

Recovering The United States' Past

Those who are in rebellion against memory are the ones who wish to live without knowledge ... the phrase is likely to be, 'you can't turn the clock back.'....The believer in truth...is bound to maintain that the things of highest value are not affected by the passage of time...we wish to recover lost ideals and values."

Richard M. Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences*

The war against Scotland's past is well documented¹, unlike the war against the Scottish legacy in America. Six factors converge to eclipse the Celtic legacy in the United States (1) New England's writers dominated early American writing; (2) terms in U.S. History such as English and British are used interchangeably; (3) cultural views of politics, religion, and history changed by the time historians attempted to correct the record; (4) U.S. Constitutional history of the late 19th and early 20th century consisted not of scholarship, but of political propaganda efforts²; (5) attempts to recover U.S. Constitutional history in the late 20th century have been reactions to rather than corrections of the earlier histories; and (6) in today's politically correct atmosphere, white men are usually examined as a homogenous group.

¹ A single volume history can be found by Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.)

² This point is thoroughly explored by Douglass Adair in his Essay *The Tenth Federalist Revisited* reprinted Trevor Colburn, ed., in *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays by Douglass Adair* (New York: W.W. Norton Co, 1974)

The Early Writers

When early writers reflected upon the American founding, they stopped at New England's edge. Historian Charles Hanna said these men viewed the United States' border as the Dutch settlements of New York. "Many New England writers ignore or belittle the presence of any element not within the range of their own immediate horizon"³. The quirk continued the tradition of English historical writing. The New England historians were "peculiarly English, and exhibit that trait which has become so characteristic of the native English... insularity."⁴

The insularity Charles Hanna referenced was defined in 1931 by British historian Herbert Butterfield as "Whig History". Butterfield explained that British historians wrote to justify past events in the present. British government was made the predestined "acme of human political development". Today men with quintessentially Celtic names such as the Irish Burke and the Welsh Williams are claimed for England. By the American Revolution, this interpretation was the official history of the British political system. References to Whigs are based largely on the mythology of the late eighteenth century.

Even Presidents were not immune. Discussing James Otis's Boston court speech against writs of assistance, their violation of constitutionalism and natural law, and taxation without representation⁵ John Adams wrote, "Here this day, in the old council chamber, the child Independence was born."⁶ Why he singled out this particular instance as the day Independence was born is odd. Like many New Englanders, Adams claimed his region as

³ Charles Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), 2.

⁴ Hanna, 2.

⁵ Otis's speech was not the first in any of these ideas. See Otis Appendix

⁶ William H. Hallahan, *The Day the American Revolution Began: 19 April 1775*, (New York: Perennial, 2001), 237.

the birthplace of American liberty, but constitutionalism and natural law had long been debated in British politics. The first taxation without representation fight took place in Philadelphia in 1740, and “the Irish had been demanding –unsuccessfully–the end of taxation without representation for 30 years.” James Madison challenged the re-write of history by Adams, who simply retreated, “your remark is very just on the subject of independence. It was not the offspring of a particular man or a particular moment.”

More important than what was written is what was not written. Others who knew as Madison did remained silent. Why? Two studies taken together, Charles Hanna’s study of the Scotch-Irish and Richard M. Weaver’s apologia of the south, answer the question.

Hanna commented on the “dirth” of writings from outside the Puritan colonies. Weaver filled in the blanks decades later when writing of the predominantly Scotch-Irish southerner. Weaver never attempted to show the great works of ante-bellum literature, explaining “one who writes of Southern philosophy has little opportunity to speak from texts. What he says must be inferred, partly from the unexpressed postulates of a way of life, and partly from the tendencies of a non-philosophical literature.”⁸ As he diagrammed the gentleman and the southern philosophy, manners, military tactics, personal conduct, and religion far outweighed the desire to self-glorify through literature. “Many explanations have been offered to account for the poor showing of the Old South in literature, but not enough has been said of its actual achievements in terms of its animating ideals.”⁹

⁷ Hallahan, 70. William A. Wallace, Address to Philadelphia Historical Society. (1882) Quoted in C. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), 67.

⁸ George M. Curtis, III and James J. Thompson, Jr. eds., *The Southern Essays of Richard M. Weaver*. Reprint of *Aspects of the Southern Philosophy*. (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1987), 189.

⁹ Richard M. Weaver, *The Southern Tradition at Bay: A History of Postbellum Thought*. (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1989), 56-57.

Hanna found a lack of literature was not unique to the Scotch-Irish American. "In art and literature they have produced less relatively than the English - in the North of Ireland, almost nothing."¹⁰

Only in defeat does it seem in a Scotsman's character to write. Discussing the rise of post bellum southern literature, Weaver paralleled the new Southern romanticists and Scottish romanticists like Walter Scott. They wrote "to show the world that the South, no less than proud Scotland, provided subjects for enduring romance."¹¹ Cultural idiosyncrasies assured the histories of the American republic were written by the descendants of those Englishmen who opposed republican government. Subsequent interpretation of constitutional history has forever carried their bias.

On the other hand, Scottish descendents have done more to stamp out the contributions of their grandfathers than any other literary group. An honest evaluation of the United States' founding shows the Scottish culture transformed itself into the quintessence of American culture and the pillar of American political genius. The persecuted sons of Scotland became the face of the United States. They were the first special forces, the trademark politicians uttering "give me liberty or give me death," and the first to fire at Lexington. Scotland's sons looked like the United States to the world.

But a century after the revolution, the Scotch-Irish historians were more concerned with attacking the English contribution. The controversies of a century before were gone. The argument was settled; the Constitution had worked. One state historian declared, "By this [ratification] a new-born government sprang at once into perfect existence, as had

¹⁰ Hanna, 133.

¹¹ Weaver, 265.

formerly the fabled Minerva from the head of Jove."¹² The days of the angry Scotch-Irish southerner accusing the Federalists founders of furthering the sickness of the French revolution no longer rang true.¹³ But that line of argumentation served a later purpose.

Late nineteenth century Scottish American authors wrote from their bias and the vision of their time. Any tactic denying English influence was employed. The blossoming scientific age found the French "enlightenment" palatable. The philosophy of the age took over, and the old southern accusations of French influence on the founders rose again. Once an argument of derision, it now served the Scotch revisionists in their purpose of separating America from England. "It would appear the members of the Convention were influenced more by the French writers than by the English exemplars."¹⁴ On equality, "Jefferson,...learned the same principle from the philosophers of France."¹⁵

Hanna replaced the English influence with the French and thereby directed future historians away from Scotland as an origin of influence. Douglas Campbell did the same, claiming the Dutch as the source of American government and concluding, "the simple fact is, that the whole theory of society and government in the two countries has always been radically different. Under such conditions, it was but natural that our forefathers should turn for their precedents, not to a monarchy or an aristocracy, but to a republic..."¹⁶

Continental thinkers were sourced as the entirety of the American governmental philosophy - the Dutch with developing federalism, the French with equality, Montesquieu

¹² Joseph Walker, *A History of the New Hampshire Convention* (Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1888), 2.

¹³ The humanism of the French Revolution was an affront to southerners and figured prominently in post-bellum polemics. Weaver wrote, "nary a month could go by without the *Southern Review* attacking the French." 127.

¹⁴ Hanna, 34.

¹⁵ Campbell, D. 1892 *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America* : Quoted in C. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), Vol 1, 94.

¹⁶ Campbell, D. 1892 *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America* : Quoted in C. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), Vol 1, 94. Vol 1, 44-45.

as the “oracle” of Washington, and even Regnerus Lodborg, an ancient Danish king, as the source of jury trials.¹⁷

No distortion of reason or minute point was bypassed. American Scots set an impossible threshold of proof, which they did not meet in their own writings for connecting the United States to Britain. A written versus an unwritten document somehow proved there was no intellectual cross-pollination between Britain and the United States. “There was certainly no manner of resemblance in form between the unwritten Constitution of Great Britain and the voluminous written instrument subscribed at Philadelphia.”¹⁸ Sydney Fisher challenged historians to “adopt this simple plan: read our Constitution, sentence by sentence, from beginning to end, and see how many sentences they can trace to an origin in the British government.”¹⁹ (Fisher never explained how to complete a line by line comparison between written and unwritten Constitutions.) The 1689 predecessor of the Bill of Rights was discounted of any influence because there are “few counterparts” between the two. However, Hanna sensed he may have gone too far, declaring “in form they do bear an outward resemblance to those outward limitations of Kings”, but this final analysis “must wait for some future gifted historian.”²⁰

The Atlantic Monthly's November 1892 book review of Douglas Campbell's *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America* best summarizes this genre of work.

“His criticisms of the accepted views respecting English greatness in the Elizabethan age are often acute and instructive, though marred by an acerbity of temper that is anything but scientific...Upon how slight grounds he is content to

¹⁷ Hanna, 41.

¹⁸ Hanna, 40.

¹⁹ Hanna, 45-46.

²⁰ Hanna, 40.

base such conclusions, how far the love of his thesis can carry him in the way of seeing evidence where none exists."²¹

The new world view also affected the analysis of the authors' sympathetic subjects. Race theory was just another science determining survival of the fittest to which Hanna dedicated seven chapters. The post-Darwinian viewpoint overwhelmed much of Hanna's work. By viewing historical events through the lens of his time, he distorted Scotland as a country in two key ways. First, it defined Scotland as a collection of competing racial groups without possibility of reconciliation instead of a nation. Second, by making Scotland an accidental amalgamation of people, the ability to identify a general culture was eliminated. Hanna regressed 18th century Scotland from the most educated country in Europe to a Balkanized group of Darwinian apes void of a national history.

What Scottish contributions were not erased by authors like Campbell, Fisher, and Hanna, others impugned as a child's philosophy with a child's temperament.

John McMaster discounted any legitimacy within the Presbyterian-laden Patriot Party's opposition to Pennsylvania's Constitutional ratification convention. In a uniquely late 1800's view, he claimed every man who voted for the national constitution pronounced "his state constitution to be bad in form"²² and that the men who wrote the state constitution refused to see their work trumped by another document. McMaster finished by calling the representatives of the Scotch-Irish counties "that little band of malcontents."²³

Joseph Walker wrote the history of the New Hampshire ratifying convention for the ratification's 100th anniversary; his book views the events of 1788 as a happy American

²¹ No author given, "The Dutch Influence in America," *The Atlantic Monthly*. Volume 70, Issue 421 (November, 1892): 701 <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/>

²² Hanna, 36.

²³ Hanna, 36.

citizen a century later. On the verge of defeat, Federalists bought time through a motion to recess rather than adjourn. Walker relays the story that enough votes were changed upon return in favor of ratification because the anti-federalists farmers were "enlightened."²⁴

As written by American Scots,²⁵ little room is left for any Scottish contribution to the American Constitution. They destroyed Scotland as a country with a philosophy, tied all Constitutional philosophy to continental Europe, and impugned the representatives of Scottish thought. The only conclusion to be drawn is that these authors greatly damaged the case for Scotland's influence.

Post civil war fascination with Darwin, the rising industrial society, and the patriotic sense that the American experiment had worked, created a type of historian who made the glory of the Constitution fit his own end.

Historians concluded the model of government in the United States had worked flawlessly in allowing full freedom for the survival of the fittest. It was "an age that applauded Carnegie's 'gospel of wealth' and merged Darwinian biology with Spencerian sociology to justify the new rich as the most 'fit' and the 'best'."²⁶

* The civil war marked the conquest of agrarian society by the industrial banking society. The old, federal compact of states delegating only certain enumerated powers to union authority gave way to a national, economic government. Madison and Jefferson did not fit the needs of the new industrialism, but Alexander Hamilton did. Constitutional

²⁴ Walker, 30.

²⁵ Every author mentioned here, has not been positively identified as Scottish through genealogy. However, the surname of each has a source in Scottish history – Campbell and Walker are undoubtedly Scottish, the Hannah surname dates back to Scotland as early as the 13th century and given the subject and tenor of his life's work most likely considered himself Scotch-Irish, Fisher comes from Clans Campbell & MacGregor, while MacMaster comes from Clans MacInnes & Buchanan.

²⁶ Trevor Colburn, ed. *Fame and the Founding Fathers: The essays of Douglass Adair* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1974), 81.

interpretation charted a new course declaring "the 'racial' wisdom of Hamilton" and the Anglo-Saxon love of order and liberty against out-of-control majorities.²⁷

In his essay, *The Tenth Federalist Revisited*, Professor Douglass Adair clearly maps the rise of the Hamiltonian mythology in the industrial era. "The symbolic figure of Alexander Hamilton and a neo-Hamiltonian Constitutional philosophy, in contrast, suited the emotional needs and the political interest of the most potent social classes of America's Gilded Age."²⁸ The hagiography of Alexander Hamilton as Constitutional architect started, and Madison became only a 'reporter' of the Constitutional Convention.

The late 1800s interpretation was challenged by propagandists from the opposing side led by Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. Aware of the people's veneration of the founders and searching for an answer to the propaganda of big business, Beard found a little known and oft-ignored writing of James Madison. One hundred and twenty five years after the fact, the tenth federalist paper became the class warfare cornerstone of the Constitution. *

The argument came full circle. England was credited as inspiring the American founders. Vernon Parrington, a Beard follower, concluded that Constitutional shortcomings were due to "Tory obloquy" of "Hobbes, Locke, Harrington, Milton, Sidney, Halifax, Hume, and Blackstone."²⁹ From 1865 to the 1940s, the Scottish influence on the Constitution was buried under an avalanche of polemics.


²⁷ Colburn, 81.

²⁸ Colburn, 80-81.

²⁹ Colburn, 90.

Late 20th Century Constitutional Recovery

Late 20th century Constitutional thought is mainly based on the work of Professor Douglass Adair, who started examining the founding philosophy for what it was. Protégés Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood wrote landmark books and, with Forrest MacDonald, are the vanguards of modern opinion on founding Constitutional philosophy. However, their attempts to recover original thought have suffered from the fact that they are largely a reaction to post civil war interpretations and Charles Beard. The revolution as a by-product of the enlightenment, the centrality of the tenth *Federalist* in the scheme of government, and liberty as "The Rights of Englishmen", are still presupposed. Recapturing the meaning of the Constitution requires correcting the mistakes of post-civil war propaganda in the United States and putting aside "Whig History" to examine the real history of early Britain.



England's Early Republicanism

By the 1650's¹⁰⁴, the vital element of republican virtue –an educated populace– existed in Scotland. The education theories of 1496 and 1560 had succeeded. Traveling in the country a decade later, an Englishman wrote,

“We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes....Upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them....This measure of knowledge was spread even amongst the meanest of them, their cottagers and servants.”¹⁰⁵

England's republican experiment fell short of the Scottish interpretation. No man better mirrored England's growth with Whiggism than Anthony Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury. The Earl flirted with representation before convincing parliament to make Cromwell Lord Protector. Cromwell proclaimed Presbyterians banished in Ireland. The House of Commons was ejected, and the doors were locked making Cromwell dictator. Shaftesbury later saw his error and fought to end divine-right succession. Scotland's Kirk remained the only true representation in Britain.

In spite of Cromwell's efforts, Presbyterianism grew. “The [Irish] Celts themselves were beginning to learn the language and to adopt the custom of their conquerors. Presbyterianism made rapid progress.”¹⁰⁶ Royalists and Presbyterians allied into a House of Commons majority. “Having first saved the nation from the tyranny of Charles, they now saved it from the tyranny of the army; but unfortunately they again put their trust in the House of Stuart.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Author T.M. Devine points to the study by Gordon Donaldson.

¹⁰⁵ Gilbert Burnett quoted in Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York, Crown Publishers, 2001), 18.

¹⁰⁶ Hanna, 577.

¹⁰⁷ Hanna, 577.

The end of divine-right monarchy, not regicide, was the purpose of the Solemn League Covenant. So, Charles II received an act of the Scottish Parliament stating that if he swore to the act and the National Covenant he would be the Scottish King. He agreed, before he took the throne, abolished Presbyterianism, and established Episcopalianism by the Act of Uniformity. Such acts were not uniformly accepted in England after the rule of Cromwell. The Scottish-designed government had demonstrated the benefits of Parliament. Appropriately, subscribers to the new governmental philosophy were labeled with the Scottish epitaph of Whig.

Charles called a new Scottish Parliament. Summary executions began. The Privy Council abolished ministers not admitted by a bishop. Hundreds of ministers refused conformity and preached in field "conventicles", which were then outlawed.¹⁰⁸

In 1664, the Bishop of St. Andrews instigated the inquisition of the Court of High Commission. He possessed the power to command the army, subpoena, and deny jury trial, witnesses, and defense. The commission fined, imprisoned, and banished men, publicly whipped women, and sold boys as slaves to North America.

In 1669, the Privy Council passed the Act of Indulgence, giving religious liberty to all who refused to speak against the state church. The king knew Calvinists could not abide by such a rule.

"torture was freely used to extort evidence or confession; families were reduced to ruin by exorbitant fines; the prisons were filled with the victims of oppression; multitudes were banished and sold as slaves; women and even children were tortured or murdered for refusing to take an oath...; soldiers were quartered ...modern history hardly affords a parallel to the cruelty and oppression under

¹⁰⁸ The crown had estimated between 15 & 20 ministers would refuse conformity.

which Scotland groaned for nearly thirty years. And what was the object of all this wickedness? It was to support Episcopacy."¹⁰⁹

In response, Presbyterians posted watch guards at conventicles. Bloody encounters with the army followed. Field preaching penalties were increased to deportation to Virginia or Barbados. In one year, seventeen thousand people were arrested making it impossible to deport them all.

Finally, the government determined the "Western Presbyterians, or Whigs" must be crushed. Ten thousand Highlanders were forcibly quartered in the Western Lowlands. The Privy Council gave license to kill Presbyterians. Viscious bloodshed followed. Archbishop Sharpe was ambushed and killed. John Graham of Claverhouse was defeated at the Drumclog conventicle before avenging himself at Bothwell Bridge. Events gave rise to Richard Cameron and his Cameronians, who disowned Charles II based on the idea of Scottish covenant kings.

as the representative of the true Presbyterian Kirk and covenanted nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under such a sin any longer, do by these presents, disown Charles Stuart, that has been reigning, or rather tyrannizing, as we may say, on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right, title to, or interest in, the said Crown of Scotland for government, as forfeited, several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant...

Charles II was accepted by compact and rejected by covenant. The tradition that earned his invitation generated his rejection. The Cameronians invoked Knox's right to revolution. "We...declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices..."¹¹⁰ Charles's army killed all the Cameronian preachers.

The persecutions established lasting Scottish settlements in North America. Bothwell Bridge rebels were sold into slavery in New Jersey and New York. Other

¹⁰⁹ Hanna, 111.

¹¹⁰ Sanquhar Declaration of 1680

“criminals” like conventicle leader George Scot and his congregation arrived. Nobles and gentlemen were sent to secure the South Carolina frontier for “Scottish immunity”. Men like John Dick arrived who affirmed their ancient rights when asked the question “is it lawful to bear arms?”¹¹¹ Bothwell Bridge rebels arrived here too. All the elements the monarch despised were assembled in one colony. Inadvertently, the English had secured the first radical Whig stronghold in North America.

Persecution continued under Charles’s successor brother, James VII, who was described as having “more vices and fewer virtues than his brother.”¹¹² James’s reign was known as “The Killing Times.” He stated “There would never be peace in Scotland till the whole of the country south of the Forth was turned into a hunting field.”¹¹³ He planned to depopulate the Scottish Lowlands—by genocide if necessary.

Victims were compelled to be witnesses against themselves and executed for crimes they never committed. Bishops’ soldiers killed Covenanters for a single “No” answer to any of four questions. 1) Was Bothwell Bridge rebellion? 2) Was the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s murder? 3) Will you pray for the King? 4) Will you renounce the Covenant? Over eighteen thousand were murdered based on these questions. Others emigrated to New Jersey, founding New Aberdeen, Scotch Plains, and others townships.

William, Mary, & The Glorious Revolution

After a century of battling Francophile monarchs, the Scots were delivered by William of Orange, a Dutchman who shared their fears, when he landed in England to

¹¹¹ Hanna relays the story of John Dick banished to Carolina for asserting his right to bear arms, 10.

¹¹² Hanna, 10.

receive the British Crown. Thankful Scots received religious and civil liberties and many became an "Orange Man."

King William and his wife Mary, daughter of James, ascended to the united throne during the Glorious Revolution of 1688. They attained the throne of England in February and the throne of Scotland in April of 1689. In both cases, they accepted limitations as a condition of their crowns. The immensity of the moment has been downplayed.

The importance of the revolution of 1688...was not the expansion of the list of officially recognized rights. This was merely the logical extension of a centuries-old tradition beginning with *Magna Carta* and extended by the Petition of Right and other such documents.¹¹³

But the Bill of Rights was the importance of the revolution. In the words of Patrick Henry in 1788,

The rights of the people continued to be violated till the Steward family was banished in the year 1688.... For upwards of a century the nation was involved in every kind of calamity, till the Bill of Rights put an end to all, by defining the rights of the people, and limiting the King's prerogative.

The Bills of Rights never acknowledged the monarch as the source of rights but as their violator requiring restraint. That precedent belongs not to *Magna Carta* but to the Declaration of Arbroath. Since Mary was the heir, her conditional coronation made her the first monarch not of divine-right. Coronating non-heir William made him the first compacted monarch in England. English tradition is void of such compact limitations. To the present, the unwritten English constitution is arbitrarily administered by judges claiming the authority of common law.

The Bills of Rights of 1689 were a laundry list of the "cruelty and oppression under which Scotland groaned." The Scottish Declaration protected the right to keep arms,

¹¹³ Hart, 195-196.

habeas corpus, speedy jury trials, not to quarter troops or self-incriminate, and the inviolate nature of local government, and local church government. It also declared illegal all proclamations of absolute power, and the "exacting" of money without the consent of parliament. The following year Earl Shaftsbury's political protégé, John Locke, completed his restatement of Scottish principals in *The Two Treatise of Government*.

The Bills of Rights were a product of their time. They delineated natural rights as given by God and beyond the purview of government. Transgressions against local authority and freedom of conscience violated natural law, not common law legal privileges. The rights of 1689 were built on four centuries of Scottish cultural foundations.

A war for the throne began after William and Mary's coronation. The Jacobites¹¹⁴ first struck at Ulster knowing the Presbyterian armies were in Scotland and England. At Londonderry and Enniskillen, Orangemen gained worldwide fame as warriors.

James had ordered all Protestants disarmed years earlier, anticipating Britain's reaction to his land settlement program for Francophile Catholics. His supporters' plans called for James's appointees to open the gates of Londonderry, but "more than ninety out of every hundred of the rank and file were Scotch Presbyterians"¹¹⁵, who had refused to obey the king's gun control law. The Catholic population could not deliver the city. Bishop Hopkins left the town to "the disloyal Whigs."

The Jacobite army demanded the city's residents abide by the gun control edict. Riding out of the gate, Londonderry's cavalry lost less than two dozen men and killed over two hundred. Four days later a similar excursion yielded two dead and twelve wounded.

¹¹⁴ James in Latin is Jacobus, hence his followers were called Jacobites.

¹¹⁵ Quote of the Governor and officers of Londonderry, quoted in Hanna, Vol. 1, 590.

After some time, considering hunger to be a friend, the Jacobites assaulted the city. Orange sharpshooters never left the walls as the women resupplied them; they felled over four hundred dead and wounded not counting prisoners. Nine-thousand Jacobites lost their lives in combat. When relief ships arrived months after the siege began, the Orangemen had lost eighty in combat, but when the gates opened over seven thousand non-combatants and twenty seven hundred combatants had starved to death rather than surrender.

As in Londonderry, the people of Enniskillen refused the bishop's invitation to disarm and surrender. Since Enniskillen was not a walled town, the Orangemen took to the countryside. They burned Aughur castle, took the city of Trillick, Ballinacarrig Castle, and the city of Waterside without losing a man.

The day the siege was raised at Londonderry, the men of Enniskillen launched a sneak attack and twenty two hundred men chased thirty five hundred. Jacobite losses were twenty five hundred with four hundred taken prisoner. After the bloody events of the Glorious Revolution, the Scotch-Irish ignored odds and hardship as considerations for battle and fought whenever they felt the need to do so. Their final cultural change had taken place in the British Isles.

Two Roads In Scottish History

"O' ye'll tak' the high road
And I'll tak' the low road,
And I'll be in Scotland afore ye;"
Loch Lomond, Scottish Folksong

The 1690s were the last days of Scottish history before it was joined with England to make Great Britain. The intricate picture of Scottish events during this time were not recorded as history but as opposing propagandas.

Deeper examination of the country's past reveals Highland Protestants, Lowland Catholics, and confused loyalties without clear choices. Societal complexities were ignored by historians while diametrically opposed simplifications seemingly explain everything. Readers are to believe Scots are Heroic Highlanders and highly-educated Presbyterians but are simultaneously uncivilized barbarians.

The Scottish past has been divided against itself. Highlander was divided from lowlander, Covenanter from Presbyterian, Presbyterian from Protestant, etc. However, Scottish national culture developed into the 1700s well after official histories wrote its end.

The present age looks at the top institutions of society. The universities, the philosophers in them, and the high church did not dictate Scotland's culture; they were merely a part of its development. The university system was only part of a complete educational system. University philosophers had little in common with the country, and the High Church had even less. This top down perspective of Anglicized institutions has failed to capture the spirit of a leveling, bottom up, Celtic society. Writers of high history¹¹⁶ give little credit to the lower social institutions, customs, and church in 18th century cultural development.

¹¹⁶ The establishment called their church the "High Church". The "Low Church" was the Presbyterian form of the commoner. Hence here I have given the term "High History" to the interpretation of history given by those elites who gaze only through high institutions such as the official church or a university to view society. "Low History" then is looking at the society through itself such as clans and kirks.

End of the Scottish Road

Glencoe defined the political course of the century within Great Britain.

King William ordered the loyalty of every subject. Many had sworn their allegiance, including Clan MacDonald. The crown never received word of the oath and ordered Clan Campbell to exterminate the MacDonalds of Glencoe. Exploiting clan hospitality, the Campbells laid down and then attempted a massacre during the night. Scotland was left to ask what happened to honor? What gave the king the right to exterminate a people? How could Scots do it to their own? Few Highlanders trusted the crown again and waged war for fifty years against what they believed was an untrustworthy adversary. A cloud drew over Scotland and defined the divide historians still use. Glencoe was not the only major event of the decade. An education act finished the system started by John Knox.

The massacre at Glencoe and the education act of 1696 marked the end of Scottish history and began two roads of "Whig history." One road cast the Scot as the kilted Jacobite barbarian who hated order; the other showed the education act's civilizing effects and the resulting prosperity in the more English-like lowland merchant. The stereotypes of the high history are easily recognizable today and lead to an English friendly version of events. The paths of historical interpretation follow the old folk song. He who takes the low road of history will arrive in Scotland first. The high road ends in London.