The Act of Union: 
Death or Reprieve for the Highlands?

A Study of the Socio-Economic Impact of the Union on 
the Highlands of Scotland, 
1707-1745

by

Lauchlin Alexander Cruickshanks
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Table of Contents

Introduction:
Scotland at the Union, the Economy, Politics, and Society 4
Maps 19
Notes to the reader 22

Chapter I.
The Clans: The Retention of the Old Highland Structures 23
1. Structure: Clan Life: Outmoded Patriarchy or Viable Communal Living?
2. The Chieftain: The Chieftain’s True Role, Landlord or Patriarch?
3. Clan Warfare: Savage Ethos or Viable Way of Life
4. Values: Social Constructs or Savage Medieval Backwardness
5. Language: The Impact of the Gaelic Language
6. Conclusion

Chapter II.
Political Ramifications:
The Transformation of Scottish Political Life 52
1. Parliamentarian Representation: Inclusion or English Manipulation?
2. Parliamentary Legislation: Destructive or Modernizing?
3. Power of Local Magnates: Expansion or Decline?
4. Relationship with the Executive Power in Scotland
5. Conclusion
Chapter III.
Highland Industry: Subsistence or Market

1. Agricultural Development: Subsistence or Market
2. Trade with Europe: Draw of the Continent or the South
3. Trade with Colonies
4. Mining: Impact of Coal and Iron on the Highland Economy
5. Light Industry: Small Scale or Export Driven
6. Cattle: Life Blood of the Highland Economy?
7. Conclusion

Chapter IV.
Emigration: The Flight of the Highland People

1. The Colonies: Draw of more Land and Freedom
2. Scottish Involvement in India
3. To England, Ireland, and the Central Belt
4. Urbanization: to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen
5. Conclusion

Closing Remarks

Bibliography
Introduction:

Scotland at the Union, the Economy, Politics, and Society

In 1707, the Scottish Parliament ratified the Act of Union, which joined the Parliaments of Scotland and England to create Great Britain, centered in London. The Act, both loved and despised, by the British, is one of the defining moments of Scottish history—it marked the end of independent Scotland, which ceased to govern itself from Holyroodhouse, in Edinburgh. Historians disagree about the motive for the Union, but there are several major themes which dominate the discussion of Union, varying from political to economic but, from the Scottish point of view, mainly the latter. England’s main political impetus for securing the Union was its desire for a Protestant monarch. Queen Anne had no surviving children, and the English feared that, upon her death, the exiled Catholic Stewarts would return and claim the crowns of Great Britain.¹ The English wanted to ensure that a Catholic would not be the head of the Church of England. Some historians believe that the Union was England’s way of repaying Scotland for its part in the Darien Colony, the Scottish attempt to establish a colony in Panama.² Many Scots directly linked the colony’s failure to the lack of English support, or assumed England attempted to make the colony fail by denying aid to the colonists. Although the economic reasons for the signing of the Union are many, the most widely accepted motive is the removal of the economic sanctions that barred Scotland from trading with the

² Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 309. £232,888 were included in the Union in order to pay off the debts incurred by the failed colony.
colonies and the stimulation of the Scottish economy through complete integration into the British Empire.\(^3\) In addition to the removal of the sanctions, in the Articles of Union sixteen clauses out of the twenty five addressed the economy of Scotland and related subjects, the remainder defined new political institutions and the retention of the old.\(^4\)

Scotland, upon joining the Union, agreed to several key domestic structural changes. These political changes altered the society of Scotland: ancient Scottish institutions disappeared, as well as the international border between Scotland and England. As part of the Union, the Parliament of Scotland, which had long been a forum in which Lords and Lairds could voice their opinions, was abolished. Members of this ancient institution were brought into the new Parliament of Great Britain, based in London. Separated from the legislative branch of Scottish Government, the executive branch changed drastically. The Scottish Privy Council was abolished after the Union and all forms of government were moved south to London, confirming the fears Scots had previously voiced after 1603, when they rejected the first attempt at Parliamentary union.

Those institutions that were left unchanged represented the foundations of Scottish society. In the formal Union, Scotland was allowed to keep its specific version of Protestantism—the Kirk, or Church of Scotland. There was to be no union of the Churches, which allowed the Kirk, an institution vehemently defended by many Scots, to survive. The other institutions left intact and controlled by Scotland

\(^3\) The Navigation Act and the Alien Act are the two most widely cited economic sanctions against Scotland before the Union.

were the educational and legal systems. Since both had developed outside the model which was in use in England, both were pillars of Scottish identity, and each helped to mold Scottish society and dictate the values with which society was instilled.

It is necessary to determine how the Union, one of the defining moments in Scottish history, directly affected the Scottish people. Although the Union itself has been widely studied, its impact is comparatively underrepresented; most Scottish historians focus on the eighteenth century as a whole or concern themselves only with the period after the Battle of Culloden in 1746.¹ Previous studies have focused on three main aspects: social, political, or economic. In the process of studying these aspects, historians tend to investigate Scotland as a whole or concentrate on the Lowlands. Very few scholars focus on the Highlands of Scotland, and the research that has been conducted, concerning the eighteenth-century Highlands, tends to be incorporated in the discussion of Scotland, almost as an afterthought. The discussion of the social and political changes in Scotland during the eighteenth century is often broken down into several categories: the political management of Scotland, the movement of people, and Scotland in Parliament. Within this area of study, there are two predominate ideological poles, the pro-English and the pro-Scottish. The pro-English standpoint focuses on the economic gains and new opportunities that became available to Scotland after the Union, and tend to view Scotland—and the Highlands in particular—as backwards. The pro-Scottish standpoint tends to focus on the loss of power in Scotland, the under-representation of Scots in Parliament, the management of Scotland by a few officials, rather than by the traditional Scottish institutions, or

the feeble attempts of Parliament in London to stimulate the economy. This thesis attempts to combine both sides of the debate.

Given that the Highlands contained approximately half the population of Scotland at the turn of the eighteenth century, it must be recognized that they are underrepresented in the historical debate surrounding the Union of 1707. In order to give Highlanders a voice in the historical record, the consequences of the Union of Parliament, for the Highlands, must be debated. This thesis will examine the socio-economic impact of the Union of 1707 on the Highlands of Scotland. It will be guided by the premise that the economy of the Highlands and the social structure are interwoven and inseparable. The pastoral economy of the Highlands was supported by the clan structure and the economy supported the semi-feudal familial clan.

The examination of the Highlands in the eighteenth century has been divided into several key areas, by chapter: the structure of the clan itself, including the education and religious systems of Scotland in the context of the Highlands, the political ramifications of the Union, the economy of the Highlands, and the migration patterns of the Highlanders. These areas are those in which transformation would have had the most profound impact, on both the Highlands and Scottish society as a whole. They deserve serious consideration. The division into these areas allows for a more complete analysis of the impact of the Union, and it provides a wider overview of the Highlands in the eighteenth century, than has previously been attempted.

To begin to understand the Highlands of the eighteenth century and the impact of the Union, it is impossible to ignore the “clans.” Without studying the clans, a

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major socio-economic structure in the Highlands, the true impact of the first forty years of Union cannot be established. It is within this framework, set up in Chapter One, that all other aspects must be connected and considered. To understand the clan, a clear definition must first be established. In the context of this work, the clan is defined as a group of people who feel they belong to a larger familial community. While the actual familial connections may not have existed, it is the perceived sense of family that bound the clansman into the larger community. In this context, proto-nationalistic tendencies developed a sense of unity among the members of the clan, whether or not they ever actually met. The foundation myths, such as the Fairy Flag of Dunvegan of the MacLeods of Skye, the pipe ballads, played on the Great Highland Bagpipes, the language, Gaelic, that separated the Highlands from the Lowlands, the religion, and even the naming system of the clan created the sense of community, either real or imagined, which defined the clans. The clans were also unified by “distinct ideology of behavior,” both “feasting and feuding.” Changes in clan society can be linked to the Union and its aftermath. Chapter One attempts to determine how the clan structure evolved over the eighteenth century and what aspects can be linked to the Union. Crucial factors of the clan system which need to be examined are the powers of the chief and his role: how the powers evolve and

7 The fairy flag of Dunvegan is said to have been given to the McLeod’s of Skye by the mother of one of their chiefs who also happened to be a fairy Princess. To protect her son after she had to return to the fairy world, she left a pink blanket with her son. It is said that if unfurled as a flag and flown over the McLeods in battle they can not be defeated but it can only be used three times.
8 Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006). Two naming systems coexist within a clan, the patrimonial, and the use of a common last name. In the first, the son uses his name followed by his father’s and his grandfather’s. This first system is familial. In the second, the clansmen tend to take the last name of their Chief, such as MacQuarrie. This second system gives the clan a common identity and provides the sense of unity similar to the modern sense of patriotism. If modern America were to use this system, some would use “American” as a last name.
change over the course of the first half of the century and whether or not the chief moved away from the tradition patriarchal role towards that of a landlord. In addition to the powers and responsibilities of the chief the structure of the clan needs to be examined, in order to determine whether the Union altered the relationship between the chief and his clansmen and the social hierarchy. Prior to the eighteenth century, the chief was related to the tacksman, who acted as the middleman between the chief and the clan members. The clan values themselves are key indications of how valued the structure was by those within and the context of the work will be examined ideally to reveal whether or not the system was changing over the first half of the eighteenth century, and if possible link any change to the Union. The Gaelic language, traditional in the clans and a crucial part of their identity, is one indicator which will be used to determine the impact of the Union on the Highlands. From this basis the other areas of interest can be interpreted.

The political ramifications that manifested themselves immediately after the signing of the Union will be examined in Chapter Two. This topic is divided into several subsections: the Parliamentary representation of Scotland after the Union, the legislation made by the new Parliament in London, the Power of the local Magnates, and the relationship between the Highlands and the executive branch in Scotland.

10 As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary:

“One who holds a tack or lease of land, a watermill, coal-mines, fisheries, tithes, customs, or anything farmed or leased; a lessee; esp. in the Highlands, a middleman who leases directly from the proprietor of the estate a large piece of land which he sublets in small farms. 1775 JOHNSON W. Isl., Ostig, Next in dignity to the laird is the Tacksman. 1791 T. NEWTE Tour Eng. & Scot. 125 The Tacksmen of the Highlands were usually descendants of those heads of families of whom they held their lands. 1794 Sporting Mag. III. 50 Mr. Richard Graham, tacksman of the fishery of J. C. Curwen. 1814 SCOTT Wav. xx, Tacksmen, as they were called, who occupied portions of his estate as lessees. 1887 Times (weekly ed.) 25 Feb. 9/3 In Munster or Connaught, the tacksmen who covenanted directly with the lairds might deal as they pleased with their sub-tenants.” From Oxford University Press. "Oxford English Dictionary." (Place Published: Oxford University Press.), http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl
Discussion of these areas will seek to demonstrate how the power structure in Scotland changed after the Union and how the role of the Highlands was diminished in the political sphere, despite Scotland’s position, within the larger Union, as a semi-autonomous entity. Although, prior to the Union, the nobles of the Highlands were entitled to sit in Parliament, after the Union they were demoted to limited representation, which substantially reduced the power of the Highlands. It is imperative to determine how legislation passed by Parliament—or the lack thereof—helped or hurt the Highlander and his chief. It is vital to examine, in addition to the power structure provided by Parliament, the local power structure and the power changes of the magnates, chiefs, and lords of the Highlands. Historically, these groups had played significant roles—from sheriffs to judges—in the governing of the Highlands. The relationship of the clans with the executive branch is also of vital significance to the power hierarchies of the Highlands, supplying traditional patronage and an arena for the participation in the Government of Scotland, which the Scottish nobility craved. The dissolution of the Privy Council, the advisory body which essentially helped govern Scotland after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, created a void that needed to be filled by a new office to allow for Scottish participation in the management of Scotland.

The Scottish economy, in the dual contexts of the clan system, and in greater Scottish society, experienced changes in response to the Union, the main goals of which ostensibly were to aid Scotland financially. This issue will be examined in Chapter Three. During the course of the eighteenth century the Scottish economy experienced vast improvements, as the country became unprecedentedly valuable to
the British Empire as a trade entity. In the course of examining this surge of productivity, it is imperative to examine the changes which took place within the Highlands, what changes were made to the agricultural techniques and yields, what types of industry became relevant within the Highlands, and what was contributed to the trade of the country. These are the pressing questions which need to be answered to determine the economic influence, of the Union of 1707, on the Highlands.

A wide variety of resources are used in this thesis to help accomplish the analysis and expand the historiography of the Union, in relation to the Highlands. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the archivists at the National Archives of Scotland. They helped provide access to documents, including personal correspondence between high ranking officials, and family documents now stored at the Archives. In addition, several travel journals and collections of tales translated from Gaelic, and eighteenth-century descriptions of the Highlands and their people from southern points of view were used to provide a well rounded view of the Highlands. The vast majority of the archival documents pertained to the economy of Scotland, including shipping manifests, and records of imports and exports. Estate papers describing the workings of, and improvements to the farms of the Highlands, have also provided insight into the impact of the Union on the Highlands. Despite the wide economic and political sources available, however, there are gaps in the primary research, mainly pertaining to the relationship between the chief and his people. Where the primary research falls short, this thesis attempts to compile and analyze the existing secondary works, which, it must be noted, only briefly mention the Highlands.
The origins and the history of Scotland must be understood to fully investigate the relationship between Highland and the Lowlands, and the impact of the Union of 1707, due to the complex, conflict ridden relationship between the Highlands and the rest of mainland Britain. The origins of the Scottish nation, like the origins of the clans, are clouded in myth. There is much considerable dispute as to when the Kingdom of Scots was formed. The most widely believed “foundation myth” of Scotland is that Kenneth MacAlpine (reigned 843-58) unified the Picts (a tribe that lived in the Highlands) and the Scots, who lived north of firths, large estuaries, of the Forth and the Clyde, which currently divide Scotland, geographically. It also can be argued that Malcolm II could be the first King of Scots in modern terms, when it is taken into consideration that under his reign, he assumed control of all of what is now mainland Scotland, extending his power from the firths to the Tweed. All future kings tried to establish a link directly to Kenneth to validate their claim to the throne. This symbolism is the crucial factor in establishing Kenneth as the first King of Scots. The legend claims that Kenneth was the first to move the capital of Alba, as the early Scots called it, to Scone, near Perth, in what used to be the Pictish Kingdom. Like the clans themselves, the myth of the first King of Scots involves powerful symbols of national identity, which helped create the idea of the Scottish people. Kenneth MacAlpine, upon moving his capital to Perth, supposedly brought with him a coronation stone, which is now referred to as the Stone of Destiny or the Stone of Scone. Upon this stone, all Kings from Kenneth to Robert the Bruce (1306) were crowned while seated upon the stone—a symbolic gesture conferring on them a

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mythical connection to Kenneth MacAlpine, the first King of Scots. Whether or not
Kenneth was actually the first King of Scots, he is viewed as the symbolic father of
Scotland by many, including those who actually ruled Scotland, making him
symbolically more central than Malcolm II, the myth is more important than reality.

Scottish history revolves around conflict, from the Norman-Gaelic clash,
supposedly started by St. Margaret, to the Anglo-Scottish wars, but the internal
Norman-Gaelic conflict would divide the Kingdom most grievously. During the
eleventh century, St. Margaret, of Norman descent, came north to marry the king of
Scots. She brought her Catholic ideals with her as well as her desire to spread the
Catholic faith in Scotland. This introduction of a non-Celtic church laid the ground
work for Normanization of Scotland during the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{12} The introduction of
Norman barons and Lords, during the twelfth century, and beyond, had drastic
influences, and the older Celtic lines in the Lowlands began to die out or decrease in
prominence as time progressed. A key visualization of this process can be seen after
the end of the Dunkeld dynasty in Scotland.\textsuperscript{13} After the death of Alexander III
(reigned 1249-86), three of the following dynasties in Scotland were the descendents
of Norman barons. The introduction of the Norman lords created the opportunity for
a split to develop between the Gaelic speaking Celtic Highlanders and the Anglo-
Saxon Lowlands.

\textsuperscript{12} Normanization is used here to describe the way the Norman barons, such as the Stewarts, the Bruces,
the Comyns, were introduced in the twelfth century to the Scottish Lowlands, pushing back the Gaelic
language, along with the Catholic Church which doomed the Celtic Church of Columba. Margaret’s
arrival and birth of subsequent children pushed the heirs from the previous marriage of Malcolm III out
\textsuperscript{13} Duncan I was the maternal grandson of Malcolm II the last of the House of Alpin of Kenneth I.
From "Kings and Queens of Scotland to 1603, Duncan I," http://www.royal.gov.uk/output/Page94.asp.
This split, which undeniably developed between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders, is evidenced by anti-clan legislation, and the rift between the King of Scots and the clans. James IV, the last Gaelic-speaking King of Scots, died on the fields of Flodden in 1513. In a country in which half the population spoke Gaelic and which was ruled by a line of Kings descended from Celtic Highlanders, it seems rather strange that the Kings of Scots no longer tried to communicate directly with a large percent of the population. In the sixteenth century, the geographical divide expanded to become an increasingly cultural one as well. The split presents itself clearly in the attempts of the Scottish monarchs to address the ‘Highland Problem’ and in the anti-clan acts and military expeditions into the Highlands. Since the middle of the 1400’s, Scottish Kings sought to extend their control and personal power over the Highlands by reducing the amount of feuding and infighting among the clans. The prime example of this is James III and his son James IV when they broke apart the Lordship of the Isles and reduced the power of the Clan Donald.

The problem of succession has been a continuous theme throughout the majority of Scottish history, including the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the Alpin dynasty, the crown passed between two fighting branches of the family of Kenneth, often leading to the assassinations of other possible heirs. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the problem of succession took a more religious bent. During the sixteenth century, both Scotland and England became Protestant nations, the former by popular revolt and the latter by royal decree.

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In England the Church was headed by the King, and maintained the structure of the old Catholic Church, while in Scotland, where the religious philosophy was quite different since some Scots believed a general assembly should determine church doctrine. These differences created the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. Because the Church of England was headed by the king, it is reasonable to assume that it would have been especially awkward, spiritually, to have a Catholic King as the head of a Protestant church. In 1685, James VII and II, was crowned as the last Catholic King of Great Britain. His religious beliefs and autocratic style of government lead to the Glorious Revolution and his replacement by his daughter Anne and her Protestant husband William. William and Mary ruled jointly as Protestant monarchs. After James VII, fled the country to France, attempts were made by William and Mary to secure the complete loyalty of Scotland. The problem with the succession of William and Mary, in Scotland, was that many felt bound by duty to support the deposed James VII and II. The chiefs, for example, would not take an oath of allegiance to the new monarchs without being released from their previous oath, by James. James’ supporters became labeled as Jacobites.

While many assume that government actions against the Highlands are solely product of the Union and of English racism, legislation and proclamations against the Highlands had been issued by distinctly Scottish Governments and monarchs long before the Union. One of the more famous incidents of Government action against the Highlands was the Glen Coe massacre. The massacre was ordered in an attempt

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15 The Church of Scotland is also referred to as the Kirk.
18 Pryde, *Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day*, 47.
to coerce those Highlanders who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the William and Mary, the new King and Queen of Scots to do so. This action took place in February of 1692 fifteen years before the Union. But the incident galvanized many Highlanders against the new monarchy and it can be argued paved the way for the Jacobitism, of the eighteenth century, which caused major rebellions in 1715, and 1745.

The circumstances surrounding the Union of 1707 indicate the feelings and fears of Westminster. The key motivation for England in the ratification of the Union was to secure a Protestant succession. This posed a major problem for the United Kingdom, as the next logical heir following the death of Queen Anne would have been a Catholic Stuart descendant of James VII, II. The religious Reformation in the British Isles in part alludes to why England feared having a Catholic monarch, and at the same time Scotland did not mind securing the succession of a Protestant King. Since the Reformation in England by Henry VIII in the 1530’s, the Church of England had been headed by the King or Queen of England. The Reformation was started by the King and the form the new Church of England took was very similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church. It contained bishops and archbishops; the only difference is that in England the King was the head of the Church rather than the Pope. In this form of Protestantism, it would be very precarious even to have the head of the Church be a Catholic. In Scotland however a rather different type of Protestantism was present. Scotland had been influenced by Calvinists, such as John Knox. In Scotland the Reformation was carried out through a revolt by the Protestant nobles. The Church of Scotland, the Kirk, was governed by the General Assembly
(the highest court in the Church of Scotland), not bishops. The separation of the Church in England from that in Rome later fueled severe anti-Catholic sentiment in England. By the eighteenth century Catholic France and Protestant England had fought a “series of successive wars,” leading to additional hatred of the other religion. Two famous massacres, the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre of 1572, and the Irish “Massacres of 1641,” confirmed that Catholics were dangerous. The anti-Catholic sentiment manifested itself in the legalized discrimination which barred Catholics from public service well into the nineteenth century. Little difference is seen in the attitudes of the two main Protestant groups in Great Britain (the Church of England and the Church of Scotland) despite their ideological differences. Both in Scotland and in England, the Catholics were feared and distrusted.

This fear and mistrust felt towards Catholics helped foster the stereotype of the Highlander during the eighteenth century, one which portrays the Highlander as a clannish, barbaric, Catholic, who steals, fights, and is essentially sub-human. The eighteenth century perception of the Highlander is that the entire population of the Highlands were members of a clan. Even government officials saw the Highlander as a creature of “lazyness and ignorance.” There are numerous cartoon portrayals of

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

21 Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, 20.
22 ———, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, 19.
23 The Queen of Great Britain is both a member of the Church of Scotland and the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and interesting paradox. "Queen and Church of Scotland," http://www.royal.gov.uk/output/page4709.asp.
24 Letter from Grange to Islay dated December 29 1724 (National Archives of Scotland GD124/12/1263).
the unsophisticated nature of the Highlander.\textsuperscript{25} The view of the clan as a military unit is best described as a “veritable army under command of the chief in these fierce warrior people.”\textsuperscript{26} The Highlands were misunderstood as little of the Highlanders spoke any English.\textsuperscript{27} Taking the history of Scotland into consideration, the post Union Highlands can be viewed.

It is in this context of the stereotype of the Highlander, and the history of Scotland, that the impact of the Act of Union on the Highlands must be judged. The Union may not have been an inevitable result of the course of Scottish history, but the context in which the Union was signed and the views of the Highlands dictate the possible outcomes of the Union in Scotland and specifically the Highlands. The study of the changes in Highland society, the elimination of the majority of the government apparatus in Scotland, the economic desires, and the flight or expulsion of the Highlanders to the Lowlands, towns, England, and the Empire will begin to yield some conclusions regarding the consequences of the Union of 1707.

\textsuperscript{26} Letter from Grange to Islay dated December 29 1724 (National Archives of Scotland GD124/12/1263).
\textsuperscript{27} A. J. Youngson, \textit{Beyond the Highland Line; Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton} (London: Collins, 1974), 13.
Map of the Burghs of Scotland in 1707\textsuperscript{28}

The Geographic Regions of Scotland

Notes to the Reader

In order to retain the integrity of the in-text citations, from the eighteenth century onward, the spelling inaccuracies, and the odd grammatical idiosyncrasies have been reproduced in their original form to give the writer or speaker their full agency.

It also should be noted that when archival sources are used, as much of the available information is reproduced. The attempt has been made to provide as much information regarding the archival document as possible. For further clarification, the National Archives of Scotland call number has been, reproduced in an effort to facilitate further research.
CHAPTER ONE

THE CLANS:

THE RENTION OF OLD HIGHLAND STRUCTURES

In the hundred and twenty years following the Union of Parliaments, the clans of the Scottish Highlands witnessed the destruction of their way of life, as well as the death of the clan system. Although many scholars argue that the demise of the clans began with the final Jacobite uprising (1745-1746) and the retaliatory measures it provoked—such as a new disarming act, the proscription of the kilt and tartan, and the removal of the Heritable Jurisdictions (the traditional right to prosecute criminals on a lord’s land), it can be argued that the clan system began to disintegrate following the Union of 1707. The death of the clans started much earlier than the clearances, or the dismantling following the 1745 uprising. Facets of clan life—from the role of the chief to the constant warring of the clans—had begun to evolve by the beginning of the eighteenth century, but despite the chiefs’ movement away from the traditional clan system, there were certain values that clansmen themselves continued to hold strongly throughout the eighteenth century. These retained values may have even influenced clansmen’s patterns of emigration and migration.

1. Structure: Clan Life: Outmoded Patriarchy or Viable Communal Living

Although many eighteenth-century non-Highlanders saw the clan structure as simple, however, in actuality, the relationship between clan members was complex,
the distribution of power was not held entirely by one man. In the Highland clan system, the first structural division of the clan was its branches, or septs, headed by a chieftain (a lesser chief). The sept, within a clan, was a junior branch; its chieftain was customarily the descendent of a second son or close relative of one of the chiefs, the hereditary leader of the clan, and had been established on another estate, or through marriage had obtained lands of another smaller clan which then became incorporated into the larger clan. Thus the relationship between the septs and the chief was ancestral in nature, and extended the chief’s power by expanding his area of influence and increasing his military capabilities, and helped create the sense of community between different geographic locations.31 The septs did not have to be in the same geographic vicinity as the main clan. What mattered was that they could trace their heritage back to the current main branch. In some cases if the chief of the main line died without a direct heir, the next senior chieftain (head of a sept) would replace him. As the key relationship between the main branch and each sept was that of a common ancestry, the heads of the septs were expected to support the head of the clan, extending the chief’s power from his immediate lands, the more men the chief could field the more powerful and respected he was.32 If a clan had septs, the clan could defend itself against the larger incursions. Septs also helped reinforce the idea of community among various clan members and formed a bond between clansmen. It is this bond that the British Government, both in Scotland and in London, recognized and needed to break in order to bring the Highlands under control of Great Britain.

32 Dodgshon, From Chiefs to Landlords, 45.
The sense of common ancestry perpetuated by the interaction of sept and clan, mimics the relationship between the chief and the tacksman allowing the clan to perform its basic duties—the feasting and the feuding—and traditionally organized the economy of the clan. The bond between the tacksman, the middleman of the clan system, and chief in many of the smaller clans was essentially identical to that of the chief to the septs of the clan as a whole. Tacksmen were usually related to the chief through some close familial relationship and oftentimes were from the cadet families—lesser relatives—of the clan.33 By allowing the tacksman to act as a middleman who rented the land to the subtenants that formed the majority of the clan’s members, the chieftain of a small clan did two things: first, he provided for some of his family and allowed them to act as petty-chiefs in their own right, and second, he secured his ability to wage warfare. The creation of a second class of society free from direct labor represents a service class who were supposed to serve in a military capacity for the chief, expanding the ability of the clan to wage war. In this manner, the structure of the clan was partially designed with military operations in mind.

While the bellicose nature of the clan remained, the structure of the clan changed drastically after the Union. The historian R.H. Campbell argues that the structure of the warrior clan is reflected in its economy, with tacksmen, the middlemen in the leasing hierarchy, acting as the armed presence for the chief.34 The tacksmen formed the core of the military man-power as they were above the cottars,

33 ———, *From Chiefs to Landlords*. 89.
the subtenants, and were more free to leave the land in order to go campaigning.\(^{35}\)

Despite the continuance of this structure, the Dukes of Argyll as Chiefs of the Clan Campbell began to change their leasing tendencies and represent a decrease in the importance of the clan for the chief, and are the forerunners of an overwhelming trend.\(^{36}\) The Dukes of Argyll began to see their land as a source of cash revenue, and not as the property of the Clan Campbell. The leases of the tacksman went to people outside the clan and were more cash-orientated.\(^{37}\) This pattern suggests that values and loyalties at the top of the clan system were beginning to disintegrate, as the leaders of the clan became British, rather than Scottish. It can be argued that prestige became more valued, by chiefs, on a national scale than on the local level. This process was accelerated after the Union with the expansion of the cattle industry and this issue will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter Three.

Historians often underestimate many traditions of the Highlands as tools for the creation of the sense of family which bound the clan together in a common identity. Fosterage practice, for example, entailed sending the sons of the chief to live with another family which sometimes belonged to another clan but most often to the family of a tacksman. This practice both helped to ensure the loyalty of the tacksman, binding him more closely to the chief by giving him the honor of raising the clan’s future leader, and contributed to the bonding of future soldiers. The foster brothers of the chief formed his inner circle, and they often acted as his lieutenants.


during campaigns. Fosterage was rewarded by the chief, and he provided his son’s new family with a considerable amount of compensation for the honor. The clansmen considered fostering to be a tremendous honor because it re-affirmed the family nature of the clan. The foster family became an extension of the chief’s family. The practice of fostering was continued into the eighteenth century, continuing the “fictive” relationship between clansmen. By fostering out the sons of the chief, a cadre of clan officers that improved the military capabilities of the clan was formed. By having the young men grow up together, the clan succeeded in bonding them more closely providing an effective fighting force. Presumably with the increased landlordism of the Dukes of Argyll, the practice of fosterage became increasingly rare as the relevance of clan life to the Dukes decreased.

As the economic role of the chiefs began to evolve, the Union helped accelerate the structural changes of the clan. The tacksmen’s role began to change as they began to be phased out. The perceived economic need to increase the revenue from the land to support the lifestyles of the nobility, such as the Dukes of Argyll, affected the emigration patterns of the Highlanders, as will be discussed later. This demise of the tacksman, as a member of the clan, is representative of the break in the direct relationship between the chief and his people. This loss represents the first step towards the dismantling of the clan system.

2. The Chieftain: the Chieftain’s True Role, Landlord or Patriarch?

Contrary to contemporary views, the power of the chief was derived from the foundation myth not the land, which allowed the chief to retain powers long lost by other British landowners into the eighteenth century. It is from these tales of heroics, like those of the ancient Kings of Scots, that the chiefs of Highland Scotland drew their power. The chief or chieftain was able to command tremendous respect because he was the past’s representative; he was the charismatic ruler who held his title and his power by the sword. The chief’s traditional role as guardian was to look after his people and safeguard their land.40 The clan members in turn were supposed to assist each other in times of need, much the same way as an extended family might today. This support structure made the landed chieftains an especially dominate force, both in times of peace or in war. The chieftains, as part of their rights, had the power of jurisdiction over their land, serving, since medieval time, as the judges for crimes committed by their tenants on their land.41 The chieftain could levy fines against offenders or have them executed if the crime was deemed heinous enough.42 The heritable jurisdictions of the clan chiefs were deemed to be a central pillar of the rights of the clan chief, and the rights were protected in Act of Union, by article XX, until the abolition of the jurisdictions following the last Jacobite uprising in 1745.43

42 A chieftain even had the power of the gallows over tenants accused of various crimes, including theft or murder, but this trend seems to have died out in the 1720’s. For example, the last time a chief of the Macleod Clan hanged anyone was 1728. T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (New York.: Scribner, 1969), 336.
This jurisdiction parallels the paternal feature of the chief—the ability to punish his clansmen as a father might discipline his children, and was protected and legalized by the Union.

Despite the opinion that the clans were weakening during the seventeenth century, before the Union, the power and prestige of the chief indicates that clan values and traditions were still maintained throughout the eighteenth century. Highlanders, throughout the eighteenth century, respected their chiefs and held them in very high regard, as demonstrated by their actions and their unique linguistic tendencies. There are accounts of the funerals of chiefs even in the nineteenth century, being bourn to their graves on the shoulders of their clansmen, who considered it an honor to carry their deceased chieftain, in one final act of loyalty and respect. In one instance, one clan’s members refused to let a horse-drawn hearse take their chief’s casket to his grave. Instead they carried him like they had for hundreds of years, and were furious when the use of a hearse was suggested. It was considered the highest honor to bear the chief to his final resting place, and they would have shamed the clan if none had been willing to lay their chief—the father of their clan—in his grave. The love of the chief by the Highlander is confirmed by contemporary sources from outside the Highlands. In addition to the formal practices and displays of chiefly respect, the clansman’s reverence for his chief is represented in the linguistic traditions of the clans. It was commonplace for clansmen

44 The distance is not noted but is assumed to be of sufficient distance to make the use of a hearse much more practical.
to swear sacred oaths “by the hand of their chief” or to exclaim “may God be with the chief,” or “may the chief be uppermost,” after some accident. From these linguistic tendencies, the notions that the chief is as sacred as the Bible, and is as powerful as or more powerful than the sovereign become apparent. The Highlander’s view is clear: his chief is subject to no one. This demonstrates how clansmen respected their chieftains and continued to view them in the traditional, familial manner that they had for centuries.

Although the commonly accepted view of the chief is that his primary role was that of a military leader, it can be argued that the first role of chief was to perpetuate a vital aspect of Highland society—the feast. The feast is considered by some historians to be a central pillar of the Highland society. In an area marked by extreme economic poverty and hardship, the feast displayed both the “lavishness” of the chief as a host and the wealth of the clan. The feast allowed the clan to celebrate in spectacular fashion, and much of the apparatus of the clan was designed to support the feasting. A pre-Union example of a Highland feast comes from the MacLeods. In 1613, MacLeod of Dunvegan held a six-day feast to honor the marriage between his son and the daughter of the Captain of Clanranald, a major conglomerate of minor clans. The extent and extravagance of the feast demonstrated the wealth of the clan, demanded respect, and cemented political unions. These displays could impress potential political allies, help increase the

47 Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line; Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton*, 17.
48 Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*.
49 ———, "'Pretense of Blude' and 'Place of Thair Duelling': The Nature of Scottish Clans, 1500-1745," 189.
50 ———, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 84.
social stature of the clan, and possibly prevent any major raids against them. Feasts would have helped cement new alliances and celebrate military victories, and were the forums for many of the cultural aspects of the clan system. A chief’s retinue sometimes included bards, poets, other musicians, and clan historians, who would recount the great feats of the clan. It was in these forums that the great oral tales of the clan were passed down and performed, perpetuating the proto-nationalism of the clan, which remained untouched by the Union throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. The bounty for the feast came, in large part, from the game of the clan lands; venison, fish, and various water fowl provided most of the fare for the feasts. The quality and quantity of the game was essential for the feasts and its availability would have been a prime concern, even well into the eighteenth century. The necessity of securing game is evidenced by the lease of the Forest of Fascich in Cromartie, near Inverness. In 1732, the woods were leased and the agreement included a clause about hunting a yearly quota of deer, in which the lessee is allowed to take a negotiable number of deer for feasts. The feast was an essential part of clan life, demonstrating the clan’s ability to provide for itself and as a celebration of the clan itself. The pride of the clan depended on such feasts: without them, the clan was little better than the broken clans, those that had no land because, they could not provide for their own members in the traditional sense. The persistence of feasting demonstrates that the clans were not solely military structures, even though the feast had some connection to the military side of the clan. The prevalence of the feast and

52 Dodgshon, From Chiefs to Landlords, 86.
its centrality in Highland culture indicates that the militant stereotype is not entirely accurate.

The stereotypical views of the Highland chief in modern times and in eighteenth century thought are arguably based in truth: the second major function of the chief was that of a military leader. During the first half of the eighteenth century the role became more legitimized and a part of the British Empire. As part of his traditional, patriarchal role, the chief led his clan on the field of battle and maintained an armed presence in order to defend the clan from raids by other clans. This aspect of Highland clan society did not diminish until after the disastrous Jacobite rising in 1745, and the subsequent proscriptions on traditional Highland dress and the ability of the Highlander to bear arms. Despite the attempt to disarm the Highlands following the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, however, the chiefs still maintained their military presence. After the final defeat of the Jacobites in 1746, the bellicose nature of the Highlander was still fostered by their chiefs, although not for the protection of the clan itself, but in order to gain acceptance through the armed forces by forming the Highland Regiments in the British Army, as they had done since the 1720’s. Many Highland chiefs and lords established regiments for service in the empire. The prime example of the use of Highland regiments is service in India. Highlanders were recruited to defend the colonies in areas which were considered dangerous like Georgia, in the American colonies, as well, continuing the military tradition of the clans, and thus legitimized their warrior ways.

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53 ———, From Chiefs to Landlords, 87-88.
54 Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745, 167.
55 ———, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745, 164.
Contrary to the traditional view that the clan system began its demise after the final defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden, the clan system in many ways began to change at the turn of the eighteenth century—an evolution the Union helped accelerate. The chief’s role began to contract as he became increasingly a landowner and landlord rather than a patriarch. Starting at the turn of the eighteenth century, the Dukes of Argyll, the Chief of the Clan Campbell, saw the land of the clan as personal property and tried to maximize revenues from it, breaking the clan link between themselves and the tacksman. It can be argued that despite the changing economic role of the patriarch, the symbolic role of patriarch, played by the chief, was protected by the Union and recognized by the people of the Highlands, as well as the rest of Great Britain, but not necessarily as a beneficial power. The role of the Highland chief was protected by the Union; landowners were permitted to retain their pre-Union powers of the pit and gallows, which were only abolished after the 1746 and the final defeat of the Jacobites.

3. Clan Warfare: Savage Ethos or Viable Way of Life

The government in London, despite its lack of understanding of the warrior nature of the clan, cultivated the militarism for its own political ends, allowing the armies of the Highlands to serve the empire. In 1688, the Clan Donald and the Mackintoshes met in battle. The two clans were fighting over the rights to the Clan Donald’s land. The Scottish Government had given the Mackintoshes a deed and title to the land, and the Clan Donald refused to give up the rights to their land, and fought
to defend it. This was the last clan battle, and represents the end of the inter-clan war, and only minor feuding remained to uphold the Highland mystique. Viscount Dundee, the leader of the first Jacobite Uprising in 1689 feared for his inexperienced troops, demonstrating the general lack of combat experience in the generation before the Union. This end to the major wars demonstrates that by the eighteenth century, the clans had already been pacified to some extent, which calls into question Westminster’s desire to pacify the clans as anything but a political move for security.

It was in this context that the Government of Great Britain called upon the clans to serve militarily. During the first major post-Union Jacobite uprising many clan regiments and companies served in the army against the rebel forces. In this manner, the militarism of the Highlands was encouraged to evolve and to serve the Union and the Empire it created, thus legitimizing a traditional aspect of the Highland system and allowing for its ultimate survival in a new form.

While the militarism of the Highlands had decreased dramatically, the cattle raiding, which was seen as barbaric, was highly ritualized and carried out with full regard to the Highland concept of honor. This major aspect of clan warfare was the traditional feuding, which provided a stage for young clansmen to gain recognition for their military valor and offered a way to supplement the income of the clan by increasing its movable wealth, horses, sheep, and cattle—while simultaneously increasing the clan’s honor. In the case of many young Highlanders, they had to prove they were worthy of their station within the clan by “some hazardous

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exploit.” While scorned by much of the rest of Scotland, the raids arguably were timed to supplement the income of the area and to help provide food for the winters: the raiding parties were sent out under the Michaelmas moon, September to October, which corresponded to fall harvest. The feuding and raiding was aimed solely at other clans, and reiving, as cattle raids was referred to in the Highlands, was considered forbidden and heinous if it was against fellow clan members. This would bring dishonor on the clan and the family since the clansman would be seen as stealing from his own family. The family’s honor was paramount and this act of thievery would not be tolerated, and indicates the Highland view that raiding was an honorable activity as long as it was carried out within the traditional manner.

Oftentimes the practice of protecting one’s personal honor by force was interpreted, by outsiders, as a lawless system in which the goal was to destroy the victim rather than to right former wrongs. Despite the warfare conducted among feuding clans, certain rules were adhered to regarding the ethical nature of the feuding, and certain traditions were maintained. In the Highland system, the constant feuding which was encouraged by the chief was deemed acceptable and perfectly honorable. In most instances, the raids were often retaliatory in nature, acting against those who had previously raided. This was seen as the honorable course of action. The sense of honor in the Highlands and the Lowlands differed, and very often lead to misunderstandings between the two groups. This feeling was prevalent even during the 1720’s, when General Wade wrote to the Government:

Their Notions of Virtue and Vice are very different from the more civilized parts of Mankind. They think it a most Sublime Virtue to pay a Servile and Abject Obedience to the Commands of their Chieftains, altho’ in opposition to their Sovereign and the Laws of the Kingdom, and encourage this, their Fidelity, they treated by their Chiefs with great Familiarity, they partake with them in their Diversions, and shake them by the Hand wherever they meet […] They have also a tradition amongst them that the Lowlands were in Ancient Times the Inheritance of their Ancestors, and therefore believe they have a right to commit Depredations whenever it is in their power to put them in execution.  

This helps to demonstrate the Highland belief that, when engaging in warfare of this nature, they were simply righting wrongs committed against them. Given the highly developed and distinct sense of honor prevalent amongst the Highlanders, it is not surprising that this is the view taken. The two honor systems of Scotland came into conflict and lead to the Highlands’ being viewed as backwards. It seems likely that they felt slighted by the royal line, which had broken away from the Celtic traditions many generations before.

Despite the theory that the Highlands became less militarized, the method used to assemble the clan for battle was the fiery-cross that retained its centrality into the nineteenth century. The clans’ time-honored tradition was a wooden cross with the ends of the horizontal piece burned or burning and draped with a cloth stained by the blood of a slain goat.  

Runners would carry the cross from glen to glen in order to call out the members of the clan. In ancient times, it was considered poor form not to turn out for the fiery cross and the defense of clan territory. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, most clan members who were not required to perform military service did not answer the call, although it seems that these

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62 ———, The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 28.
servicemen would have been a majority of the clan’s manpower. It is believed that the last clan to answer the call in the traditional manner took place in Glengarry, Canada in 1812-1813, to repel an American raid. The use of the fiery-cross in the colonies, demonstrates the new institutionalized militarism of the Highlands; the militarism which was fostered by Westminster after the Union of 1707. The use of the fiery-cross by Scottish emigrants and their chief in the colonies demonstrates the Highlanders’ adaptation to new areas and their general drive to sustain the culture of their former home.

4. Values: Social Constructs or Savage Medieval Backwardness

Highland society, even in the eighteenth century, was considered barbaric and cruel, as demonstrated by Sir Walter Scott’s description of Rob Roy as an “Ourang-Outangs,” when in actuality, despite the bellicose nature of the clan, the system was in some ways more supportive of the clan members than many towns and cities were of their citizens. The clan was, in the minds of the clansmen, a very large extended family; clansmen tended to look after one another in ways which were not seen in Lowland society at the time. The “idea of mutual responsibility and support, was of profound importance,” to the sense of “Clanship.” Clans such as the Macneills commonly replaced milk cows their tenants lost during especially severe winters and “accepted as life long guests in their own household tenants too old or too feeble to

63 Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 47.
64 Adam, The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 28.
65 Scott, Rob Roy, 152.
cultivate the ground any longer.”67 This familial bond suggests these types of actions to have been commonplace and sometimes expected of the chiefs. But the support of the poor was distinctly lacking in the Lowlands and attempts to address the situation by institutions often lacked the effectiveness of the Highland system.68 The desire of the chief to supply this level of “social security” demonstrates how strongly the chiefs believed in the sense of clan.

This system of social security contrasts starkly to that of the Lowlands and the burghs, demonstrating the more communal nature of the clans, which was not barbaric. The urban centers, during much of the eighteenth century, attempted to address the poor relief problem, through the Kirk and businesses, but in large part failed because of insufficient funds.69 In major cities such as Glasgow, there were three different options for poor relief: the poor hospitals, incorporations, or the church. These hospitals were not built for the sick in the medical sense; rather they were there to provide clothes, food, and shelter for the poor. The goal of the hospitals was the elimination of the poor through profitable enterprise by putting them to work.70 The hospitals also tried educating those who used their services to read the Bible. The incorporations (or guilds) of the cities could provide grants of up to ten shillings a month to those members who needed assistance.71 Any member of a corporation could go to the deacon of the organization and apply for assistance in times of extreme need. The provisions in place in the major cities often proved to be

69 Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Welfare; a Survey from Medieval Times to 1863, 176-78.
70 ———, The Dawn of Scottish Welfare; a Survey from Medieval Times to 1863, 178.
71 ———, The Dawn of Scottish Welfare; a Survey from Medieval Times to 1863, 176.
inadequate as the numbers of urban poor grew, exposing the weakness of the Lowland system. The trend in the devaluation of the clan would have reduced the Highland security network to the level of the Lowlands.

While most eighteenth century Scots understood the Highlanders to be little more than warlike barbarians, the Gaelic-speaking people of the Highlands had a diverse and broad culture defined by several key values. Honor was the most highly regarded value and its consideration was a mainstay in many attributes of clan life, which remained the case well into the eighteenth century. The centrality of honor in one’s life was a holdover from the feudal Medieval Ages and Renaissance and had diminished in significance in the Lowlands, but it retained a presence in the Highlands. In the case of the Highlands, honor can be seen as the pride in one’s heritage. In the family, honor is more highly regarded and defended than all other values, and the ancestors are often almost idolized in the eyes of a Highland man. In choosing a bride, a stainless ancestry, free of cowardice and criminality, was vital to what was considered a good match. This trait was often as vital as the wealth which a potential wife could bring into a marriage. In addition to the marriage practices of the Highlander, his aversion to criminals was brought about by his faith in familial credibility. The highest degree of dishonor was brought about by stealing from one’s own family. Evidence of the emphasis of honor can be found in Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland, written by Anne Grant in 1813. This work is of particular interest because its author, although raised in the Lowlands, spoke Gaelic and was descended from Highlanders, and expressed a particular

72 James Logan, The Scottish Gael (Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1833), 337.
understanding of the Highlands which an outsider might not ordinarily possess.\(^{74}\)

According to the author of *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, this profound sense of pride was not just a selfish feeling; it provided a moral fabric in which the individual was not a separate entity but part of a continuum—past present and future—which looked forward to the goals of the family.\(^{75}\) In addition, the feasting and feuding characteristics of the chief, as discussed earlier, also demonstrate the sheer magnitude of the sense of honor that envelopes clan society, because it is for the honor of the clan that these practices are in place. This is the characteristic that binds the individual to the clan and that permeates clan structure, defining the role of the chief and characterizing all other relationships.

It is likely that family values, which were high priorities for the Highlander, were fostered by the harsh conditions which Highlanders endured over centuries. Highlanders have been described as having an enduring attachment and close relationship with their wives and children.\(^{76}\) The romanticized traditional marriage was one of mutual respect; the husband would allow his wife freedom, as long as her actions did not call into question his honor and that of his children, and she paid him due respect. The stereotypical view is clearly portrayed to be quite different, “When an English Lady challenged an old Highland woman as to why her son-in-law was prepared to sit in full Highland dress watching his wife work in the fields, she retorted

\(^{74}\) Due to Anne MacVicar’s Highland connection the view of the Highlands presented in her work may be a romanticized one, which provides a picture in a more positive light than should be.

\(^{75}\) Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 38.

\(^{76}\) ———, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 37.
that it would undermine his status as a gentleman to do otherwise.”77 The relationship between husband and wife was often looked upon as sacred since it was the link with the future and the past of the clan.78 While the marriage bond was sacred in most if not all societies, marriage in the Highlands was crucial to the man’s sense of honor. The wife both represented the connection between the future generations which would carry on and defend the clan and connected her husband to the past generations. Traditionally, daughters of higher ranking clan members, such as the chieftains and chiefs, would marry within the clan while sons would try to marry outside the clan in order to expand and preserve the clan.79 The strength of the Highland marriages may have contributed to the emigration patterns of the Highlanders, who were four times more likely to emigrate as a family group than the English.80 In the Highlands during the eighteenth century, the possibility for marriage that benefited both parties economically was more common than one out of affection. It is through mutual respect that Highlanders worked for the good of the clan, and each other and they fostered a sense of community that was essential to the clan’s identity.

The combination of unflinching familial values and a highly developed sense of honor also led to the development of loyalty, the bond which tied together the members of the community. One of the clan’s values, highly respected by both Highlanders and Lowlanders, the highly-touted loyalty of the Highlander is often

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77 Dodgshon, “‘Pretense of Blude’ and ‘Place of Thair Duelling’: The Nature of Scottish Clans, 1500-1745,” 189.
78 Grant, Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland, 38.
79 It should be noted that this interpretation applies only if it is to be believed that most Highlanders married not for love and affection for one another but for the economic and social advancement for which many feudal marriages were conducted.
regarded as the clansman’s redeeming attribute. This loyalty, in part, allowed the Highlander to become a military expert renowned around the world. A contemporary Lowlander commented, “In the hour of danger it was their glory to evince the sincerity of their attachment, and rather than betray trust, they would suffer the most painful and ignominious trials.”81 It is the courage and loyalty of the Highlanders that make them highly valued members of the British armed forces. In areas notorious for danger, such as India or the frontier areas of the colonies, Highland regiments often endured some of the harshest conditions. It was the duty of the clansmen to serve his chief, and there was no greater honor, because the honor of one’s family and always clan came first.

Other traditions of Highland society, such as the notion of Highland hospitality, call into question the common belief that the Highlanders were uncivilized. There are numerous accounts of Highlanders providing feasts for guests. Traditionally the Highlander would feed their guests according to their station, but always provided fare for them. The guests, oftentimes, were given more to eat than the family of the chief. It was seen as the honorable action to take, and in many cases was expected even if it was an imposition upon the host. There is one such story in which an Irishman, visiting a Highland chief, takes offense at the Scottish rules of hospitality being infringed upon and challenges a man to a duel.82 In this tale, the offence is that one of the chieftain’s men sat with him and ate the best of the food and drink with him, as was highly frowned upon. Edward Burt, assistant to General Wade during the 1720’s, for example, has an account in which he describes a visit to

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81 Macleay, Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy, 30.
a chief who, as he put it, lived in little more than “a house hardly fit for one of our farmers of fifty pounds a year,” which was surrounded by out-buildings. The feast, along traditional lines, was made even though, as Burt noted, the chief’s family would likely starve for a month to make up for the expenditure. Whether or not the family had to starve to make up for the feast is irrelevant to the interpretation of the event, it is the perception that they were willing to starve, in order to make their guests feel welcome and keep them well fed, which is relevant. Highlanders’ willingness to self-sacrifice for the pleasure of their guests indicates their need to provide for others, as a matter of honor which remained a central feature in Highland society. Highland hospitality has continued to endure and has even been the subject of a modern children’s book. Part of the tradition of Highland hospitality was that of protection, highly valued in a society with a plethora of feuds and clan-warfare. In addition to feeding the guests, it was the chief’s job to make sure no harm befell visitors while they were his guests. One tale which has been passed down and recorded suggests that this practice comes from the clans of MacGregor and Lamont. The Chief of the Lamont murdered the son of a MacGregor chieftain who allowed the Lamont to go free after offering hospitality before hearing of the murder. This demonstrates that even in tremendously adverse situations, the laws of hospitality are followed. The rules of hospitality helped produce the overdeveloped sense of honor traditionally

83 Youngson, Beyond the Highland Line; Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton.
84 ———, Beyond the Highland Line; Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton, 67.
86 McHardy, The Well of the Heads and Other Tales of the Scottish Clans.
held by Highlanders through the rebellion of 1745 and were unchanged by the Act of Union.

While the role of the chief evolved and was cemented by the Act of Union, over the first half of the eighteenth century, the retention and legitimatization of the power of the chief allowed for the retention of the values of the clan. Although there may be exceptions to Highlanders’ upholding their traditional values, which were observed by visitors to the Highlands, the evidence suggests that the value system was maintained at least through the first half of the eighteenth century. It seems possible that the honor aspects, such as the choice of bride and the shunning of criminal acts, may have become more predominate as the feuding aspect of the clan lost its importance, even though the militarism flourished and would therefore have been linked to the Union. This system is what governed Highland society, and succeeded in partially remaining intact during the eighteenth century despite the changing role of the chief.

5. Language: The Impact of the Gaelic Language

The Gaelic language, one unifying factor of the clans, helped the clans form their identity within the greater British context of the eighteenth century. For the vast majority of the clans, except possibly the clans nearest the Highland line, the major tongue was Gaelic. By continuing to speak Gaelic, the language in which their poems and ballads were composed, the clan maintained a crucial link to its past and unified the people. There was much debate in the nineteenth century as to the origin of the
Gaelic language for the sake of determining the Scottish identity as a whole, which reveals that Gaelic was crucial to the identity of the clan.\textsuperscript{87} Gaelic divided Highlanders from the Lowlanders, and from the English: it made them different, and they took pride in that fact. Even some of the terms they used described Lowlander and English together. \textit{Sassenach}\textsuperscript{88} was used to describe all English-speaking people, the term not distinguishing between the Scots, Welsh, or English—the language they spoke was what defined them. The chiefs themselves, who tended to be educated in the Lowlands, still spoke Gaelic, and took pride in being bilingual. By continuing to speak Gaelic after the Union of 1707, which introduced English as the language of the schools in Scotland, the Highlanders made an effort to retain their language as one of their defining characteristic.

While the Gaelic had once been on the rise in Scotland, following the Union, it began its decline in part due to the educational systems in place in the Highlands. After the Union, there existed two types of schools in the Highlands, the parochial and the charity schools. The former had been established by pre-Union legislation in Scotland, and the later were the product of English investment in the educational system of the new northern territory. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), and its Scottish relative the SSPCK, started the charity schools in the Highlands in order to make up for the lack of parish schools in many areas.\textsuperscript{89} These schools, however, were taught exclusively in English and their goal was to educate the students enough to be able to read the Bible. In England, the goal of

\textsuperscript{87} William Ferguson, \textit{The Identity of the Scottish Nation : An Historic Quest} (Edinburgh: Endinbrugh University Press, 1998), 257.
\textsuperscript{88} Sassenach is a Gaelic term used for all English speakers. Derived from Saxon.
\textsuperscript{89} Smout, \textit{A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830}, 463.
education was the same. The increase of literacy of the general population for religious reasons was the goal well into the nineteenth century. This may have been a political move since the Westminster did provide some funding for the schools, and the SPCK was an English institution.\textsuperscript{90} It can be argued that without the Union it is unlikely that the SPCK would have become involved in the Highlands. Since the Bible, however, had not been translated into Gaelic the only way they could do so was to learn English and thus discourage the use of Gaelic.\textsuperscript{91} The founders of the SSPCK who were responsible for starting these schools had been horrified by the high illiteracy rate in the Highlands, and the old superstitions that were holdovers from the pagan practices from the pre-Christian times.

Despite the belief that the education system was vastly superior in Scotland, the charity schools in the Highlands compared equally with those in England, indicating that the Highland’s education system was not nearly advanced as other parts of Scotland and calls into question the ideological nature of the SPCK. In Scotland the SSPCK was an extension of the English organization the SPCK. During the eighteenth century, SPCK schools were established throughout England with a similar goal of educating the poor of England and teaching them to read and write.\textsuperscript{92} The SPCK’s involvement in the Highlands parallels the growth of imperialism in the nineteenth century. The teacher requirements set forth by the SPCK were quite strict

\textsuperscript{90} ———, \textit{A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830}, 464.
\textsuperscript{91} Some of the more Scottish nationalist historians might suggest that the SSPCK was designed to help government legislation to decrease the importance of the clan by bringing down some of the language barriers between the Lowlands and the Highlands and helped to create the identity of the Highlander as a separate part of society, which was a crucial part of their heritage and identity. Neil Davidson, \textit{The Origins of Scottish Nationhood} (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 140-43.
and they give some indication of the goals of the organization. A teacher was supposed to be:

1. A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years.
2. One that frequents the Holy Communion.
3. One that hath a good government of himself and his passions.
4. One of Meek temper and humble behaviour.
5. One of a good genius for teaching.
6. One who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish, or ordinary, on examination.
7. One who can write a good hand, and who understands the grounds of arithmetic.
8. One who keeps good order in his family.
9. One who is approved by the minister of the parish (being a subscriber) before he is presented to be licensed by the ordinary.93

The rules set forth for the selection of teachers seem to attempt to instill the values of the English Anglican upper class in the lower classes. These rules when linked with the banning of the use of Gaelic in the schools may be interpreted as an attempt by a Government funded organization to Anglicize a distinctive minority of the population of Great Britain. While the banning of the teaching in Gaelic may have been viewed as an attack on the Highland way of life and identity, it may have been just a matter of the materials required not being available, until the second half of the eighteenth century when teaching in Gaelic was allowed.

While the Kirk, the SPCK, and the SSPCK attacked the Gaelic language and the clan values, the Roman Catholic Church attempted to preserve the language. Within the Catholic Church of Scotland, an effort was made during the eighteenth century to have priests and bishops who could speak Gaelic.94 This is a remarkable

difference from the thought process of the Kirk whose goal was to eradicate the
Gaelic language as it was thought to be barbaric. Through the support of the Gaelic
language the Catholic Church was able to remain a bastion of Highland society since
the language formed a defining aspect of the Highlander’s identity. The Catholic
Church even set up two different schools in the Highlands in order to teach and
ordain priests for service in the Highlands.95 The first school was disbanded during
the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 while the second was established during the 1720’s.
The schools were set up in order to educate future priests in their native land so they
did not forget or lose their ability to speak Gaelic, while studying abroad. These
linguistic skills were deemed crucial for the conversion and improved the ability to
preach to the Highlanders.96 This allowed for a more intimate and personal
connection between the priest and his parishioners by communicating in the
vernacular, rather than in English, a foreign language. By being able to speak the
language of their followers Catholics in the Highlands were able to appear to support
of the clan system and they assisted the Highlanders to maintain their cultural values,
in the face of outside pressure.

Contemporaries viewed the Highlands as devoid of culture, but the
Highlanders had a rich oral tradition filled with folklore. The folklore and tales were
told in the original Gaelic which helped unify the clans and were crucial to their
identity and uniqueness.97 The oral traditions of the Highlanders were integral to
their way of life, and were a central aspect of the feast. As part of the feasts, the
bards of the clan would tell of times of old, bringing the average Highlander in closer

95 Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland, 1560-1937, 111.
96 ———, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland, 1560-1937, 128.
97 MacLean, An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America, 28-29.
contact with their common past, and helping create what Benedict Anderson calls the imagined community.\textsuperscript{98} The origin tales which are common in the Highlands are a prime example of these, such as the story of the origin of the MacHardies, which provides a sense of courage and accomplishment for the descendents. In this tale, the man whom all MacHardies are descended from took it upon himself to right an injustice. He shot a beast believed to be a crocodile, owned by the king, to prevent his mother’s only source of livelihood—her cow—from being taken as food for the beast. He showed great courage and skill after he was captured by shooting a piece of peat off his wife’s head while saving an arrow for the King if he missed the peat or hurt either his wife or child.\textsuperscript{99} This story helps reinforce the idea that all clansmen with the name MacHardies descended from the same common ancestor. Stories such as these fostered a sense of community and solidarity even though they might never have met.

The Act of Union had little overall effect in regard to Gaelic and the oral traditions—the final, unifying characteristics which promoted the clans’ proto-nationalism. The survival of the Gaelic language today indicates that the Highlands were never fully anglicized during the eighteenth century. Gaelic was attacked by the school system and the national religion of Scotland. But despite these attacks, the oral tales of the Highlands managed survived and were, in some cases, transported with the emigrants to the American colonies. These tales still played their traditional role of perpetuating the values of the clan among the clansmen themselves, if not among the chiefs as well.

\textsuperscript{98} Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism}.
\textsuperscript{99} McHardy, \textit{The Well of the Heads and Other Tales of the Scottish Clans}, 14-18.
6. Conclusion

The clans were fundamentally altered by the Act of Union; these changes threatened the existence of the clan and foreshadowed future events. The changes in the role of the chief and in his relationship to the tacksman represent a weakening of the clan system, as the chiefs moved toward a commercial economy based solely on profits rather than on the traditional rent, collected in-kind. Despite the changes in the attitudes of the larger chiefs, the Dukes of Argyll, for example, some of the power was legitimized and even institutionalized because of the Union. The militarism of the clans was harnessed for the “good” of the empire, and the proto-nationalism that inspired it was redirected in support of the empire. Through service to the empire, the honor of the clan could be increased. But attempts were made to suppress other aspects of clan life, in an effort to bring the clans more into the fold of the rest of Great Britain, as a whole. These elements, including the values placed on family, honor, and the Gaelic language itself—all so crucial to the identity of the Highlander as part of his larger “imagined community”—found ways to survive at least with the clansman if not their chiefs. Thus the impact of the Union on the social structure of the clan and all it entails is hard to determine. The impact, however, seems to have been a detrimental one, and the relationship of the chief to his people began to break down in response to increasing pressure from the Westminster, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The English viewed the Highlands as backwards because of the traditional clan wars, and they made attempts to erase the more peaceful aspects of
the clan, such as their values and traditions, such as the feast. It may thus be the case that the Act of Union and its consequences served to push the clans towards dissolution, starting with the chief.
CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS:

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SCOTTISH POLITICAL LIFE

Besides the changes seen in Highland society, during the first forty years following the Act of Union, the changes in the political structure of Scotland following the Union of 1707 are the most apparent ramifications, directly attributable to the Union. The legislation passed concerning Scotland and the Highlands was both economic and social in nature. Scotland’s relationship with the governing body in London (Parliament), and the lack of a privy council, in Scotland itself changed the Highlands, and reduced the power of the local lords by limiting their opportunities for political advancement, preserving honor of their clan and family, and for economic advancement. Scotland’s loss of national political institutions and its incorporation into Great Britain provided the potential for Scotland to be fully subjugated as a colonial conquest of the British Empire particularly in the Highlands. Some of the political institutions created after the Union, when linked with much of the restrictive legislation, suggest this potential subjugation, although the retention of power in many areas led to a semi-autonomous Scotland. Much of the legislation aimed against Scotland and particularly the Highlands also originated from the fear that a Jacobite rising would return the throne of Great Britain to a Catholic Stuart, clearing the way for anti-Catholic legislation.
1. Parliamentarian Representation: Inclusion or English Manipulation?

Some historians argue that Scotland was well represented in Parliament following the Act of Union in 1707, but when the populations of the three major ethnic groups—the Scottish, the Welsh and the English—are examined, it is evident that this was not the case. Scotland was more underrepresented than even Wales, by relative state population; Wales was less than half Scotland’s size. It can be argued, after an examination of the numbers of delegates, that Scotland as a nation was certainly underrepresented in Westminster. Upon the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707, and the creation of a joint Parliament in London, Scotland as a nation was given 16 peers who sat in the House of Lords and 45 Members of Parliament to represent them. Rosalind Mitchison, a premier expert on Scottish politics, points out that this level of representation was determined by the amount of taxes paid by Scotland. The Scots were taxed at the same rates as the English, but because Scotland’s economy was less developed, the Scottish returns generated from taxes were lower than those from England. It is generally accepted, by historians, that Scotland’s overall taxation was proportionally lower than that of England, and arguing that the level of representation for Scots was equal, despite the underrepresentation in terms of percentage of population. This type of analysis puts more weight on the wealth of the area rather than on the population, and helps

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100 Westminster here is used to refer to Parliament in London rather than in Edinburgh at Holyrood. Henceforth Westminster will be used to refer to Parliament in London and Holyrood to Parliament in Scotland.
102 Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745.
demonstrate that the Union could have led to the reduction of Scotland to a colonial state, similar to the case of Ireland, and used by England simply as a source of raw materials. When a more democratic distribution of votes is applied, it becomes apparent that Scotland was drastically underrepresented. In a Parliament of 585 members, Scotland had 45 seats while Wales and England had 27 and 486 seats, respectively. The population of Wales at the time of the Union in 1707 has been estimated at 390,000, and England’s was just over 6 million.\(^\text{104}\) By comparing Wales’ 27 members of Parliament to the Scotland’s 45, it becomes evident that the Scots were half as represented as the Welsh.\(^\text{105}\) The English had approximately twice as many representatives per capita as Scotland. These numbers raise the possibility that the Union represented an attempt on the part of England to subjugate Scotland as a colony. While Scotland as a whole was underrepresented in Westminster, it remains to be seen whether or not the Highlands were even on equal footing with the Lowlands. To resolve this question, it is essential to determine whether the Highlands were represented proportionally in relation to the Lowlands—did they have 8 peers and 23 Members of Parliament.

From a mathematical interpretation of the distribution of the Scottish seats in Parliament, it becomes evident that the Highlands were not as well represented as the Lowlands and this displays the hierarchies in Scotland which mirror the dynamic between England and Scotland. The patterns of representation suggest that the Highlands were disturbingly underrepresented and that the distribution of Members of

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\(^\text{105}\) The approximate ratios are 22,000:14,000 people per representative and 11,600 people per member of Parliament.
Parliament was a political ploy to keep the Highlanders out of Parliament. Using the widest possible definition of the Highlands to include the counties along the coast between Aberdeen and Inverness, and Perth, the Highlands had only 30 percent of all elected representatives. The Highlands was represented by only nine and a half members of Parliament out of thirty possibly county seats. The half is because the county of Caithness only received a seat half of the time and the other half was the Bute, which is not a Highland county. It can be argued that because the county of Bute was controlled in large part by close relatives of the Clan Campbell and gave the Campbells (powerful anti-Stuart family) more power, it was paired with Caithness. Nairn and Cromarty also were forced to alternate which one sent a member in Parliament.106 Discounting the joint seat of Orkney and Shetland, the Highlands had only a third of the county seats, even though the Highland population was approximately equal to that of the rest of Scotland.107 When the Members of Parliament for the Burghs are added into the equation, the level of representation drops; out of the 15 members of Parliament only 4 of the seats had Highland constituents. In one case, the member was supposed to represent Perth, Forfar, Dundee, St. Andrews, and Cupar; only Perth had Highland interests.108 A possible explanation for this grouping is the Burghs relative location all being near the northern edge of Fife and the goal may have been to lower the influence of Perth, since it was a major Highland burgh. This meant that only 30 percent of the

108 Perth was the prominent city in a county which was mostly considered Highland. Perth was a major trading center for the Highlands and held cattle fairs and had a significant role in the Highland Lowland exchange. Sunter, *Patronage and Politics in Scotland, 1707-1832*, 237.
representatives in Parliament were assigned to represent the Highlands and their interests. This seems to have been a political move by Parliament as an attempt to keep Jacobites, or Catholic supporters of the exiled Stewarts, out of Parliament, and prevent an Anglo-Scottish Jacobite coalition.\textsuperscript{109} It can be argued that by giving the Highlands only a third of the Scottish seats in Parliament, the Highland lobby could be effectively ignored. The lack of representation for the Highlands in Parliament and the militant Highland Jacobites, might suggest that because of the loyalties to the former King of Scots and King of England, that Westminster was trying to subjugate the Highlands more than it might have otherwise, had the Highlands been ardent supporters of the Union.

Although Scottish peers were allowed to select 16 from their numbers to represent Scotland in the House of Lords, the election process was arguably a charade tainted by English interests. According to William Ferguson, the elected peers were hand picked by the ministry. The list of desired peers was then sent to Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, the seat of Scottish Parliament, where the opposition ultimately failed to elect its own representatives.\textsuperscript{110} By allowing the English to create the list of eligible peers, the Scots ostensibly conceded English superiority, and allowed English politics to dictate those of Scotland. For the selection to have been legitimate, the Scottish peers would have had to gather, and to decide among themselves who would be included as a peer in the new unified British Parliament.

Pensions, salaries paid to various lords, demonstrate how the peers were controlled by

\textsuperscript{109} At the time of the Union, the Jacobite movement was not just a Highland movement as English Catholics and other small groups throughout the United Kingdom believed that the Catholic Stewarts should have held the throne and not Queen Anne. The main military support happened to come from the Highland Clans.

\textsuperscript{110} Ferguson, \textit{Scotland 1689 to the Present}, 137.
If the peers did not vote as the English wished, the funds that helped support them in London could be terminated. The Scots would thus be expected to vote as the administration wanted, regardless of the possible effect in Scotland and for the people they were supposed to represent. This pension system, with the biased election of the peers who represented Scotland, clearly demonstrates the possibility that Scotland could have been reduced to colonial status.

Although the exclusion of various politically undesirable groups in Britain affected all of the United Kingdom, the exclusion was more influential in the Highlands removing a significant proportion of society from the political arena, leaving them disgruntled and ignored. The exclusion of Scottish non-jurants, Episcopalians who were unwilling to take an oath of allegiance to the new dynasty, Roman Catholics, and fiercely loyal Jacobites, had a greater impact on the representation of the Highlands than of that of the Lowlands. A significant number of the highest-ranking peers from Scotland were prevented from sitting in Parliament, simply because of their religious affiliations. Among those excluded Highlanders would likely have fallen among the Roman Catholics and the zealous Jacobites, these two categories alone account for over half of the politically alienated Scottish peers. Lord Lovat, the Chief of the Clan Fraser from the Inverness vicinity, was excluded and represents the larger disenfranchised Highland nobility. The prevention of these peers for consideration for election prevented their participation

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112 Non-jurants were Episcopalians who felt that it was wrong for William and Mary and the subsequent monarchs to have succeeded to the throne over the Catholic Stewarts.
in the governance of Scotland and Great Britain, representation of their localities in
the political arena. Although the decision to alienate these individuals may have been
made because of their potential disloyalty—and many of them did participate in the
Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745—it remained to be seen whether or not they
would have rebelled, had they been able to serve Great Britain. It is possible that this
decision served to alienate those non-jurants and Catholics and pushed them towards
rebellion because they had less to lose.

Despite the attempts at Westminster to control Scottish factions, some
Scottish representatives spoke out against the Walpole administration and asserted
their independence. In April of 1740, John Campbell, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Duke of Argyll, gave a
lengthy speech backhandedly denouncing, among other things, the Government’s
lack of action in the War of Austrian Succession.\textsuperscript{115} This scathing attack reminisces
on the glory which had belonged to Great Britain after the War of Spanish Succession
(1701–1714). The denunciation is extraordinary because by this point in his career,
which had included leading British troops against the Jacobite uprising in 1715, he
had obtained the position of Field Marshall, the highest rank obtainable. John
Campbell’s ability to give such a speech questions how heavily the Scottish
representatives relied on the English for patronage by 1740, although admittedly the
Duke already held vast lands throughout Britain. The speech represents an attempt by
the Scots to assert their presence in Parliament, without the fear losing the posts
granted to them or their pensions, suggesting that the Scottish economy had
progressed to the point where the Scots were on a more equal economic footing with
the English roughly thirty years after the Union was signed.

The representation of Scots in Parliament represents a serious step backward from the end of the seventeenth century, and it may have hindered the development of Scotland in the eighteenth century. Regardless of the definition used to determine representation, the perception was that Scotland was politically underrepresented. The lack of members of the House of Commons meant that it would have been difficult for Scots to address the needs of Scotland and particularly of the Highlands, and even as a block could be outvoted, even if legislation would have hurt Scottish development. The Highlanders may have been left out of participation simply because of the English assumption of their support for the exiled James VII and II, even though not all Highlanders were Jacobites.

2. Parliamentarian Legislation: Destructive or Modernizing

Despite Scotland’s parliamentary underrepresentation from 1707 to 1745, and although most legislation was not concerned with Scottish interests, Parliament did note the economy of Scotland, and attempted to increase trade in the Highlands and throughout Scotland. Linda Colley explains that only occasional pieces of legislation were passed for Scotland’s benefit; most of this legislation, however, was directed at the Scottish Lowlands and not the Highlands. 116 In some cases, proposed legislation was even designed to hurt the Scottish economy. In the 1730’s, for example, Parliament received over 100 petitions to keep Scottish peddlers out of England, attempting to protect the English market from being flooded by “cheap and inferior

116 Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, 51.
Scottish goods."\textsuperscript{117} Although none of these petitions resulted in legislation, they were nevertheless considered. This demonstrates the English indifference to Scottish affairs, when Parliament was supposed to act in the best interest of the nation as a whole.

Despite the general lack of parliamentary interest in many Scottish affairs, the view that England failed to stimulate Scotland’s economy through legislation and tried to colonize Scotland is flawed, as there is evidence to suggest that there was some interest in Scotland when it directly served to boost England’s income and Britain’s economy. In respect to the Scottish fishing industry, for example, it was recommended to Parliament, by Patrick Lindsay, a Scot recommended that Parliament distribute money to help boost and modernize Scotland’s fishing industry:

\begin{quote}
We having observed, that the several sums of money reserved and provided by the Treaty of the Union, and by divers Acts of Parliament to be imployed for the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactures in \textit{Scotland}, have not hitherto been applied to uses for which they were intended principally.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

In response to this petition, an effort was made to distribute the money to help boost the fishing industry. Parliament established the foundation of the Board of Trustees for manufacturers and fisheries with an annual budget of £6,000.\textsuperscript{119} The goal of this report was to stimulate Scottish trade and to allow the Scots to take full advantage of the Union, while simultaneously permitting English fisherman to profit from Scottish fishing, thereby benefiting both English and Scottish interests. By encouraging experienced English fisherman to fish in Scottish waters, technical knowledge was

\textsuperscript{117}———, \textit{Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837}, 52.
\textsuperscript{118}Patrick Lindsay, \textit{The Interest of Scotland Considered : With Regard to Its Police in Imploying of the Poor, Its Agriculture, Its Trade, Its Manufactures, and Fisheries} (Edinburgh: Printed by R. Fleming and company, 1733), vii.
\textsuperscript{119}Devine, \textit{The Scottish Nation}, 22.
imparted to the Scottish fisherman, while the nation profited from an under-utilized resource, fish. The twenty-year delay in setting up the Board of Trustees for manufacturers and fisheries to distribute money that was promised by the Act of Union, suggests that Parliament acts in Scotland only when it becomes aware that legislation will benefit the English directly. If English fisherman were encouraged to fish in Scottish waters, Scots would benefit from the introduction of English technologies and thus help improve the Scottish economy. In this respect, government involvement aimed at improving the economy was designed to be helpful to Scots and English alike.

Not only did Westminster act in Scotland when it believed action would help them and Scotland, legislation was passed even when it was clear that the Highlands and the poorer regions of Scotland would likely suffer. Parliament, during the 1700’s became more interested in Scotland when revenue could be created by an increase in taxation, or as part of a wide-ranging fine against the Catholic population of the country. As noted in Sir Edward Knatchbull’s parliamentary diary, he examines the Malt Tax (1724) and the Papists’ Bill (1723). The Malt Tax Bill purposed that the Scots pay an additional 6 pence on the bushel, and that the bounties paid on the exportation of Scottish corn be stopped. The bill was carried by a final vote of 133 to 41, with only 10 English representatives voting against the bill, alongside all the Scottish Members of Parliament. This decision came about despite the Scottish parliamentarians’ claim that the bill was contrary to the agreement of the Act of

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120 ———, The Scottish Nation, 105-06.
Union, as defined in the Articles but instead offered to vote to increase the tax to 8 pence in exchange for dropping the second part of the Act. Their sole concern was the increase of the revenue and the elimination of payments to Scottish merchants from the English customs income. The subsidies for the exportation of grain helped encourage the Scottish economy and it helped the lower quality Scottish grain compete with the English grain. The Papists’ Bill, which proposed levying fines against all Catholics in England, was amended before the vote because the “Scotch Papists” were not included yet and represented a larger percentage of the Papist community.123 The burden placed on the Highlands by such Acts hindered the advancement of the significantly poorer area of Scotland. Arguably actions such as these, inhibit the goals of the expansion of the economy and peace within the State, and suggest a possible attempt to colonize Scotland.

Other legislation directed at the Scottish Highlands can be construed as being of an even more insidious nature, attempting to strip the Highlands of age-old rights and reduce the cohesion of the clans. The first of these acts was the Disarming Act of 1716, one of several subsequent attempts to reduce the effective fighting force of the Highlands.124 The Act was designed to prevent another Jacobite Rebellion and secure the Union of 1707. The effectiveness of this Act was minimal at best and likely only affected those clans that were already loyal to the Government. London’s logic behind the legislation was rather simple: by taking away Highlanders’ right to bear arms they would decrease the likelihood of another Stewart-led rebellion by the

Jacobites. The failure of the Act has also been linked to the lack of payment for the clans to lay down their arms, there needed to be an economic incentive for the Highlanders to surrender their weapons.\textsuperscript{125} A monetary incentive would have been of much use to the Highlands and might have been widely accepted, in a very poor part of Scotland. The British Government, in proposing Highland disarmament, was also attempting to pacify the Highlands and to alter irreparably the warrior society.\textsuperscript{126} It seems that the Westminster viewed all Highlanders as dangerous to the peace and safety of the country during the 1720’s, fears perhaps partially founded in the differing opinions of Succession. Lord Lovat comments on the failure of the Act to reduce the number of arms in the Highlands in the 1720s:

> Whatever tends in any degree to the civilizing these people and enforcing authority till, by degrees, they begin to find they have nothing to do with of the law in these parts, does in so far really strengthen the present government. The use of arms in the Highlands will hardly ever be laid aside till by, degrees, they begin to find that they have no use for them.\textsuperscript{127}

Lord Lovat recognized that as long as the Highland tradition of feuding was allowed to continue, the Highlanders, living in semi-militaristic clans, would continue to carry and use their arms. Highland regiments, which had fought alongside Government troops during the Jacobite uprising of 1715, were also disbanded by 1717— to the dismay of the loyal clans.\textsuperscript{128} The general consensus was that the regular army units were ineffective in extending the rule of the Government over the Highlanders, and that the Highland regiments were more valuable as a police force, in Scotland than

\textsuperscript{125} Mitchison, "The Government and the Highland, 1707-1745," 35.
\textsuperscript{126} It should be noted that as the last clan war was fought before the Union, and a more inclusive economic and social policy might have avoided the successive Jacobite risings and been more effective at bring the Clans into the fold of British society.
the regular regiments.\textsuperscript{129} The discrimination can be attributed to the idea that all the Highlanders posed a major threat to the country, regardless of where their allegiances lay, demonstrating the Government’s conviction that the ‘Highland Problem’ needed to be solved.

The lack of Scottish representation in Parliament and the attempts to “break” the clan system through legislation are partially compensated for by a small effort on the part of Westminster to address the concerns and limitations of the Highland’s economy. The lack of Highland representation in Parliament made it easier for the repressive acts, such as the disarming acts and anti-Catholic acts, to be passed against all of the Highlands. Despite discriminatory legislation, however, Parliamentary support for the economy did meet some of the needs of the Highlands. The acts, which stimulated the economy of Scotland as a whole, certainly benefited the Highlands, increased Highland capital, and helped move the economy towards increased British participation. Nevertheless, these acts were far too few in number for Parliament to be credited with the stimulation of the economy, and left much up to the remnants of the political power in Scotland—the local magnates and the Secretary of State for Scotland, which replaced the Privy Council in Scotland.

3. Power of Local Magnates: Expansion or Decline?

The distribution of patronage had long played a powerful role in Scottish society, but after Union it became the perception of eighteenth-century Scots that there was less patronage for distribution and this led to disillusionment amongst the

\textsuperscript{129} ———, \textit{Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745}, 164-65.
Scots. Throughout Scottish history, the local magnates have been a crucial part of the power structure and represented the key to controlling Scotland. After the signing of the Union of 1707, however, the power of these local magnates—from the judges on the Court of Exchequer to the Scottish peers—was vastly diminished. Patronage has always played an undeniable role in Scottish life and politics, and the perceived withholding or blatant favoritism towards one political group has always caused unrest and the possibility of revolution, as noted by the reign of James III during the fifteenth century.

The popular opinion that the Scots were not treated equally, published in various reports, and appears to have become widespread during the first half of the eighteenth century. Whether or not the views of these treatises depicted reality, they clearly reflected the opinions of the people. One such public outcry appeared in the *North Briton Extraordinary*. The unnamed author claimed that Scottish law and the power and the prestige of the peers were being diminished by the English usurpation of Scottish institutions, which should be reserved for Scots. In the case of Scottish law, the article claimed that two out of the five judge’s seats, including that of chief baron, belonged to Englishmen, arguing that because the law was practiced

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130 After the Union of 1707 and the unification of the executive branches of power, the Privy Councils among others, the positions available in Government to which one could be appointed as a form of patronage became fewer in number. In Pryde, *Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day*, 55.

131 Nicholson, *Scotland the Later Middle Ages*, 514-21. James III was eventually killed in battle by Scots who in part resented his unfair distribution of patronage; it was the second time their were questions raised because of the issue during his reign.

132 although the third edition was published in the 1760s, it nevertheless raises valid questions, addressing the period since Union. Young Scotsman formerly a voluntier in the Corsican service, *A North Briton Extraordinary: Containing a Curious and Comprehensive Review of English and Scottish History, Concerning Important Events Relative to the Union of the Two Kingdoms-- Commerce--National Independency-- and the Grand Cause of Liberty: By Which It Is Clearly Demonstrated That the Scots Nation (Both in Words and Actions) Hath Always Been Strenuous and Warm Assertors of the Liberties of the People: : Likewise Some Observations on Property-- Revenue Officers-- Pensioners--and Rapacious Courtiers* (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1769).
differently in Scotland, the seats should belong to Scots. In the case of the peers, “the offense is that no peer of Scotland can be created a peer of Great Britain,” while the number of English peers increased rapidly.\textsuperscript{133} This portrays an anti-Scottish feeling of the House of Lords, members of which wished to extend and maintain their control over the affairs of the country. Increasing the number of Scottish peers could only dilute their prestige and power, and may have led the English deny the Scots the same opportunities, giving rise to believe that the English were attempting to subjugate Scotland.

Despite this introduction of Englishman at the lower levels in the court system, power placed in the hands of some of the magnates of Scotland was quite substantial, and turned Scotland into a semi-autonomous state, preventing Scotland from becoming the colony some historians indicate was a possibility. As heads of the Clan Campbell, the Dukes of Argyll represented the highest level of influence of a quasi-Highlander.\textsuperscript{134} For a brief period after the Union, and then again after 1725, the first Duke of Argyll wielded sufficient power in Scotland to be referred to as the “King of Scotland.”\textsuperscript{135} The abolition of the Privy Council left a void in the political arena that was filled by a few powerful nobles, increasing some of the nobility’s influence over all of Scotland. The Dukes of Argyll were essentially able to dictate

\textsuperscript{133} Young Scotsman formerly a voluntier in the Corsican service, \textit{A North Briton Extraordinary: Containing a Curious and Comprehensive Review of English and Scottish History, Concerning Important Events Relative to the Union of the Two Kingdoms-- Commerce-- National Independency-- and the Grand Cause of Liberty: By Which It Is Clearly Demonstrated That the Scots Nation (Both in Words and Actions) Hath Always Been Strenuous and Warm Assertors of the Liberties of the People: : Likewise Some Observations on Property-- Revenue Officers-- Pensioners-- and Rapacious Courtiers}, 35.


\textsuperscript{135} Ferguson, \textit{Scotland 1689 to the Present}, 143.
the affairs of Scotland, since there was little guidance from London.\textsuperscript{136} By 1745, the Dukes of Argyll were responsible for the appointment of most officials, strengthening their hold—and that of Scotland—over its own affairs.

Although it widely believed that the nobility of Scotland collectively left England after the union, this is not entirely accurate, there being members of the Scottish nobility who were available to serve and did serve in Scotland and the Highlands. James Erskine, Lord of the Grange noted the abandonment of Scotland:

> The country now, and for some years, has the lookt on it self as deserted, not only by the courtiers, but by the principall of all of its nobility and gentry. These either did not reside in it and rarely made it a visit, or did not meddle nor concern themselves with any thing but their own immediate private affairs.\textsuperscript{137}

One of the highest lords serving in Scotland observed that few of the other powerful lords were involved in anything other than their own profit, which provided evidence for the perceived extent of absenteeism in Scotland in response to the Union. This opinion may have been so generally accepted because the majority of the greater nobility did indeed leave Scotland for the court life of London. This perception may not be fully accurate, as a proportion of the nobility was available for service in Scotland. Forty-two Scottish nobles, for example, would have been available for service in Scotland for a period of five years.\textsuperscript{138} This figure does not, however, include the Catholics and other politically isolated Scots who were prohibited—on the basis of their political beliefs—from playing a part in the running of the

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\textsuperscript{136} Nine Acts targeted Scotland in the 40 years after the Union. Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 57, 74.


country. The majority of these isolated individuals would arguably have been from the Highlands, which included a number of Catholic and Jacobite areas. This lack of inclusion would have greatly reduced the influence and power of the Highland nobles and served to limit their influence.

In the aftermath of the Union, the traditional sources of patronage were greatly reduced, leaving the lesser nobles fewer opportunities, those remaining included the establishment of a Highland Company or seeking the patronage of a great noble like Argyll. Argyll was able to increase his power by providing governmental opportunities for Highlanders who were no longer Jacobites and who had become loyal to the new British administration. Highland chiefs in the 1730s and early 1740s, who had lost their land following the Jacobite 1715 rising, were able to regain their land, which the Duke of Argyll then controlled. By subjugating themselves to Argyll, an example of a powerful chief, the individual chief’s prestige was reduced: he became part of Argyll’s political machine and thus lost the independence that was so highly valued in Highland society.

The other option, besides seeking the protection of a great noble like Argyll, open to a Highland chief seeking to expand his power was through the military. As part of the plan to subdue the Highlands, London allowed for the formation of companies designed to police the Highlands and to defend the Empire, the most notable of these organizations being the Black Watch in 1729. The formation of the military companies was one of the few methods open for the dispersal of

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patronage for Highland chiefs. The acceptance of these companies provided prestige and much-needed income for the chief and the clan.\textsuperscript{142} By allowing the chiefs to form companies from their clansmen, the chiefs were able to maintain their roles as military leaders, simultaneously helping the Government pacifying the Highlands.

It can be argued that the perception that the Union hurt the power of the local magnates is, overall, only partially valid. After the dissolution of the Privy Council and Parliament at Holyroodhouse, the traditional avenues for patronage, so crucial to the political system in Scotland, were removed. The lack of a Privy Council in Scotland gave the impression that the great nobles left Scotland in order to secure the patronage that was no longer available in Scotland itself. The fewer number of positions available, however, may have contributed to the rise in the power of some of the greater nobles. The fewer options for advancement, in Europe, available limited the power of the Highland nobles, who had to compete with the other lesser Scottish lords; Highland nobles either could seek the security of someone like the Duke of Argyll or raise a regiment for service in the empire. The final option served to further the stereotype of the Highlander as a brute and soldier. These options and patterns created a system in which the powers in Edinburgh and London regarded the Highlands with mistrust and therefore sought to subdue and pacify the Highlanders unless they were serving the Empire.

4. Relationship with the Executive power in Scotland

After the signing of the Act of Union of 1707 and the dissolution of the Privy Council, the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was created in an attempt to fill the void left by the Privy Council and provide advancement of Scottish interests; however, it proved through most of its existence to be rather weak and ineffectual.\textsuperscript{143} The Privy Council had previously played a vital role in Scottish government running the country while the King or Queen was in London. It allowed the greater nobles of Scotland to advise the King, provided another avenue for Scots to advance their interests, both economic and political, and played a crucial role in the governance of the country. After the dissolution of the council, the daily governance of Scotland was transferred to the newly created office. In the early years following the Union, very little was achieved by the early Secretaries of State for Scotland, besides a few technical changes to the procedure for collecting revenue.\textsuperscript{144} The distinct lack of action by these ministers demonstrates the effect of removing all government functions to London. Just as with the Union of the Crowns (1603), the political life in Scotland was devoid of an outlet. The lack of an effective executive branch to lobby for Scottish interests in the years immediately after the Union may have had drastic effects, such as the retardation of the advancement of the economy and increased the necessity of the local political structures.

Letters between two powerful representatives of the executive branch give some indication as to the perception of the Highlands, by the executive branch; they

\textsuperscript{143} ———, \textit{Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745}, 167.
do not provide a very understanding or accepting view of the Highlanders. One goal, of the administration, in the 1720’s was the breaking of the clan system. In 1724, a series of letters from Lord Grange to Earl of Islay, (essentially the man in charge of Scotland though not in name), discussed the Highlands’ economy and how to break the chief’s control over it.\textsuperscript{145} Grange gives accounts similar to Edward Burt’s, describing the Highlands as rich in natural wealth but lacking in its exploitation. While on the surface the improvement of the economy is a benefit of this attention, one of the stated goals of these letters is to encourage the breaking of the Highlander’s dependence on his chieftain in order for the Highlander to be able to improve his land—and therefore the wealth of Scotland and the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{146} These letters demonstrate that although there was concern for the economy of the Highlands, the Government in Scotland aimed to destroy the clan system by turning the chief into a landlord, demonstrating they did not value the clan system.

The powers in Scotland may have devalued the clan system because they saw it as impeding economic progress in the Highlands by discouraging development. In the eyes of these great nobles of Scotland, the clan system limited the productivity of the land. The theory put forward by the Earl of Islay (later the Duke of Argyll) is that by the removal of the chief from a position of power, the tenants would be more likely to improve the land. By putting more effort into the production of their farms, rather than the service of their chief, and they would be able to re-invest profits into their own farms increasing the production of the land. Many also thought that by

\textsuperscript{145} Copy letter to Islay from Grange dated December 24. (National Archives of Scotland GD124/15/1262/3)
\textsuperscript{146} Letter from Grange to Islay dated December 29 1724 (National Archives of Scotland GD124/12/1263).
breaking the clans, the amount of capital lost to raiding would also be greatly diminished. The capital included the money lost from cattle theft, the price of blackmail, paid by landowners for the protection of their cattle, and the cost of recovery of the stolen goods. Some estimates of the yearly loss in material capital total up to £37,000 annually, which was approximately five to ten percent of Scottish liquid capital, by an estimate made around 1745, towards the end of the last Jacobite rebellion.\textsuperscript{147} The true market value of the money lost requires further examination. The biggest loss is the under-stocking at an estimated £15,000.\textsuperscript{148} The rest of the losses which affected one landowner helped the individual who “lifted” the cattle.

The other costs are invested in the Highlands: the money simply exchanged hands and provided jobs as herdsmen for more servants and tenants. In addition to these costs of raiding, the Highlands would also have been able to avoid the burned crops and loss of manpower because of feuding. From the economic standpoint, the Highlands would have been a more integral part of the Scottish economy and would have help bolster the economy of Scotland as a whole, if this cash flow were used to invest in the industry of the Highlands. The sheer value lost to raiding, gave the impression that the Highlands did require pacification in order to secure a brighter economic future for the Highlands.

Governments in Edinburgh and in London concerned themselves with how to enforce the pacification of the Highlands in order to prevent their support for Jacobite risings, such as those of 1715 and 1745. In order to extend the control of the executive branch over the Highlands, the central government sent General Wade, the

\textsuperscript{147} Alexander, \textit{Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century}.
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{———, Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century}, 68.
military engineer, to create a series of military roads and forts that were supposed to help the British army subdue the Highlands and eliminate the perceived Jacobite threat. In 1725, Wade arrived in Scotland to begin the process of pacifying the Highlands. He was given powers to investigate the state of the Highlands in order to help pacify the clans, to remove the possibility of the Highlands being used as the “back door” for invasion in order to secure Great Britain. Wade’s road system allowed for the increased mobility of troops in the Highlands, something which had previously been drastically hindered, and started to remove the divide between the Lowlands and the Highlands, by opening up the Highlands to outsiders. The road system allowed for the extension of the Government’s authority to the Highlands, and created a military presence in the Highlands that previously had been lacking. The roads brought the Highlands into the larger fold of the Union and allowed for easier communication.

The relationship between the executive branch of Government and the Highlands was one of suspicion and distrust, which hurt the Highlands. The Highlanders were seen by the executive branch as an area in dire need of reform, and the clans themselves were perceived as outdated and barbaric, perceptions which led to the hostile relationship in which the main powers in Scotland sought to destroy the clan system by breaking the military and social aspects of the clans. The reduction of power and the centralization of government eliminated the balance of power that the Privy Council traditionally was supposed to represent and threatened Highland interests.

5. Conclusion

Although some of the legislation passed in Parliament was designed to benefit the Highlands, the Union’s political ramifications for the Highlands appear to have been largely detrimental in nature. The parliamentary representation of the Highlands distinctly lagged behind that of the Lowlands. The Highlands’ lack of representation in parliament and in the executive branch contributed to attempts to dismantle the clan system, a process that might not have happened had there been a more equal distribution of power. Despite the lack of Scottish representation, however, the Highland economy was indeed stimulated, which will further be discussed in Chapter Three. In other words, the Highlands did partially benefit from the support of Parliament, even without their full participation in the political process. But despite the economic boon to the Highlands, the political underrepresentation carries far greater weight, as it allowed for the targeted attacks on the Highlands.
CHAPTER THREE
HIGHLAND INDUSTRY:
SUBSISTENCE OR MARKET

It can be argued that the Highland economy of the eighteenth century was one in transition, from a chiefly subsistence economy towards a more modern market economy; the shift has been attributed with the death of the clan system in the 1800s. It remains to be seen how the Union affected the Highland economy and contributed to the death of the clan system. This is evidenced by the Highlands beginning to export more cattle through cattle markets to meet the growing demand from the south, both from the Lowlands and from England. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Highland infrastructure, including military roads, drove roads, and postal roads were very underdeveloped compared to the Lowlands and England. The easiest way to transport goods was along the lochs or the sea. The roads which existed, primarily drove roads, were in disrepair and there were not very many of them. At the turn of the century, the economy north of the Highland line was mainly a subsistence one. The Highlanders grew enough crops to feed themselves, and raised enough cattle to sell a few to southern markets in order to be able to purchase what they could not make for themselves. They produced primarily what they needed, weaving the wool of a few sheep to provide clothes or they grew a small amount of flax to produce linen. However by the 1720’s, the basis began to change. The rise of linen production demonstrates the shift; by 1727, 21,972 yards of linen were produced in the Highlands and stamped for sale in Scotland or for export, where as previously
almost all linen was for personal use.\textsuperscript{152} The production of linen appears miniscule when compared to the approximate 4,500,000 yards produced in Ireland but it represents a shift in the economy of the Highlands.\textsuperscript{153} Also the production of wool increased to meet the demand from the south. The Highlands began to participate more actively in the economy of Scotland.

\section*{1. Agricultural Development: Subsistence or Market}

While the contemporary view of the Highland economy is of a medieval relic, the potential for economic exploitation of the vast natural resources is widely acknowledged. The perspectives of visitors to the Highlands, the Lowlander and the Englishman, provide detailed accounts of the methods of farming used in the Highlands. Period descriptions of the Highlands provide a glimpse of how the rest of Great Britain viewed the Highlands, what they valued and what they determined the Highlands’ assets.\textsuperscript{154} Edward Burt’s, a member of General Wade’s entourage during the Highland road build of the 1720’s, description portrays the Highlands as a technologically backward area, but with vast amounts of natural resources. He sets forth the image of a land with rivers teeming “with fish, of a very fine quantity.”\textsuperscript{155} In addition to commenting on the assets of the Highlands, these outsider observations provide accounts of the methods of farming used in the Highlands, from these

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\textsuperscript{152} Youngson, \textit{Beyond the Highland Line; Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton, 22.}\textsuperscript{153} Patrick Griffin, \textit{The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 71.\textsuperscript{154} Letter from Grange to Islay dated December 29 1724 (National Archives of Scotland GD124/12/1263).\textsuperscript{155} Burt, "Letters," 59.
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descriptions, a simplistic method of farming is glimpsed. It becomes clear that many of the technological advances found in England to support a growing population had not yet occurred in the Highlands. Burt’s disdain for the Highland system is indicative of the sentiment that the Union would allow for the implementation of more modern farming methods for the benefit of the Highlands. As discussed in Chapter Two, Westminster and the new government apparatuses also took interest in the economy of the Highlands by developing ways to break the dependence of the Highlander on his chieftain, in order to allow him to apply himself more to his economic functions and the exploitation of the Highland’s resources, bringing it into the fold of the greater Scottish economy.

Despite the uniform opinion of the backwardness of the Highland economy and its farming practices, the timeless practices helped dictate the Highland rhythm of life. In the Highlands, the fields were tilled for a few years and then left fallow for nine years. The tools used for tilling the ground were themselves quite simple, a basic wooden plow and an iron tipped spade. While lying fallow the field was turned into pasture lands for the cows and horses. The Highlanders would move to the high pastures during the summer months to guard the livestock in order to keep the beasts away from the tilled land.\textsuperscript{156} The seasonal migration patterns contributed to clan society as it facilitated the warring and raiding activities of the clan. Burt indicates the lack of feed provided for the livestock during the winter, “hay is here a rare commodity indeed; sometimes there is none at all.”\textsuperscript{157} Burt’s note that the lack of hay was rather shocking, as it was common sense from his point of view to provide

\textsuperscript{156} Alexander, \textit{Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century}, 69.
\textsuperscript{157} Burt, "Letters," 59.
for one’s livestock through the winter, and he describes how the animals were allowed to wander the glens in search of food after the harvest and were rarely supplied with feed of hay or oats during the winter.\textsuperscript{158} From Burt’s point of view it would make more sense to provide for the animals in order to be able to produce more so that they could be sold and would survive the winter in larger numbers and be worth more when going to market. According to Burt, if any hay was made during the summer it was taken to the larger towns to be sold to feed horses, and it was not stored for winter feed.\textsuperscript{159} Despite the inherent inefficiency of Highland farming practices, the land usually produced enough to support the Highlands from year to year, and may be linked to the development of the social support systems integrated into the clan system discussed in Chapter One.

While many Scottish historians attribute the leasing practices directly to the clan’s social structure, the leasing hierarchy in place in the Highlands also had its roots in the farming practices of the sparsely populated Highlands. The usual practice entailed the land owner leasing the land to a “tacksman,” the Scottish term for a superior class of tenant, who in turn let it to subtenants, (as discussed in Chapter One). The tracts of land were divided according to the specialty of the tenant, giving rise to the suspicion that the leasing may not be based entirely on the relationship with the chief, but the value of the tenant’s contribution. For example the husbandmen had an average of fifty acres.\textsuperscript{160} This argument fits that the leasing patterns would be associated with the overwhelming contribution to the Highland

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{158} Alexander, \textit{Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century}, 18.
\item \textsuperscript{159} Burt, "Letters.,” 59.
\item \textsuperscript{160} Marwick, \textit{Scotland in Modern Times, an Outline of Economic and Social Development since the Union of 1707}, 5.
\end{itemize}
economy of husbandry, and the sale of cattle. The pastoral nature of the Highland economy, logically, led to the development of these larger tracts which were used to produce the sheep and cattle which proved to be a valuable source of income for the Highlanders. Ultimately, this tendency led the way for the depopulation of the Highlands, as massive sheep farms caused the clearances of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are a product of this system. The smaller subtenants usually were given a small amount of arable land and the right to graze cattle. These tenants would tend to cluster together to form the small hamlets for which the Highlands were noted. The leasing patterns allowed for the expansion of the agricultural system and helped to create the urbanization patterns which will be examined in the final chapter.

While the rural economy of the Scottish Highlands of the eighteenth century is viewed as feudal, the economy is distinctly Highland and has been described as the chiefly economy. The rural economy of the Highlands formed the base of the clan system and can be referred to as the “chiefly economy” because it helped the chief perform his duties, and his obligations to his people.161 In the chiefly economy, the rents were paid mostly in kind, with occasionally a monetary supplement. This perpetuated the ideas of community and the position of the chief:

Highland society from the clan chiefs and the middle ranks of the tacksmen to the tenantry and sub-tenants was based upon principles of loyalty and mutual understood systems social obligation over the holding of land, the management of cattle, and working and marketing of arable products.162

161 “Chiefly Economy” is the phrase used in Dodgshon, From Chiefs to Landlords, to describe the Highland economy. Charles W. J. Withers, Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900 (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), 24.
162 Withers, Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900, 24.
At the turn of the eighteenth century most Highland rents were still paid in kind. The typical rent was made up of grain, whiskey, butter, cheese, and other farm products. The chief could then exchange some of the excess for the luxury goods of status like wine and weaponry. The traditional aim of the “chiefly economy” was to place as many tenants on the land as possible in order to gain the most service hours as were required as part of the feudal leases. The rents paid in kind also allowed the chiefs to aid their clansmen in times of need by supplying them with grain during famine years. The “chiefly economy” was vital to the historic clan system; it provided for the chieftain, and it allowed him to perform his chiefly duties, the feasting and the dispersal of hospitality in the traditional fashion.

The traditional view of the Highlands as backwards agriculturally throughout much of the first half of the eighteenth century is accurate but, a distinct shift towards modernization became visible, and played into the change in the clan system itself. The shift away from the pastoral system which helped dictate the rhythm of the Highland way of life also began to shift. Tacksmen were no longer granted land on tradition but in exchange for larger amounts of revenue. The marketability of the Highland’s main product—beef—encouraged the expansion of the land available for grazing and foreshadows the clearing of the land for the sheep farming of the nineteenth century. But while the majority of the Highlands retained its pastoral lifestyle, the shift in the economy towards a market economy can be seen in other areas starting with trade.

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163 The rentals of Nether Lorne 1708 (National Archives of Scotland GD112/9/1/3/15)
164 Dodgshon, From Chiefs to Landlords, 77.
165 Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745, 156-57.
2. Trade with Europe: Draw of the Continent or the South

While many historians consider the American colonies as the largest trading partner of Scotland, at the turn of the eighteenth century, the largest trading partner for Scotland, outside of England, was continental Europe. Prior to the Union of 1707, Scotland’s trade with the English colonies had been hampered by the Navigation Acts so the traditional markets for Scottish goods expanded as the destination for Scottish goods. The traditional exports continued to make up the majority of the exports. Traditional exports were mainly the products of an agricultural society, leather skins, plaiding, course woolen cloth, linen, stockings, salt and fish. The trade with continental Europe demonstrates the poor nature of the Scottish economy, as most of the goods exported were not manufactures, but products of the agricultural economy. Of all of the exports, the most valuable to the Highlands was the leather skins, and those of goats and sheep. While the sheep skins would have tended to come from the Boarders, some were shipped out of Inverness in addition to those of goats and cattle. As well as the skins of farm animals, the skins of game were exported to the Low Countries, this opens a new area which is hardly mentioned in many texts regarding trade with Europe. The trade in pelts would have supplemented the fur trade with the Americas, and it would have been a valuable source of income for the Highlands although it may not have been widespread. As will be discussed later in

167 ———, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 252.
168 From a list of exports and entries April 1707, (National Archives of Scotland RH15/14/99/1F)
169 From a list of exports and entries April 1707, (National Archives of Scotland RH15/14/99/1F)
this chapter, the cattle industry and its offshoots provided the majority of the Highlands wealth as it was primarily a pastoral society. The rents were often paid from the sale of the cattle, and while the continental market was significant at the time of the Union, the percent increase in trade with the colonies and the rest of the British Empire demonstrated that trade with continental Europe was decreasing in importance as the value of the exports to the colonies began to grow rapidly.

After the Union, England did not become the source of goods which had been envisioned, as Europe remained one of the main sources for luxury goods, and the trade with France, Spain, Holland, and the Germanic states reflects this. These areas supplied imports such as wine, fine linen, silk and other goods which could not be produced in Scotland. The trade with continental Europe reflects the underdeveloped nature of Scottish industry as they had to import the superior goods of the Continent into Scotland. These goods included such essentials as, tea, flannel, metal goods such as boxes, sword hilts and handles, silk, hemp, sugar, and chocolate. The Highlands clearly was not able to match the quality of the goods imported, the metallurgy and products of craftsman simply could not compete, and often the technology to produce them at home simply lagged behind their continental counterparts, leaving Scotland to exchange its agricultural products for luxury goods as it had for centuries. These traditional trading patterns persisted despite the new source of goods which would not be taxed, and alludes to the limitations of the Union. This suggests that Scotland was not in such dire economic straights as had

170 Ledger and waste and journal books of James Grant, merchant in Aberdeen (National Archives of Scotland GD248/457/12)
171 Campbell, Scotland since 1707: the Rise of an Industrial Society, 42.
172 From a list of exports and entries April 1707, (National Archives of Scotland, RH15/14/99/1F)
been previously suggested and that the impact on the Highlands of the Union was less than what was anticipated.

The incentive for passing the Act of Union for Scotland was the ability to trade with the colonies, which would supplement or replace the trade with the continent. After the Union, it is clear that Scotland retained its former trading partners for at least the first forty years after the Union. This ability to retain trade with Europe indicates an increased ability to trade in multiple areas and would have expanded the capital and wealth of Scotland. Much of the goods traded with the continent came from the Highlands. The ability to satisfy all markets indicates a boon to the Highland economy, especially when the trade with the rest of Europe is taken into consideration with the colonial trade in which Scotland was now legally allowed to partake.

3. Trade with the Colonies

Traditionally, the major import from the American Colonies, tobacco, was imported into Scotland and then re-exported at tremendous profit, especially for Glasgow. Despite this stereotypical understanding, the Highlands benefited directly from participating in the importation of tobacco. The centrality of tobacco in Scotland is undeniable throughout the eighteenth century Scottish tobacco lords created a virtual monopoly on the importation and exportation of this commodity.\(^{173}\)

By the 1740’s Scotland’s importation of tobacco equaled approximately twenty

\(^{173}\) Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830*, 102-03.
percent of all British imports.\textsuperscript{174} What many fail to recognize is that while Glasgow controlled a majority of the trade, some was shipped directly through the Highlands. In some cases, it went directly to Oban, near the Isle of Mull, and was exchanged for goods made in the Highlands itself.\textsuperscript{175} This direct involvement in overseas trade with the Highlands suggests that the Highlands benefited more from the removal of the Navigation Acts and the opening of the colonies for trade than has been previously thought. Previous historical discussion has limited the Highlands in the trade which was conducted to that of a few farm goods like cattle and their exportation to England. Given the significance of familial links within the clan, trade with the colonies may have been done with other clan members or other Highlanders who had established themselves in the colonies. Since some historians have down played the number of Highlanders in the colonies prior to 1745, it is not surprising that the assumption has been made that the Highlands were not involved in overseas trade.

Scotland’s role in trade with the colonies was not limited to simple importation or the exportation of British goods as has been traditionally recognized, Scotland’s role in the trade with the colonies was often that of the middleman. Scottish merchants had a tendency to import goods, such as cloth from Holland, from the Low Countries and then re-export them to the Americas.\textsuperscript{176} Scotland became a source for many goods shipped to the colonies for example one Scottish merchant in Jamaica obtained his merchandise from Scottish ships, some of which had a

\textsuperscript{174} R. H. Campbell, "The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. II the Economic Consequences," \textit{The Economic History Review} 16, no. 3: 469.

\textsuperscript{175} David Dobson, \textit{Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785} (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), 102. Also seen in the Loch Etive Trading Company Records (National Archives of Scotland RH4/93/4)

\textsuperscript{176} From the account books of the business of Arthur Hassall, merchant, Kingston, Jamaica (National Archives of Scotland GD345/1212/E)
continental point of origin, illustrating Scottish patterns of trade. From examining these records it becomes increasingly clear that Scotland was able to take advantage of trade with the colonies as was anticipated by the Union, even though it was through unexpected means.

Scottish trade with the colonies was clearly one of the major benefits of the Union. It would not have been possible given the English restrictions, without the Union, for the Highlands to benefit from the tobacco trade, or from the exportation of continental goods to the colonies. The Highlands were able to directly engage in trade with the colonies, from places like Oban and Inverness, Highland goods found their way into the colonies, and brought new wealth to the area. The traditional interpretation is that the only trade Scotland had with the colonies was the importation of colonial goods, and then the re-exportation to the rest of Europe of these goods. But it is clear that while this played a role in the economic gains of the Highlands, companies were able to find other ways to exploit the new markets increasing the importance of colonial trade, these often were through various small enterprises of the Highland economy, the fishing, weaving, and timber industries to name just a few.

4. Light Industry: Small Scale or Export Driven

After the Union of 1707, the Scottish fishing industry flourished with new markets for its preserved and salted fish, but according to the economic historian

177 From the notebook of family history written by “A.H.” writing c.1736, (National Archives of Scotland GD307/15)
Christopher Whatley, the situation was not quite so clear, and in some ways the Union may have hurt Scotland economically and hindered its development. He notes that while the fishing in Cromarty, east of Inverness, prospered until the early 1730s, while the fishing in Inverness suffered heavily. These results were not directly due to the Union but the argument has some merit. Whatley acknowledges that in Inverness’ case, there was a fierce storm in 1724 which damaged many of the piers and harbors. It appears that some of the loss of business was a direct result of the new salt laws, which equalized the taxes on salt between Scotland and England after the Union of 1707. These laws taxed much of the imported salt which was used to preserve the fish and thus greatly affected the smaller operations which made up much of the Scottish fishing industry. The price of salt increased five fold during the early part of the Union and thus the burden fell unfairly on the small enterprising fisherman setting back the economy. The Union of 1707, from this point of view, which was supposed to improve the economy of Scotland may have in some ways set it back and hurt some of the people it was supposed to help.

The stereotypical view of the Highland economy is that it was supported by the exportation of cattle and cattle alone, but of the light industries of Scotland, one of the more valuable sources of income and exports was that of yarn spinning. Yarn grew in importance as more was shipped to the Low Countries and weaving areas of England. As the eighteenth century progressed, the manufacture began to make its way into the Highlands from the traditional areas of spinning, in the boarders, the

179 ———, *Scottish Society 1707-1830*, 55.
180 ———, *Scottish Society 1707-1830*, 57.
central belt and the north east. The prominence of the spinning industry to the Highlands proved to be a vital part of the Scottish economy as by the 1740’s the total output had doubled from the 1730 level. The reasons for the improvement in the Highland spinning industry are simple, governmental encouragement and oversight, and new markets. The Highlands played a major role for this as they provided a new untapped source for labor which was recognized by Westminster. The Board of Trusties for the weaving industry encouraged the production of higher quality goods, through closer inspection, and more regular supervision allowing for the industry to expand dramatically.

Contrary to the typical Scottish nationalist belief that the Union did nothing for the Highlands, governmental involvement in the economy directly benefited the Highland economy, and helped it integrate into the larger British market. The Board of Trusties, which supervised the linen industry in Scotland, is demonstrative of the impact of the British government whose goal was to improve the industry of Great Britain and offered protection and new markets. For the linen industry in particular, London offered significant protection and encouragement of the industry. It is unlikely that without the Union the government of Scotland would have taken steps to expand industry. The Scottish industry also indirectly benefited from the reduced tariffs on British linen as opposed to the imported linen from the Dutch and the Germanic states. In this fashion the Highlands benefited directly from the Union in areas other than the cattle trade. The opening of the English and Irish markets to

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184 ———, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, 47.
the Scottish linen industry helped expand the need for labor which outstripped the available source in the traditional production localities and made the producers to look for a labor force elsewhere which included the Highlands. Other encouragement provided by the Union was the export bounties paid by the government. The output of linen was halved by the temporary removal of such beneficial practices.\(^{185}\) This indicates that direct government action helped advance the economy of the country and move it in a more market oriented direction. While these practices were not aimed at solely helping the Highlands, it was the clear beneficiary from Westminster’s protectionist tendencies.

A traditional Scottish monopoly, the timber industry flourished during the beginning of the eighteenth century. Traditionally the Scottish lumber industry had consisted of trade with Norway. The Norwegian timber trade had been referred to as the “Scotch trade.” During the eighteenth century however, the home grown timber grew in importance. There are references, in the archival documents, to wood “grown and sold” by Scottish merchants in the mid-1720s.\(^{186}\) This would have helped the Highlands the most as they had more substantial forests and in the Inverness vicinity there were planted forests whose sole purpose was for sale, thus increasing the wealth of the Highlands during the booming ship building era of the eighteenth century.\(^{187}\) There are other references to tree farms from primary sources such as Edward Burt who mentions on of a lord outside of Inverness who planted the wood with the hope

\(^{185}\) ———, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, 47.
\(^{186}\) From the general correspondence of the family of Murray of Broughton (National Archives of Scotland GD10/1421/59)
\(^{187}\) From Grant correspondence discussing the possibility of expanding the timber trade on their land (National Archives of Scotland GD248/196/3/67)
that with time he could sell the lumber for a massive profit.\textsuperscript{188} With the opening of
the colonial markets to Scotland the demand for shipping increased and caused a rise
in the demand for lumber.\textsuperscript{189} This causal relationship between the Union and the
improvements in the economy following the Union directly benefited the Highlands
as some of the best timber land is in the Highlands, and even today these are used for
timber farms.

As can be demonstrated areas outside the traditional cattle industry were
directly impacted by the Union, but not always in a positive manner. The traditional
view of the Highland economy is that the Union benefited the cattle industry, and,
therefore, the Highlands; this interpretation is incomplete. Several areas of light
industry were directly affected and did not necessarily benefit from the Union. The
perception that the fishing industry always benefited needs to be further questioned.
Certain legislation, as described in the Chapter Two, may have encouraged the
growth of the fishing industry, while others such as the increase in salt tax hampered
its expansion. While the fishing industry may have been hampered, other areas such
as the timber trade, and the textiles were given a boost by the Union and saw
remarkable expansion. The timber trade would not have expanded to such a degree
without the need for ship building, and various attempts to spur the textile trade were
designed to bring England’s prize industry to Scotland. Despite the negative impact
on some aspects of Scottish light industry, the overall trend seems to have been one of
advancement and expansion, bringing to fruition the Scottish aims of the Union, the
advancement of the economy.

\textsuperscript{188} Burt, "Letters," 78.
\textsuperscript{189} From the notebook of family history written by “A.H.” writing c.1736, (National Archives of
Scotland GD307/15 p 18)
5. Mining: Impact of Coal and Iron on the Highland Economy

Throughout the eighteenth century many industries, such as the textile industry, benefited from interaction with English experts, but one area which tends to be neglected and had an impact on the Highlands is that of the iron and steel industry. While the iron and steel industry in Scotland was small at the turn of the eighteenth century, it was based mainly in the Highlands and was closely linked with English enterprise.190 The movement of parts of the English smelting process to Scotland and the Highlands was a result of the smelting techniques at that time. The main source of heat for smelting was charcoal, which needed large amounts of wood to produce. In England the forests were fast disappearing. The Union offered the English an opportunity to move north and gain access to the wood they so desperately needed, and Scots were able to learn new techniques and technologies from the English. The establishment of the furnaces in the Highlands represented a significant investment in those local areas. For the furnace built in Invergarry, more than £5000 was invested in the furnace, roads, bridges, and quays, necessary to get the raw materials into the furnace and the finished pig-iron out and to market.191 Similar furnaces were constructed at Glengarry and Abernathy. The introduction of the iron industry into the Highlands of Scotland represents an attempt of the wealthier English to invest in new areas of the country. It serves to demonstrate how the Union not only allowed

190 John Watson’s letter and account book (National Archives of Scotland Cs96/3309). It is of particular interest to note that this account book includes references to large quantities of lead being shipped from Moray. This is quite remarkable as no where in the historical record is lead mining in the Highlands mentioned.
the Scots to sell goods in England but encouraged the investment by the English in Scotland.

Besides iron and other metallurgical industries, one area of heavy industry that surprisingly seemed lacking from the Highland economy, is that of coal. The absence given its production of the edge of the Highlands was extensive, demonstrates how the lack of capital and transportation was not addressed by the Union. For example in Alloa, in Stirlingshire, just south of the Highland line, a rather lucrative coal mine was in operation for most of the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1741, the mine made £1526.\(^{192}\) There was an attempt to ship coal from Oban during the 1730’s but the plan failed not due to the lack of coal but the lack of a port which could accommodate the ships necessary to transport the coal to the markets in the south.\(^{193}\) The two tons of coal which were ready to be sold could not be moved easily to make further mining financially viable. The simple transportation of goods in the Highland was a major hindrance to its economy, and may help explain why it remained a semi-nomadic pastoral society into the eighteenth century. The Union could have encouraged the investment in Highland resources and would have dramatically improved the economy, but the effort to improve the roads in Scotland was limited to military roads for the security of the Highlands and not for the economic benefits that might result from them.

As an increasingly vital role in an industrializing economy, the heavy industry of Scotland and the Highlands should have been a greater area of interest after the Union. Highland coal could have been a crucial element the coal mining enterprises

\(^{192}\) From part of a colliery ledger, Collieries mentioned: Coalsnaughton, Sauchie great coal at Alloa (National Archives of Scotland RH9/1/253)

\(^{193}\) From the Loch Etive Trading Company Records (National Archives of Scotland RH4/93/4)
of Scotland should have been more of a concern for the government, both in Scotland itself and that of Westminster. The existence of coal near Oban and the inability to transport it clearly limited the involvement of the Highlands in the new economy; the resources available could have played a vital role in the new Great Britain. Had there been investment in the infrastructure of the Highlands, for the coal industry like that of the iron industry, both ports and road works, the Highlands could have taken more advantage of the Union, in areas other than light industry and the cattle trade.

6. Cattle: Life Blood of the Highland Economy?

The typical understanding of the Highland’s trade links consists of the exporting of cattle to the south through tryst markets, such as the one at Crieff. For the early part of the eighteenth century this is true and it was a valuable asset to Scotland in all aspects of the industry. The Highland subsistence agriculture as described in previous sections allowed the average Highlander to sell a few cattle in order to purchase other necessary goods. In the fifteen years after the signing of the Union of 1707 the number of cattle exported south to England more than doubled. This provided a steadily increasing income source for the Highlands as well as for the rest of Scotland as the price of cattle doubled between 1730 and 1760. This doubling of the price and the drastic increase in the numbers of cattle being sold would have been a boon to the economy of the Highlands. The increase in price must

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194 Tryst Market is the historical Scottish term a cattle fair, in which the merchants could come and purchase cattle from the drovers.
195 Tony Dickson, Scottish Capitalism: Class, State, and Nation from before the Union to the Present (London Lawrence and Wishart, 1980).96
196 Dickson, Scottish Capitalism: Class, State, and Nation from before the Union to the Present. 96.
have led to an increase in the liquid capital of the Highlands and improved the
standard of living, allowing for the purchase of more luxury goods from the Lowlands
and abroad, and brought the Highlands closer to British society.

The Highland method of raising cattle severely hampered its ability to fully
benefit from the new market which became available to them in the south after the
signing of the Union. As described by contemporary individuals, the Highlanders
lacked any form of “good husbandry.”\textsuperscript{197} The average Highlander tried to produce
the greatest number of cattle with the least effort. In order to achieve this goal the
Highlander did not provide feed over the winter for his cattle, they were left to forage
on their own, and a large number of them died during the winter decreasing the
numbers of stock available for breeding and sale the following year.\textsuperscript{198} This was due
to the distinctly limited usage of hay and straw for cattle feed. Instead, the cattle were
fattened in the age old tradition of the feeding in the shealings or sheiling, the high
pastures where the cattle grazed in the summer months.\textsuperscript{199} After the planting of the
field was completed, the annual migration of the cattle to the high pastures began,
with the whole household moving from the winter residence in the glen to the high
cottages. In these pastures the cattle recovered from the ordeal of the winter which
often reduced them to little more than skin and bone often too weak to raise
themselves into a standing position without assistance. In August and early
September, the cattle, now fat on the summer grasses, were driven to market and sold.
The cattle that were kept were divided into two groups, those for eating and those that

\textsuperscript{197} Letter from Grange to Islay dated December 29 1724 (National Archives of Scotland
GD124/12/1263).
\textsuperscript{198} Letter from Lord Grange to Lord of Islay dated December 29 (National Archives of Scotland
GD124/12/1263)
\textsuperscript{199} Burt, "Letters," 100.
were meant to reproduce the following spring. The ones to be eaten were then slaughtered and salted. The others were let loose in the glens and farmland to find their own food. These were often bled in the late winter and early spring in order to mix the blood of the cattle with the oats to provide more sustenance for the clansman.\footnote{\textit{Letters},” 100.} This cycle was repeated year after year, from hoof to consumption. This type of breeding provided a sturdy, hearty cattle, which could survive the long harsh winters with little food, but did not necessarily breed cattle of great size or ones that were especially good for eating after being salted. This fact hurt the Highlander when the cattle were sold, decreasing the value his stock.

Despite the inability of the Highlands to fully benefit from the cattle industry, the cattle trade was aided by governmental interest and protection. The value of the Highland cattle trade was sufficiently apparent and so highly valued by Parliament that steps were taken to ensure its protection. After the Union efforts were made by the Scots to have a heavy duty paid on the importation and sale of Irish beef to Scotland and England. In this instance, the suggestion was 40 shillings a head and to confine the Irish cattle.\footnote{From the Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane “Papers relative to Livestock” (National Archives of Scotland GD112/16/13/9/1). It should be noted that 40s was a significant amount of money as the requirement to vote was that the land owned produced 40s a year in profit.} In addition it was suggested that if Irish cattle were mixed with Scottish cattle to conceal their origin the whole herd would be considered Irish and the duty charged to each head.\footnote{From the Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane “Papers relative to Livestock” (National Archives of Scotland GD112/16/13/9/1)} This suggestion was made because the Scottish cattle more than met the demand for beef in England. The importation of Irish cattle drove down the already low prices of cattle. The genuine concern for the Highlands...
demonstrates the value of the trade in maintaining the economy of the Highlands. Given the tendency of the tenant to pay his rent from the sale of the cattle, and the use of the excess revenue to purchase grain and iron and other produced goods, the economy of the Highlands would have been severely hampered had the cattle industry not been protected and as profitable as it actually was throughout the course of the eighteenth century. Protection allowed for the continuation of the pastoral economy of the Highlands.

Despite the general attitude that Westminster ignored Scotland, efforts were made to help improve the quality of the beef produced by the Highlands and those efforts proved effective. In addition to the protection provided by the Government, attempts were made to improve the quality of the cattle raised by the Highlanders and to exploit the new opportunities provided by the Union. Various landlords and government officials discussed wrote tracts about how to improve the Highland cattle, including feeding them on corn and hay while occasional feeding them peas. One author also included a diagram of a covered trough to house the feed for the cattle. By improving the diet of the cattle, it was believed that they would be more fit for human consumption. There seems to have been a general complaint that while Highland cattle provide good beef for the table they are distinctly less receptive to the salting process. As Edward Burt commented the quality of the beef drops dramatically once it has been salted, but fresh it has a sweet succulent taste and is of

203 Several improvements for feeding of horses, black cattle, sheep and fowls.' (National Archives of Scotland, GD18/1706).
204 Several improvements for feeding of horses, black cattle, sheep and fowls.' (National Archives of Scotland, GD18/1706).
the highest quality.\textsuperscript{205} The suggestion was made that its fine table quality and inability to preserve the taste and quality in a pre-refrigeration society was due to the yearly starvation of the cattle.\textsuperscript{206} The flesh on the cattle was young, and therefore, had not developed the toughness to withstand the destructive salting process. Attempts were made throughout the eighteenth century to improve the quality and quantities of the meat appear to have had a positive effect. The efforts may have caused an increase in the stocking of animals in an effort to increase the number of animals available for sale and to improve their quality. On the Isle of Mull for instance, the number of animals owned by each township increased almost twofold from the seventeenth to eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{207} The benefit of stocking more cattle on the farms would be apparent; the better quality animals could be bred to increase the value of the herd. The increased numbers would also allow for more cattle to be raised for sale.

The level of concern for the cattle industry, for the Highlands, shows its centrality to the economy after the Union, demonstrating the benefits of Union for the Highlands. The protection of the industry allowed for the rapid expansion of the cattle trade. The increase in sales and in price, demonstrates the power of free trade between Scotland and England. The cattle industry’s expansion in the years following the Union has been touted as one of the positives of the Union, but this tendency to expand grazing in the Highlands can be seen as the early stages of what

\textsuperscript{205} Burt, "Letters," 60.
\textsuperscript{206} ———, "Letters," 60.
\textsuperscript{207} Dodgshon, \textit{From Chiefs to Landlords}, 172.
would become known as the Highland Clearances, indicating a possibly darker undertone of the vast economic gains seen in the Highlands.\textsuperscript{208}

7. Conclusion

The economic gains which were to be enjoyed following the Union have long been considered one of the better results of the Union. In general the rosy picture of the advancement of the Scottish industries has been praised by historians of both the pro-English and pro-Scottish factions. But when considering the Highlands, it is crucial to weigh the whole picture. The Union promised vast improvements in the economy, and in the Highlands, the Union did not always favorably affect the economy, some industries were shaken and were increasingly slow to recover. While the Union brought an expansion to the military roads of the Highlands, little was done to ease the travel of large quantities of goods. This task was left to the investors in businesses. The iron industry could have flourished close to the vast forests of the Highlands, but the investment in the building of roads or canals was often too great to allow for the expansion of the industries. Even in the face of overwhelming evidence of the wealth brought into the Highlands by certain industries, (cattle) less positive consequences did occur. But despite the negatives, overall the Union seems to have dramatically increased the fortunes of the Highlands. The economic possibilities available and the new opportunities for trade allowed for more wealth to flow to the Highlands.

\textsuperscript{208} The Highland Clearances are the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century systematic removal of the Highland tenants in order to make room for sheep farms.
CHAPTER FOUR

EMIGRATION:

THE FLIGHT OF THE HIGHLAND PEOPLE

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Scots migrated throughout much of Europe. Scotland’s population had always been a mobile one, whether to the Low Countries, or to Poland, and Scandinavia, but after the Union of 1707, new areas grew as destinations of Scottish settlers.209 These areas included England and the colonies. The expansion of the Union allowed large numbers of Scots to emigrate. Patterns of migration within Scotland also changed to meet new demands brought about by the Union with England. But one thing, it can be argued remained constant throughout Scottish migration, the concept of the family. Scots in general were four times as likely to emigrate as a family unit than their English counterparts; whole districts would provide the settlers for large land grants in the colonies. Scots followed those they knew and these tried to establish Scottish settlements, and these included the Highlanders.210 The Union provided new opportunities for the Highlands and for the expansion of Highland culture.

210 Devine, Scotland's Empire 1600-1815, 100.

When examining Scottish emigration from the Highlands to the Americas in the eighteenth century, an intriguing observation appears; the Highlanders were not emigrating in the same numbers as the Lowlanders. This finding raises questions as to why Highlanders did not emigrate in the same numbers given they comprised a larger portion of the population. Did the Highlanders not have the same resources as the Lowlanders; was the economic expansion in the Highlands so great that there was less pressure to leave? Prior to the Union of 1707, from approximately 1660 to 1700, about 7,000 Scots emigrated to the Americas.211 This estimate includes Lowlanders as well as Highlanders, and, according to Devine, appear have been almost exclusively Lowlanders. According to the figures provided by Devine, only about three thousand Highlanders emigrated to the Americas between 1707 and the 1760’s.212 To put the figure in perspective, the population in the Highlands, in 1755, the earliest that there is accurate data for the population, was 652,000.213 This comprises about 51% of the total population of Scotland at the time. This places the percentage of the Highlanders who emigrated from the Highlands to the Americas at a minute .4%. This number seems surprisingly low given the larger emigration from the rest of Scotland; there were 20,000 Lowland emigrants to the Americas in the same time period.

The stereotypical view of emigration that people were taking advantage of new economic opportunities does not fit with some of the patterns of Scottish

211———, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, xxvi.
212———, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, 106.
emigration; in some colonial areas the majority of emigrants from Scotland were actually forced to do so. They were deportees. Records indicate that the largest Highland emigration were the result of the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745, after the signing of the Union. To just give one example, on the island of Antigua, in the Caribbean, a majority of the Scots on the island in 1720 had come to the island after the 1715 rising. Since the majority of the Scots who participated in the rising, were Highlanders the majority of the 100 men deported to the island must have been from the Highlands.\footnote{214 Michael Fry, \textit{The Scottish Empire} (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2001).} Thus it seems that the majority of Highlanders who emigrated to the Caribbean were forced too. The majority of Scots would not have been willing or able to pick up and move to a new environment because they would not have had the experience or the knowledge to support themselves. The majority of those who had the knowledge base to move and the resources to create a colony were less inclined to move because their position of power, in their respective locality, whether it be a chief or major laird, provided incentives to stay put.\footnote{215 R. A. Houston, \textit{The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750}, 1st Cambridge University Press ed., New Studies in Economic and Social History (Cambridge ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 47.} Scottish society was, simply, too comfortable for many Scots to have the motivation to leave.

Like the rest of Scotland, compulsion was a major factor in the emigration from the Highlands to the Americas during the eighteenth century, but not just as punishment. Ian Graham supports Devine’s argument that overall emigration from the Highlands to the American colonies was miniscule. Graham argues that combining the small overall emigration of the Highlanders with the numbers of those deported, it becomes obvious that a majority of those were military deportees. He
believes that there were only several hundred Highlanders in North America prior to 1746. He argues that the use of troops and the forces of judicial banishment played a vital role, and 451 prisoners were transported to North American colonies in 1717. This number, by some estimates, is almost one-sixth of the total Highland emigrants. The other form of compulsion was that of starvation. In some cases, areas which suffered from bad harvests several years in a row would see an exodus to the colonies. From this stand point the higher levels of emigration prior to 1707 would be likely due to the seven years of famine experienced in the 1690’s, thereby supporting the levels of emigration proposed by Devine. The finding that Highlanders did not emigrate unless they were left with no other options could indicate the strength of the clan system during the period. It indicates that the chief still was providing protection for his people, and that in times of need such as a bad harvest the clan would share what food they had in order to sustain the clan.

Contrary to the point of view that the numbers of immigrants to the American Colonies was minimal, there is significant evidence to show that there were large groups of Highland immigrants that did settle in areas of the American Colonies such as North Carolina and they are still identifiable by links to their clan. Throughout the eighteenth century, many Highland Scots settled in North Carolina though the actual number is rather uncertain, there were large group migrations into North Carolina. The group settlement is often characterized and traced by the requests for

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217 Graham, Colonists from Scotland Emigration to North America, 1707-1783, 44.
218 MacLean, An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America, 107.
land grants, and the names of the settlers. It is often possible to distinguish a Lowlander from a Highlander by the combination of the last name and the first, the Highlanders having distinct Christian and family names. In this instance, the clansman’s practice of using the clan name as a last name helps set him apart from other immigrants. Besides the name link to the clan, there is evidence to suggest that when groups of Highlanders emigrated they emigrated with the tacksman to whom they had formerly leased their land in Scotland. This is a logical pattern because the tacksman would have the necessary means to move, as he was the middleman in the leasing hierarchy, and was therefore better off financially than tenants, and a transatlantic voyage was costly. Typically once a tacksman decided to emigrate he would post a notice on the door of the church to announce his plans and enquire whether or not any other area families wished to accompany him. By traveling in large groups and settling in the same vicinity the Highland Scots formed what were essentially Highland communities in the colonies, retaining the “Scottishness” of their former lives. While the tacksman did not attempt to set up a clan-like feudal system, the immigrants still valued the clan identification, and support the community was able to give. It becomes clear, from this pattern, that the groups which arrived in North Carolina would likely have been from the same area in the Highlands and they still retained a connection to their clan life.

219 ———, *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America*, 104.
The numbers which emigrated to North Carolina appear small but are greater than the numbers of those deported and therefore demonstrate that the drive to emigrate was stronger than Ian Graham or Michael Fry indicate. Between 1731 and 1745, eighty seven land grants were given to Highlanders in North Carolina, an average of almost six grants a year.\textsuperscript{222} This represents a steady influx of Highland immigrants to this colony. The two large groups of Scottish settlers arrived in 1732 and in 1740, numbering 76, and 350 respectively. While these figures do not seem large they are significant in that they almost equal the number of Highlanders deported after failed rebellions. There is also evidence of other influxes into the colony besides these two large groups. Between 1734 and 1737 twelve new grants were given to apparent Highlanders. While these could be indentured servants who had fulfilled their terms of obligation, the plots of land were too large for any former indentured servant to work, the size of the plots the smallest being 300 acres and six settlers received plots of 640 acres.\textsuperscript{223} The granting of plots and the tendency of transplanting clansmen and their tacksman suggests that the sense of community among the Highlanders was strong but that the bleak prospects of the Highland economy forced the clansmen to look elsewhere to earn a living. It is a logical progression that the Highlander would follow his tacksman to America since the tenant was sometimes linked by blood to the tacksman, and if the tacksman decided he could not make a living in the Highlands the logical alternative was to immigrate to the colonies, which were viewed as the land of opportunity. The pattern of the Highlander following his tacksman does, however, support the earlier hypothesis that

\textsuperscript{222} Meyer, \textit{The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776}, 93.
\textsuperscript{223} \textit{———, The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776}, 74.
chiefs and local lords were hesitant to emigrate because of their high social status and social comforts.

Besides the emigration of tacksman from Scotland, the 1730’s proved to be a time of exploitation of the Highlander’s military expertise as the area around Inverness became a recruiting center for Highlanders to defend Georgia and the colonies from the Spanish, and confirmed that the values of the clan were still strongly recognized. This type of recruitment adds a new aspect to the thesis of why the Highlanders emigrated. In the case of Georgia, at least 300 Highlanders were settled in Darien to provide a buffer against the Spanish in Florida, although cases of individual Highlanders emigrating to Georgia also exist, so the number may be higher.\textsuperscript{224} The recruitment of Highlanders for the defense of Georgia highlights the clan’s military role and demonstrates how they were admired for their marital abilities as has been discussed earlier. The clan was still seen as a military unit by non-Highlanders. The defense of the Georgia border demonstrates that the clansmen still retained their vaunted military abilities. This indicates that traditional clan values were still strong in the Highlands, as the clansman would not leave their homes without their leaders and were highly valued for military ventures.\textsuperscript{225} This supports the argument that clan values were still highly regarded and an essential part of life to the average Highlander. The Highlander’s attachment to his chief was strong enough to compel him to stay on a Highland farm even if the economic prospects were better elsewhere, unless his tacksman or chief went as well. The earlier idea that at the time of the 1745 Jacobite rising there were only several hundred Highlanders in North

\textsuperscript{224} Dobson, \textit{Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785}, 118-21.
\textsuperscript{225} \textemdash, \textit{Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785}, 119.
America, is wrong, a better estimate is that that several hundred Highlanders in each colony, for example, at least 500 Highlanders settled in New York by 1740.\textsuperscript{226}

A key component of Scottish emigration as a whole, to the Americas is the Ulster Scots, but a vast majority of the barons who held the land were from the Lowlands, leading to the conclusion that most of the immigrants from Scotland were Lowlanders themselves, only one of the original 39 grants to Scots in Ulster were to persons from the Highlands.\textsuperscript{227} The groups of settlers who accompanied these new barons tended to come from the southwest where Presbyterian fervor was the strongest, and not from the Catholic areas of Scotland. They were the descendents of the Scottish Protestants who settled in Northern Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century. These settlers still considered themselves Scottish because of their Presbyterian religion, their names, and their communities. There are examples, however, of Highlanders taking baronries and evidence of Highlanders who were Presbyterian ministers. James MacGregor, a Presbyterian minister gave a petition to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, asking for a land grant for his congregation.\textsuperscript{228} His involvement in the emigration of his congregation suggests that a small minority of the Ulster-Scots were actually Highlanders. By looking at the earlier pattern of Highland emigration it can be determined that the Highlanders still tended to remain in the Highlands unless outside forces intervened. The pattern of Highland emigration is one of a distinct lack of the will to leave, supporting the notion that clan life was still an enormous factor in everyday life.

As a whole, the emigration from the Highlands of Scotland in the wake of the Union of 1707 is difficult to access. The certainty is that the Union allowed for a greater movement of people from the Highlands to the North American colonies. The question of the nature of the emigrants is still to be debated: were the majority of the Highland emigrants forced, or deported, or did they travel to the colonies in search of economic opportunities. What is clear from this analysis is the number of emigrants who chose to leave and were not deported by authorities, seems to outweigh the deportees. From this group of people, it is clear that the colonial powers that encouraged and valued the Highland emigrants used them for specific tasks. The value set on the Highlanders by various authorities, were clearly for their military skills. The value placed on their military skills, the tendency to settle in primarily Scottish communities, and their former tacksman, extended the clan system. The values and relationship with the person who encouraged the emigration mimicked the clan structure in many ways. In many areas of the Empire, the Scots were highly valued for their military service.

2. Scottish Involvement in India

In addition to the emigration to the western hemisphere, the emigration and role the Scots played in India during the first half of the eighteenth century was crucial to the development of India as a British colony. During the first half of the eighteenth century the Scottish role in India changed dramatically, and by 1750 three
eighths of all the clerks’ posts in Bengal were in the hands of Scots. Many of these positions had been handed out as patronage by Islay, later 3rd Duke Argyll, for support and votes in Parliament. By the middle of the eighteenth century over half of the applicants for clerical positions were from the Highlands. The sheer numbers of Scots involved in the East India Company indicate how quickly they were integrated into the empire and excelled once they were given the opportunity. In addition to these posts many of the doctors in the colony were also Scottish, with all of the Principle Medical Officers, in Madras, being Scots from 1720 to 1757, and they were a disproportional percentage of all the medical officers in the province. The Scottish trained doctors were highly respected and when the ruler of Bengal became ill it was a Scottish physician who was called in to save him, proving that Scots were indispensable, in the management, and political areas, not to mention militarily since many Scottish Highlanders served in Regiments in India. Despite the vast numbers of Scots in Imperial service, and the civil service in India, the question remains what percentage of these were actually Highlanders.

Many reasons have been put forth for the dramatic percentage of Scots in Indian service; the most prevalent is that the Scots were unable to obtain the positions they desired at home, so they served the empire elsewhere, especially in India. Linda Colley is the main proponent of this argument and she notes that the dramatic number of Scots was because the educated English upper class had preference for positions in Great Britain, and the Scot’s more adventurous nature and poorer economic conditions at home encouraged them to seek their fortune abroad rather than on the

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mainland. On the surface this argument seems logical; as the English would rather stay in a climate they were used to and to remain an integral part of the power structure they knew and understood. Additionally, 57 percent of those who went to India never returned. This was a risk that the English were unlikely to take. However, Colley’s argument is only valid if she could to prove that the Scots were not able to receive one-fifth of the positions within the government apparatus. In addition, the lucrative nature of the positions would surely have been taken into account by the English, making the Scottish representation, among the lower members of the East India Company, quite remarkable. Scots were able to obtain a total number of positions within the East India Company proportional to their population size despite the fact that in eighteenth century British society patronage played a major role in such positions and the Scots were isolated from the London community. This implies that the English could have taken advantage of the East India Company without actually hazarding a trip to India.

Within the context of Scottish involvement in India, it is difficult to assess the full impact of the Highlanders. It is clear is that as the Dukes of Argyll played a role in the patronage of the India positions and given their status as chief of the Clan Campbell it is reasonable to conclude that some of the positions would have been given to Highland allies. Given the inclusion of the Highlanders, it is reasonable to assume that the lucrative nature of the positions would have benefited the Highlands.

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231 Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, 128-29.
233 Bryant, "Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century," 22-23.
This potentially allows for money to filter into the Highland economy and increase the standard of living in the Highlands.

3. to England, Ireland, and the Central Belt

Several categories of Scots migrated to England: the social elite, the military, and the small merchants, and tradesman. This last category causes the most difficulty for historians, as it is nearly impossible to measure accurately from eighteenth century sources the number of merchants who roamed the roads of England, selling their wares. One way to put the numbers into perspective is through the vocabulary used in England. By the middle of the eighteenth century the term “Scotchman” supposedly replaced the word “peddler.” While the validity of this practice can be questioned, the mere rumor that “Scotchman” had replaced “peddler” in meaning suggests that there were, in fact, substantial numbers of lower class merchants making their way south with goods from Scotland in an effort to exploit the new market. In addition to the peddlers and small merchants who made their way south, there may have been other educated service class emigrants from Scotland. This is indicated by the incident in which a young Scotsman approached a minister in Norfolk and offered his services as a schoolmaster. Stories like these reinforce the idea that the education system of Scotland allowed Scots to take advantage of the Union by going south to make their fortunes.

234 Langford, "South Britons and North Britons, 1707-1820," 144.
235 ———, "South Britons and North Britons, 1707-1820," 144.
The migration of Highlanders within Scotland can be broken down into two categories: urbanization and seasonal migration. The seasonal migration is more appropriate when looking at the Highlanders at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The seasonal migration of the Highlanders to the Lowlands corresponds with the summer growing season and their subsequent return home after the harvest. It appears that as early as the seventeenth century, the Highlanders provided a migrant agricultural force for the Lowlands.\textsuperscript{236} The other simpler form of seasonal migration was the short-length leases migrant workers made to a large portion of the Scottish population—three quarters of the single population stayed a Parrish for more than three years.\textsuperscript{237} The seasonal migration demonstrates that there was an economic need for a large portion of the population to move to find work as there was not enough in their home locations. Their return demonstrates the importance for a significant proportion of the Highland population of the family and clan structure as valuable commodities. The other likely explanation for the seasonal migration of Highlanders to the Lowlands is that of economic hardship such as famine. In the famine years prior to the turn of the eighteenth century, and during the brief famine of 1741, there was a dramatic increase of migrant workers from the Highlands.\textsuperscript{238} The vastness of the seasonal migration was demonstrated by the existence of Gaelic-speaking churches in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Highland migrants had a tendency to try

\textsuperscript{236} Houston, \textit{The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750}, 49.
\textsuperscript{237} \textemdash, \textit{The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750}, 49.
\textsuperscript{238} Withers, \textit{Urban Highlanders : Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900}, 6.
and draw on the poor resources of these churches in order to try and make it back to the Highlands.\textsuperscript{239}

Seasonal migration from the Highlands of Scotland to the Lowlands and to the rest of Great Britain was mainly driven by economic factors such as population pressure.\textsuperscript{240} Young people of the Highlands, for example, often looked beyond the Highlands, and to the south for economic advancement. The majority of the migratory Highland laborers during the first half of the eighteenth century were between fifteen and twenty-five years of age,\textsuperscript{241} and these likely would have been the sons and daughters who could not secure a lease themselves. It is possible that these laborers simply migrated in order to take advantage of the higher “real” wages available throughout England, Ireland, and the southern parts of Scotland:\textsuperscript{242} the difference of wages between Aberdeenshire and Renfrewshire, even in the 1690’s, was at 60\%.\textsuperscript{243} Wages were also higher in Ireland from the first half of the eighteenth century and England for even longer, which further reinforces migratory patterns.

Migration patterns for Highlanders of the eighteenth century clearly were impacted by the Union, with the opening of England and the increase in demand for labor in the Lowlands. In the context of migration to England it is virtually impossible to determine the extent to which Highlanders participated but it seems safe

\textsuperscript{239} ———, *Urban Highlanders : Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900*, 64.
\textsuperscript{240} ———, *Urban Highlanders : Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900*, 29.
\textsuperscript{242} Houston and Withers, "Population Mobility in Scotland and Europe, 1600-1900: A Comparative Perspective," 289.
\textsuperscript{243} ———, "Population Mobility in Scotland and Europe, 1600-1900: A Comparative Perspective," 288.
to assume that given the large number of Scots taking advantage of the opportunity to work in England it is logical to conclude that Highlanders participated in some manner. By far the greater impact of the Union on the migration of the Highlanders would be that to the Lowlands. With the Union and the increase in industry and trade, the demand for labor undoubtedly grew. It has been shown that Highlanders did take work in the Lowlands of both seasonal and of a longer duration. The need for the workers may be linked to the Union which created new population pressures. Of these pressures one of the more dramatic is that of urbanization.

4. Urbanization: to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen

Although the eighteenth century is renowned for its urbanization of European countries, and while Scotland as a whole tended to follow this trend, the Highlands maintained their traditional organization, the farmtoun, or a clachan.244 Smaller settlements tended to contain an area of land that required only three or four teams of plough oxen or horses could keep under cultivation. These hamlets usually had one or two tacksman, in addition to subtenants who leased the land from them. The number of families who lived in these small rural communities could consist of four or five families at a minimum. The logic behind the small settlements was the lack of large patches of arable land. The clachans were where there was land which could be farmed. It didn’t make geographic sense to centralize into one location like the rural areas of England.

244 Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830, 121, 260. In 1750, only one Scotsman in eight lived in an urban center of more than four thousand inhabitants. Of the largest urban centers Inverness, Aberdeen and Perth were the only major cities in Scotland in the Highlands in 1750.
The dramatic increase of Scottish urbanization over the first half of the eighteenth century may have some connection with Highlanders’ migration to the Lowlands in search of work. The number of people living in urban centers, of 10,000 or more, increased from 53,000 in 1700 to 119,000 in 1750.\textsuperscript{245} The increase in the population of cities in Scotland outstripped the increase in population and therefore indicates there was a net migration into the major urban centers of Scotland. The influx of Highlanders into the urban centers is evidenced by the Gaelic speaking churches and the formation of the Gaelic societies in Glasgow and Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{246} At the turn of the eighteenth century there were about eight hundred Gaelic speakers in residence in Edinburgh, and by 1717 there were a considerable number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow and its immediate vicinity. Although no specific numbers exist, Gaelic societies and Gaelic churches suggest there were at least a thousand Gaelic speakers present in Glasgow.\textsuperscript{247}

The existence of these social organizations designed to help preserve the Gaelic language are an indication that while the Highlanders may have chosen to leave the Highlands, either for work or because they were forced to do so, they still held onto some of the values of clan life. The societies were designed to help Gaelic speaking individuals in times of need and later to help place younger ones in apprenticeships, and offered a way to maintain the migrant’s identity.\textsuperscript{248}

\textsuperscript{245} Houston, \textit{The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750}, 20.
\textsuperscript{246} The earliest foundation of Gaelic organizations in these regions provide the earliest evidence for the influx of Highlanders due to the lack of complete records for the first half of the eighteenth century, as discussed previously.
\textsuperscript{247} Withers, \textit{Urban Highlanders : Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900}, 186.
\textsuperscript{248} ———, \textit{Urban Highlanders : Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900}, 13.
Highlanders’ consistent desire for university education from the mid-seventeenth century onwards may have been a component in the migration to the major urban centers of Scotland and the European countries traditionally allied with Scotland. From 1716 to 1746, for example, 183 Highland students graduated from King’s College in Aberdeen.\textsuperscript{249} It should be noted that is a slight decrease in numbers from the 208 migrants of a similar thirty year period during the seventeenth century (1668-1698). It is possible that the Jacobite rising of 1715, among other possible extenuating circumstances, and the anti-Catholic legislation by Holyroodhouse and Westminster, may have interrupted the education of Highlanders. One piece of evidence which corroborates the theory that Catholics may have been going abroad to Scottish institutions in France and other continental countries is that from traditional Catholic areas such as the Bute and Caithness there were no students who graduated during the period examined before the Union and after the 1715 rising.\textsuperscript{250} The largest county which saw a drop in the number of students was that of Ross and Cromarty, as they graduated a full fifty fewer students after the Union than before the Union, accounting for the decrease. While the existence of these students does not represent a large influx of migrant Highlanders into the cities, it does provide evidence for the tendency of upper class Highlanders, such as lairds, and chiefs to migrate.

\textsuperscript{250} Withers, "Highland Migration to Aberdeen C, 1649-1891," 33.
5. Conclusion

It is almost undisputable that the Union of 1707 opened up new areas for the migration and emigration of the Highlanders. The Union allowed for the expansion of the clan system by allowing for Highland communities to form in places like the Carolinas, Georgia, and New York. The Empire created by the Union allowed for the legitimization of many aspects of the Highland system such as the militarism. The emigration patterns from the Highlands often allowed for the retention of family values which were so vital to the sense of clan. It is possible that the opening of the empire to Highland emigration allowed the clan system and mentality to retain its grip on the people of the Highlands and their descendents. The greater mobility within Scotland following the Union allowed for the eventual romanticism which was invoked in the nineteenth century and brought the Highland culture in to the cities in the form of Gaelic churches and clubs. It is through the Union that the Highland system came into more contact with the outside world and became less isolated.
CLOSING REMARKS

The assessment based on the evidence produced here in this thesis shows a unique dynamic, between the cultural and the economic. As a whole, the Union cannot be condemned as the Highlands did benefit from the Union in the economic sector, and the migration patterns. In the economic sector specifically, the Highlands were able to take advantage of the expanding cattle trade, and new technologies; industries were introduced into the Highlands, which allowed for an increase in income of individuals. The Highlands were able to trade with new markets and were involved in the highly-profitable tobacco trade, which built Glasgow. While some economic sanctions against Scotland as a whole hampered the growth of the Highlands, the revenue can be seen as beneficial as it helped pay for new roads, and other governmental projects meant to stimulate and advance the economy of Scotland. The Union allowed for new opportunities in the colonies which would not have been possible without the Union. The emigrants from the Highlands were able to move as family groups to new areas and establish new Scottish communities such as those in the Carolinas and in upstate New York, and they did this in large numbers.

But despite the benefits of the Union for the Highlands, these benefits did not come without their price. Politically and socially, the Highlands clearly suffered because of the Union. The Union marginalized much of the Highlands politically as the Highlands was more underrepresented than the national average and had fewer representatives than the Lowlands. The powers that were, systematically attacked Highland society through various Acts: the disarming acts, the prohibition of
traditional Highland kilts, and the playing of the bagpipes. The fabric of Highland society was forever altered during the first half of the eighteenth century and witnessed the beginning of the end of the clan system and the power of the clan chiefs. The move to a more market economy caused a break between the chiefs and the clansman as demonstrated by the Dukes of Argyll, who were themselves the Chiefs of the Clan Campbell. The clan values which survived did so because they were able to find a niche within the empire itself. Across the Atlantic, the emigrants from the Highlands maintained many of the old values, still united by the fiery-cross to defend Canada from a new southern invader, the United States of America. Likewise, Gaelic found a new location in the Highland communities established in areas of the colonies, though it would not ultimately survive. The colonies oddly provided a haven in which the values of the clansman could hold out longer than they could in the Highlands. The loss of the personal connection between chief and his tacksman should be mourned. This connection between the chief, tacksmen, and his people was expected in Highland society. The lord provided for their tenants in their old age, this no longer occurred when the chiefs of the clan moved away from their traditional role to that of landowner, a process which was sped up by the Union and the rise of Chiefs such as Dukes of Argyll.

What has been attempted here is a first study of the benefits gained from the Union of 1707, and the apparent losses. This study does have its limitations and should be view as the first attempt to comprehensively examine the major aspects of Highland society during the first half of the eighteenth century. The archival work that has been conducted in preparation for this study focused on the documents
available in the National Archives of Scotland. This archival work focused mainly on
the personal estate papers of several lords, papers concerning economic transitions,
and also included a few items of personal correspondence between major political
figures, and the business logs and shipping manifests of various merchants and
traders. To more fully answer the questions raised in this thesis several other topics
would need to be carefully researched and considered. For example, the forfeitures
which followed the final Jacobite uprising in 1745 are documented in substantial
records kept in Edinburgh, and would be useful in providing a uniform assessment of
various areas of Scotland. These papers include both descriptions and economic
analysis of the Highland estates. The examination of these tracts, when combined
with this current study, would provide a more complete understanding of the demise
of the clan system which covered the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The
private clan records of the various Highland clans are themselves an untapped
resource which would have provided crucial information on the clans themselves.
The emigration and migration section of this thesis would have benefited form the
examination of parish records recording the births and deaths of individuals.
Although these resources are incomplete they might have helped give a larger picture
of the migrations connected with the Union. Further study along the lines of Scottish
involvement in the Low Countries would also yield new information about the Union
and its impact on Scottish-European relations. By combining these archival avenues
with the current study a more definitive work could be completed.

From this starting point, the continuation of this study of the Union can begin
to analyze the Highlands, something which should be researched more in depth. The
full impact of the Union of 1707 on the Highlands of Scotland may never be known, or whether the good the Union did outweigh the negatives, but it is clear that the Union did alter the fabric of Highland society, whether the emphasis is put on the economic, the political or the social. The events during the winter of 1706-1707 and May of 1707, which brought the Union into existence, will forever leave their mark on the Highlands. The study of the Highlands following the Union of 1707 has previously received no attention from scholars. This thesis has been a small attempt to begin to rectify this deficiency in the Scottish historiography.
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