Eireanach. So the wedder was either named the "Irishman", or they were using the old name for the wedder. And the Irishman of course, the Irish peddler, was a Gaelic speaker and he heard them saying, "Now in the morning, we've got to kill the Irishman". This was the Skyeman telling this to his wife after the peddler had already gone to bed... The Irish peddler immediately thought they were talking about him - of course, they were talking about the sheep, the wedder... So in the early morning gloom he got up and ran out in terror when he saw them approaching him with the knife - in much the same way as the story in Carolina. So as they approached him with the knife, he ran off in terror in the middle of the storm and he fell into a burn, it being so dark. And to this day I believe that stream is called Lon an Eireanaich.

Both Douglas Kelly and Martha McLeod heard stories about Scotland when they were growing up. Martha remembers hearing stories about her MacLeod ancestors in Skye:
Well now my father told me stories about things on Skye, and I guess he got them from my grandfather, about Dunvegan and the fairy flag and the fairy bridge - all the stories that have come down. I did hear those from my earliest childhood.

Douglas Kelly and Martha McLeod appear to be the exception, however. Most people of Highland descent living in the Cape Fear region today hear very few stories about Scotland if any. Nettie McCormick Henly gives us an idea about how scarce stories about Scotland were in Carolina as far back as the 1870’s.

The only legends about the old country that I heard were hazy stories of Flora McDonald, who saved Prince Charles from the English, and then helped the English against the Americans when she lived in Richmond County during the Revolution.

There may be several reasons why oral traditions survive in some families and die out in others. The reason that is most obvious is a familial interest in story telling. The tradition of seanachie and story-teller stretch back generations to Scotland and Ireland. There always seemed to be some people who were not only interested in tales and stories, but also had a natural talent for remembering and telling them. This talent and interest tended to follow family lines. Members of a story-teller’s family would also naturally hear stories more often than others. Another reason for continuity in oral tradition may have to do with the ages between generations. Members of families who marry late in life tend to pass on a cultural tradition rooted much earlier in the cultural milieu than individuals who marry young. Children that are raised by grandparents and great-grandparents also are exposed to a much earlier cultural tradition. Finally, physical isolation may also play an important part in preserving oral tradition. Families that live in isolated areas do not have as much exposure to other cultures that may dilute their own traditions and there are fewer distractions to take them away from the home - the place where oral tradition is usually transmitted. In North Carolina, the area known as the Sandhills for its sandy soil, hilly topography, and pine barrens was probably the most isolated area of the Highland settlement. The Sandhills area includes Hoke County, southern Moore County, northern Richmond and Scotland Counties, and western Harnett and Cumberland Counties. This area still provides more evidence than any other of the oral tradition of the North Carolina Highland settlement.

There are legends in the Sandhills area of Carolina that contain the familiar motif of the lost corpse. What lends credence to one version of this story is that the same story is told about the same man in two widely separated localities. According
to Furman McDonald, one of his ancestors left Moore County after the American Revolution and settled in Richmond County. After the man's death, his relatives in Moore County came to get his body to carry it back for burial, but the body was lost on the way to the burial ground. Both Furman McDonald in Richmond County and Dan McDonald in Moore County have the story in their family tradition. The following is the story according to Furman McDonald:

This was supposed to have been Daniel, Old Daniel that come out of Moore County. When he died, his family from Moore County come back to down here and carried his body back to Moore County to McDonald's Chapel - what's McDonald's Chapel now - to bury him. The tale goes that he was...that before they got to the church they stopped at a - like a little branch or something there. They all got to drinkin' and a' partyin' around there. When they got ready to go later on they...his body fell out of the wagon or somethin'. They lost him there. They said that they went back the next morning and found him and carried him to the burying ground and buried him. None of his family, immediate family, his sons and wife, they didn't go to Moore County. They just...all probability they had the funeral down here where my step-grandmother lives, but then the family, his family from - brothers and nephews and all - come down here out of Moore County and got his body and carried it back to the burying ground.

Dan McDonald of McDonald's Chapel, gives his version of how the corpse was lost:

...The crossing at Drowning Creek which is not far from here, just the other side of Foxfire....They were some Pattersons living there and they'd be related to us [the McDaniels in Moore County], and they stopped there drinking and they had the casket. Maybe too much booze or whatever they were drinking - and the people were waiting here at the cemetery - waited so long they even built a fire. They hadn't arrived yet, and they had a light by the fire, and the night had arrived. And when they got there, they didn't have the casket, so they turned around and retracked themselves and found him of course. He's in the cemetery now. [They lost the casket between McDonald's Chapel and the Patterson's place.].... We didn't know that the Richmond County people knew that story until sometime we got together and they knew it exactly like we did. They told the story just like we had heard it. As far as I know, it had never been written.

Donald MacDonald from Dillon County also heard a "lost corpse" story in his youth, but this time the story told of a burial at Stewartsville Cemetery in Scotland County:

Daddy once told me about a wake at a place called the "Turnout" in Robeson County, North Carolina, just across the line [North Carolina state line] from home... They had such a big time, they were drinking and having such a party till they forgot to - two drunk people were the
pall bearers and put the body in the coffin and put it in the back of a one-horse wagon, but forgot to put the tailgate in the back of the wagon. As the horse or the mule that was pulling the wagon was being urged on to go to Stewartsville Cemetery along these washboard earthen roads, the body fell off of the back of the wagon and they weren't aware of it. When they got to Stewartsville Cemetery there was no coffin, so they couldn't have the funeral, and they had to go back and find the body.

Variants of this story can also be found in many different localities in Scotland. Calum MacLean collected a variant of the story in Dalmally and Alan Bruford noted this story in Shetland.

Family Stories

Stories about family members are also very popular in North Carolina. These can be about one's own experiences or the experience of a relative. Many of the stories about the War Between the States fall into this category, but the stories about the War have been treated separately because there is such a large body of them.

Malcolm Shaw

Malcolm Shaw from the Flat Branch Church community in Harnett County is a born storyteller. He is one of a passing breed who used to sit and while away the time telling stories. Most of the stories that Malcolm tells are stories about his own family and he tells many stories that have been passed down in his family about his immigrant ancestor, Torquil Shaw. The following are two humorous stories about Torquil:

Over there they drink their whisky or brandy. Over here - the old man after he went blind - they had plenty of apple trees, they made cider. They'd make wine and cider and I think there was a government liquor still back out here about three miles. He had to turn in so much to the government you know, and if he made some extra I guess he could sell it. Anyway, he bootlegged it and they'd buy whisky from him, so they didn't suffer for something to drink. And there were plenty of people who made bootleg liquor, you know. Anyway, old man Torquil, he had plenty of cider, hard cider you know. Well, he kept sippin' on it - they'd draw it in a gourd for him. That's what they used back then, if you went to a spring to get a drink of water, there would more than apt to have been a gourd there to dip it up and drink it out of, you know. Well anyway, he kept askin' for more cider and they were tryin' to
keep him from drinkin' too much and he called for some more cider for about the tenth time and they put him just a little bit in the bottom of the gourd and handed it to him. He sipped what little they was down. He said, "A hell of a gourd, but not much cider!"

When old man Torquil, he was eighty - he was way up there eighty - I believe about eighty-six. I think he was about ninety when he died. Anyway, we didn't have a Flat Branch Church to go to, and Barbecue was the closest Presbyterian church to us. He'd go up there. He'd get some of his grandchildren to, or maybe some of his own children to - I don't know what they rode or whether it was a mule and a wagon or a cart or a buggy. If they got rich enough they might of had a buggy. Anyway, he was up there at Barbecue, went up there to church, him and a bunch of those old Camerons and some of the Clarkes - just Scotch people. They were off to one side you know, as men folks will do and they were swappin' the Gaelic you know, talkin' in Gaelic. Some of them asked him, said, "Mr. Shaw, how old are you now?" Of course he was blind you know and he said, "Be there any womens around?" - and they told him no. He said, "I'm eighty-six."30

In addition to stories about his great-grandfather Torquil, Malcolm tells many stories about things that happened in his own youth. As children are often expected to do in tight communities with big extended families, Malcolm spent a lot of time in his youth helping his older relatives. The following two stories have to do with visits to his relatives to help out. The first story tells about how Malcolm "stretched the truth" in order to get his great-aunt Flora Shaw to let him fire a big muzzle loading shotgun and the consequences of his actions.

When I was a little feller you know, I'd go down there, they'd send me down there every day or two, but they didn't have to send me much because my old great aunts they made their own bread....They made their own cookies and things like that. Anyway, they made their own bread and they had cows...they'd have a little butter. They'd give me some bread and butter on it, sometimes a piece of cake. I just liked to go down there....The old great uncle...he got way up there in his old age and he got a little bit unbalanced upstairs. He had one of those old double barreled shotguns - a muzzle loader, with the hammers on the sides. He also had a little gun, and I think that they might of brought that thing over here from Scotland. It was about the size of a "410" and it was a muzzle loader...The old man would let me shoot that. I'd kind of stretch the truth a little bit, like I'd seen some crows tryin' to pull his corn. He'd let me shoot that little gun. Well, I kept after him to let me shoot that double barreled gun, that old heavy muzzle loader. Well, he kept putting me off, he'd keep telling me that I'd soon be big enough to shoot it. Well, this particular time I went down there and the revival meeting was goin' on at Flat Branch, and the preachers were supposed to come there to eat supper you know. Well, back then we didn't have deep freezers, and no refrigerators, not even an icebox back then - no electricity. You had to eat what you could get. People had chickens. You could kill a chicken - have chicken and dumplings...The preachers...
had eat it every day for six months. Them old folks thought that they
were supposed to have chicken and dumplings for the preacher. Well, I
think it was one of my uncles who was supposed to have come down
there and killed a chicken for my old great aunt, and he hadn’t showed
up and she was gettin' kind of desperate - it was gettin' well on towards
eating time and no chicken. Well, I walked up there and my old great
uncle had gone to the store to get a few little things. The store was
about a mile and a half down the road from them. And she jumped on
me right quick to get the little gun to kill the chicken for her. Well, I
thought to myself - well now is my chance to shoot that old big gun. I
told her, I said, "Aunt Flora, I shot a crow with that thing the other day
and just knocked a bunch of feathers out of him, and he was right at
me." I said, "He just flew off." I said, "I can kill him with that double
barreled gun, though." She said, "Yeah, but Alec wouldn’t want you to
be shootin’ that one." I told her, "Well, he’s been promising to let me
shoot it." I talked that old women into letting me shoot that chicken
with that old muzzle loader. Well, I think that the little tube between
the cap and the powder in the gun was probably stopped up - and I
think that it had been snapped on and popped the cap a few times and
the old man would reload it thinking that someone had shot the load out
of it. I think I could have taken my finger and put it down the barrel
and hit that waddin'. That I guess is what happened. Anyway, I went
out there and she showed me the chicken that she wanted and there was
weeds...The old house that they had been usin' for a kitchen for a long
time see - it was the old house, the log house that they built when they
first came over here from Scotland. Then they built them a two story
frame house - a big, big house there - but they still use that old log
house for a kitchen. Had a fire place in it - they’d cook with the pots
and pans up in it. Well, the weeds had growed up around that thing till
it was a sight. I could see chickens in there and she kind of peeped
through there and she showed me which one she wanted - and then she
scurried on out of the way before I’d shoot the chicken. Well, I had an
awful time a' holdin' that gun up. I wasn’t no size - I was probably ten
years old or eleven, but I was small for my age. I don’t know how
many chickens was in there, but I picked that gun up and I kept raisin'
it with all the strength I had. I got it on that old hen that she told me. I
knew I was on the right one. Well, I got that gun on him and I hadn’t
put it on his neck, I just put it on the body of the chicken, you know,
and I pulled that trigger. That hammer went down and the cap popped -
pap! - then a pishhh, long enough for three or four chickens to cackle
out of there, then one of the darndest explosions you’ve ever heard in
your life - it took place there. When it was all over and I kind of got
conscious again - I ain’t never seen such smoke - black smoke and
chicken feathers was all over the air and it was so black there you
couldn’t hardly see anything for a while. But you could hear chickens
a' squawkin' - they were coming out of the weeds a' hoppin' on one
foot a lot of them and tryin’ to fly and their wings all shot up. I first
looked to see if my arm was still hangin’ on my shoulder, and it was
then I got to lookin’ for the gun. I shot the chicken out here and the gun
was a way out yonder - the smoke, black smoke comin’ out of that gun
barrel, just circlin’ around, goin’ up. Well, blood was a’ pourin’ out of
my nose and my mouth. I don’t believe I’ve been much nearer dead in
my life. When I got to where I could kind of scramble around, I went in
there and got that chicken - what there was left of it - just enough of it
hangin’ together you know - and I took it to her and I put the chicken
down, and then I came back to get the gun. And you know that thing
was still lyin' there and smoke comin' out of that barrel, just twistin' and goin' straight up. I sneaked up on that gun and I got it and I drug it back in there and I put it up where I got it from and that's been a long time ago. My brother's got that gun now and he can darn sure keep it, I don't want it. After I carried that one to her and got the gun up, I went and got the other three chickens that was still - that was dead in there. A lot of them had left there flutterin', hoppin'. I got them three and I didn't come the path where she could see me - I kept that old building right between me and her and I brought them other three chickens up there and put them in the branch, threwed them in the water. I made myself kind of scarce until I had to go down there 'bout a week later and as soon as I got there she told me about some kind of varmint just playin' havoc with her chickens and they done got three of her best layin' hens and they'd crippled up several of them. She said she wasn't even gettin' any eggs, not gettin' any eggs at all. Well, I told her, I said, "Aunt Flora, I saw a big old fox the other day tryin' to sneak up on them chickens and that's bound to be what's happened to your chickens. Well, the old woman finally died about eighty years old or more and she died not knowin' but what it was a fox that got her chickens."

The following story tells about how Malcolm wanted to accept money from his great-uncle, but at the same time, he tried to appear reluctant to take it.

My old great uncle, I'd go down there and he farmed. He had an old horse and he ploughed all the time....Alec. Well, his name was Alexander, they called him Alec. I'd go down there. I planted all his corn for him and if he wanted to plant peas, I dropped those peas for him, me just a little feller....I was down there helpin' the old man, I think I was plantin' corn for him. Sometimes he'd offer me a little money. My Daddy told me not to take no money from him. He more or less looked after him you know, he give him a piece of land way back about the time that he got married. We had a pig-pickin' or homecomin' a' comin' up the next day and I kept thinkin' about that ice cream and the lemonade and I decided then that if he offered me any money - that if he offered it to me the third time, then I was goin' to take it. Well, I got ready to leave and he offered me a couple of nickels, which I really wanted, but I didn't want him to think that I wanted it. Well, he offered it to me one more time, but I had done made up my mind to take it if he offered it to me the third time. Well, he didn't offer it to me a third time...I wished to have thought that lightnin' would strike him, a rattlesnake would bite him, or a mad dog.
Lauchlin Shaw

Although Lauchlin Shaw defers to his brother Malcolm as the story teller in the family, Lauchlin is also very good himself and remembers many of the same stories that Malcolm does. The following are two stories about the Shaws and one of their favorite pastimes - hunting.

Torquil Shaw believed in work. He wanted work to go on and they wanted to go deer huntin' one mornin', the boys did. Of course they were grown, some were forty years old I reckon before they married. He didn't want them to go deer huntin', but they wanted to go anyhow. He decided to prolong the blessing, and he prayed and prayed and prayed...Uncle Duncan, he was kind of fractious about it and he says, "Confound it! If you're goin' to pray all day, I'm a' gonna go to eatin'."

Shaws are bad to fox-hunt too. They liked fox huntin'. They were havin' prayer meetin' somewhere in this area and they were all there. And one of them didn't go but he slips the dogs off up Anderson Creek and jumped the fox. And they were all just on pins and needles. They could hear the dogs a' runnin'. So they decided the way that - how they could get out was when the preacher prayed. And they crawled out the door and he looked up and he didn't have many men, he didn't have many of the Shaws in there because they had gone to the fox race....See, he closed his eyes and they all slipped out.

The following story concerns a humorous exchange between old Torquil Shaw and the great prohibition minister the Reverend Mr. John MacBryde.

The preacher, MacBryde I believe it was, a Presbyterian preacher, saw him go in the saloon - a whisky store in Fayetteville, a saloon they called them. And he stopped out there and waited till he came out and got after him about it. He said, "Don't you know that stuff will put the devil in you?" And he [Torquil] said, "If you get enough in you, it will put it out."

The storytelling tradition and the oral transmission of lore is now quickly disappearing in the Upper Cape Fear Highland settlement. Television and radio are probably greatly responsible for its destruction. Some of the old stories have still been kept alive in print by men such as Malcolm Fowler, but there are only a few storytellers left now to keep these stories in oral tradition. Gone are the days when the family would sit on the porch after supper and listen to the old tales, just as their ancestors had once gathered around the peat fire in Scotland.
1. Donald MacDonald, Tape SF 1987/4, Sound Archives, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.


4. Vera MacRimmon, Tape 1A.


6. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3A.

7. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.

8. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.

9. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

10. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16B.


13. According to Mrs. Norment in The Lowrie History, these brothers were Murdoch and Hugh MacLean. [Norment, p. 21.]


15. A parallel can be drawn here to other men such as Napoleon and Graham of Claverhouse, both feared men whose name lived on years after their death as a type of "bogey-man" used to frighten children in Scotland.

16. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3A.

17. Archie Purcell, Tape 4B.

18. Douglas Kelly, Tape 2B.


21. The story that MacDonald refers to was recorded from Donald MacRae in Clach Ard, Tote, Isle of Skye by Ian Fraser of the School of Scottish Studies and was published in Tocher, Volume II, page 32. The story is also included in Alexander Robert Forbes, Place-names of Skye, (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, Ltd., 1923), p. 255.

23. Martha MacLeod, Tape 5B.

24. The MacDonalds actually lived in Anson County, although the counties of Richmond and Montgomery, where historians believe the old plantation probably now lies, were carved out of Anson.


26. Furman MacDonald, Tape 3B.

27. Dan MacDonald, Tape 16A.

28. Donald MacDonald, Tape 22A.

29. Peter Sinclair, Dalmally, recorded by Calum MacLean, Tape SA 1958/95/4B, School of Scottish Studies Sound Archives, University of Edinburgh. Peter Fraser, Reawick, Shetland, interviewed by Alan Bruford, School of Scottish Studies, Fieldwork Notebook (Shetland) 1975.

30. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

31. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

32. Malcolm Shaw, Tape 15A.

33. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.

34. Lauchlin Shaw, Tape 10B.
OUTMIGRATION AND LATER EMIGRATIONS

OUTMIGRATION

Loyalist Evacuation and Settlement of Nova Scotia

One of the reasons that it is so difficult to estimate the number of Highland Scots who emigrated to North Carolina is the large number that left the state in subsequent years for other destinations. The first large emigration out of the Highland settlement in North Carolina occurred during the American War of Independence. Some of the Highlanders in North Carolina accepted the new American government and swore allegiance to it, while others remained loyal to King George during the war, and were either forced to or elected to leave the state. These Loyalists, or Tories as they were called by the American Whigs, eventually either returned to Britain, or left for East Florida, the West Indies, or the area of British North America which is now Canada. Duane Meyer, in his book The Highland Scots of North Carolina 1732-1776, states that one concerned Whig declared that two thirds of the people in Cumberland County were preparing to leave in the summer of 1777.\(^1\) The number who actually left North Carolina at that time can never be accurately known, although two thirds of the population seems like a great exaggeration. Most of the Loyalists who left Carolina about whom there are details were wealthy tacksmen and there may well have been a large number of these to leave. They could afford to start again elsewhere, and some of them were officers on half pay from the British Army. If they had stayed in America, they would have lost their government pension. Many of the poorer people simply did not have the resources to return to Scotland or to remove to other areas of North America. The majority of these poorer Highland emigrants, along with some of the tacksmen, even if they were Loyalist in sentiment during the War, accepted the new government of the United States and lived the rest of their lives in peace in North Carolina.

Some North Carolinians who had remained loyal to the King received land grants in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and formed settlements there. According to Carole Troxler, about 475 men, women, and children from North Carolina settled in Nova Scotia, and about 150 others settled in New Brunswick at the close of the war.\(^2\) About 150 of the men, mostly Highlanders, were soldiers in the Royal North Carolina Regiment, and many of these had service records dating...
back to the disastrous campaign at the Widow Moore's Creek Bridge. Captain Sorley MacDonald, Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and "Nova Scotia" Daniel McNeill were just a few of the officers in the British Army who received regimental lands in Nova Scotia. Allen MacDonald of Kingsburgh and Captain Sorley MacDonald both eventually returned to Scotland, but Daniel McNeill remained and still has descendants in Canada.

The Highlanders from North Carolina helped found new settlements in the following localities in Nova Scotia: at Country Harbour on the southeastern coast, on the Musquodoboit River in Halifax County, and at Shelburne. Shelburne was the principal Loyalist settlement in Nova Scotia and during the winter of 1783-84, close to ten thousand people were quartered in the town. Most of Shelburne's population later dispersed; some returned to Britain, others formed new settlements in Nova Scotia or moved on to New Brunswick.

Movement Between British North America and Carolina

Even years after the war, there was still some movement of Highlanders from British North America to North Carolina, and from North Carolina to British North America. Some of Malcolm and Lauchlin Shaw's family went to what is now Canada before settling in Harnett County in the nineteenth century. Annie Shaw, older sister to Torquil Shaw and Malcolm and Lauchlin's great-great aunt, emigrated from Jura to Prince Edward Island before she came to North Carolina. Archibald MacFadyen, who had emigrated from Islay to North Carolina in 1818 with his parents, brother John, and six sisters, decided in 1829 that he wanted to emigrate to Canada. There is a tradition in the family that he went to Canada rather than swear allegiance to the American flag, although he probably went in search of fertile, cheap lands. MacFadyen set out on the trip with his family and some of his neighbours in Carolina: MacMillans, MacLauchlans, Calders, Rays, Campbells, and Mathiesons. The trip by covered wagon from Richmond County, North Carolina to Eldon Township, Ontario was well remembered by MacFadyen's son Colin, who was nine at the time they left Carolina:

It was a genuine trek. The whole distance was covered in wagons, the men and the boys walking along side the rude vehicles. I walked every bit of the way myself, although then only nine years old. The journey from Carolina to Hogg's Hollow, where we first located, occupied seven weeks, and on only two nights did we have a shelter of a roof...One of my brothers was born on the way - that occurred in
Virginia - but this was allowed to delay us only one day...The party finally reached Hogg's Hollow, and settled there for a year. Then they set out for their permanent home in the township of Eldon. This was the worst of the whole journey.

Migration to the West and South

In the early nineteenth century, as the deep South and the West began to open up, many Highlanders moved on to Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Prior to the early 1800s, Spain disputed ownership of much of the deep South with the United States, which made American settlement difficult. The Creek, Seminole, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw Indian tribes occupied much of these lands, which further prohibited settlement. In 1803, however, the United States gained control of Louisiana, Arkansas and a large section in the middle of the country in the Louisiana Purchase. After a long series of negotiations and treaties with Spain, by 1819 the United States also received undisputed possession of the whole of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida.

The Indian tribes in the deep South began to relinquish their claims to land in the early 1800s. These Indians were either bribed to sell out to the whites, or they were forcibly removed. The Indians did not always relinquish their lands without a fight and Indian wars raged in the region sporadically up until 1814. Most of the Indians were eventually forced to move west of the Mississippi to government reservations and by the 1830s nearly all the lands in the deep South were cleared for white settlement. The Highland Scots, who were often forced off their ancestral lands in Scotland, were now robbing the American Indians of their own ancestral lands.

Jim Sinclair, from Robeson County, remembers hearing about how many of his relatives emigrated to the southwest:

All the Sinclairs went to Mississippi except [mine]. They all went to Mississippi Territory - Amite County. I think President Jackson settled with the Indians in that area - Alabama and Mississippi. That opened up about the time that there was no more land here for them to buy or inherit. They were on their own and I think they had to do that [emigrate] ... The Pattersons went to Amite County and they ended up settling there... They went for the same reasons. They were just a big family with boys, and all but the oldest one left - seems like the oldest one ended up with the land... 1830 - that's probably when all that happened. They left about that time. The first one went and he would write back "Come on out", and so they went that way.
The mass exodus from the Carolinas to the south and west tended to occur in waves, in the same fashion as the original emigration from Scotland. The first wave peaked from about 1817 till 1819, while a second wave occurred in the 1830s. According to the records of the Little Pee Dee Presbyterian Church in Dillon County, there was another great emigration from that area in 1845-1857 as well. The church lost over half its membership to emigration fever - first in 1830-36 and then again in 1845-57. This great population shift was promoted by the scarcity of land, exhaustion of the soil in the Carolinas due to poor farming practices, the building of new roads into the wilderness, and the suitability of the deep South for growing upland cotton.

The demand for cotton soared with the development in Britain of new machinery for the manufacture of cotton cloth. It is interesting to note that many Highlanders who left their homes in the Highlands and travelled south to find work ended up in the textile mills in the south of Scotland, such as the New Lanark Mill on the river Clyde in Lanarkshire. In 1791, one emigrant ship from Skye bound for North Carolina was forced to seek shelter at Greenock. When offered employment by David Dale, the mill proprietor, about a quarter of its passengers forfeited their passage money and agreed to stay in Scotland and work at the New Lanark Textile Mill.

At about the same time as the development of new machinery for making cloth, the cotton gin invented by Eli Whitney greatly speeded up processing of the crop by enabling the easy separation of the cotton fibers from the seed. With the high price that cotton now commanded, it became extremely profitable to raise. The rich soils and long growing season in the deep South were ideal for growing cotton and thousands moved west to take advantage of the virgin land and booming cash crop. A Huntsville, Alabama newspaper correspondent, after witnessing this mass exodus wrote in 1833 that "it would seem as if North and South Carolina seemed to be pouring forth their population by swarms." It is interesting to note the parallel between the emigration of the North Carolinians west in the nineteenth century with the emigration from the Highlands in the eighteenth. During the mass exodus from the Highlands in the previous century, many rich landowners and politicians became alarmed that the country would become depopulated if emigration continued at the pace it was proceeding. The following was written by a North Carolina planter in 1817:

The Alabama Fever rages here with great violence and has carried off vast numbers of our citizens. I am apprehensive, if it continues to spread as it has done, it will almost depopulate the country.
Although Texas did not become part of the United States until 1845, Americans began squatting there in the early 1800s and formal colonisation began in 1819, when Texas was still a part of Spain. Cheap land and low taxes, two of the things that had attracted Scots to Carolina not many years before, now began to draw people to Texas. The Spanish controlled Texas until the Mexican Revolution in 1821, at which time there were only about 4000 white inhabitants there, spread over a vast area. 

After the Revolution, Mexico sought to strengthen Texas in the same way that America was being strengthened, by colonisation. For a number of years Mexico had an open policy of immigration and many colonists arrived there from the United States seeking cheap land. Most of the American settlers were quite happy to support the Mexican government, and the majority of Texans did not seek independence until the Mexican government became extremely oppressive under the dictatorship of the Mexican president Santa Anna. Texas rebelled against the administration of Santa Anna and gained its independence from Mexico in 1836. It was granted statehood nine years later in 1845. The white population of Texas, which was estimated at 34,470 in 1836, grew to 154,034 by 1850 and the slave population increased from 5,000 to 58,161 in the same period. 

Highland Scots usually settled in Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana first and then moved to Texas, although later some Highlanders migrated straight from Carolina to Texas. Often Carolinians emigrated to one state only to move on several years later to another one and some even ended up coming back to Carolina. For example, Elizabeth McNeill, widow of Donald McNeill left Moore County in 1835 with her family and settled in Union Church, Mississippi. In 1838, she moved to Carroll Parish, Louisiana when the Louisiana Territory opened up. After Elizabeth McNeill died, her son James married and moved to Texas during the War Between the States. After the War, James McNeill returned to North Carolina.

The great emigration to the deep South began to diminish somewhat in the 1840s, although it continued for many years after at a slower pace. By 1850, thousands had left their homes in Carolina for the new frontier. According to the United States 1850 census, thirty percent of all native-born North Carolinians then alive resided outside of the state, while forty percent of South Carolinians and twenty-five per cent of Georgians did likewise.

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Highland Settlements in the Deep South and Texas

When the Highland Scots moved south and west from the Cape Fear Valley in Carolina, many migrated in large extended family groups, just as they had emigrated from Scotland. Once they found the land they desired, they began establishing Highland communities like the ones they left in North Carolina. As in Carolina, the Presbyterian Church formed the nucleus of these communities. Many of the young Gaelic speaking ministers who were born in North Carolina left the state after they were called to serve these new churches on the frontier. Often the Highland frontier settlements also served as stopping off places for relatives who were heading further west. The following are accounts connected with several settlements in the South by North Carolina Highlanders and were gathered from family histories and oral tradition.

Walton County, Florida

A number of Highland families from North Carolina founded a settlement in the early nineteenth century in what is now Walton County, Florida. Bill Campbell's ancestor left Richmond County, North Carolina in 1818 to help establish this new settlement on land purchased from the Indians. In a letter to the author, Campbell tells the story of this migration:

My great, great grandfather, John Campbell, whose wife was Christian Douglas migrated from Skye to Cape Fear circa 1780, with his brothers, William and James. My great grandfather Daniel Douglas Campbell, was born at sea between Skye and Wilmington. They settled in then Richmond County (near Laurinburg, now in Scotland County) John died in 1803, James migrated to Mississippi and William moved to the Raleigh area.

In the spring of 1818 Daniel Douglas Campbell and his brother-in-law Neil McLennan left on horseback for Pensacola, Florida via Alabama. They went to an Indian trading post owned by a Scot, looking for land. He advised them to wait a few days as he was expecting Sam Story, chief of the Euchee Tribe, who lived on the Choctawhatchee River, near what is now Red Bay, Florida, [who] was due in to trade. Neil and Daniel went by canoe with Sam Story into what is now Walton County, Euchee Valley, along Bruce Creek. They liked the land because it supported large herds of deer, i.e. good grazing for sheep and cattle. Neil returned to NC to fetch his family, mother, two brothers and their families and a Folks family. Daniel D. remained with the Indians over the winter to protect their rights. In 1819 Neil and company arrived in Euchee Valley by wagons. That was the start of the settling in this area by the NC/Isle of Skye Scots.
All of the first settlers were intermarried, i.e. Campbells, Douglas, McDonald, McLean, McLennan, McLeods, McKinsons, etc. They probably knew each other in Skye, or certainly their families did. They were very strict Presbyterians and founded the oldest organized Presbyterian church in Florida, May 1827. The Euchee Valley Presbyterian Church cemetery's graves date from 1827. The headstones note "born Isle of Skye, Highlander, Scotland, except one woman who is listed as a "lowlander".

Walton County, located in northeast Florida in the panhandle area, was the first and probably the largest Highland settlement in Florida. One of the early communities in Walton County was named Argyle, after the shire in Scotland. The town of Argyle still exists today, about five miles east of DeFuniak Springs.

Barbour County, Alabama

As early as the 1820s, Highland Scots began to settle along the Pea River in Barbour County, Alabama. This area was settled by MacRaes, MacDonalds, MacSweans, MacInnises, and others who left the Cape Fear Highland Settlement and migrated to Alabama. The Highlanders became so numerous there that the settlement became known as "Little Scotland", the centre of the settlement being located about two miles from the present town of Clio and four miles from the town of Louisville. The Highlanders organised the Pea River Presbyterian Church in about 1826. Its charter members were an Alexander McRae, Gilbert McEachern, Farquard McRae, William McRae, Daniel Curry, and eleven women whose names are not mentioned. McRae is still one of the dominant names in the area today.

Union Church, Mississippi

Mississippi was also a favourite destination for the North Carolina Highlanders. In the early 1800s, many Highlanders left North Carolina and settled in Jefferson County, Mississippi. By 1817, the Highland settlers were numerous enough in Jefferson County to form a Presbyterian church. The church formed was named Union Church, and the charter membership consisted of a number of Buies and other Highland families previously from North Carolina. Services were held at Union Church in both Gaelic and English until the 1830s. The settlement took its
name from the church and became known as Union Church, Mississippi. Union Church and Barbour County both served as stopping off places for North Carolina families who moved further west.

Union County, Arkansas

Pioneers from Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama formed a community called Scotland near what is now Junction City in Union County, Arkansas. In 1830, Neil McCorvey moved his family from Robeson County to Union Church, Mississippi. He was only there for a year or two when he decided to make a trip further west to look for land. After a long journey by boat and foot, McCorvey finally found the land he was seeking in southwestern Arkansas, near the Louisiana-Arkansas state line. He blazed out a line of around 1200 acres, and in 1835, he moved his family by flatboat to what is now Union County. In 1841, another group of Carolina Scots from Robeson County migrated to Union County to join the Neil McCorvey family. They stopped off at the Highland settlement of Union Church, Mississippi on their way in order to make a crop. Mrs. Kate McGeachy Buie gives an account of this migration:

In the year 1841 some of the Buie connections moved to Arkansas. Several families joined together forming quite a party. When they reached their destination they stayed as near together as they could get land to locate on. In the party were McCorveys, McAlpines, Wilkersons, Rays, a Croatan Indian named McGilverary Braboy, and others. They took several Negro servants. They carried all their household goods they could find room for. The women took their spinning wheels. The men furnished each his own team of horses, mules not then being in general use. Before they started the men made their own wagons, doing the wood and the iron work in their own shops, for in those days they were no ready made wagons near. In the party were wives and children and babies. They travelled at their leisure, camping when they found a good place or were tired. When they came to the "Buie settlement" as the place where their kinfolk were located [was called], being the home of Malcolm Buie and others in Mississippi, they halted for a time, and as it was springtime and their grain provisions were running short, they rented land and made a good farm crop. When this was harvested, they moved on again to Arkansas. The men were good hunters and as game was plentiful all along the route they kept the party well supplied with fresh meat. Deer, wild turkeys, and wild hogs were abundant.
COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTH AND WEST SETTLED BY NORTH CAROLINA HIGHLANDERS
The first log church in the Highland settlement in Union County was erected in the early 1840s and was known as the McCorvey Mission, called after the pioneer family from Robeson County. It was located about five miles west of Junction City. Then in 1845, the Scotland Presbyterian Church was officially organised, giving its name to the community.

The ancestors of Mary Ann McRae Sloan also migrated to Union County, Arkansas, but went by way of Alabama. Her emigrant ancestors Philip and Margaret McRae left Kintail and settled in Robeson County. They died in 1785, leaving only one child, a son Christopher, who was raised by his maternal uncle, Col. James MacQueen. Christopher McRae married a Janet McRae in 1805 and they settled in Anson County where Janet gave birth to eleven children. In 1842, Christopher McRae moved his family to Barbour County, Alabama, where they both had kinsmen who had already settled there. Their oldest son, Colin Lindsey McRae, no doubt named after the famous North Carolina minister, Colin Lindsay, had married in South Carolina in 1833 and migrated to Alabama soon afterwards. In 1842, the same year his parents migrated to Alabama, Colin Lindsey McRae decided to migrate again to Arkansas. Several years later, many of Colin's kinsfolk, including his parents and his brothers and sisters, left Alabama and followed him to Arkansas. They carved a settlement out of the wilderness which eventually came to be called Mount Holly. The Mount Holly Presbyterian Church, first known as the McRae Church, was formed in 1845, just a few months after the Scotland Presbyterian Church. The McRae family thrived in Arkansas and even produced one of its future governors, Gov. Thomas C. McRae.

McLennan County, Texas

Neil McLennan, who moved with his family from North Carolina to Walton County, Florida in 1819, left Florida for Texas in 1835. Bill Campbell tells the story of this most colourful character:

In 1835 Neil McLennan became upset because people were moving within five miles of him, so he and a Scottish sailor built an ark. He loaded his family, brothers and their families, cattle, sheep, chickens, hogs, etc. and sailed to Texas, up the Brazos River to what is now Waco. The county is named for him...Some of his descendants still live in Texas and Neil became known as the "Pathfinder". 
Migration Post 1865

After the end of the War Between the States, migration out of North Carolina to the Deep South and Texas saw a sharp increase once again. Gordon McLaurin from Marlboro and Dillon Counties explains the reasons why so many left the area:

When the war ended Uncles John F., Hugh L., and Daniel W. returned home. They had left a large, prosperous, well organized and operated plantation. They returned to this same plantation but found barns empty, pastures unused, fields untended. A spirit of gloom had settled over the land.... There were no wealthy people anywhere in that community at that time. Some lost their land. Others, in spite of confiscatory taxes and depressed prices for farm products, held on to their land. But land that could not be profitably worked was a liability. They struggled with these conditions for years, merely keeping in place. Their financial condition changed little in those years. The future held little promise for improvement. 26

Florida was one of the locations where so many people of Highland descent in Carolina found the opportunity to prosper after the War. According to Gordon McLaurin:

Southeast Florida was going through a period of growth and prosperity not equalled by any other section of the South, at that time. Numbers of persons from Marlboro and surrounding counties made trips down there, probably hoping that they might in some manner share in the prosperity that avoided them. 27

Gordon McLaurin's father, James Alexander McLaurin, was one of the men of Highland descent who followed the road south to seek their fortune. He operated a saw mill in Marlboro County, and he discovered that there was a great need for sawmills at the time in Florida because of the building boom. After much deliberation, McLaurin and his wife sold their lands in Marlboro County and moved to Kissimmee, Florida, where Gordon was born. The lumber business in Kissimmee went very well for James McLaurin and after several years they moved again to southeast Georgia, where another great business opportunity had
developed. Unfortunately, just as the business in Georgia was beginning to prosper, McLaurin met an untimely death and his family was forced to return to Marlboro County. 28

The turpentine and lumber industry was in decline in North Carolina in the late nineteenth century, and many followed the naval store industry south to Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Hugh Alexander MacLean, born in Richmond County in 1851, was one of these North Carolinians of Highland descent who followed the tide of migration south to harvest the great pine forests. His granddaughter, Lena Chesnut, from Milton, Florida, tells his story:

By 1880, my grandfather was working with his first cousin, Peter MacIntosh, Sr., who owned a turpentine mill on Beaverdam Creek in Richmond County, North Carolina. Grandfather became interested in following the Naval Store Industry so he moved out of North Carolina and South Carolina with his family. [MacLean obviously had family on both sides of the state line].... He worked in several counties in Georgia as this state was leading [in naval stores production] by 52.52 percent to North Carolina's 39.99 percentage. It was known in those days that if a Georgian wanted to engage in the "turpentining", they hired a North Carolinian. By 1906, my grandfather moved into Florida, which then led by 45.61 percent to Georgia's 29.53. Pines were thickly bordered throughout northwest Florida. He came first to a small town called Alford, Florida, which was named for the Alford brothers who came from Dillon, South Carolina, and he worked in their mill there. Then the Alford brothers moved their turpentine mill to Chipley, Florida. Mr. Sion Augustus Alford hired him to be a woodsider, and this job was done by riding his horse through the woods to oversee the negro workers (Teppintine Men) whose jobs consisted of slashing the pine trees, hanging metal boxes to catch the oozing gum, and later to empty it into barrels to be carried to the mill by mule-drawn wagons...In the 1930s, turpentine mills were almost a thing of the past.

The Highland society in North Carolina was kinship based, and where one Highlander went, others were soon to follow. Francis Marion MacDonald, born in Dillon County, South Carolina in 1864, was also persuaded by the Alford brothers to come to Florida in about 1894. His son Neil MacDonald tells why his father migrated to Florida:

At the time of my father's first wife's death, came a time when he needed a complete change. Sometime before then, three of the Alford boys had gone to Northwest Florida, more or less, to seek their fortune. Indeed they found it, for they started various enterprises in three towns there that were beginning along a new railroad connecting New Orleans and Jacksonville. The Alford boys were first cousins of my father's and probably sons of his mother's (Katherine

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McInnis MacDonald) sister. They sent word to my father, I suppose, that the time was ripe for someone to come there and start a general store to serve the new people that were coming there because of the new railroad. My father did open a store in Bonifay and it was there that my siblings and I were born and grew up.

The Highland Scots and their descendants usually kept in close contact with their family in the different settlements in the cotton states of the deep South. People of Highland descent in the Cape Fear Valley often still keep letters from relatives who migrated south over a hundred and fifty years ago. For example, Jim Sinclair of Hoke County has letters from relatives in Mississippi in the 1830s that tell about the Indians, etc. in the new territory. Family members even made long journeys on horseback from North Carolina to visit their relatives in the new settlements. According to a genealogical sketch on the MacInnis family from Dillon County by Jennie MacDonald Stone, many North Carolina Scots made these trips:

...Daniel Bàn MacInnis and his wife Catherine MacLeod had several children and they settled in different places. One son settled in Alabama...Christian [MacInnis] married Neil MacCrimmon as his second wife. It is said of her that she visited her brother and kin with others in Alabama riding the distance horseback, which was the custom those days with many, many.

Today the descendants of the North Carolina Highlanders are scattered all over the deep South and the number of Highland games and Scottish societies in this area attests to their large numbers. There are about seventeen Highland games presently held in the deep South and Texas, and The Highlander Magazine 1990 Directory Issue lists forty-two Scottish societies in the region. Many towns, churches, and small communities still bear names reminiscent of the Scottish/Carolina origins of their emigrant communities - Argyle, Florida; McRae, Georgia; Scotland, Arkansas; McLaurin, Mississippi; and McGregor, Texas, just to name a few.
Gordon McLaurin, born in 1887 in Marlboro County, South Carolina. Mr. McLaurin is a solicitor in Dillon County and was still going into work each day in 1990 at the age of 103. His great grandfather, John McLaurin, emigrated to North Carolina around 1783.


3. Troxler, p. 47.


9. Jim Sinclair, Tape 8A.


17. Billington, p. 305.

18. Letter received from Bill Campbell, 27 November 1989.


29. Letter received from Lena Chester, 9 July 1991.

30. Letter received from Neil McDonald, 10 July 1990.

31. Jim Sinclair, Tape 8A.

32. Jenette MacDonald Stone, McInnis MS, in the possession of James R. MacDonald.


The last major Highland emigration to North Carolina occurred in 1884 and had intriguing connections with the Highland Land League and the Crofter’s Movement at the close of the nineteenth century. The early 1880’s saw a great struggle being waged in the Highlands of Scotland. The Crofters and cotters were fighting against the despotic rule of their landlords. While many of these landlords still styled themselves as clan chiefs, they had lost all legal powers as chiefs in the mid eighteenth century. The fight was particularly heated between Lord MacDonald and his tenants on the Isle of Skye. In the year 1882, Lord MacDonald’s tenants were involved in a rent strike in order to gain back land that they felt was wrongly taken from them. This disturbance culminated in what is known as the Battle of the Braes, known in Gaelic as "Blàr a’ Chumhaing", a battle which represented the struggle that was going on all over Skye, as well as in other crofting areas in the Highlands.

One of the growing problems of the Highland crofters in the late nineteenth century was the continued reduction of the amount of land available to them for grazing and cultivation. The landlords were taking grazing land away from the crofters and creating sheep farms and deer forests. They were also taking small crofts and combining them to produce large farms. Often the crofters were pushed back to infertile patches of land adjoining the sea, which made it increasingly more difficult for the crofters to support themselves and their families. The crofters in the Braes district of Skye, just southeast of Portree, were disturbed about the loss of common grazing land previously allotted to them. They refused to pay Lord MacDonald their rents until the disputed land was returned. When a sheriff officer was sent to the Braes to evict several of the tenants who had refused to pay their rent, the officer was assaulted. Five of the crofters involved in the assault were known to the authorities and warrants were issued for their arrest. A detachment of 50 policemen was then sent to Skye to arrest the men involved and after five men were taken into custody, a fight broke out to try to free the captives. The authorities finally escaped with their prisoners, but not without injuries being suffered on both sides of the conflict.

In 1883 a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the condition of the crofters and to examine their complaints. This commission was headed by Lord Napier and it travelled around the Highland crofting areas hearing testimony from the crofters themselves. The crofter agitations were widely covered by the British press, and newspapers like the *Illustrated London News* contained graphic accounts of the crofter
disturbances and the testimony given to the Napier Commission. It was not long before news of Lord Napier's Commission and the poverty of the Highland crofters reached North Carolina.

In the following year, 1884, an event occurred which was indicative of how the people of Highland descent in Carolina still identified with their Highland heritage. Several Liverpool newspapers carried a news release the first week of January, 1884, stating that a public meeting had been held in North Carolina where it was resolved to "send a warm invitation to as many as fifty families" to come to the state from the Highlands of Scotland. According to the newspaper accounts, they had been led to do this by reading the evidence given by the crofters to the Napier Commission. The Carolina Scots agreed not only to "provide them with suitable employment at a fair rate of wages", but also to guarantee them "homes, food, and other necessities for a year after their arrival." A "responsible and influential committee" was appointed in Britain to help carry out the arrangements.

Several members of this committee in Britain already had ties with North Carolina. The principle British player involved in this emigration scheme seems to have been a Miss M. Macleod from Dundee. Newspaper articles of the period refer to her as a "disinterested Highland lady" who had spent two years in the Highland settlement in North Carolina. In other news articles she is also described as a dressmaker. Another Scot involved in the scheme with American connections was the Rev. David Macrae who was living in Newport, Fife in 1884. The Rev. Mr. Macrae had visited the Highland settlement in Robeson County, North Carolina around 1870 and had written about his experiences in a book entitled Americans At Home. In addition to Miss Macleod and Mr. Macrae, other members of the committee appear to be the Rev. Joseph Lamont, Free Church minister from the parish of Snizort in Skye and the Rev. Richard Waterson, Free Church minister from Dundee.

The purpose of these articles in the Liverpool papers was to enlist financial support for the emigration scheme. The articles claim that Miss Macleod had identified at least 22 crofting families, chiefly from Skye, who wished to emigrate. At about £9.00 per person, the cost of passage to America alone was estimated to be about £900 for the 22 families. Since these families were destitute, it would have been impossible for them to journey to North Carolina without financial assistance. The committee not only had to raise money to pay for their passage, but the families also needed clothing for the journey. One of the news articles appealing for financial subscriptions included a list of those who had already contributed, in hope that it would encourage others to subscribe. The following is that list of subscribers:
Messrs. Smith ----, & Co., Liverpool £25 0 0
Ex-Provost Robertson, Dundee £10 0 0
E. H. Wood, Esq., Raasay £10 0 0
Miss Phoebe Blyth, Edinburgh £10 0 0
G. H. Thoms, Edinburgh £5 0 0
James Webster, Esq., JP Mayor of Bootle £2 2 0
J. McConnel Blackwood, Esq., Liverpool £1 1 0
The Rev. Bishop of Brechin £1 0 0
Mrs. Howatson of Glenbuck £1 0 0
Mr. Joseph Cookson £1 0 0
Mr. John Monroe £1 0 0
Mr. And. Stewart £0 10 0
Mr. J. R. Macdonald £0 10 0
A Friend per Mrs. Fox £0 10 0
Miss Ropes £0 5 0

The principle Americans involved in this emigration scheme were The Hon. D.P. MacEachern, United States Senator from Robeson County and J.T. Cooley and Capt. F. W. Clark of the Sea Board Air Line Railroad. The railroad had an interest in emigration because they appointed Mr. Cooley of Richmond County to the post of immigration agent and they gave the crofters free transport from Norfolk, Virginia to Laurinburg. The Hon. D.P. MacEachern was obviously of Highland descent himself and resided in the Highland settlement area of the Cape Fear Valley.

The actual number of emigrants brought over and the other details about this emigration scheme are difficult to ascertain. There was a reference to it in a pamphlet published in 1885 titled The Emigration of Highland Crofters by Rowland Hill MacDonald and the emigration was also mentioned in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness (Volume XI). Several of the letters written by Miss MacLeod to Lord MacDonald are still in the MacDonald Papers at the Clan Donald Centre in Skye, and this correspondence helps to illuminate the purpose and progress of this scheme. Most of the
available information about this emigration comes from newspaper accounts of the period, however, in both British and American papers. Unfortunately, these accounts are often sketchy and sometimes conflicting.

There is evidence that there may have been more than just the initial emigration in February 1884. The group of crofters from Skye who arrived in Norfolk on the 20th February is well documented in the newspapers of the day, but there also appears to have been at least preparation for other groups. According to the Raleigh News and Observer, there would be several hundred more crofters coming to Carolina:

In the next few months many of the crofters will arrive in this country, all of whom will settle in North Carolina. It is possible that Miss Elizabeth [sic] McLeod, the young Scotch lady who so greatly interested herself in the matter of inducing the crofters to come to North Carolina, may accompany one party here.

The Wilmington Morning Star reports that on March 9, 1884 twenty additional families had been booked and that they would depart as soon as the necessary arrangements were made. In the Fayetteville Observer on April 2, 1884, mention is made of a group of emigrants that is expected to arrive around May 1, 1884, and to be located in Moore County, North Carolina near the village of Cameron. This is probably the group of 20 alluded to in the article in the Wilmington paper, because in another article in the Fayetteville Observer of May 8, 1884, twenty five families are said to be expected in Norfolk in May and to settle in Moore County. At the present time, no evidence has been discovered to confirm that this group ever reached Moore County.

In February 1884, the first group of Highland crofters left Liverpool bound for America. The Fayetteville Observer reports that the original ship that left Liverpool with the crofters had to turn back to port due to a storm and the passengers were split into two groups and put aboard two different vessels bound for America. One ship arrived in Philadelphia and the other in Wilmington. Most of these crofters were from Skye, but a small contingent was reported to be from one of the islands in Orkney. According to an article in the Philadelphia Press on Thursday 12th of March, a rich laird had purchased an island in the Orkneys for a country home and he had paid the inhabitants a sum of money plus their passage to America. The laird was planning to convert the island to a hunting estate.

The party from Orkney, which was on the ship bound for Philadelphia, was the first to arrive, and according to newspaper accounts, the ship probably arrived in Philadelphia on February 26, 1884. They left for Laurinburg by train soon after their arrival. Another party of about seventy souls arrived a few days later in Norfolk, Virginia probably on
February 28, 1884. The names of these Skye emigrants were noted in newspaper accounts. (See Appendix) One report claims that the Skye crofters were chiefly fishermen at home.9

The seventy Highland emigrants from Skye who arrived at the port of Norfolk were met there by the Mr. Cooley, agent for the railroad. From Norfolk they were carried by train to Laurinburg, where they arrived on March 1st. After their arrival in Laurinburg, the crofters were situated in Richmond and Robeson Counties, in the heart of the Highland settlement area. In 1884, Scotland County was still part of Richmond County, so many of the crofters were probably located in the area of Richmond County that is now Scotland. It is interesting to note that according to the Lumberton Robesonian, the Skye crofters arrived just before a great fire in Laurinburg. The crofters mistook the "illumination" as a welcome on their behalf.10

Early reports on the crofters find them happy with their new home in America. The crofters were all given temporary housing and most of them had gone to work and they intended to provide themselves with their own homes as soon as possible. By April 1884, however, the first hint of dissatisfaction among the crofters emerges.11 In the same article in the Fayetteville Observer that reports the planned arrival of more families in May, Mr. J. L. Cooley contradicts the report that any of the crofters are dissatisfied with their situation in North Carolina.12

By July, 1884, there was serious discontent among some of the crofters who had arrived from Skye, though it is not clear how many crofters were actually dissatisfied. The July 31, 1884 edition of the Fayetteville Observer reports that Miss McLeod had written to express her distress about the presence of one member in the colony of Highlanders who was a "very dissipated person" and "who would probably be dissatisfied with any mundane thing." According to Miss Macleod, this one man was responsible for the rumours about dissatisfaction. In the same article, the Observer publishes a letter from the British Consulate in Charleston to A. P. Butler, the Agricultural Commissioner for the State of South Carolina.

BRITISH CONSULATE,
Charleston, July 15, 1884

Dear Sir- I take the liberty of enclosing you a copy of a letter I have received from the Rev. John Darroch, minister of Portree, Island of Skye, relating to some of his parishioners who have been induced to emigrate to Robeson County, N.C. From their account they seem to have selected a very poor part of the South to make a living in, and therefore I write to ask you if, in your capacity as Agricultural Commissioner, you might be able to inform some of the wealthier farmers in the upper part of this State of the wish of these people to find occupation, and as I have no doubt that they would be found very suitable for farm laborers, shepherds, &c. They are a
hardy, moral and thrifty race, and when they get accustomed to the new conditions of life here, I have no doubt would in time become good farmers and good citizens. I have no doubt they would be glad to work for little, and to repay their transportation from North Carolina to this State by instalments out of their wages.

I remain your most obedient servant,

George H. A. Box
H.B.M. Act'g Consul. 13

It is not clear who the "dissipated person" was that Miss Macleod was referring to in her letter. In July, 1884 however, Alexander Finlayson and Donald Matheson, two of the men who had emigrated with the seventy crofters from Skye, returned to Scotland. They had apparently returned to solicit financial help to either bring their families back from North Carolina or help them to emigrate to a more suitable place. The Rev. M. Macaskill, Free Church minister of Greenock, set up a public meeting upon their arrival to hear their statements. The meeting was called for July 28th in the Free Gaelic Church, and several Scottish newspapers of the day carried a full account of the meeting. 14 Both Finlayson and Matheson gave testimony, but while Matheson spoke in English, he was very indistinctly heard. Finlayson spoke very distinctly and energetically in the Gaelic and his testimony was afterwards translated into English by the Rev. Mr. Macaskill.

According to Finlayson and Matheson, Miss Macleod misrepresented the conditions and the prospects in North Carolina and they claimed to have been grossly deceived about the prospect of work and good wages. One man claimed that he had been put to ditch digging and that he could not earn more than 3s 6d per day. The other man had been doing farm labour and he had not been able to earn more than $8.00 a month. The crofters also complained that they had been promised provisions for a whole year on their arrival but only received "some Indian meal, treacle, and some flour." 15

Finlayson and Matheson also spoke at a meeting in Inverness. The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness (1884-1885) published a paper given by John MacDonald, a merchant of Inverness, which mentions the 1884 emigration scheme to North Carolina. MacDonald summarises the testimony given by Finlayson and Matheson:

Where work was obtained, the only wages given was the bare food, and the houses provided were the small, one-roomed huts (as one of them remarked) once occupied by slaves. The seventy emigrants, scattered over the country at long distances from each other, struggled on in the hope of better treatment so long as the means that they brought with them lasted. Their condition, however, getting worse instead of better, and the food and the climate telling injuriously on their health, those who could do so left the place. 16

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How many individuals remained in North Carolina out of the original seventy is not known [at this time]. We do have evidence that at least some of the party stayed. A very interesting letter which throws light on the contemporary situation of the emigrants was published in the *Inverness Advertiser* on 16th January, 1885 and later reprinted in the *Fayetteville Observer*.\(^{17}\) The letter is written by an emigrant to North Carolina from Muir-òf-Ord in Inverness-shire named William MacLennan and it is addressed to Miss MacLeod in Dundee. Miss MacLeod forwarded the letter to the Inverness paper and requested that it be published. She explains that she delayed in forwarding the letter because she did not want to injure the feelings of the crofters who had returned to Scotland. She felt that the letter must be published, however, because "withholding it any longer would be doing an injustice to the more honest and industrious portion of the emigrants who are pleased and doing well in their new home".\(^{18}\)

The letter from William MacLennan dated 14th October, 1884, and written in Laurinburg(h), North Carolina tells the other side of the emigrant story. Mr. MacLennan describes his emigrant experience in North Carolina in very glowing terms. He encourages all other industrious Highlanders to emigrate and make North Carolina their new home. MacLennan goes as far to recommend that North Carolina become the new home of the Highland nation.

I have no point to carry, no interest to gain, no ambition to gratify, but, as I have said before, I am anxious that our country people be united in their choice of a future home. It strikes me we can never be a nation in any part on earth if we cannot be in North Carolina.

MacLennan describes the beauties, riches, and kindness that he found in North Carolina - but he recognises the reality that one had to work hard for whatever one got. His feeling about the crofters that returned to Scotland was that they were "idlers" and did not really want to work. MacLennan gives his opinion about the failure of some of the members of the emigrant group to adapt:

So far as inducing the idle and vicious to emigrate to North Carolina, if I could I would discourage them as every way in my power; she wants none but sober industrious families to come. I am sorry that some of those crofters or fisherman you sent from Skye proved themselves to be idlers, and when they observed that they could not obtain a living in any section of North Carolina without working for it, they were compelled to return to the land of the heather.
The dissatisfaction of some of the emigrants in this scheme was exploited by political factions in Scotland. There was a great concern in 1884 about the involvement of landlords in emigration schemes. The Highland Land League felt that there was no reason for emigration. They saw emigration as a tool of the greedy landlords to rid themselves of their excess tenants and to clear the land for hunting and shooting estates. The Rev Mr. Macaskill, Free Church minister of Greenock, used the meeting in the Free Gaelic Church Hall in Greenock that Finlayson and Matheson spoke at as a political forum. Mr. Macaskill mentioned that Miss Macleod had approached him a year earlier about the emigration scheme to North Carolina, but he told her that he had strong objections to it and would have no part in it. Mr. Macaskill’s objections to the emigration scheme echoed the position of many Highland Land Leaguers at the time. His objections were printed in the Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette. Macaskill based his objections on the following grounds:

First, that they did not need to send Highlanders to North Carolina, because there was plenty of room for them here [in Scotland]. He set his face against every possible scheme of emigration from the Highlands and would do so until he saw the desolate places there filled up by Highlanders. His second ground of objection was that the climate of North Carolina was utterly unsuited for Highlanders, and the third was that he did not like to see British subjects going without any cause to unite themselves under the American banner.

Mr. Macaskill and others at the meeting at the Free Gaelic Church alleged that the Highland landlords had financed the emigration scheme to North Carolina, although they had no proof at the time. The following is an excerpt from the transactions of the meeting:

A Gentleman: Who supplied the funds?
MrFinlayson: I do not know.
A Gentleman: Did the landlords here furnish any money?
MrFinlayson: Miss M’Leod told us that she got some of the money from the landlords to bring out the parties for the purpose of labouring, but whether it was the proprietors out there or at home I am unable to say.

The Chair: If the money was supplied by the landowners of this country, I would look upon it as a great scandal indeed. Did Miss M’Leod let you know where she got the money?
MrFinlayson: She represented that it came from America.
A Gentleman: She could not have it herself, as she is said to have been only a dressmaker in Dundee. If that is the case, the landlords must have supplied the money. (Applause)

Mr Finlayson: The farmers in North Carolina did not appear to be in a position to send money home, and how the money was got I really do not know.

A letter written by Miss Macleod to Lady Macdonald dated Nov. 23, 1883 makes it clear that Macleod was trying to avoid the suspicion of the crofters by appearing to refuse contact with Highland proprietors:

Through the Honourable Mrs. Madocks, you were aware of my mission in Skye & through her you were told I was carefully avoiding - avoiding any seeming contact with proprietors or factors, for the time, I thought it was necessary; & now I see the wisdom of it. At the same time I denied myself, that indeed, which would have been a great pleasure. Knowing the current spirit of the people, I concluded to do good to them; while at the same time doing good to proprietors, I must not make a move that would cause the slightest suspicion. When I was asked by many, if I was certain that I was not out ---- proprietors, to take these means to get them out the country, how much lighter it seemed to be able to say, I was not, & to shew them it was so, I had refused introductions to them, & hoped they believed it.

The same letter to Lady Macdonald also reveals that although Macleod appeared to be shunning the proprietors, she was actually actively soliciting their support for her scheme:

May I ask your co-operation in bringing before Lord Macdonald my wish, to know; if I may look to him for any money to pay or help to pay their passages, as this has to be got up by subscription. I am looking forward to each of the proprietors doing as much as possible to help in paying for these families who leave their property.

It is not certain how many proprietors actually contributed to Macleod’s scheme. According to a letter written by Miss Macleod to Lord Macdonald’s agent on January 24, 1884, Lord Macdonald apparently agreed to contribute £10 per head towards the passage of the tenants which left his estate, but there is no evidence that the money was actually paid out.

Sir - Your letter of the 9th was duly recd. I enclose you a list of the first installment of families leaving Lord McDonald’s Estate, the first week of Feb, & I will feel obliged if you send me at your earliest convenience the £10 promised each family so as to allow me to arrange for passage.
There is evidence that another Highland proprietor also contributed to Macleod's scheme of 1884. Mr. E. H. Wood, who is thought to have contributed £10 000 to the scheme, was included in the list of subscribers that was printed in the papers in January 1884. (See complete list of subscribers above.) Mr. Wood was the proprietor of Raasay at the time, although it is not clear if any of the crofters who left for North Carolina in 1884 were actually tenants on his estate. No mention is ever made of Raasay in the newspaper accounts, although it is situated just across the kyle from the district of Braes in Skye.

The political question of emigration and the interest of the Highland Land League in the North Carolina scheme is further compounded by the fact that some of the Skye emigrants were involved in the land struggle in Skye which culminated in the Battle of the Braes. John MacDonald from Inverness, in his lecture to the Gaelic Society of Inverness, states:

Shortly after the troubles that made the "Braes" famous, a body of Skye people (including some of those who were conspicuous in that trial) were induced to emigrate to North Carolina.

The men who were arrested at the Braes for the assault on the sheriff's officer were Alexander Finlayson and his son Malcolm, Patrick MacDonald, Donald Nicholson and his son-in-law James Nicholson. This corresponds with two names on the passenger list for the Skye emigration - Alexander Finlayson and Malcolm Finlayson. Alexander Finlayson, Sr., 72, brought several of his sons with him plus their families. In addition to his son Malcolm Finlayson, aged 32, the party of emigrants contained Alexander Finlayson, Jr., aged 39, and John Finlayson, aged 41. It is not clear whether it was Alexander Finlayson, Sr. who returned to Scotland in July 1884 or his son Alexander Jr. There is also a James Nicholson on the passenger list, but he is listed as unmarried; so he was probably not the James Nicholson who was arrested in Skye with the four other men.

The Skye emigration scheme of 1884 was not the first assisted emigration scheme from the Highlands or indeed from Skye. After the great potato famine in the 1840s, many landlords willingly paid for their tenants to leave. The Duke of Sutherland paid for the passage of about 1000 of his displaced tenants to Canada and James Ramsay of Kildalton subsidised 600 people to leave Islay. Sir James Matheson, the proprietor of Lewis, was one of the most generous of the landlords who sponsored emigration and he continued to sponsor emigrants from the Long Island into the 1860s. In 1851, the Skye Emigration Society, which later developed into the Highlands and Islands Emigration Society, was formed and shiploads of emigrants from Skye were transported to Australia and Canada.
The difference in the North Carolina scheme in 1884 was timing. It came right in the middle of the Highland land struggle, and therefore was fuel for the fire in the controversy. Whatever happened in North Carolina is not perfectly clear, but there was probably much animosity on both sides about the failure of some of the emigrants to adapt. One source suggests that the reason some of the emigrants were unhappy was because they were fishermen and Laurinburg is so far from the sea. There was also the accusation of drunkenness on the part of some of the crofters who left. Immediately following the letter from William MacLennan that was printed in the Fayetteville Observer, the following postscript was added by the editor:

This man (William MacLennan) left Feb. 1st for Georgia to take charge of a vineyard at $10.00 per month, board, washing and lodging. I leave others to say if the Scotch Immigration is a failure when the right kind of People come. We want no fishermen or drunken Skyemen among us 100 miles from the seashore, when there are no fish bigger [sic] than a minnow. - J.L.C.

Although the number of Highlanders in the 1884 emigration that actually returned to Scotland is uncertain, we do have evidence that at least some of the emigrants remained in North Carolina. William MacLennan, in his letter to Miss Macleod, states that a "Mr. Donald MacPherson, late of Glenelg, who left in spring with the first batch of emigrants, has purchased a few hundred acres of land in Robeson County, and is now enjoying his freedom the same as the landlords are doing in Scotland." In the Robeson County registry of deeds, there is a record on file attesting to this purchase. On November 10, 1884, R. W. Livermore, a prominent merchant in Robeson County, deeded two adjoining tracks of 110 acres of land each to Donald MacPherson and Alexander MacRae. This land was in an area of the county then known as "The Waste Land" which was undeveloped at the time. The mortgage was foreclosed on this property on January 18, 1907, but we have no knowledge of what happened to Donald MacPherson after that.

We have an excellent record of what happened to the man who bought an adjoining tract of land to Donald MacPherson's in 1884 - Alexander MacRae, also of Glenelg. MacRae was born January 12, 1843, the son of Murdoch and Katie MacRae. He married Mary Ann MacLennan from North Uist on Christmas Day, 1871 and pursued the occupation of deep sea fishing until he sold his possessions in Scotland and emigrated to Carolina. It is not certain if Alexander MacRae was in the original emigration from Skye in 1884 because his name is not on the two lists of passengers that were printed in the newspapers of the day. We know by family tradition however, that Mr. MacRae emigrated at about the same time as Donald MacPherson and that MacRae emigrated with a group of other families. The fact that Donald MacPherson and Alexander MacRae
took up adjoining tracks of land on the same day points to the fact that they could have been closely related by blood or marriage. At the very least, they knew each other well in Glenelg.

According to family tradition, Alexander MacRae had a difficult time adjusting to the hot summers in eastern North Carolina. He was approached by Hugh and Donald MacRae, rich land speculators from Wilmington whose ancestors had emigrated to North Carolina from Kintail many years previously, who offered him a job in Mitchell County, high up in the cool mountains of western North Carolina. Alexander accepted and was hired to help maintain the Grandfather Mountain Property near Linville. His first job with the MacRae brothers involved helping build a toll road from Linville to Blowing Rock, now known as Yonahlossee Road. When he first moved to Mitchell County, Alexander resided in Linville, but he eventually persuaded the MacRae brothers to sell him some land near the entrance to the road leading up to the peaks of Grandfather Mountain. He built a twenty room house on this land where he and his wife operated a tourist home. In addition to the tourist home, MacRae also had several farms, including the famous "MacRae Meadows" where the Grandfather Mountain Games are now held.³⁴

Alexander MacRae died in Avery County on July 22, 1919 at the age of 87, but was survived by six sons and two daughters. Two of his sons, John and Alick, twins, were still alive and living close by when the Grandfather Mountain Games were first held in 1956. Some of Alexander MacRae's grandchildren and great-grandchildren are still living in North Carolina at the present time. Mrs. John Boyd, a grandchild of Alexander MacRae, was born in 1914 and is presently living in Charlotte, North Carolina. She still remembers some of the Gaelic that she learned from her mother, Katie MacRae, who was born in Scotland and came to North Carolina with her parents as a young girl.³⁵

20th Century Emigration

The emigration of 1884 may have been the last mass Highland emigration to North Carolina, but we have ample evidence that Scottish emigration to the Highland settlement area in Carolina continued to occur, although on an individual or small group basis. Emigration was encouraged and facilitated in the early twentieth century by a man in Edinburgh named Edward Bayley. Bayley was born in Edinburgh in 1836 into a leading family, his grandfather being the Very Reverend George H. Baird - minister, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Principal of Edinburgh University.³⁶ After completing his education, Bayley was involved in business in Liverpool and Birkenhead before emigrating
to New York in 1861. In 1864, Bayley went into the petroleum business, a career that he pursued until he retired and moved back to Edinburgh in 1891. Bayley was deeply religious and fond of church work and wherever he went, he was involved in teaching Bible classes. After his return to Edinburgh in 1891, Bayley set up Bible classes at St. Matthew’s Church in Morningside, now Cluny Parish Church. His particular interest centered around working with young men and he was often called upon to counsel young men who were trying to decide on a career to pursue. In his biography of Edward Bayley, William Grant states that Bayley sent over fifty young men to Carolina to find employment:

Five years ago [around 1907], he began recommending fruit and vegetable farming in North Carolina to some of his young men. The first two to go out were Bible class boys, and both of them have been eminently successful. Altogether over fifty went out under his auspices to farmers of the right kind in North Carolina and the surrounding districts, and results proved that his recommendation had been a good one. He received applications from all over Scotland, and interviewed all before deciding to allow them to go...There was a great demand for "Scotch boys" by the farmers.

It is not known at the present time what prompted Bayley to recommend North Carolina to the young men he came in contact with, but there appears to be a link with the Highland settlement area in Carolina. A list exists of at least twenty-three of these men, and what is most striking about this list is that all went to the Highland area, with the majority of them going to Robeson County. Although a number of the names on the list belong to the lowlands of Scotland, several are Highland - MacLean, MacLaurin, Sutherland, and Cameron.

Many of the men in Bayley’s charge who emigrated to Carolina still have descendants there. Napier H. Goldie Balfour emigrated to North Carolina in 1907 and was hired as a farm labourer near Lumber Bridge in Robeson County. Balfour eventually acquired his own farm and now his son John Balfour farms over a thousand acres of cotton. One of the interesting things about Napier Balfour is that his great-great grandfather John had emigrated to South Carolina before the American Revolution but John’s son Andrew, born in Carolina, had returned to Scotland. Napier Balfour did not discover this about his family until he emigrated to Carolina himself over a hundred years later.

Martin McCall was another young man whom Bayley advised to emigrate to Carolina. McCall went to work for John McI. Brown, a prominent farmer of the Philadelphus Community in Robeson County, and in time became a substantial farmer himself. He became a naturalised citizen in 1923 and it was not long before he began to
assume positions of leadership, eventually being elected to the North Carolina Legislature in 1935. While a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, McCall introduced a bill to amend the Turlington Act, North Carolina’s prohibition law which had been in force since 1923, to allow for the continued practice among the Scots in Carolina of the old custom of giving "deoch an doiris" to visitors and travellers:

SEC. 28 1-2. That none of the provisions of this act shall apply to the continued operation of the ancient and honorable Scottish custom, known as the "wee-deoch-an-dorus" in the counties of Bladen, Columbus, Cumberland, Moore, Robeson, Scotland, and Hoke, and otherwise known as the "Country of the God-Blessed Macs."

A senator of Scottish descent who was on the side of the dry forces offered a translation of a "wee deoch-an-dorus" to the rest of the legislature, however, and subsequently the amendment failed to pass.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the emigrations from Scotland to the Cape Fear Valley in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century that Scots still considered that area of the United States to be particularly Scottish. It is also apparent that the inhabitants of the Cape Fear Valley continued to feel strong ties with Scotland and wanted to encourage fellow Scots to settle in North Carolina. The promise of a better life in Carolina was therefore still attracting Scots to the Cape Fear Valley well into the present century.


According to a letter from Miss M. MacLeod to Lady Macdonald, ten or twelve young single men were also planning to leave the Matheson estate in Lewis. [Miss M. MacLeod, Letter to Lady MacDonald, 23 November 1883, Lord MacDonald's Papers, Clan Donald Center, Armadale, Isle of Skye.]

The article quoted here was obtained in North Carolina as a photocopy of a newspaper clipping in the possession of a current resident of North Carolina, J.L. Cooley's grandson in Scotland County. The name and the date of the paper are not given and it is simply identified as coming from a Liverpool newspaper. A search of the Liverpool papers in 1884 failed to reveal the original source.

This John Monroe could have been the Gaelic speaking Baptist minister from Spring Hill Baptist Church in what is now Scotland County, North Carolina.

The Canadian Pacific Railroad likewise had emigration agents who were recruiting emigrants in the Highlands. In Canada, the railroads were interested in selling lands that they owned to the emigrants. It is not clear at this time what the motivation of the Sea Board Airline Railroad was.


*Fayetteville Observer*, 05/3/1884.

*Fayetteville Observer*, 05/3/1884.

Wilmington Morning Star, 6 March 1884, p. 1, col. 4.


*Fayetteville Observer*, 02/4/1884.


The *Greenock Telegraph*, the *Glasgow Herald*, and the *North British Daily Mail* all carry similar accounts of the meeting in the next day's paper.


18. Inverness Advertiser, 16/1/1885.

19. Greenock Telegraph, 29/7/1884.

20. Miss M. MacLeod, Letter to Lady MacDonald, 23 November 1883.

21. Miss M. MacLeod, Letter to Lord MacDonald's Factor, Lord MacDonald's Papers, Clan Donald Centre, Isle of Skye.

22. TOSI, p. 196.


24. See Iain Grigor Mightier Than a Lord and Eric Richards, History of the Highland Clearances, Volume II.


27. Richards, p. 269.


29. Fayetteville Observer, 19/2/1885. The J. L. C. may stand for J. L. Cooley, Immigration Agent for the Sea Board Air Line Railroad, who was closely connected with the emigration scheme.

30. Inverness Advertiser, 16/1/1885.

31. Letter received from Judge Henry MacKinnon, 21 June 1990. According to research done by Judge Sandy McKinnon of Robeson County, the deed to MacRae is in the Robeson County Records of Deeds, Book 3-D, p. 846 and the mortgage in Book 3-D, p. 831. The deed to McPherson is apparently not recorded, but the mortgage is in book 3-D, p. 833.


33. Personal interview with Mrs. John Boyd, October 1990.

34. Avery County Heritage, p. 185.

35. Personal interview with Mrs. John Boyd, October 1990.

37. William Grant, p. 102.

38. This list is in the possession of John Balfour in Robeson County, North Carolina. A copy is given in the appendix.


CURRENT SCOTTISH SCENE IN CAROLINA

SCOTTISH CULTURAL REVIVAL

During the nineteenth century, distinctive Highland cultural traits tended to disappear as the separate ethnic cultures in rural North Carolina began to merge together to form a new heterogeneous Southern culture. Highland games, piping, Scottish dancing, and Scottish fiddling all but died out in North Carolina during this period. Within the last thirty years however, a revival of interest in Scottish culture has occurred in Carolina; and this renewed interest is evident in the many Scottish societies, pipe bands, dance groups, and Highland gatherings in the state. In many cases this interest has resulted in the re-creation of Highland culture, brought about by the re-importation of culture from Scotland and the adaption of this culture to American tastes.

Donald F. MacDonald and Revival

Many people have been involved in the Scottish cultural revival in North Carolina today, but Donald F. MacDonald of Dillon County, South Carolina and now living in Edinburgh, Scotland, was certainly one of the main figures. He was instrumental in the founding of the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, the Clan Donald Society, the Robert Burns Society of Charlotte, and the first Scottish country dance group in North Carolina. MacDonald inherited much of his interest in Scotland from his family in Dillon County, South Carolina. He was brought up in a Highland community and was instilled with a keen awareness of his Highland background. His mother was very interested in Scottish culture and was a founding member of the Clan MacQueen Society in 1913. MacDonald was also influenced by his oldest brother Malcolm, who was equally interested in Scotland and visited there in 1936. In 1953, while working for the Charlotte News, MacDonald attended a reception for Dame Flora MacLeod in Moore County, North Carolina, which convinced him to visit Scotland himself:

In 1953 the Clan MacLeod Society brought over, helped to bring over, Dame Flora MacLeod, the chief at that time of the MacLeods of Harris [and Skye]. Actually she'd been brought over by the Scottish Tourist Board, because she was such a good emissary for tourism. They had her as a guest at Old Bethesda Church near Aberdeen. I went to that as well. I covered that for the Charlotte News because I was a reporter.
then for the News. I was so captivated by her and the fact that she was talking about "come back to Scotland, come back to Skye", I decided then and there I would go over to Scotland, so I started saving my money for the trip."

In 1954, MacDonald made his trip to Scotland where he attended a ceilidh in Skye, the Highland games in Braemar, the Edinburgh Military Tattoo, and the Edinburgh International Festival, where he saw Scottish country dancing for the first time. While in Skye, MacDonald also tried unsuccessfully to visit with Lord MacDonald, in hope of starting up a Clan Donald Society. It was this first trip to Scotland that inspired MacDonald to start up so many Scottish activities in Carolina.

When I came back to North Carolina, I was determined that I would try to start this sort of thing. I wanted to have a tattoo, like the Edinburgh Military Tattoo, I wanted to have a Highland games, I wanted to have a Clan MacDonald, to start it, I wanted to start up Scottish country dancing, and I had read an awful lot about Robert Burns Clubs and Burns Night suppers and I thought I would like to have one of those as well. To get these things started, it seemed the only thing to do was to do it yourself."

Clan Societies

The oldest organised Scottish societies in North Carolina of which there is knowledge were clan societies. Perhaps the earliest of these was the Clan MacQueen Association, which was organised in Maxton, North Carolina in 1913, but lapsed due to the interruption caused by World War I. The Clan MacNeill Association of America was organised on May 26, 1921, and had branches in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Nova Scotia. The MacNeill society eventually lapsed as well, until its reorganisation in the 1950's. The Clan MacLeod Society was organised by 1953, when it brought Dame Flora MacLeod to Carolina. The Stewarts of Appin and the Cape Fear Clans, Inc., an organisation of different clans, were also active in the early 1950s. Donald MacDonald of Dillon County explains how the Clan Donald Society came about:

I was invited down to Flora MacDonald College to speak at the inaugural meeting of the Robeson County Historical Society, which was meeting jointly with the Moore County Historical Society from Southern Pines and Pinehurst, and I was invited to come down and wear my kilt...Also at that meeting was Reginald Henry Macdonald of Kingsburgh, OBE...who came from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, but was a New Zealander from Christ's Church and he was a lineal descendant of Flora MacDonald. He and his wife, his second wife Betty, had been
invited down to Flora MacDonald for that occasion to see Flora MacDonald College... He was a very nice person and he met me, and he said to me, "Donald, how wonderful it is that I have met you and you are so keen." He said, "Lord MacDonald has just appointed me his high commissioner in the US and he wants me to help found the Clan Donald Society, to start it up." And I said, "Well, this is marvellous," because I had been to Skye to try to see him [Lord MacDonald] for that very reason. And so we went upstairs... and we sat there and talked until the wee small hours. We talked about what we were planning about the Clan Donald Society. So together we started forming the Clan Donald Society... The first meeting of the Clan Donald Society was in April of 1955... The Carolinas branch was the very first one.9

Today there is a proliferation of clan societies in North Carolina. In 1956, the first Grandfather Mountain Highland Games was sponsored by only five clan societies, but now there are at least sixty officially listed as sponsors and over one hundred which participate in the "parade of the tartans". The Clan Donald Society is now the largest clan society in North Carolina, and indeed in the United States.

Saint Andrew's Societies

Saint Andrew's societies were founded in America, as well as other places in the world, as beneficent organisations whose stated goal was to help fellow Scots. The very first of these ever to be founded was in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1729, thirty-four emigrant Scots in Charleston met and decided to form a charitable organisation to assist those who were less fortunate within the colony.7 Although Scottish emigrants made up the bulk of the membership, there was no ethnic membership requirement. The early St. Andrew’s Society of Charleston even had an Indian chief, Ouconnastotah, of the Cherokee Nation as a member.8 The organisation grew and soon there where Saint Andrews societies springing up in other cities - Savannah, Philadelphia, and New York. The Saint Andrew’s Societies in America today are generally not made up of emigrant Scots, but of the descendants of emigrants. Ethnic background now tends to be a requirement for membership in these groups, in contrast to the early societies. Today there are three Saint Andrew’s societies in North Carolina, although the first group was not formed until 1972.9 The Saint Andrew’s Society of North Carolina, the largest, is based in Southern Pines. The St. Andrew Society of Carolina is based in Charlotte, while the western part of the state is served by the Carolina Highlands St. Andrew’s Society, based in Asheville. The membership of these societies, which are charitable and educational in function, consists of the descendants of Scottish emigrants.
Highland Games

North Carolina is famous for its Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, but the history of athletic contests in the Highland settlement of Carolina goes back much further than the founding of Grandfather in 1956. The old Scotch fairs held at Laurel Hill and Ellerbe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served as a focus for games and probably Highland athletics. (See section on Scotch Fairs) The fairs were discontinued soon after the War in the 1860s. There are Highland games in other states that were established in the nineteenth century and are much older than Grandfather Mountain, but none of the other games in the USA have the reputation or the attendance of Grandfather.

Agnes MacRae Morton and Donald F. MacDonald founded the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in 1956. Donald MacDonald explains how the games came about:

I was a reporter for the Charlotte News and I knew all the newspaper people all over the state, so I got tremendous publicity about the Clan Donald Society. I think we got a story in about every weekly paper in North and South Carolina about it to get members of Clan Donald. Because of that, Mrs. Agnes MacRae Morton, Mrs. J.W. Morton in Wilmington, read all this publicity...She contacted me through Julian Shear, who was also a reporter on the Charlotte News...Mrs. Morton asked Julian to bring me up to Linville one time with him, this is in August of 1955. So I went there and she showed me an article...she had this newspaper clipping about the Round Hill Highland Games and she wanted to have what she called a "Clan Gathering" on MacRae Meadows...Well, by this time we had already had the Clan Donald gathering at Red Springs and then we had another meeting at Old Bethesda Church near Aberdeen...I thought it would be a great thing, instead of having another clan gathering as Mrs. Morton was talking about, we should have a Highland games up at Linville. Previous to that I had been thinking all along about starting up a Highland games down in the eastern part of North Carolina on top of Morrow Mountain...I was in the process then of trying to start a Highland games at Morrow Mountain when Mrs. Morton contacted me, and since she already had the place, the Morton's owned MacRae Meadows, and Linville was such a delightful place...we decided that is what we would do. I said, "Mrs. Morton, let's have a Highland games, not just a clan gathering."

Since most of the people of Highland descent in Carolina lived a distance away in the eastern part of the state near Fayetteville, and often had to work on Saturday morning, it was decided to hold the first games on a Sunday. August 19, 1956 was chosen as the first day of the games to mark the anniversary of the raising of Prince Charles Edward Stewart's standard in Glenfinnan in 1745. The first games at
Grandfather was sponsored by five clan societies and two Saint Andrew’s societies: Clan MacLeod, Clan Donald, the Stewarts of Appin, Cape Fear Valley Clans, Inc., the Douglas Family Association, the Saint Andrew’s Society of Charleston and the Saint Andrew’s Society of Savannah. In 1956 sabbatarianism was still very strong in the Highland settlement of North Carolina and Donald MacDonald explains how the Scots justified to themselves holding their games on the Lord’s Day:

We decided to have it [the Highland Games] on Sunday, and in order to - we thought that the Lord God Almighty would strike us dead if we had something like that on His day, so we decided that we’d start with a worship service.

The Grandfather Mountain games are now a two day event, but a worship service is still held as part of the games on Sunday, in good Presbyterian tradition. Although there were only about three thousand people at the first highland games on MacRae Meadows, the event now attracts the largest crowds of any games in America. The Grandfather Mountain Highland Games also spawned other Highland games in North Carolina and indeed, throughout the South.

In 1976, the people of Highland descent in Richmond County decided to revive the tradition of the old Scotch fair in Ellerbe or Fairgrounds, and held a Highland games near the original site. These games were the focus for a BBC production that year called "The Valley of the Scots". The Ellerbe Highland Games only lasted for two years before it was discontinued.

There are currently two other Highland games held in North Carolina besides Grandfather Mountain. The Flora MacDonald Highland Games near Red Springs were officially started in 1977. They are now the only Highland games held within the Highland settlement area of North Carolina. The Red Springs Games, as they are known, originally grew out of a Revolutionary War battle re-enactment held at the site. At one time the re-enactments were very large and formed a central part of the games there, but now the number of re-enactors has dwindled significantly and the mock battles are just one of the many events scheduled. The Waxhaw Gathering of the Clans and Scottish Games, the smallest and most recent Highland games held in North Carolina, is held in the little town of Waxhaw near Charlotte. This area has no previous association with Highlanders, since the area was primarily settled by the Scotch-Irish, but the Waxhaw Games, established in 1980, grew out of a mock royal wedding that was held at an amphitheatre there.
The Flora MacDonald Games in Robeson County are probably the games most frequently attended by the older descendants of the Highland emigrants to North Carolina. Grandfather Mountain is a long way from the Cape Fear and the Sandhills, and it has now become quite crowded and difficult to attend. The Red Springs Games, as Flora MacDonald is called, are closer to home and offer a much more relaxed atmosphere.

Piping and Pipe Bands

The Highland games in North Carolina are largely responsible for promoting piping within the state. When the first Grandfather Mountain Games were held in 1956, there were no pipe bands in North Carolina and very few pipers. The closest pipe band was in Charleston, South Carolina at The Citadel, a military college. This band was founded after the Second World War by Chief Warrant Officer Millard Crary. The Caledonian Blue Ribbon Pipe Band, the very first pipe band in the South, was organised in Winston-Salem, North Carolina in 1946, but had disbanded by 1956. Since all The Citadel students were at home on summer break, Mrs. Morton and Donald MacDonald had to go to Washington, DC to find a pipe band for the first games. Since that first Highland Games in 1956, the number of pipers and pipebands steadily grew in numbers until by 1990, there were at least seven pipe bands in North Carolina alone. These were the Grandfather Mountain Highlanders, the Charlotte Caledonian Pipe Band, the North Carolina State University Pipes and Drums, the Montreat Scottish Pipes and Drums, the Cape Fear Highlanders, the Saint Andrew's College Pipe Band, and the Scotland County High School Pipe Band.

There are now several good piping instructors in Carolina and North Carolina State University and Saint Andrews College offer courses in piping. There are also "piping colleges" held during the summer months at Greensboro, Banner Elk, and Valle Crucis, North Carolina. Solo piping is encouraged and all the Highland games in North Carolina hold solo piping competitions.
GRANDFATHER MOUNTAIN
HIGHLAND GAMES

And
SCOTTISH
CLANS
GATHERING

MacRAE MEADOWS
LINVILLE, N. C.
AUG. 19, 1956

SPONSORS
Clan Donald in the Carolinas
Clan MacLeod Society
St. Andrew's Society of Charleston
Descendants of Wm. Douglas
Clan Stewart, Cape Fear Clans, Inc.
Clan society tents at the Flora MacDonald Highland Games in Robeson County near Red Springs. The Flora MacDonald Games, founded in 1976, are part of the great Scottish cultural revival of the last thirty years in North Carolina.
Scottish Fiddling and the Clarsach

Interest in the Scottish style of fiddling has been increasing dramatically in the United States in the last ten years. Highland Scots brought fiddles with them to North Carolina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but any distinctive Scottish style of fiddling was lost by the twentieth century. Dr. John Turner from Virginia has been greatly responsible for the Scottish fiddling revival in the Southeast today. He holds a two week summer course every year at Valle Crucis, North Carolina called the Jink and Diddle School of Scottish Fiddling. The interest in Scottish fiddling in the Southeast has reached such a high level that they now hold fiddling competitions in conjunction with the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games. Interest in the clarsach, or Scottish harp, is also on the increase and competitions are held at Grandfather Mountain for this instrument as well.

Highland Dancing

Highland games have also done much to promote Highland dancing in Carolina, but Highland dances were done in North Carolina long before the founding of the Grandfather Mountain Games. Flora MacDonald College, a female Presbyterian college established in 1913, required all of its students to learn the Highland Fling. Benhaven High School in Harnett County also taught Highland dancing and some of these students were among the first to compete in the Highland dance competitions at Grandfather Mountain. Highland dancing has now become very popular even among people in North Carolina who are not of Scottish descent and dancers from Carolina participate in competitions all over North America and in Scotland. Each summer the Sally Sutherland School of Scottish Arts is held in Banner Elk, North Carolina, where students from North Carolina as well as the surrounding states receive Highland dance instruction.

Scottish Country Dancing

Scottish country dancing saw a rapid increase in popularity in North Carolina in the 1980's. Organised Royal Scottish Country Dance Society groups now exist in Raleigh, Chapel Hill/Durham, Greensboro, Charlotte, and Shelby. There are also
regular dance groups not yet affiliated with the RSCDS which meet in Asheville and Waynesville. The first group ever formed was in the 1950s in Charlotte, and once again Donald F. MacDonald was instrumental in the setting up of this group.

I had seen it [Scottish country dancing] for the first time at this "Hail Caledonia Show" at the Edinburgh Festival. I never forgot it and we decided we would do it and I started trying to get an organisation, a dance group started. They had a dance group - of course the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society had several groups in the northern cities - there was one in Washington. There was no group in North Carolina, so I started a group in Charlotte called "The Queen City's Own Highland Dancers", and with the help of Sally Sutherland...Sally and I started that little group. She was our dance judge, in charge of the Highland dancing that first year because she was a physical education teacher in the Mecklenburg County Schools, did the Highland fling, knew all the Highland fling and sword dance, and even taught me the sword dance. She had started having lessons for people at the YWCA in Charlotte. Anyway, she and I started up with a group of her dance teachers - her physical education teachers in the schools - I had a roommate Don Gallamore, he and I and these two guys who were physical education teachers, Troy Neal and Bill Rheinhart and four girls who were physical education teachers in the Charlotte schools...We came to the Highland Games the second or third year and we performed at our own Tartan Ball.

Several North Carolinians have now become certified Scottish country dance teachers by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society in Scotland. In addition to regular classes held by the local RSCDS groups, the Thistle School of Scottish Dance, a summer workshop in Scottish country dancing, is held every year at Banner Elk in the two weeks preceding the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games. There are also at least two major Scottish country dance balls held each year in North Carolina, and people travel from many other states to attend these. The largest is the ball held in conjunction with the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, but there is also a Hogmanay Ball that has been held in Chapel Hill/Durham since 1980.

Robert Burns Societies

Although the poetry of Robert Burns was known in North Carolina (see section on family worship), there appears to be no evidence of the presence of Burns Societies in North Carolina in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Donald F. MacDonald of Dillon County was instrumental in forming the Robert Burns Society.
of Charlotte. Although he had never been to a Burns Supper before, he had read about them and was very interested in putting one on. MacDonald tells how the Burns Society got started:

The first thing I did was to meet with a lot of native born Scots, mostly Lowlanders, who lived in Charlotte. They had an organisation called the "Scotch Club" and they met in each other's houses. It was never an organisation where you paid dues or anything, they just got together maybe once a month. A Mr. Harry Beag was a jeweller on 4th Street, just beside the Charlotte News. I knew him and he invited me to come and speak to them about my trip [to Scotland]. I did that and I got to know all these native Scots and I decided that I would have a Burns Night. I asked Mr. Harry Beag to do the inviting and I also invited a number of my friends, people that I knew, and I decided to hold it at the Selwin Hotel. That was in 1955, January 25, 1955, and that is written up in the Charlotte News... We had the thing the next year, also at the Selwin Hotel and we organised as a Burns - as a proper Burns Club then. That was in 1956.21

There are also Burns Night Dinners held in other cities in North Carolina, including Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and Greensboro, generally organised by private initiative among friends or in connection with Scottish Country Dance groups and Clan Societies. To this date, only the Charlotte group has formally organised itself into a proper Burns Society.

Other Scottish Societies and Interests

There are several other Scottish societies listed in the 1990 Directory Issue of The Highlander magazine.22 The largest of organisations is Scottish Heritage, USA, which is based in Pinehurst in Moore County and is responsible for putting on the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games. The other societies that are listed are Scottish Heritage Society of Eastern NC, Scottish Family Association, and the Scottish Society of the Waxhaws, responsible for the Waxhaw Highland games. These societies all bring people together who have a common interest in Scottish culture for social and educational purposes.

In addition to Scottish societies, Highland games, and pipe bands, other traces of Scottish culture are to be found in North Carolina. There are several Scottish import shops, most of them located close to Grandfather Mountain, where one can find tartan cloth, kilts, woollen goods, and souvenirs - all the things that can be found in the tourist shops lining the High Street in Edinburgh. There is also a small tartan
museum located in Highlands, North Carolina. This museum started as an extension of the Scottish Tartan Museum in Comrie, but is now no longer affiliated with the museum in Scotland.

During the 1960s, there was even an attempt to build a model Scottish Village at the foot of Grandfather Mountain. The development was called Invershiel, after a locality in Scotland where the MacRaes, whose descendants own Grandfather Mountain, come from. The project began in 1965, when the MacRae-Mortons, owners of the mountain, made a fact-finding visit to Scotland. They visited Edinburgh, Stirling, Culross, and Dunlop, as well as the original Glenshiel and took many photographs of Scottish architecture and purchased many books on Scottish building styles. The architects in North Carolina used these photographs and books to try to recapture the look of an authentic Scottish village. Mrs. Morton's house had a turf roof and was based on the design of a black house, while the service station at Invershiel was based on the palace at Culross and Julian Morton's house was based on the house "Kirkland" in Dunlop. Invershiel, which was a development that few could afford to purchase homes in, failed to live up to its expectations, however, and was eventually sold to another development group, which renamed the village Tynecastle.

In the last few years, Saint Andrew's Presbyterian College in Laurinburg has established a Scottish Heritage Centre to promote studies in Scottish culture associated with the Highland settlement in North Carolina. William Caudill, a recent graduate of St. Andrew's College, was appointed to organise and promote the centre at its inception. Although the only course offered to students to date is piping, it is hoped that the program can be expanded in the future to include Scottish historical, cultural, and language studies.

Effect of American Interest on Scottish Culture

Scottish culture has become extremely popular in North Carolina today. Although much of the distinctive Highland culture disappeared in North Carolina during the nineteenth century, the state has seen a mushrooming of renewed interest in its Scottish cultural heritage in the last thirty years. Highland games and other Scottish activities have become so popular that individuals in North Carolina with only remote ancestral connections with Scotland buy kilts and attend Scottish gatherings. The true meaning of Highland games has also now been lost and today you will find as many people of Ulster Scot and Lowland Scottish descent at the
games in Carolina as you will Highlanders. This is evidenced by some of the "clan" societies present at Grandfather Mountain - Clan Smith, Clan Pollock, Clan Johnstone, and Clan Anderson to name a few. Because of intermarriage, it is now just as common to find a clan member with a German or English surname as a Highland one at Grandfather Mountain.

It is difficult to explain why there has been such an explosion of interest in Scottish culture in the last twenty years. Certainly the romance of Scotland has something to do with it, and the British Tourist Authority has done its best to promote this romantic image. The people of the Cape Fear Region have been aware of and proud of their Scottish origins for many years, but the rush to buy kilts and join clan societies may be related to the breakup of the extended family in America. When Americans lived in rural communities with all their aunts, uncles, first and second cousins surrounding them, they had a definite sense of family and identity. Now Americans often seek this lost sense of belonging and identity in organisations and clubs. A clan society based on assumed, if distant kinship fulfills the role of the extended family for urban and suburban dwellers in America. Highland games in America now serve as the focus for large family reunions, with clan members travelling the games circuit within their region and seeing the same fellow clansmen at all of the games. Families often centre their holidays around the Grandfather Mountain Games and take camping equipment and caravans along to set up near the games site. Each clan also has a tent on the games field where members visit with each other, catch up on gossip, and eat, drink, and make merry together - much the same things that extended families do.

Advances in transportation and an increase in the level of expendable income in America have also made it possible for Americans to visit Scotland. While once only possible for the rich, members of the middleclass can now easily manage the airfare across. These trips tend to fuel the interest of Americans for Scottish culture and they can even be seen as a type of pilgrimage. It is quite natural for the descendants of Highland emigrants to want to visit the homeland of their ancestors and commune with their ancestral spirits, but some Americans view trips to Scotland as a status symbol. Several years ago a self-rating questionnaire appeared in the Scottish American newspaper entitled "How Scottish Are You?" The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine one's degree of "Scottishness". There was no mention of place of birth, nationality, or surname; instead, questions like "How often do you visit Scotland?" and "How many kilts do you own?" predominated.
Piping, Scottish fiddling, Highland athletics, and dancing are unique and colourful, attracting people from many different cultural backgrounds. Certainly many of the younger participants in these Scottish activities care little for where their arts originate, but participate in the events for their own intrinsic enjoyment. Most participants in the Scottish fiddling competitions have been classically trained on the violin before they become interested in fiddling. Highland athletes are professionals competing for cash prizes and it matters little where their ancestors came from - they simply enjoy competing. The little girls who compete in Highland dance competitions owe their interest more to their mother's insistence than to any interest in Scotland. Scottish country dancing is done by people of many different nationalities all over the world for the pure enjoyment of social dancing and participants in North Carolina frequently do other types of folk dancing as well. Piping, although probably the art most closely associated with Scotland, is often pursued for the pure enjoyment of the music and being part of a band.

Part of the enjoyment associated with Scottish activities for men in Carolina is dressing up in a kilt. Especially in the South, men appear to identify with the militaristic character of the Highlander, and the kilt and the pipes have been symbols of the Scottish military for years. Southerners have long been identified with military tradition, as evidenced by the large number of military academies in the Carolinas and Virginia. Like Scotland, the South is still a major recruitment area for the armed forces. Many Southern men wear their campaign ribbons and medals on their shirts when they are in Highland dress, and there is an organisation called the Scottish American Military Society, based in the Southeast. This group is made up of veterans of the United States armed forces who are usually already involved in Scottish activities such as clan societies and Highland games. There are also kilted Highland military re-enactment groups in North Carolina from the American Revolution such as the North Carolina Royal Highland Regiment. The Fraser Highlanders, a re-enactment group from the Seven Years War or French-Indian War, also draws members from North Carolina.

The South is not the only place where these Scottish military groups can be found; however. A group from Ohio, the Losantiville Highlanders, was formed in 1971 by members of the Caledonian Society of Cincinnati.25 Once again, all the members of this unit are required to be veterans of the United States armed forces. The "Highlanders", who wear Highland dress and are armed with swords, bows, and Lochaber axes, serve as the official colour guard at the Grandfather Mountain
Highland Games. Although the members are not from North Carolina itself, the Grandfather Mountain Games have probably had a great influence on this group and its members.

There is another aspect to the huge popularity of Highland culture in North Carolina today, and this concerns the invention of cultural traditions. Highland culture is being redefined and amended in America. Already the "Kirkin’ o’ the Tartans" has become popular at many Highland games and the belief is widespread that this ceremony is actually an old Highland tradition - the blessing of the tartans. There is no evidence of any such ceremony having taken place in Scotland before, during, or after the time of Highland emigration to America. In reality, blessing anything like a piece of cloth would appear very Roman Catholic to most Highland Presbyterians, and they would probably frown upon this type of activity. The torchlight ceremony on Thursday night before the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games was invented in the early 1980s by Larry Long from Tennessee. Although there are Scottish antecedents for the ritual use of fire, this ceremony was solely invented for use at Grandfather Mountain. Some Americans already believe that this is an "ancient" Highland custom. New events have also become part of the competitions at Highland games in America which have nothing to do with Highland Scottish culture - the "Bonniest Knees Contest" and the "Haggis Hurling" contest are two examples. Although this is only typical American fun, even something as bizarre as this could soon be assumed to have an ancient Scottish origin.

It is important not to discount or dismiss these effusions of Scottish-ness, however, but to examine the role that they play for the individuals involved and the needs that they fulfill. Highland games today in North Carolina are the secular equivalent of communion seasons in days past and fulfill many of the same functions. The "Holy Fairs" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have become the Scottish fairs of the twentieth. Highland gatherings allow people of similar backgrounds, interests, and attitudes to congregate in order to form close friendships, exchange information, find prospective mates, and renew their spirits with the excitement and exhilaration that a break from the routine of everyday existence can impart. For many people of Highland descent in North Carolina today, the second weekend of July when the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games are held has become an annual holiday, or remembering where the word comes from, a "holy day".
1. Donald MacDonald, Tape 22A.

2. MacDonald, Tape 22A.


4. MacDonald, Tape 22A.

5. See section on Flora MacDonald in the chapter on Traditional Narrative.

6. MacDonald, Tape 22A.


8. Easterby, p. 31.


11. MacDonald, Tape 22A.

12. MacDonald, Tape 22B.

13. MacDonald, Tape 22A.


18. MacDonald, Tape 22B.

19. MacDonald, Tape 22B.

20. MacDonald, Tape 22B.

21. MacDonald, Tape 22A.


24. Personal interview with Donald MacDonald, 29 November 1991. It is interesting to note that when David Clement from the School of Scottish Studies visited North Carolina in 1968, he happened to visit Invershiel and was quite surprised to come upon the house based on Kirkland, because his father had grown up in that house. (Personal interview with David Clement, 11 January 1992.)


26. The kirking, or blessing of the tartans is a ceremony that was started in Washington, DC in 1941. (Donaldson, p. 200) Pieces of tartan are ceremoniously piped into the church whereupon they are blessed by the presiding minister.
CONCLUSIONS

Although the culture in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina was once decidedly Highland, successive generations of North Carolina Scots gradually adapted to their new surroundings and eventually contributed to the formation of a completely new distinctive culture - that of the American South. This process of acculturation was marked by certain historical events which served as catalysts. The American War of Independence stopped the great flood of Highland emigrants to North Carolina and isolated the Carolina Scots politically from their kinsmen back home. Although Scottish emigration to the Carolinas picked up again after The Revolution, it once again experienced a sharp decrease in the early part of the nineteenth century as the result of emigration policies and laws passed by the British government. Compounding the effects of the decrease in emigration was the explosion of migration from the Highland communities in Carolina to the new cotton lands which were opening up to the south and west. The decline in Highland culture occurred gradually until the American War Between the States, after which the pace of decline accelerated. The War had a devastating effect on Highland culture in Carolina, as well as on the culture of the South in general. Many men of Highland descent lost their lives, the Southern economy was ruined, and in the aftermath of The War the great influx of people from the northern states began. World War Two marked the beginning of the great rural migration to the cities, a process that continues to severely weaken once prosperous farming communities in the Cape Fear region. Few young people have chosen to remain in these communities and therefore their populations are now rapidly aging and disappearing, along with remnants of the culture that the original emigrants brought with them. The great increase in personal mobility and ease of travel since WWII has also meant that young people of Highland descent are now much more likely to meet and marry spouses who come from different cultural backgrounds, further diluting Highland cultural connections.

As a result of this process of acculturation that the Scots underwent in Carolina, evidence of Highland culture in the Cape Fear Valley region is now considerably diminished. Historical markers, placenames, Scottish personal and family names, and the great number of Presbyterian churches in the Cape Fear Valley remind one of the once flourishing community of Scots, but it is now often necessary to visit remote farming areas in order to find additional cultural remnants. These remnants usually reside in the memories of those born prior to World War Two, although they are often not recognised for what they are. For example, Nettie McCormick Henly, who left an excellent record of life in a North Carolina Highland community in the late
nineteenth century, attested that she was not able to identify very much in her cultural experience that she considered Scottish. This could be explained by the fact that Highland cultural traditions had become so thoroughly adapted to life in Carolina by her generation that she was in no position to discern the finer connections that might be made by someone equally familiar with both cultures. Younger generations today in Carolina still have some information about Highland culture, but mostly this has been obtained by reading books and attending Highland games.

So much of a culture is embedded in its language, that one may surmise that the strength of the Highland culture in Carolina waned with the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers in the settlement. Although Gaelic was once "as common as English" in the Cape Fear Valley, there is no one alive there today who can speak it fluently, the last fluent speaker probably having died before World War II. The Gaelic language disappeared slowly, however, going through a stage where people could understand Gaelic, but not speak it very well. Even today, there are a few people in North Carolina who still remember Gaelic words and phrases. Although some scholars give the impression that the descendants of Scottish emigrants preserved the Gaelic language for generations in North Carolina, from the evidence that can be found, the language usually only lasted for one or two generations after emigration in any one family.¹ One can truthfully say that Gaelic was spoken in North Carolina for over two hundred years, but successive injections of Gaelic by new Gaelic speaking emigrants was responsible for this continuity, and not the persistence of the language among the descendants of early Highland emigrants.

The Gaelic language was the most obvious cultural element that set the Highlanders apart from other ethnic groups in Carolina. Even after the Gaelic language ceased to be spoken in Carolina, families continued to treasure the Gaelic Bibles which had once played such an important part in the lives of their ancestors. Gaelic was not the only cultural element that set the Highlanders apart, however. The sense of family and kinship was much stronger among the Scots in Carolina than it was among the other groups, due to the ancient feelings of clan solidarity in the Highlands. The system of naming children and the use of nicknames in the Highland settlement clearly differentiated the Scots from their neighbours. The distinctly Highland belief in phenomena such as second sight and Gaelic healing charms was once quite prevalent in the Cape Fear Valley, and vestiges of these beliefs are still to be found. The strong history of narrative tradition in the Highlands was also still much in evidence in the Cape Fear Valley prior to the advent of radio and television.
Religion held a place of prime importance in the Highland settlement area of Carolina and church affiliation and ethnic identity were and still remain closely connected. The Highland Presbyterian religious practices of family worship, Gaelic Psalm singing, communion week, strict sabbatarianism, and the use of the Shorter Catechism for religious instruction all identified the Cape Fear Valley settlers as Scottish and many of these practices continued into living memory. The importance of the clergy and the ruling elders in Highland communities also differentiated the Scots from their English neighbours. The Presbyterian clergy provided a leadership focus in the emigrant communities. Because of the insistence that the Presbyterian clergy be highly educated, a Highland minister was often one of the few people in the early communities who could read and write. In the case of the Rev. Mr. Archibald MacQueen, he served his people not only as a minister of the Gospel, but as a lawyer and a doctor as well. When Mr. MacQueen entered the ranks of the clergy in 1829, he was following a family tradition that began in Skye in the seventeenth century and continues among the MacQueens in Carolina to this day.

Probably the element that continues to set those of Highland descent in Carolina apart from their neighbours the most is their strong identification with Scotland and their pride of origin. No other group in Carolina today exhibits quite the same ethnic pride as the descendants of the Highland Scots. Although it has been over two hundred and fifty years since the first Highlanders came to North Carolina, many of their descendants still love to wear the kilt, listen to the pipes, and engage in annual pilgrimages to Highland Games.

It is difficult to explain why those of Highland descent in Carolina exhibit such a strong identification with Scotland. Part of the reason may be that there are readily available symbols associated with the Scottish culture: the tartan, the kilt, Highland dancing and athletics, and piping. Those of English, German, Welsh, and Scotch-Irish heritage possess few such symbols with which they can identify. Even before the Scottish cultural revival in North Carolina this century, people of Highland descent still considered themselves Scots and identified with those still living in the homeland. Two fairly recent emigration schemes, the Skye emigration of 1884 and the program instituted by Edward Bayley in the early twentieth century, attest to the close identification that the North Carolina Scots still had for their distant kin in Scotland.
Possibly the best reason why North Carolinians of Highland descent feel a close kinship to Scots in the homeland lies in the fact that Highlanders have traditionally valued kinship, genealogy, and family tradition. The identification with Scotland and its traditions is simply one more example of Highland cultural survival in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina.

APPENDIX A
SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear informant:

I am a student at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. As part of my academic work, I am writing a thesis on the Highland Scottish immigrants to the Carolinas. I would like to ask you to help me by completing this questionnaire. Please answer the following questions as best you can. You may not know the answer to some of the questions. It may be useful to talk to other family members and get their help.

1. Full Name (please include maiden names):

   Address:

2. Please give a short outline of your ancestors if you can on the genealogy sheet.

3. Which of your ancestors were born in Scotland and immigrated to the US?

4. In each case, when did your immigrant ancestors come over and where did they land in America?

5. Where did your immigrant ancestors come from in Scotland?

6. Are there any family traditions in the family about the reason your ancestors immigrated?

7. Do you know of any family that your ancestors left in Scotland?

8. Did your ancestors travel to America with others from Scotland? Friends? Relations?
9. Did your ancestors settle somewhere else first before coming to your home district? If so, where and for how long?

10. When and where did your ancestors settle in your home district?

11. Did your ancestors get their land by grant or purchase?

12. Did friends or relatives take up land nearby at the same time?

13. Did other friends and relatives move nearby later?

Material Culture

1. Did you ever hear about your family bringing anything over from Scotland? Clothes, musical instruments, tools, furniture, etc.

2. When was your old family homeplace built? Who built it?

3. Have any old pieces of furniture or tools survived at your homeplace?

4. Do you know of any houses in your area that were built by Scottish immigrants?

5. What sort of textiles were produced in the homes in your area? Do you know if anyone in your family has very old clothing?
Family History

1. Were there traditional ways of naming children in your family?

2. Were there any nick names used in your family or neighborhood that you know of? Please give examples.


4. Do you have any old letters from before the Civil War, or do you know of anyone who does, especially old letters from Scotland?

5. Are there any written histories of your family that you know of?

6. Is there someone in your family who is the family historian?

   Name:

   Address:
Social

1. Was there any tradition in your family of only marrying a fellow Scot, or marrying "in the blood"?

2. Do you know of any old social gatherings in your area besides church services?

3. Have you heard anything about the old Scotch fairs that were held in the 19th century?

4. What kind of customs did your family have at the New Year?

5. Did your family observe Christmas on January 5th or 6th?

6. What sort of customs were associated with Halloween in your family?

7. Is or was there any food or drink served in your family that can be associated with Scotland?

8. Do you remember any mention of Gaelic or the old Scotch tongue being spoken in your area or family?

9. Did you ever hear any Gaelic or Scotch words that you know of?

10. Do you know anyone who knows any Gaelic or Scotch words?
1. Were tales and stories told in your family?

2. Was there anyone in your family who liked to tell tales or stories?

3. Do you know of any old family stories or tales?

4. Does your family have any stories about life in Scotland or the Scottish immigrants to Carolina?

5. Have you ever heard any stories about the Lowery gang?

6. Does your family have any stories about the period of the War Between the States?

7. Were unwritten songs sung in your family?

8. What sort of songs were sung?

9. Do you remember any of these songs?
Church History and Religion

1. Do you know anything about your church's early history? Do you know of anyone else who does?

2. Do you ever remember hearing about precentors in your church or men who would line out the hymns in church while they were being sung?

3. Were there special church services regularly held in your youth?

4. How were Sundays spent at your house?

5. Was there any work or activity allowed on the Sabbath at your house in your youth?

6. Did you have Bible readings and prayer in the home? How often? Please describe these.

7. Did your family have an old Gaelic or Scotch Bible? Is there any handwriting in it?

8. Do you know if there are any old church records for your church? Who has these?

Thank you very much for your help. Would you please return this form to me at the following address:

James R. MacDonald
School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh
27 George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9LD
Scotland
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SPOUSE</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald MacPherson</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>His wife</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Ewan, Johanna, Fredrika, Donald, Duncan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus McMillan</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Catherine?</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sandy, Katie, Mary, Isabella, Angus, Catherine?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex. Finlayson, Sr.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex. Finlayson, Jr.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kate</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Donald, Alex., Christopher, Marion, Finlay, Peggy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Finlayson</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Peter, Annie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm Finlayson</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Finla, Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roderick MacKenzie</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Marian</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Alex, Malcolm Gustava, George Donald 3 more?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McKenzie (or McKinnon)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Anne, Malcolm Johnson, Murdock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex. McDonald</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lauchlin, Donald, Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil McMillan</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Marion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Matheson</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Flora, Augusta, Nephew- Alex.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. SINGLE INDIVIDUALS IN THE 1884 EMIGRATION SCHEME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alex. McKenzie</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan McKenzie</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdo Murray</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdo McDonald</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald McIntosh</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nicholson</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Nicholson</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald McPherson</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Alexander Nicholson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Catherine Matheson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

LIST OF SCOTS SENT OVER BY MR. EDWARD BAYLEY 1907-1912


J. Macaulay Phillips  Went to Lumber Bridge (X-mas 1907). Now retired in Santa Barbara, Cal.

David H. Scott  Went to Wilmington, became president of East Coast Fert. Co., and died about 1945.

Newton Fisher  Went to Wilmington, became business manager of the Hospital there. Died a few years ago.

William Sutherland  Went to Red Springs first and finally worked for the A.C.L. Railroad in Wilmington Offices. Lost contact.

Robert W. McLagan.  I believe was sent to Mr. McCallum at Red Springs. Last heard of in Atlanta, Ga.

Scott Turner  Went first to Fayetteville. Finally became minister. Now retired and I believe lives in Lillington, N.C.


T. G. Balfour (brother)  Went to Lumber Bridge and later became sales manager for Tobacco Byproducts Co. in Louisville, Ky. Died 1947.

Ernest Melville  You know where he went first. Now in Randolph, Mass.

Alex Russel  Whom you know.


Adam Thompson  Went to Red Springs, then Wilmington and last heard of in Canada.

Percy W. Norman  Went first to Buies and then Lumber Bridge. Now is vice president of South Pittsburg Iron Co., Tenn.

Martin McCall  Went to Red Springs. Became representative N. C. legislature and died some years ago while working for N.C. Dept. of Agric.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert I. Shiels</td>
<td>Went to Red Springs and last heard of farming in S.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James McLaurin</td>
<td>Went to Red Springs, then to Lumber Bridge. Was an architect and practiced his profession in Charlotte until his death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Collins</td>
<td>Went to Red Springs, worked for J. D. McLean. Joined Canadian Army and was killed in World War I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>Ask Alex Russel about him. He became director of N. C. Agric. Experiment Station at Burgaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Walker</td>
<td>Went to Fayetteville. Bought farm at Cameron, and died there later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin Adair</td>
<td>Went to Lumber Bridge (in 1907, stayed a few months), worked for Neil Shaw. Returned to Scotland. Was the only one to return there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam C. Aitken</td>
<td>Went to Red Springs, but don’t know what happened to him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LETTER TO THOMAS CHALMERS IN EDINBURGH

Fayetteville, North Carolina, North America, 2nd Octr., 1843

Revd. and Dear Sir,

For some time past I have had a strong desire to open a correspondence with some of my brethren in the ministry in my native land, but various causes, not necessary now to be mentioned in detail, have hitherto retarded the gratification of this desire. Within the last few days the thought has occurred to me, and has been strongly imposed on my mind, that the present juncture is as favorable a one as I could well choose for the execution of my purpose; and from the known urbanity of your character, I have taken the liberty of selecting you as a correspondent suited to my object.

The purpose of forwarding to your address the package which you will herewith receive, was formed on perusal of Dr. Welch's interesting communication to Dr. Murray of Elizabethtown which has recently appeared in several of the religious periodicals of this country: but, before I advert, further, to the contents of this package here referred to, (if you will excuse the egotism) - I must give you a brief account of myself, - inasmuch as there is no one here, having the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, who can furnish me with a letter of introduction.

I am a native of the island of Lewis, in Ross-shire, North Britain; and I spent the first nineteen years of my life in the town of Stornoway in that island. About forty years ago, I came to the United States of America; and for something more than the last thirty years, I have laboured in this country, in the Ministry of the Presbyterian Church: and perhaps, (to prevent anything like doubt, or misapprehension, in reference to my ecclesiastical relation,) I ought to add that I belong to what, in this country, is known as the Old-school Presbyterian Church. For the sake of brevity, and to reserve space for more important and interesting matters, I omit, at present, further details, except to inform you, that, for the greater part of my Ministerial life, I have been labouring among the Scottish Highlanders, and their descendants, residing in the neighbourhood of this place; and that, for the greater part of my ministerial life, that I preach, regularly, to them, in the Gaelic language, as well as in English.

The package, which you will herewith receive, is divided into two parts. One part contains an Octavo volume, which I published about nineteen years ago, under the title of "The Southern Preacher", of which I must beg your acceptance, as a small accession to your private library. In the same division of the bundle, you will find twenty four copies of a small collection of hymns, under the title of "Family Psalmody", which I published, about nine years ago. Of these small volumes, I wish you to take the trouble of making an equal distribution among the Professors of your contemplated College, (yourself included of course), for occasional family use. The other part of the Package, contains fifty copies of a little volume, which I published last year, on what, in this country, is popularly termed "The Marriage Question". These, I design, as a small accession to the Library of your contemplated College. To the question discussed in this little volume I attach great importance. I consider it intimately connected with personal purity; and I therefore wish the rising generation to study it, with careful attention. You may possibly, with some of my brethren, think me overzealous, on this subject, but, so deep is my conviction, of the numerous evils arising from the want of due attention to it, that, in order to awaken that interest in it, which a due regard for the welfare of society appears to me to demand, I have, for some time past, been in the uniform habit of administering appropriate warnings on this subject, to all to whom such warnings might be properly found applicable, in every instance in which I am called to solemnize matrimony among my people.

I am very sensible that in the very interesting circumstances in which, by the Providence and grace of God, you are, at this time placed, your time must be constantly occupied by a variety of arduous and important duties: yet if you can possibly command
sufficient leisure for such a purpose, I would be gratified to receive a few line from you, communicating such facts in reference to the present condition of the Church of Scotland, as you may think interesting. I have a particular desire to learn whether the recent Secession has extended much into the Highlands of Scotland; - especially whether the "Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland" has been enabled, as yet, to form a Presbytery in my native island, that of Lewis. I presume that the major part of those who composed the "Presbytery of Lewis" when I resided in that country, have, before now, finished their earthly pilgrimage. At the time of my departure from that country to this, that Presbytery consisted of the following ministers; The Revd. Messr. Colin MacKenzie of Stornoway, Hugh Munroe of Uig, Donald McDonald of Barvas, and Alex. Simpson of Lochs. I am -- --, many changes have taken place in that island since the period to which I now refer. I should like very much to know something of its present Ecclesiastical condition. I take it for granted that you are, and have long been a member, of the "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." I have at present in preparation, and if God permit, will soon finish a little volume, the copyright of which I would be glad to offer to that honourable society, provided I am not already anticipated by some one else. It is a Gaelic translation of the excellent Matthew Henry's "Scripture Catechism". I have undertaken the translation, chiefly for the benefit of my own people: but, I can, at the same time extend the benefits of it to my countrymen beyond the Atlantic, it will afford me a double gratification. Please let me know whether anyone else has anticipated me, in this service. You are probably acquainted with the original. It is published with Mr. Henry's "Miscellaneous works", and is an exposition of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism; in which, each answer of that catechism is happily illustrated by a variety of explicatory questions, all answered in the language of scripture. In my Gaelic version of the work, I am endeavouring to make some improvement on all the existing Gaelic translations of the "Shorter Catechism". What I aim at is - such a translation as if it were an original, and an English translation of it were needed, - would naturally lend its English translator to give his version of it, in the very words of the Westminster divines. The translations we now have, [are] though, in the main, very good; yet in my judgement, fall very far short of what might properly be denominated exact translations. To illustrate the idea I wish to convey, I take the liberty of inviting your attention to a few brief references. I have now before me, the Gaelic translation of the "Shorter Catechism", which was published by the "Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge", in 1792, which, I believe, is the best translation now extant, and even in this, I find many defects. For example: the fourteenth question is "What is sin?" Now, for the answer to this question, were I to take the translation here given, and consider it an original, and translated it into English, the natural ------- of it would be, "Sin is the breaking of the law of God." Whereas, the translation in my version could hardly admit of any other translation into English, than the answer given by the Westminster divines; viz. "Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of the law of God." Again: on the supposition that I have stated, the eighteenth question, in the Society's version, would naturally be required to be thus translated into English: "What is the sinfulness of that estate whereunto man fell?" - instead of "Wherein consists the sinfulness of that estate whereunto man fell?" And again, in several instances, I find the word "transgression" translated by a word, which more properly signifies "guilt"; and moreover, throughout the translation, the distinction between "benefits" and "privileges" appears to be entirely discarded; while the language appears to me to afford ample materials for preserving that distinction. I might make more remarks, calculated to illustrate the difference between the translations of the "Shorter Catechism" now extant and the one in which I am engaged in preparing: but, what I have said, will, I suppose, be sufficient.

I should be most gratified to receive a Catalogue of the books and tracts, published from time to time, by the "Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge" especially such as have been published by them, - whether originals or translations in the Gaelic language. I understand that, within a few years past, that honourable society has published a copious Dictionary of the Gaelic language. I have often had a desire to order a copy of that work; but, mortifying as the fact is, I am constrained to confess, that so little
do my people contribute to my temporal support, that, in this and many other things that I would deem desirable, I am laid under the necessity, however reluctantly, of practising the rigid virtue of self-denial.

As I am not certain that you have any knowledge of the Gaelic language, and think it rather probable that you have not, I consider an apology due to you for troubling you, as I have done, in a portion of this communication, touching my forthcoming translation of Henry's "Scripture-Catechism"; insomuch as this subject, in all probability, cannot be so interesting to you as it might be to some others of my brethren. I know not whether my apology be or be not sufficient; but, such as it is, I offer it to you, in honest simplicity; and I hope you will receive it without offence. It is this: I once had it seriously in contemplation to address a letter on the subject here referred to and on some other kindred subjects, to The Revd. John McAllister, who is, I understand, the Pastor of the Gaelic church of Edinburgh; and in order to awaken his interest in such topics the more deeply, I had thought of writing to him in the Gaelic language: - But, when I saw in the public prints, the account of the recent Secession from the church of Scotland, and carefully examined the published list of those who united in that Secession, felt so greatly disappointed in not finding his name in that list, that I came to the determination to seek the information that I desired to possess, through some other medium than that of his agency. This feeling of disappointment will not be I hope ascribed to the absence of charity. I doubt not, there are many excellent, conscientious men, who still remain in the establishment, and who, owing to the operation of causes of which I have no knowledge, cannot at present view matters in the same light with those who have judged it to be their duty to secede; yet, I trust I shall not subject myself to the importation of narrow-mindedness if I honestly avow, that I think I can enjoy more pleasure in epistolatory intercourse with those whose sentiments harmonize with my own, than I can with those entertaining opposite sentiments.

I feel a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of my countrymen, and especially for the "Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland" my most ardent prayers, for her purity, peace, harmony, extension, and permanent prosperity. Allow me to inquire, - Is there any probability, or has the desire, from any quarter, been expressed, of effecting a union, of those who were formerly styled "Burghers," and "Anti-Burghers," and the "Relief Body," with the "Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland"? Living so remotely from you as I do, I may be a very inadequate judge of such matters; but, with my present lights, such a union I should think, while it would augment their strength, would tend much to their mutual benefit.

If the proceedings of your General Assembly have been printed, in Pamphlet-form, I would be greatly obliged by the favour of a copy. There are also several of my brethren in this region, who would be gratified by a similar favour. A small package, containing as many copies of those minutes as you might be disposed to send, together with the catalogue above referred to, and any thing else you might choose to add, if addressed to me, in this place, and directed to be deposited, in the city of Philadelphia, at the office of the "Presbyterian Board of Publication", could readily be forwarded to me here, by my friend Mr. Paul T. Jones, the worthy agent of that Board, with whom I am in the habit of frequent correspondence and I need scarcely add, such a favour, by me, would be very gratefully received. Any letter you might send me, might be simply addressed to me at this place; viz. - Fayetteville, North Carolina; and sent, in the usual way through the medium of the mail.

That the pleasure of the Lord may prosper in your hands, is the fervent prayer of,

Roved. & Dear Sir,
Your affectionate Brother
in the Gospel.

Colin McIver
P.S. I have it in my contemplation, if God permit, in the course of the ensuing year, to publish a second edition of my Essay on the Marriage Question, somewhat improved and enlarged, embracing a notice of various publications that have recently appeared on the other side of the question, and an Appendix, containing a particular account of the case referred to towards the close of my Preface. Of this second edition, should I publish it, I will send 50 copies to your college, provided I find that what I now send shall have met with a welcome reception.

Yours again

C. Mc. I.
DEAR MISS MACLEOD, - Here now I find myself located in North Carolina, a country to which I had been once a day long looking for, and heard and read much of it, but now I am delighted to find myself in a position where I may safely say that all I had heard or read about it put together cannot come up to the reality of the country. The delightful climate, the magnificent forest trees, with their luxuriant foliage, and last, but not least, the agreeable people I have met with, have quite reconciled me to my new home in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, you were quite right in saying that I would meet with kindness in North Carolina that I never did in Scotland. I am sure that I have met with kindness here which I did not look for, or even dream of. I had been once a day a constant reader of the history of the settlements in North Carolina, but I had formed no adequate idea of all that I find that is attractive and inviting here. I have often said, and said sincerely to my friends in Scotland, North Carolina offers a good home for you, but I knew not the beauties, the richness and the luxuries of the country I was recommending. Now I see, and am delighted as I see this home, this delightful home, for any poor or rich Highlander, wherever he is found. When I arrived at the growing town of Laurinburgh, I was met by Mr. Cooley, a gentleman in whom I place great confidence, and after giving me a Highland welcome he took me to Captain William M'Laurin's house, where every kindness and attention was shown me. Next morning I had an invitation from Mr. Cooley to take a buggy ride with him to his residence at Spring Hill; which I willingly accepted. Mr. Cooley, in a strict sense of the word, is in easy and independent circumstances. He lives, as you know, in a large wooden house, surrounded by a happy and interesting family and from his well known good nature it is seldom that he has not one or more visitors. I feel perfectly at home as long as I am within a hundred miles of Mr. Cooley's house. Next morning Mr. Cooley and I took a buggie ride through the country; our time was not idly employed; we were constantly on the move going from farm to farm, giving me excellent advice on the mode of agriculture, and imparting such information as my poor mind was capable of receiving. Among the places we visited, and at which we spent hours of the most agreeable kind, was that of your old friend, the Hon. D.P. Maceachern. His premises indicate the true and independent farmer. The neighing of horses, the bellowing of cattle, the squeaking of pigs, and the continued "bah-bah" of goats and sheep spoke more plainly than words that there was nothing like hunger in his neighborhood. I have thought much since I came here, and the more I think of what I witnessed, I willingly admit that those who have adopted the farming life have chosen the better part. There seems to be a contentment about the farmers here that is not to be witnessed scarcely in any one in Scotland. If wealth is man's object, there is no easier way of finding it than by cultivating the soil. If health is desirable, let his occupation be on a farm in North Carolina. If he wishes to live in peace with his neighbor, avoid the bustle and vexations of a town. In fine, if he wishes to pass through this life with less of the troubles and perplexities which a town or city life is heir to, go and live on a farm. But prudent men want something more, the promise of health and plenty to allow them to a new home in a distant land. They want the means and facilities for educating their children, they want school-books, newspapers, they want all the means of social and intellectual improvement, and I remark that all these advantages can be obtained in any part of North Carolina to a degree that is truly wonderful considering the age of the colony. As this is the view I take of it, and in which I am more and more confirmed every day, how can I help wishing that I had a voice loud enough to sound through the Highlands and Islands of Scotland that would persuade thousands who would make good citizens to emigrate to this wide and promising field. As people come, trees fall, houses go up, snakes leave, deer flees. Even if I thought they would be no better off here than there, I would urge them to go for
their children's sake; but I am sorry that some of our country people labour under wrong impressions; they think that they cannot get the luxuries of life in North Carolina. But we all know that salvation is always considered too cheap to be accepted. I had an invitation to dine yesterday with a gentleman in this neighborhood. I never enjoyed a better dinner, though it was of North Carolina production. I returned home and had not well seated myself before another invitation came from Mr. Cooley requesting me to dine with him. The first thing that caught my eye on entering the dining room was a well spread table, with a large and beautiful roasted turkey, chicken, beef, pork, cabbage, sweet potatoes, plantains, rice, &c., &c., all of North Carolina production. I was constrained to cry out North Carolina is good enough for me. Well, you say, you have given us the good, now give us the bad. I will. If you come here you will have to work, and get your bread out of the ground. Adam had to do so, and if you go to work to others you will be paid according to your ability.

If as a mechanic, you must come prepared to take contracts. If as a merchant, don't bring goods. If as a teacher or ruler, take care the Americans don't make you get your lesson over. It would be silly in me to attempt a description of North Carolina. I think nobody has a right to give an account of North Carolina but a poet. But I shall give my opinion - shall say what I honestly think upon my own responsibility - and let it pass for what it is worth. I have no point to carry, no interest to gain, no ambition to gratify, but, as I have said before, I am anxious that our country people be united in their choice of a future home. It strikes me we can never be a nation in any part on earth if we cannot be in North Carolina. So far from inducing the idle and vicious to emigrate to North Carolina, if I could I would discourage them every way in my power; she wants none but sober industrious families to come. I am sorry that some of those crofters or fisherman you sent from Skye proved themselves to be idlers, and when they observed that they could not obtain a living in any section of North Carolina without working for it, they were compelled to return to the land of the heather. In addition to this, I may mention that I am enjoying myself much more than I expected I would among coloured people. They behave so much like well-bred white people that while among them one forgets all about the prejudices of colour, and they conduct themselves so well and courteously that they receive the credit from visitors of being a polite, clever, and hospitable people. They have got schools and institutions for the attainment of literary and useful knowledge, Bible societies, a lodge of Freemasons and Oddfellows, and a division of the sons of temperance. Drunkenness is looked upon as very disgraceful, and is seldom seen amongst them, and the selling of whisky as a mean, low occupation, though it is not prohibited by law. I must not tire you more with this long letter, but I feel that I could never cease extolling the beauties of this lovely country. Perhaps we may be so fortunate as to awaken in you a wish to visit it another time. Should you do so I am sure you will not be disappointed. As there are several friends and acquaintances of mine writing to me, asking my views, &c., of this country, therefore you will oblige me by publishing this letter in an early issue of the Inverness Adveriser so that they can judge for themselves. Mr. Donald Macpherson, late of Glenelg, who left in spring with your first batch of emigrants, has purchased a few hundred acres of land in Robeson County, and is now enjoying his freedom the same as the landlords are doing in Scotland. Then farewell, with kindest regards from your fortunate emigrant,

WILLIAM MACLENNAN
Late of Lower Corry, Muir of Ord,
Inverness-shire

Note: This letter written by one of the Highland emigrants of the Skye emigration scheme of 1884 originally appeared in the Inverness Advertiser (16 January 1885) and was later reprinted in the Fayetteville Observer (19 February 1885).
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LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS


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MacLeod, Kitty. (Gaelic singer from Ness, Lewis) Personal interview. March 1991.


**AUDIO TAPES**

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Map of Marlboro County S.C.
Prepared by Capt. J.R. Parker!
Scale, 3 Miles to 1 Inch.