

Excerpts discussing the Scotch-Irish from *The History of South Carolina* by Edward McCrady

[*The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719*](#), Published 1897, Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

[*The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776*](#), Published 1897, Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

[*The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*](#), 1901 Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

[*The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*](#), Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1902.

Footnotes retained. Bold-face font added. Compiled by John A. Robertson.

[Vol. 1 \(1670-1719\), pp.6-7](#)

... But in South Carolina the constant and immediate danger of invasion by Spaniards and Indians, as exemplified in the utter destruction of the attempted settlement by Lord Cardross at Port Royal in 1686, restricted the colonists for many years to distances within reach of the fortification of Charles Town, and formed within and around it a compact body of society, with outlying plantation, from which in case of alarm the colonists withdrew to the town, as in the case of the rising of the Yamassees in 1715. When this danger was overcome by the increase of population, and the founding and building up of the colony of Georgia, the unhealthfulness of the country along the rivers, increased, if not caused, by the disturbance of the soil and the stagnant water of rice planting in the inland swamps, compelled the planters to reside in the summer in the town or in some high resinous pine-land settlement away from malaria. Thus, until the immigration of the **Scotch-Irish** and Virginians into the upper country by the way of the mountains, from 1750 to 1760, the development of the colony was not, as in New England, from many and distinct settlements or towns, but from one point, the circle enlarging as the population increased, but always with reference to the one central point, — the town, — Charles Town.

The development of Carolina thus presented the anomaly that, though it was planters' colony, it was developed by way of city or town life. Boston was the largest town in Massachusetts, but there was organization and administration outside of it. For many years Charles Town practically embodied all of Carolina. ...

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CHAPTER XL

1774-1775

... — Elections held for representatives to Provincial Congress called by committee — Members elected — Absence of **Scotch-Irish** element —

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\) p.122](#)

... In the year 1732 the fever appeared as early as May and continued until September or October. In the height of the epidemic there were from eight to twelve whites buried a day, besides people of color. The ringing of bells was forbidden, and little or no business was done.

From the inducements offered between the years 1730 and 1750 a great addition to the strength of the province was made by emigrants from Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, to be followed between 1750 and 1760 by another tide, that of the **Scotch Irish**, coming by the foot of the Mountains from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\) p.312-320](#)

The defeat of Braddock on the 9th of July, 1755, threw the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia at the mercy of the Indians; and these **Scotch-Irish**, thus exposed to the horrors of Indian war and without support from the wealthy Quakers of the East, abandoned Pennsylvania and came down, following the foot of the mountains, spreading themselves from Staunton, Virginia to the Waxhaws (in what is now Lancaster County) of this province. From this point they peopled the upper country of this state.

For about two centuries and a half, says Dr. Foote in his sketches of North Carolina, this race of people had but one set of moral, religious, and political principles working out the noblest framework of society: obedience to the just exercise of the law; independence of spirit; a sense of moral obligation; strict attendance upon the worship of Almighty God; the choice of their own teachers, with the unextinguishable desire to exercise the same privilege with regard to their civil rulers, believing that the magistrates govern by the consent of the people and by their choice. These principles brought from Ireland, he says, bore the same legitimate fruit in Carolina as in Ulster Province, whose boundaries, travelers say, can be recognized by the peace and plenty that reigns within. This was to come in time; but the lot of the first of these emigrants to Carolina was one not of ease nor of safety.

Besides the dangers from Indian incursions which these new-comers were soon to learn they had not left behind, on the Pennsylvania frontier, there were two other causes of trouble and anxiety which met them in Carolina. The first of these was the recognition and establishment by law of their old oppressor in Ireland, the Church of England, as a church of State; the second was the impotence of the government on the coast to preserve law and order in these new settlements, and the failure to provide courts for the punishment of crime and for the administration of justice within reach of the people of this new part of the province.

The second of these would undoubtedly have been removed in time, even if the Revolution had not taken place, and, as we shall see, the government at Charleston was doing all it could to provide courts for these people but

was thwarted by personal influences near the Board of Trade and Plantations in England. The first was still more difficult of removal — it was organic. It is difficult to conjecture how these discordant elements in the population of South Carolina would have been reconciled had not the Revolution disestablished the Church. But the people in the up country did not at first foresee the results of that movement; and were generally inclined, in its commencement, to stand by the old government, which had set up the Church, rather than support the new one in the low country, which, even in rebellion, clung to it as the very foundation of society.

The parish, as we have seen, was the basis of the civil as well as the religious organization of the government under which these new-comers had entered; all elections were held by the church wardens, and those for municipal offices on Easter Morning along with those for officers of the church: all notices, legal and other, were posted at the church door; there caucuses were held of a Sunday morning before the service commenced; the church was the place of meeting of the various public boards, and political discussions and orations were had in the churches themselves; the representation in the Commons was by the parishes; the masters of the free schools were to “be of the religion of the Church of England and to conform to the same;” and the vestries assessed and levied taxes for the relief of the poor, of whom the church wardens were the overseers.

With all this, as we have seen, the Huguenots had no disposition to quarrel, — indeed, they had stood with the churchmen on the coast during the troubles there growing out of the establishment of the Church¹ — nor had the German settlers on the Edisto or the Swiss on the Savannah. But the case was very different with the **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterian who was now coming into the province. The Church of England had held out no kindly hand to him. On the contrary, it had rewarded his zeal and heroism in the Protestant cause with oppression and wrong. It had not sheltered him as a refugee as it had the Huguenot in the crypt of Canterbury and in St. Mary’s Chapel of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin.² On the contrary, it had driven him from his home. The Huguenot did not object to a liturgy; he was accustomed to use one.³ But this the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian could not endure, for that had been one of the points upon which Knox had differed with the English Reformers. He had left Ireland because he would not use it; was he to do so now in the wild woods of Carolina; Then the system of government was base here, as it had been in the old country which he

¹ [Hist. of So. Ca. under Prop. Gov. \(McCrary\), 391, 392](#)

² The Huguenots (S. Mills), 284

³ Report of Committee on the Translation of the Liturgy, French Protestant Church, Charleston, 1836.

had left, upon the Church of England. He could only be represented in the Assembly by having lands which he and his people had taken up made into a township and then into a parish. All this was the more distasteful to him because his own social and civil system was itself based upon an ecclesiastical idea — a church polity of its own.

If the old St. Philip’s Church was a part of the constitution of South Carolina as Westminster Abbey was of the British constitution, so around the “old Waxhaw Church” in Lancaster — the first church above Orangeburg — was formed the settlement which gave tone and thought to the whole upper country of the state¹. Unlike the old St. Philip’s, with “its heavy structure, lofty arches, and massive pillars adorned with elegant sepulchral monuments” of the early Governors and great men of the colony, this little church, the third that has stood near this spot, had nothing whatever of an ecclesiastical appearance. “The interior,” says Parton in his *Life of Jackson*, “unpainted, unceiled, and uncushioned, with straight-back pews and rough Sunday-school benches, looks grimly wooden and desolate as the traveler removes the chip that keeps the door from blowing open and peeps in. And when the stranger stands in the churchyard among the old graves, though there is a house or two not far off, but not in sight, he has the feeling of one who comes upon the ancient burial-place of a race extinct. Rude old stones are there that were placed over graves when as yet a stonecutter was not in the province; stones upon which coats of arms were once engraved, still partly decipherable; stones which are

¹ Mr. Croker, in a letter to Robert Southey, asks, “Do you remember my once saying to you that Westminster Abbey was a part of the British constitution?” See *Historical Sketch of St. Philip’s Church* (McCrary), *Year Book City of Charleston* (Smyth), 1896; Howe’s *Hist. Presb. Ch.*, 292; *Southern Presbyterian Review*, vol. XIV, No. 472.

modern as compared with those which yet record the exploits of revolutionary soldiers; stones so old that every trace of inscription is lost, and stones as new as the new year. The inscriptions on the gravestones are usually simple and direct, and free from sniveling and cant. A large number of them end with Pope’s line (incorrectly quoted), which declares an honest man to be the noblest work of God.”¹

Among the Scotch-Irish who came down and settled in the Waxhaws around the old church were the Jacksons, Calhouns, and Pickens. Andrew Jackson was born there. Patrick Calhoun, the father of John C. Calhoun, first settled there; then pushed on to the prairie county which is now Abbeville, and returned after the massacre at Long Canes and took refuge in the Waxhaws congregation; there he married a daughter of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, and after her death and his return to Abbeville he married Miss Caldwell, the mother of Carolina’s great statesman. At the Waxhaws, too, Andrew Pickens met Rebecca Calhoun, whom he married. Here at the Waxhaws grew up William Richardson Davie, the distinguished partisan leader of the Revolution, Governor of North Carolina and Minister to France, the founder of the University of North Carolina. From the same community came Calhoun’s great rival, the great Georgian, William H. Crawford; so that from this people came three of the greatest men of their times,

— Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford, — men upon and around whom turned the national politics of their day and whose antagonisms convulsed the whole country. To these must be added William Smith, Judge on the State Bench and United States Senator, whose States rights antedated Calhoun's, and who was twice voted for as Vice President in the

¹Parton's *Life of Jackson*, 50, 51.

Electoral College, once in 1829, as from South Carolina, and again in 1841, as from Alabama, to which State he had removed; and Dr. John Brown, on the first Professors of the South Carolina College and the founder of the Presbyterian Church in Columbia, a schoolmate of Jackson, who rode with him when they were boys in their teens under Davie and Sumter at Hanging Rock.¹ From the Waxhaws, too, came Stephen D. Miller, a man of great power in his day and generation in society, at the bar, and in the councils of his country.² James H. Thornwell, an eminent divine and orator, President of South Carolina College, and J. Marion Sims, a surgeon of world-wide fame, and in his department doubtless the greatest of his time.³

¹Howe's *Hist. Presb. Ch.*, 616

²O'Neill's *Bench and Bar*, 2 vols.

³From the Waxhaws these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians pressed on throughout the upper part of the State. Crossing the Catawba, the Adairs, Allison, Brattons, Adrians, Blacks, Boggs, Brooms, Buchanans, Boyces, Bryces, Crawfords, Crocketts, Carrols, Carsons, Chambers, Dunlops, Dougasses, Erwins, Flemings, Irwins, Hancocks, Kirklands, Laceys, Kuykendals, Lathams, Loves, Lyles, Masseys, McCaws, McDaniels, Mills, McCans, McKenzies, McIlhennys, McMullans, McLures, McMorrises, Martins, Neelys, Wylies, Witherspoons, Rosses, and Youngs, and others spread themselves over the "New Acquisition," the present counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, and Fairfield. The Brandons, Bogans, Jollys, Kennedys, McQuinkins, Youngs, Cunninghams, Savages, Hughs, Vances, and Wilsons settled in the present county of Union. *Presby. Review*, vol. XIV, 482. The McCrerys (or McCrearys), Greens, Hannahs, Abernathys, Millers, Beards, Wells, Coffees, Greshams, Bartons, Youngs, some of the McLures, Adamases, and McDaid's settled in Newberry, in the fork between the Broad and Saluda, near Mr. John Duncan, a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, who had settled himself there in 1752, three years before Braddock's defeat (Mills Statistics of So. Ca., 639; O'Neill's *Annals of Newberry*, 47, 49). To these were added the Caldwell's, Thompsons, Youngs, Fairs, Carmichaels, Hunters, McClellans, Greggs, Wilsons, Conners, Neals, Camerons, Flemings, McCallas, Montgomerys, Sloans, Spencers, Wrights, Glens, Chalmers, McCrackens, Glasgows. The names of the families, the founders of the community in Spartanburg at Nazareth Church, were Anderson, Miller, Barry, Moore, Collins, Thompson, Vernon, Pearson, Jamison, Dodd, Ray, Penny, McMahan, Nichol, Nesbitt, and Patton. *So. Presb. Review*, vol. XIV, No. 3, 483; *Ibid.* The Mooriweathers, Wardlaws, Moores, Browns, McAlisters, and Logans with the Calhouns, pushed on still farther and settled in the prairie region, now the counties of Abbeville and Edgefield. *Hist of Upper So. Ca.* (Logan), 25.

The first settlers had the choice of lands in this part of the province, and it has been remarked of the **Scotch-Irish** of Pennsylvania, who had some experience of America and were also first on the soil of this region, that they were more favorably located than those who came afterwards directly from the North of Ireland through the port of Charleston. In 1767 or 1768 other families came direct from Ireland, receiving their headright of one hundred acres and supplied with the most indispensable implements of agriculture by the Colonial government. Among these were the families of Caldwell, Coan, Snoddy, Peden, Alexander, Gaston, and Norton. *Presby. Review*, vol. XIV, No.3, 486.

These people, says Dr. Foote, were, in the truest sense of the word, loyal.¹ They and their ancestors were well convinced of the importance of a regular and firm government and were true to their allegiance. They recognized the authority of the King as Supreme Ruler according to the solemn league and covenant. They expected the King to be honest while they were loyal. They fully believed that the liberties of the subject might consist with Royal authority. They claimed and persisted in claiming, the privilege of choosing their own ministers or religious instructors as an inherent right that could not be given up and any civil or religious liberty preserved. They yielded to civil authority all honor and service and duty, and demanded protection for their persons in the enjoyment of their property and religion.

These principles, transplanted from Scotland to Ireland and cherished there, were brought with them to America and have been characteristic of the Scotch-Irish settlements

¹*Sketches of No. Ca.*, 120

Throughout the land. Children were taught to read and exercised in reading the Bible every day, and became familiar with the word of God in the family, in the school, and in the house devoted to the worship of Almighty God. The commands of God and the awful retributions of eternity gave force to these principles which became a living power and controlling influence. The time had just passed, when Dr. Foot wrote in 1846, when the schoolmaster from Ireland taught the children of the Valley of Virginia and the upper part of the Carolinas as they taught in the mother country; when the children and youth at school recited the Assembly's shorter catechism once a week and read parts of the Bible every day. The circle of the instruction was circumscribed; but the children were taught to speak the truth and defend it, to keep a good conscience and fear God — the foundation of good citizens and truly great men.

Of the women of these people Dr. Foote writes: "An education — knowledge of things human and divine — they prized beyond all price in their leaders and teachers, and craved its possession for their husbands and brothers and sons. The Spartan mothers gloried in the bravery of their husbands and fathers and demanded it in their sons. 'Bring me this or be brought back upon it,' said one, as she gave her son a shield to go out to battle. These Presbyterian mothers gloried in the enterprise and religion and knowledge and purity of their husbands and children, and would

forego comforts and endure toil that their sons might be well-instructed, enterprising men. ... With many, and they," he says, "the influential men and women, the desire of knowledge was cherished before a competence was obtained or the labors of a first settlement overcome. Almost invariably as soon as a neighborhood was settled preparations were made for the preaching of the Gospel by a regular state pastor, and wherever a pastor was located in that congregation there was a classical school."¹

¹ *Sketches of No. Ca.*, 512

These new-comers who entered the province by the back door, as it were, bringing with them essentially different ideas of government of Church and State, were to have a marked and decided influence upon the polity and policy of the coming State; were reluctantly to enter the contest with the Royal government inaugurated upon the coast; but, goaded into it by the folly and cruelty of the British army, were to turn upon the invaders and by their stubborn resistance and heroic conduct to wrest from them the fruits of their success in the low country[.] Reluctant again to enter the new government established after the Revolution, they were to become the dominant force in the State, and to produce the men who were to influence in a great degree the future course of events in the United States.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.366](#)

Notwithstanding Governor Boone's conduct and the time wasted in his disputes with the Commons, the province received a large acquisition to its population during his administration. The immense territory which had been practically annexed or included within its limits under Governor Glen's treaty with Cherokees had not been yet safely opened to immigration by reason of the French war and the attacks of the Cherokees under the French influence; but the Treaty of Paris in November, 1762, put an end in a great measure to this danger, as its stipulations gave security to the frontiers; his Christian Majesty ceding to Great Britain all conquests made by that power on the Continent of North America to the left bank of the Mississippi, reserving only the island of New Orleans; and England having taken Havana from the Spaniards, that city was exchanged for the Floridas, thus at last removing that source of danger, which had continuously threatened and disturbed the province since its foundation ninety years before. Immigration now began to pour into the upper country. The **Scotch-Irish** continued to come from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and from the latter State a large number of excellent and prosperous people came, seeking new and fertile lands, principally in the bottoms of the Congaree, the Wateree, the Broad, and the Saluda. Two large colonies came from European sources.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.370](#)

The German colony and Huguenot emigrants coming up from the coast thus met the tide of the **Scotch-Irish** which had come down by the foot of the mountains.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.448-449](#)

In the letter of June 1, 1710, which has more than once been referred to, the proportion that the several religious sects bore to the whole and to each other are represented to have been at that time, as we have seen, Episcopalians, 4¼ to 10; Presbyterians, including those French Protestants who retained their own discipline, 4½ to 10; Anabaptists, 1 to 10; and Quakers, .0¼ to 10.³ This estimate was reprinted in 1732 with apparent application to that date, and it is curious that it is repeated in a description of Carolina in 1761.⁴ Dalcho, however quotes Oldmixon as giving different religious denominations in Carolina in 1740, with this modification: Episcopalians, 4½; Presbyterians, French, and other Protestants, 4¼; Baptists, 1; Quakers .0¼ to 10.⁵ The great immigration of Presbyterians from Ireland and Scotland, and of the **Scotch-Irish** who came in after that time, must have greatly changed this proportion.

³ *Hist of So. Ca. under Prop. Gov.* (McCrary), 338

⁴ Carroll's *Coll.*, 193, 260

⁵ Dalcho's *Ch. Hist.*, 147; quoting *Hist. British Empire*, vol. I (2d ed.), 522

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.457-458](#)

... The great mistake the British made in the invasion of the upper part of the province was in supposing all the **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians there were enemies to the Royal government because they were Dissenters, and the New England Dissenters had excited the war. On the contrary, as we have seen, those people had come too recently into the province to have become amalgamated in sentiment with those of the coast. They had not been consulted as to the movements in the inception of the difficulties, and had no representation in the assemblies which had been quarrelling with Boone and Montague. But fortunately, says Judge Johnson, in his *Life of Green*, the British felt too confident in themselves or too much contempt for the enemy to act with moderation or policy. Amidst the infatuation of power and victory their commander appears to have forgotten that a nation may submit to conquest but never to insult. They seem to have forgotten also that religion, which looks to another world for its recompense, becomes the most formidable enemy that can be raised in this. As the Dissenters of New England had the reputation of having excited the war, Dissenters generally became objects of odium to the enemy. Hence their meeting-houses were often burnt and destroyed. The Independent Church in Charleston had, we have seen, been used as a stable; in the Waxhaws the minister was insulted,

his house and books burnt, and war declared against all Bibles which contained the Scotch version of the Psalms. Thus it was that they revived in the upper country the struggle they had practically crushed on the the coast, and enlisted on behalf of independence the exertions of some the ablest and most devout of the Presbyterian clergy.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.501-503](#)

Governor Bull, as we have seen, called attention of the General Assembly to the want of schools in the upper part of the province. The year before, i.e. in 1768, a society had been formed by the inhabitants of the Ninety-six District for the purpose of endowing and supporting a school there, the society was incorporated in the session of the General Assembly to which Governor Bull sent his message, at the same session Thomas Bell, William and Patrick Calhoun, and Andrew Williamson petitioned the Assembly in behalf of themselves and of "other inhabitants of the back parts of the province" among other things, as we shall see, for ministers of the gospel and schoolmasters. But the want of public schools in this section of the State was supplied, in a great measure, by the Presbyterian clergymen who came down with the **Scotch-Irish** immigration. Churches and schoolhouses were built together by the ministers of that church, which from the earliest times has been foremost in the cause of education in this country. Of the zeal of the women of these people we have already had occasion to quote the eloquent description of their historian. These Presbyterian clergymen came from Ireland, — some from Scotland, and were usually men of education, some of the highest education. They read and wrote Latin fluently, and appear to have been required to defend a thesis, and to explain the Greek Testament upon joining the presbytery. At least such was expected of Archibald Simpson when he began his ministry as a probationer. Some were excellent arithmeticians, and all were good penmen. The "Master," as the teacher was called, discharged many duties usually performed by lawyers and surveyors. In the absence of lawyers, in that section, he drew all the wills and titles to land, and made all the difficult calculations. No man in the settlement was more honorable or honored than the "Master." The title signified more than "Reverend" or "Doctor" does now.

It is a curious and interesting fact in the history of South Carolina that the very first instance in which the names of English churchmen and the Huguenots on the coast, and of the **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians of the upper country, are commingled, is in the establishment of a school. The Mount Zion Society was established in the city of Charleston January 9th and incorporated February 12, 1777, the year after the battle of Fort Moultrie, for the purpose of founding, endowing, and supporting a public school in the District of Camden, for the education and instruction of youth.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.623-625](#)

CHAPTER XXXII

1767-70

While these commotions were going on in the low country, the disturbances in the upper continued, and the good people there were becoming more and more urgent that law and order should be secured them; that they should be relieved, on the one hand, from the great inconvenience of having to come all the way to Charlestown to obtain redress for their wrongs and to punish the criminals that were among them; and, on the other, that the Regulators, who were themselves becoming equal violators of the law against whom they were originally organized, should be repressed. The case was peculiar. The **Scotch-Irish** immigration, which had come into the province by way of the foot of the mountains, has disarranged the regular course of the development of the colony from the seacoast. Until their coming, as we have seen, the settlement of the province had been by way of the rivers, and as the population ascended them, townships were first formed, and these were developed into parishes as soon as a sufficient number of families were found. The parish was the civil as well as the ecclesiastical unit of local government, and its officers were in some instances the administrators of municipal law, managers of elections, and so forth. In this way the frontier parishes of St. David's, St. Mark's, and Prince William's were supposed to extend over and include all the province beyond the older settlements. This was the established order of the colony. But this condition did not suit the new-comers. These settlers had not grown up with this order. They had come in so large a body as to bring with them a social order of their own, — an order to which they were zealously attached, — and this order, it happened, was based upon a religious system different from that which prevailed on the coast, and which was definitely and historically antagonistic to it. The coast was settled to a great degree by churchmen, the upper country by Presbyterians. These Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, too, had brought with them their own well-settled customs and manners. They had not come by way of London or English towns or Bridgetown, Barbadoes, as had the people on the coast, bringing with them the habits of English town life, but from Scotland to Ireland, and from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence through Virginia and North Carolina to the Waxhaws in South Carolina. Bringing with them thus in the first instance rural and not city habits, they had been long enough in the remoter settlements of America to develop a distinct form of society of their own — a form of society which, lacking the culture and polish which that on the coast was receiving from its close intercourse with London, was nevertheless developing in the strongest form the best elements of republican life. This society was based, too, upon a religious organization of its own. It came with its ministers, who taught as well as preached; so by the side of the rude structure of the meeting-house, there was usually built a still ruder building, which roughly answered for a schoolhouse. How was this society to be incorporated into that on the coast? The problem was sufficiently difficult of itself, but it was still further complicated by the fact that there was another and very different

class of men contending with the sturdy and honest back settlers whom we have been describing, who recognized no law or order whatsoever. These were the scum of the population of Europe, which the disbandment of the armies of France and England upon the Peace of Paris in 1763 had turned loose upon the frontiers of America, and to whom were joined the refugees from justice in the better settled portions of the country — a class always to be found on the frontiers of civilization. These were the men who had given rise to the Regulators.

The Governor, as we have seen, had made a tour through this section, and had come back impressed with the necessity of providing courts for these people;

...

The General Assembly in Charleston had not been unwilling to correct the evils of which their brethren in the upper country were so justly complaining, and had give the matter all the time they could spare from their controversies with Boone about Gadsden's election and with Lord Charles Montagu about Massachusetts circular, and the Stamp act, and the quartering of Gages troops.

...

The difficulty was to obtain the consent of the Board of Trade in London to act which would in the least interfere with the emoluments of the patentees of the officers of the court, and which would secure the independence of the judges.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.659](#)

CHAPER XXXIV

1769-70

The General Assembly met on the 23d of November 1769, the day to which it had been prorogued by the Lieutenant Governor. On the 30th Patrick Calhoun and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney took their seats. Mr. Calhoun — the father of Carolina's great statesman — was the first of the **Scotch-Irish** settlers of the upper part of the State to enter its legislature. He was returned as member of Prince William's Parish, which bounding on the southwest on the Savannah, ran indefinitely up that river, and thus included the **Scotch-Irish** and Huguenots who had settled at Long Canes, is what is now Abbeville County. As we have seen, it was only in this parish that the back settlers had been allowed to vote; but in this parish they were not allowed to take part in the election, but to send one of themselves as a member of the Assembly, and in him to establish a name which has become indissolubly associated with that of Carolina.

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.761-762](#)

Elections were held under the call of the general committee, but whether the people generally took part in them, we have no information. The writs of election, it will be observed, were sent to no officials, but to certain "influential gentlemen in every parish and district," and these "influential gentlemen" took care, not doubt, to see that only those were returned who were favorable to the cause.

...

There was no requirement of the election law restricting representatives to be residents in the election precinct from which elected; nor is the practice without substantial advantages to recommend it.²

...

The election, therefore, of low country men for this Congress, as members for the upper-country districts, would not of itself have the same significance that such an occurrence would have to-day. But under all the circumstances of the time we cannot but look upon the appearance of such prominent low-country men as Edward Rutledge among those returned from Ninety-six, John Colcock and Rowland Rugely from the district between the Broad and Saluda, Henry Middleton from the district between the Broad and the Catawba, and William Henry Drayton from Saxe-Gotha, as somewhat the work of the "influential gentlemen" to whom the writs of election were sent.

...

There is a striking feature of these elections of great significance, and that is the conspicuous absence of the **Scotch-Irish** and German element. We recognize the name so none of the **Scotch-Irish** who filled that section of the province among those elected, except Patrick Calhoun and John Caldwell, who, if they attended, took no conspicuous part in the proceedings of the body. It is as least singular that we find, among the returned, none of the Brattons, McLures, Hills, Gastons, or Laceys, who so distinguished themselves when the war of the Revolution rolled back to the upper part of the State. There is not a single German elected from Saxe-Gotha or St. Mathew's or from the Dutch Fork. The inference is very strong that either the elections were so conducted as to allow no opportunity of the election of any of these people, or that they would take no part in the elections.

² Professor Bryce's comments on the subject, [The American Commonwealth, vol. I](#), chapter XIX, 186

[Vol. 2 \(1719-1776\), p.797-798](#)

Of the Council of Safety — the new governing body — all were churchmen; of the thirteen members, six were from St. Philip's, two from St. Michael's, and the other five from St. Andrew's, St. John's and St. Paul's. They were all of the stock of the old settlers. Henry Laurens, the President, was a Huguenot, the other members were English or Irish. On the other hand, the Germans in Orangeburg, in Saxe-Gotha, and in the Dutch Fork between the Broad and the Saluda rivers looked on with stolid indifference, if not with aversion. King George was to them only King of England, but he

was Elector of Hanover as well. They were prospering in a quiet way and were not inclined to involve themselves in a revolution upon abstract principles of government, in which they were not interested. The Irish at Williamsburg were ultimately to furnish partisan soldiers for Marions brigade; but as yet they do not appear to have been more interested than consulted about the proceedings in the town. The Welch on the Pee Dee, with few exceptions, were alike indifferent. The Scotche refugees from Culloden had had enough of rebellion in 1745 to last them for a while. The **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians, stretching across the province from the Waxhaws to Long Cane, used little tea in their new settlement, and were little disposed to follow the churchmen on the coast, in whose Assembly they could but small, if any, representation. Gilbert's Huguenots and Stumpel's Germans in Abbeville were too much engaged in settling themselves in their new homes to take part in the controversies in the low country.

All these people were at last to be aroused, when the tide of war rolled back upon them. But it required British bayonets, not to conquer, but to drive them into rebellion. South Carolina was to become the bloody ground of the Revolution, but this was at last more the work of Sir Henry Clinton's unwise policy in repudiating the paroles he had accepted; of Tarleton's sabers, as they flashed upon the **Scotch-Irish**, whom he mistook for rebels because they were dissenters; and of the licentiousness, cruelty, rapacity, and tyranny of other British officers, than of Gadsden's zeal or Rutledge's eloquence. Indeed, it will appear that it was while all the original leaders in these movements were in exile or in prison that the seeds they had sown sprang up under the very heels of the invaders, and that, though abandoned by the General Congress, the people of South Carolina rose under Sumter, Marion, and Pickens, overthrew the forces of the enemy, and redeemed the State; recalled Cornwallis from his victorious progress, thus frustrating the grand plan by which his Lordship was to have moved through the Southern provinces, and reinforced from New York, by the way of Portsmouth, Virginia, was to have advance on the Jerseys and take Washington in the rear, as Sherman, eighty years after, moved upon Lee. It was as we shall see, by the uprising of the people of South Carolina that the time was gained, so essential to whole American cause, while Washington waited the release of Rochambeau at Newport, and the coming of the second French fleet, to render Yorktown possible.

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.34-35](#)

It was now ascertained that the disaffection extended much farther back into the interior and was particularly strong in the fork of the Saluda and Broad rivers, where the German element coming from the coast had met the **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians coming down by way of the foot of the mountains. They too had been without representative in the Colonial Assembly, and had few in the Provincial Congress which now had assumed to overthrow one government and set up another over them. They had been too short a time in the province to assimilate with the people on this coast; and they had particularly felt the weakness of the government here to protect them, or to provide them courts. They had been compelled to set up a government of Regulators against the thieves and robbers that infested this part of the province. When they had asked for courts the gentlemen on the coasts told them they would provide them as soon as the King would agree to allow the judges to hold during good behavior, but not until then. In the meanwhile they had been suffering. It is true the gentlemen on the coast had given up the point at last, but the courts had been held had been devoted more to political harangues and stirring up opposition to the King than to punishment of criminal and the administration of justice. They, too, like the Germans, had had no use either stamps or tea and took little interest in a dispute which from their distance appeared to be only a struggle for political power.

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.120-122](#)

It is singular, too, that in justifying the great step the Chief Justice [William Henry Drayton] does not allude to the real grievances of this colony. He does not point out how the native colonists had been superseded and set aside by the officials of the Board of Trade for the placemen who hung around the throne for recognition and reward for questionable service rendered. He does not point out to the people of the Up Country that it was the willful neglect and corrupt conduct of that Board in England which had deprived them of courts for the punishment of crime and the maintenance of justice. He does not remind them that the Colonial Assembly on the coast had passed act after act for the purpose of providing courts, and that these acts had been disallowed in England until the Assembly had agreed to buy off Mr. Cumberland, a clerk of the Board who held in England the sinecure of the office of High Sheriff of the province. In the stead of all this he appeals to them to declare themselves independent of England because New England's fishing trade had been interfered with and because the legislature of New York had been suspended, the charter of Massachusetts altered and the Roman Catholic religion recognized in Quebec. But what had the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who with the Bible containing their own version of the Psalms were enjoying the liberty of conscience in the country they were wresting from the Indians, to do with all that? Were they for the sake of New England fishermen and the Canadian Protestant to go into a war and expose themselves to the inroads of the Indians, and to set up a government on the coast which was not yet prepared to abandon the Church of England as a church of State?

...

The Chief Justice had nothing to say to the people of the Up Country, explaining why they should fight for representation in the Parliament in England at the bidding of a body in which they had had no representation at home.

It was indeed a great political mistake which the small number of the Provincial Congress assembled in Charlestown had made when disregarding Mr. Lowndes's protest that they did not constitute a full and free representation of the people, as the Continental Congress had recommended, they assumed to form a government. It may have been that had they waited for such a representation, no government would have been founded at all, and the

revolutionary movement would have been checked. But, on the other hand, the action of the few who attended that Congress in setting up a government without further reference to the people, especially to those of the upper part of the province, added to the opposition throughout that most populous sections.

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.558-560](#)

The British commanders made another mistake as disastrous to the cause of the King as the breach of faith in the matter of paroles. The great body of the **Scotch-Irish** who had come into the province during the twenty years preceding the Revolution, as has been before observed, had taken no active part in the movement. They had had their own more pressing troubles with the robbers, horse-thieves, and vagrants on the frontier; and while the dispute had been going on in the Low Country about taxation without representation in the Parliament in England, they had been trying in vain to obtain representation in the local government at home, and courts to preserve order and administer justice in the land they were settling. True, as has elsewhere been explained, it had not been the fault or neglect of the people on the coast that these evils had not been remedied, and that their unfortunate condition was allowed to continue. It had been the fault of the government in England.¹ But this was not understood by these people at the time. They were not concerned about the taxation on the tea nor the collection of revenue, which they did not feel; nor on the other hand, were they disposed to unit in a revolution under the lead of those by whom they considered aggrieved. The Rev. Mr. Tennent had, therefore, met with little success in his mission in 1775, nor had he succeeded in arousing their sympathies to any great extent by his broadsheets upon the disestablishment of the Church in 1778. These pious, God-fearing, industrious people had scarcely been heard from during the four years the war had lasted. Some few of them had been with Richard Winn in Richardson's Snow Campaign and in his company under Thomson on Sullivan's Island on the 28th of June, 1776; some had been with John McLure at Monck's Corner; and a few more had gone with Davie to Charlestown and fought at Stono; but the people generally to the north of Camden were merely passive. They had not as yet been enlisted in the cause and had taken no part in the contest when Tarleton burst upon them in pursuit of Buford, and horrified, and for the moment stunned them, by his terrible massacre. But butchery, however horrible, was not to appall men who were descended from the defenders of Londonderry and Enniskillen. It only aroused the dormant fierceness and indomitable courage of their nature.

¹ [Hist. of So. Ca. under Roy. Gov. \(McCrary\), 623-643](#)

Fortunately, says Johnson, the British felt too confident in themselves, or too much contempt for their enemy, to act with moderation or policy. Amidst the infatuation of power and victory their commanders appear to have forgotten that a nation may submit to conquest, but never to insult. They seem to have forgotten also that religion which looks to another world for its recompense or enjoyments, becomes the most formidable enemy that can be raised up in this. As the Dissenters of New England had the reputation of having excited the war, Dissenters generally became objects of odium to the enemy. Hence their meeting houses were often burnt or destroyed. One of them in Charlestown was converted into a horse-stable; in the populous settlement of the Waxhaws their minister was insulted, his house and books burnt, and *bellum internecionis* declared against all the Bibles which contained the Scotch version of the Psalms.¹ At the command of Major Wemyss, who used the torch as Tarleton did the sword, the church of Indiantown, in what was then St. Mark's Parish, was burnt because he regarded all Presbyterian churches as "sedition shops." The Holy Bible, too, with "Rouse's Psalms" indicated the hated rebellious sect, and was universally consigned to the flames.²

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, the British had released their prisoners from their paroles and had converted the neutrals in the State into their most implacable enemies. The war spirit was no longer confined to a class in South Carolina; it had taken fire and pervaded the whole people. The heroic period was now to be begin.

¹ *Life of Greene* (Johnson), vol. II, 287-288

² *Hist. of Williamsburg Church*, 56

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.578](#)

We have a few pages since quoted Ramsay as saying that, after the fall of Charlestown, excepting in the extremities of the State which border on North Carolina, the inhabitants of South Carolina preferred submission to resistance. It is curious that while Cross Creek or Fayetteville in North Carolina was looked upon as the place most intensely loyal to the King, not far from it the people of Mecklenburg, on the border of the two States, were the most earnest and steadfast Whigs. This is the more remarkable, also, as the Scotch-Irish in the northwestern part of South Carolina had not taken any considerable part in the Revolution. It was in this neighborhood that the action was taken in May, 1775, setting up a local government.¹ It was in the same that the first collision was now to occur between the Whigs and the Tories. The Tories in North Carolina had risen precipitately in February, 1776, under Donald McDonald and had met with a crushing defeat at Moore's Creek. A similar defeat was now again to meet them from the same precipitancy. This time it was to be final.

...

Learning that a body of Tories was assembling in strong force under Colonel Moore at Ramsour's Mill, near where the town of Lincolnton now stands, General Rutherford, not willing himself to leave the front of the British, ordered Colonel Francis Locke, and other officers to collect a body of militia and disperse it.

¹ Without entering into the historical question as to the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, it is enough here to say that there appears in the *So. Ca. and Am. Gazette* of June 13 1775, a preamble and resolves of the Committee of the County, adopted 31st of May, from which we quote.

"Whereas by an address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in February last the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from, the authority of king or Parliament are annulled and vacated ..."

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.765](#)

Sumter, after the surprise and defeat at Fishing Creek, had soon returned to the field and established himself at his old quarters at Clem's Creek. From that point he sent Colonel Lacey into the country between the Broad and Catawba to beat up more men there from among the **Scotch-Irish** there and to organize a mounted corps.

[Vol. 3 \(1775-1780\), p.787-789](#)

Draper points out the remarkable circumstance that in the battle about to take place Ferguson was probably the only British soldier present. All the rest on either side were colonists. It was a fight between American Whigs and Tories alone. And now that Dunlap was away, Ferguson's men seem to have been as unobjectionable a class as are ordinarily found in the ranks of an army.

...

In the confronting ranks there was, however, says Draper, a very different class of men. The Virginians, under Campbell, were a peculiar people, somewhat of the character of Cromwell's soldiery. They were almost to a man Presbyterians. In their homes in Holston valley they were settled in pretty compact congregations; tenacious of their religious and civil liberties, as handed from father to son from their **Scotch-Irish** ancestors. Their preacher, Rev. Charles Cummins, was well fitted for the times, a man of piety and sterling patriotism, who constantly excited his people to make every needed sacrifice, and put forth every possible exertion in defence of the liberties of their country. They were a remarkable body of men, physically and mentally. Inured to frontier life, raised mostly in Augusta and Rickbridge counties, Virginia, a frontier region in the French-Indian war, they early settled on the Holston, and were accustomed from their childhood to border life and hardship. They were better educated than most of the frontier settlers, and had a more thorough understanding of the questions at issue between the colonies and their mother country. These men went forth to strike their country's foes, as did the patriarchs of old, feeling assured that the God of battle was with them, and that He would surely crown their efforts with success. Lacey's men, mostly from the present York and Chester counties in South Carolina, were of the same character, **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians, and so were some of those under Shelby, Sevier, Cleveland, Williams, Winston, and McDowell; but many of these, especially those from Nolachucky, Watauga, and Lower Holston, who had not very long settled on the frontier, were more of a mixed race, somewhat rough, but brave, fearless, and full of adventure.

[Vol. 4 \(1780-1783\), pp. 708-711](#)

It can hardly be doubted that the people of South Carolina as a whole had been at first by a vast majority opposed to separation. The extreme Revolutionary party was confined to the coast, and even in that region there were many, very many, who, though for resistance to the unconventional proceedings of Parliament, as they conceived, regarded with horror the very idea of being no longer a part of the great British Empire; while in the Up-Country the Scotch-Irish and the newly come Virginians in the middle country were too busy with their new settlements to be concerning themselves with questions which they regarded as but Low-Country politics. What concern was it to them whether stamps were required on legal papers or not, when there were no courts in their section in which to use them, and when for their protection against horse thieves and other criminals they were forced to the necessity of organizing courts of regulators, which became as dangerous almost as the evils from which they were established to protect them? Why ask them to fight against taxation without representation in Parliament in England, when they had no representation in the General Assembly which met in Charleston? It was most unfortunate that the Revolution found the people of the province, by and large, in an inchoate condition. The normal order of settlement of the country had been, as we have seen, suddenly changed. Prior to 1750 immigration had come by way of the sea, and from Charleston had pushed up the rivers, carrying with it the civil and social organization of the coast; but in the eighty years since the beginning of the colony, the settlement of the province had extended but little beyond the falls of the rivers. Then, after Braddock's defeat, had come the immense tide of population from Pennsylvania and Virginia by way of the foot of the mountains, filling up that region with **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians and some Germans, and in the middle country with English Virginians, until it was estimated that those sections contained two-thirds of the population of the State. This immigration had come, not as individuals and families, but as communities, bringing with them their own religious and social systems. It is remarkable, too, that it had come so quietly that the old colonists on the coast, sitting in their Assembly, elected from parishes organized under the Church of England, were scarcely aware of the presence of such a people until they found themselves outnumbered in the province. Measures for the extension of the parish system and the establishment of schools for the children and courts for the people had been contemplated, and it will be recollected

to some extent inaugurated, by the General Assembly; but had been effectually stifled in London by the *sine cure* holders of patent offices living in England, whose interests would thereby be affected, and who through court influence required to be bought off before such measures should be allowed to pass. This had been done, and the courts provided had actually been opened; but the parishes had not yet been extended, nor had provision yet been made for giving the people in the back country representation in the Assembly when the Revolution began. For this condition of things the newcomers held the people on the coast responsible, and ridiculed the idea of being called upon to join in rebellion against the mother country because Parliament in England taxed the American colonies without giving them representation, when they on the coast did the same in regard to themselves.

It was an unfortunate condition of affairs for which the Low-Country people were not altogether, if indeed at all, to blame; but so it happened that the Revolution found the people of South Carolina radically divided in a manner in no wise connected with the questions between Great Britain and the colonies. The **Scotch-Irish** Presbyterians, above the falls of the rivers, enjoying religious freedom to a greater extent than ever before, and however zealous for political freedom as well, more concerned then with settling their new homes than with the theoretical questions agitated on the coast, turned a deaf ear to the commissioners sent to appeal to them to join in the struggle against the king. With but few exceptions they refrained from taking any part in the struggle until rudely awakened by Tarleton's slaughter of Buford's men in the Waxhaws, and the burning and desecration of their churches upon the assumption that, as the dissenters in New England were the leaders in the Revolution, the dissenters in South Carolina must necessarily be rebels as well.

But it so happened that, divided as South Carolina was upon the subject of the Revolution, not only upon its general merits, but also as to the extent to which it should be carried, the first decisive victory for the American cause was that of Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor.

[Vol. 4 \(1780-1783\), pp. 717-718](#)

Misunderstanding the condition of affairs in South Carolina, and assuming, as we have observed, that because the dissenters in New England had been the moving spirits in the Revolution, that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in North and South Carolina were likewise rebels, Tarleton and Huck had dashed in among them, slaughtered Buford's men; and cut and slashed among these people, who had really as yet taken but little part in the struggle. The British had, indeed, stirred up a hornet's nest. Scotch-Irish blood was never slow at taking fire! If as rebels they were to be treated, rebels they indeed would be! A man, too, was found to lead them. Sumter, without a commission from either the State or Congress, gathering a little party at Clem's Creek, in the Waxhaws, just below the line between North and South Carolina, was joined there by Hill, Neel, and Lacey, and Henry and Richard Hampton, and the Taylors and Bratton, and McLure and Winn, and Williams and Brandon, and by the Virginians recently come into the province, and refugees from the Low-Country, and these all, with Davies little band of North Carolinians as a nucleus, formed and organized themselves as partisan bands to stem the tide of British progress. Assisted by a few similar small bands from North Carolina and upper Georgia, Sumter first raised the fallen standard of American independence in a country which was overrun by British troops, and claimed by the British commander to be conquered.

...

The Continental army routed and dispersed, the cause of American independence was now abandoned to the defence of the partisan bands in South Carolina.