# The Great Scottish Migration to Ulster in the 1690s

## Lauren Bell, BA (Hons), MSc

Declaration: I confirm that the word count of this thesis is less than 100,000 excluding the title page, contents, acknowledgements, summary or abstract, abbreviations, footnotes, diagrams, maps, illustrations, tables, appendices, and references or bibliography

# Contents Page

# **Acknowledgements**

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Drs Andrew Sneddon and Éamonn Ó Ciardha for their continued hard work, support and advice throughout the PhD process. Both of you have enhanced my skillset and confidence making my PhD experience rewarding, and for that, I am forever grateful. I would also like to thank my Research Director, Professor Ian Thatcher, for assisting and supporting me throughout my study, as well as all of the other History department and university staff members, who have helped me along the way, especially Elaine Kane and Marian Hourican, who facilitated any research requirements I had. My thanks are also extended to my fellow PhD researchers, who understood the challenges of this process and offered continuous motivation and support.

I am beyond grateful to my fiancé, Scott, for his endless support, encouragement and patience with me throughout the PhD process, especially in the final few months. I cannot thank him enough for reading copious drafts of my work. I would also like to thank my parents, Linda and Stevie, as well as, my in-laws, Susan, Gordon and Lucy, for their persistent support, love and time in helping me complete my thesis. My close friends, Nicole, Calum, Erin and Hannah, also deserve credit for their unrelenting advice and encouragement – I thank you all. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandfathers, William Meddicks (1937-2018) and Frank Bell (1929-2013), who continually supported and championed me throughout my time in education. Both of them wanted nothing more than for me to excel in education, so I hope I have done them proud.

# **Abstract**

This thesis examines the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster, an often assumed rather than studied part of history. Consideration is given to the similarities and differences of Scotland and Ulster's societies, economies, politics and religion, and their role in encouraging this migration. It also uncovers the impact of this influx on Ulster's leases during this period, thereby demonstrating the push and pull factors that contributed to this migration. Greater insight is given to the 1690s migrant demographic, with an especial focus on their social status, regional origin and religious affiliation. The impact of return and ministerial migration through the North Channel is also assessed. Furthermore, an analysis of the economic and political influence of these migrants on Ulster's society provides an understanding of the overwhelmingly negative reaction, rhetoric and reception afforded to Scottish migrants to the northern province in the 1690s. In addition, a comparison is made between the early-modern 1690s migration and modern-day migrant experiences to demonstrate that 'migrant fear' is not a new ideology, and create a relatable association. All of these aspects shed light on the cultural and historical influence of this migration on Ulster, still apparent in today's society. Therefore, it is hoped that this study contributes to an important part of Scottish and Irish history.

# **Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| A.R.L. | Armagh Robinson Library |
| CRC | Community Relations Council |
| DIB | Dictionary of Irish Biography |
| EU | European Union |
| GU | Glasgow University |
| MEMSO | Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| N.L.I. | National Library of Ireland |
| N.L.S. | National Library of Scotland |
| N.R.S. | National Records of Scotland |
| NICEM | Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities |
| NILT | Northern Irish Life and Times |
| ODNB | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography |
| P.R.O.N.I. | Public Records Office of Northern Ireland |
| RPS | Records of the Parliament of Scotland |
| SPO | State Papers Online |
| SRO | Scottish Records Office |
| T.B.L. | The Bodleian Library |
| T.C.D. | Trinity College Dublin |
| T.M.L. | The Mitchell Library |
| TNA | The National Archives |

# List of Figures

# **Introduction**

This thesis aims to re-examine the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster, thereby creating fresh perspectives surrounding this largely neglected topic. An important, original theme of this study includes the analysis of Ulster's rentals to determine the full extent of this migration, as well as uncovering the push and pull factors and the extent to which famine accounts for this influx. In addition, the social class of migrants helped establish demographic profiles, thereby gaining novel insights into the people who made the crossing. A re-examination of the regional origin and religious affiliation of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster has been conducted to test the accepted historiographical belief that migrants predominately constituted Presbyterians from south-western Scotland. The extent of return migration and the impact of the North Channel as a maritime motorway has also been scrutinised. The influence of these Scots on Ulster, economic and political, has been re-analysed, with especial emphasis on this specific area. The reaction, rhetoric and reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster has also been given due consideration to ascertain whether the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric mirrored the actions of the Ulster populace towards the new arrivals.

## **17th Century Scotland and Ireland**

The 17th century transformed Ireland from a 'tribal, feudal kingdom' to a 'modern state'.[1] Ulster, in particular, experienced a volatile start to the century with the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), the Plantation of Ulster (1609) and the devastation caused by the wars of the three kingdoms (1637-1651). The Scots played a crucial role in these events. Early in James VI and I's reign, the Gaelic lord Conn O'Neill's lands were confiscated, leading to the 1605 Hamilton and Montgomery settlement in County Down, which would, in turn, be followed by

---

[1] Kevin McKenny, *The Laggan Army in Ireland, 1640-1685. The Landed Interests, Political Ideologies & Military Campaigns of the North-West Ulster Settlers* (Dublin, 2005), p. 160.

the Flight of the Earls (1607), the rebellion of Sir Cathair O'Doherty (1608) and the

Plantation of Ulster (1609), which made over 3,000,000 acres of the province available for

English and Scottish settlers.[2] In 1600, Catholics owned more than 80% of Irish land, and this

fell to 14% by the end of the century, with 95% of Catholic lands changing to Protestant

ownership.[3] By 1630, Ulster had an estimated Scottish population of approximately 4,000-

5,000 men, exclusively in Antrim and Down, representing over 2,000 families, which

increased to approximately 10,000 men by 1639.[4] In Belfast, Scottish Presbyterians

constituted 30% of the populace in 1670, which had increased to 70% by 1705.[5] Likewise,

Derry's population expanded from c.1,000 in the 1660s to c.3,000 by the early 18th century.[6]

Population figures for 1732-33 demonstrate how these three counties remained strongly

Protestant into the 18th century; Antrim had 14,899 Protestants compared to 3,461 Catholics;

Down consisted of 14,060 Protestants to 510 Catholics, and Derry boasted 8,751 Protestants

to 2,782 Catholics.[7] These figures alone convey the long-term impact of 17th Scottish

migrants into these regions.

Both Scotland and Ireland formed part of the same composite state with England in the

late 17th century.[8] J. G. A. Pocock demonstrates the interconnection of Scotland and Ireland

through his Pocockian model, 'war of the three kingdoms',[9] which conveys the intricate,

---

[2] John Sherry, '"Weaklynges" Sucking at England: Reassessing the Scottish Plantation of Ulster', in *International Review of Scottish Studies,* 35, (2010), pp. 40-42; David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters & Irish Confederates. Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid- Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 8-9.

[3] David Hempton, *Religion & Political Culture in Britain & Ireland. From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 93; T. Arkins, 'The Penal Laws & Irish Land', in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* 1(3), (1912), p. 514.

[4] Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters & Irish Confederates,* p. 11.

[5] Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent & Controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), p. 26.

[6] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Early Modern Economy, 1600-1780', in Philip Ollerenshaw & Liam Kennedy (eds.), *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013), p. 19.

[7] 'A List of the Number of Protestants & Papists in Ireland', 1732-33, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.3), p. 333.

[8] J. H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', in *Past & Present,* 137, (1992), p. 55.

[9] J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Atlantic Archipelago & the War of the Three Kingdoms', in Brendan Bradshaw & John Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707. State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hampshire, 1996), pp. 182-183.

inter-related nature of hostilities within Scotland, Ireland and England, as well as, their impact on each other's affairs. Firstly, Scotland's Bishops' Wars (1639-1640) broke out when Charles I tried to impose the English Anglican prayerbook on Scottish congregations, resulting in the creation of the National Covenant, and a resort to arms for Presbyterians who sought greater privileges, including increased ecclesiastical organisational structures, education and poor relief.[10] This event provided the catalyst for the 1641 Ulster Rebellion,[11] which Perceval-Maxwell deemed a vital component to the crisis in the three kingdoms.[12] As a result of the Bishops' Wars, Scots in Ulster armed themselves in support of their brethren, thereby raising fear among the Irish and English in Ulster as to the political and military dangers posed by the spread of this particularly potent Scottish form of Protestantism.[13] Consequently, the Roman Catholic, Irish-speaking, Gaels, encouraged by Roman Catholic nobles and angry at religious persecution, attacked their Protestant neighbours and killed thousands of settlers.[14] The result of the conflicts in Scotland and Ireland led to the outbreak of the English Civil War.[15] The Cromwellian period in Ireland consisted of brutality through a severe military campaign, especially within Drogheda and Wexford, with the murder of inhabitants, both Catholic and Protestant.[16] Between 1649-1653, the Irish population fell by 20% as a result of continued fighting, disease and starvation.[17]

The 1660 restoration of the Stuart monarchy affected Scotland and Ireland in similar ways. Both kingdoms had their parliaments abolished by the commonwealth during the war

---

[10] Eamon Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 & the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Suffolk, 2013), p. 1; J. C. Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke* (Belfast, 1990), p. 16; John R. Young, 'The Scottish Covenanters & the Drive for a Godly Society 1639-1651', in *Recherches Anglaises et Nord-Américaines,* 40, (2007), p. 25.
[11] Ibid, p. 8; Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters,* p. 87.
[12] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Canada, 1994), p. 27.
[13] Ibid, pp. 53 & 55.
[14] Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641,* p. 2.
[15] Conrad Russell, 'Introduction', in Conrad Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), p. 12.
[16] Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653', in *Past & Present,* 195(1), (2007), p. 78.
[17] Ibid, p. 80.

of the three kingdoms, being replaced with a small number of representatives who sat in the English Parliament on their respective country's behalf.[18] Following 1660, the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland were restored.[19] After Charles II's first parliament rose on 12 July 1661, the Scottish Government transferred power to the Privy Council and made this body primarily responsible for governing Scotland.[20] A distinct body, the Scottish Privy Council, comprised around thirty-five to fifty members, mainly noblemen; however, it also included career officials with legal training or men from lesser gentry families.[21] Although it sat at Holyroodhouse, the main influence of power over Scottish matters continued to reside in London.[22] Similarly, the Dublin Government also recognised the political power remained in London, potentially obstructing the Irish Parliament from 'decisive or consistent action'.[23] Thus, both countries were treated alike by England, resulting in the same negative sentiments towards England by Scottish and Irish political and ecclesiastical elites, creating stronger bonds between the two regions.

The Williamite Wars in Ireland (1689-1691) constituted the final act of the Restoration monarchy.[24] Coinciding with wider European war, the Nine Years' War/War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697) was caused by European opposition to French aggrandisement.[25] The Nine Years' War involved the 'recovery' of Ireland in 1691, securing the Williamite succession, and concluded with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1698. However, the question of

---

[18] George Southcombe & Grant Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion & Culture. Britain & Ireland 1660-1714* (London, 2010), p. 103.
[19] Ibid, p. 103.
[20] F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 272; Laura Rayner, 'The Tribulations of Everyday Government in Williamite Scotland', in S. Adams & J. Goodare (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 194.
[21] Keith M. Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland & the Regal Union, 1603-1715* (London, 1992), pp. 22 & 25.
[22] Ibid, p. 272; Coleman A. Dennehy, 'The Restoration Irish Parliament, 1661-6', in Coleman A. Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling & Never Settled* (New York, 2016), p. 65.
[23] Southcombe & Tapsell, *Restoration Politics*, p. 108.
[24] Tim Harris, 'Restoration Ireland – Themes & Problems', in Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland*, p. 2.
[25] John Childs, *The Nine Years' War & the British Army 2688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991), p. 5.

Spanish succession remained unresolved.[26] Scotland also suffered parallel internal disputes including the rape and murder of members of the Catholic Clanranald family on the island of Eigg by an Ulster naval force on May 1690 as part of a "gunboat negotiation" conducted against the Inner Isles of Scotland.[27] This operation to stifle communication between the Scottish island and Ireland was proposed by General MacKay, Scottish commander for King William, and sanctioned by the monarch.[28] More domestic disputes erupted across the Highlands of Scotland, causing a major problem for William II and III. Sir John Dalrymple, joint Secretary of State for Scotland,[29] attempted to eradicate Jacobite dissent in the Highlands,[30] resulting in the notorious 1692 Massacre of Glencoe, which convulsed an already unsteady Scottish society. Scotland also suffered a famine during the latter half of the 1690s causing wide levels of suffering and death throughout the kingdom. This famine is discussed to a greater extent in chapters one and two.[31]

Economically, Scotland and Ireland differed quite drastically, although their fortunes had reversed somewhat by the end of the century. By the late Stuart period, Scottish commercial networks had been established with Ireland, the Baltic and continental Europe, as well as, a wide range of coastal trade,[32] described by T. M. Devine as 'one of dynamic diversification.'[33] Nevertheless, the 1690s saw Scottish commercial networks damaged by

---

[26] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power. Late Stuart & Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (London, 1993), p. 231.

[27] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991), pp. 305-306; Allan I. Macinnes, 'Slaughter under Trust: Clan Massacres & British State Formation', in Mark Levene & Penny Roberts (eds.), *The Massacre in History* (New York, 1999), p. 137.

[28] James Ferguson, 'The Expedition of 1690 to the Western Isles' in *The Celtic Review,* 4(15), (1908), pp. 220-223.

[29] John R. Young, 'John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of Stair (1648-1707)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [Hereafter ODNB],* (https://www.oxforddnb.com/), (7 June 2021).

[30] Brown, *Kingdom or Province?,* p. 175; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy 1685-1720* (London, 2006), p. 495.

[31] Karen J. Cullen, 'The Famine of the 1690s & its Aftermath: Survival & Recovery of the Family', in Elizabeth Ewan & Janey Nugent (eds.), *Finding Family in Medieval & Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 153.

[32] Kenneth Morgan, 'Scottish Mercantile Networks in the Early Modern Atlantic', in *International Journal of Maritime History,* 23(2), (2011), p. 264; L. M. Cullen & T. C. Smout, 'Economic Growth in Scotland & Ireland', in L. M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 3.

[33] T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London, 2003), p. 30.

English tariff barriers placed on their exports (manufactured goods and raw materials),[34] and imports of luxury goods such as silk, tobacco and sugar, creating a balance of trade deficit.[35] During the 'long Restoration', Ireland also suffered trading restrictions from England such as the 1666 and 1667 Irish cattle acts, and the 1699 Woollens Act prohibiting the Irish export of these goods.[36] A more economically and politically active Scotland exuded forward-thinking and risk-taking, as manifest in her colonial venture at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama in 1699-1700.[37] Michael Fry deemed Darien 'the last and greatest but most disastrous of the colonial undertakings' as an independent nation.[38] This catastrophic effort that led to Scotland's economic downfall will be discussed in greater depth in chapter one.

Politically, a strongly Protestant Scottish kingdom returned a predominantly Presbyterian majority to the parliament established on William of Orange's ascension to the throne.[39] Conversely, Ireland had a majority Catholic population, yet the 'Glorious Revolution' created the 'Protestant Ascendancy' effectively validating the Anglican landowning strata as the ruling class.[40] Throughout the 1690s, Scotland's unstable political situation hampered King William II and III's attempts to gain complete control of the Scottish Parliament.[41] Although Scotland operated a less restricted government, it did not endear her to the new king, a mutual

---

[34] Neil Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution 1692-1746* (London, 2003), p. 79; Karin Bowie, 'New Perspectives on Pre-Union Scotland', in T. M. Devine & J. Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012), p. 315.

[35] Brown, *Kingdom or Province?,* p. 181.

[36] Patrick Kelly, 'The Irish Woollen Export Prohibition Act of 1699: Kearney re-visited', in *Irish Economic & Social History,* 7, (1980), pp. 23 & 25; J. C. Beckett, *The Making of a Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London, 2008), p. 156; Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 51.

[37] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion & the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 28.

[38] Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 19.

[39] Alastair J. Mann, 'Inglorious Revolution: Administrative Muddle & Constitutional Change in the Scottish Parliament of William 7 Mary', in *Parliamentary History,* 22, (2003), p. 122.

[40] Patrick McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers* (Dublin, 1997), p. 32; J. G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714', in T. W. Moody & W. E. Vaughan (eds.), *A New History of Ireland. IV. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 1986), p. 1.

[41] William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977)*,* p. 174; Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* p. 300; P. W. J. Riley, *King William & the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 100.

disdain shared by many Scots for William II and III and his southern kingdom.[42] Ireland represented an even greater threat as King William II and III needed to secure the island from French invasion. Although France did not have a strong commitment to Ireland, their support for James VII and II forced Ireland to the top of William II and III's agenda.[43]

In terms of population size during this period, Scotland numbered roughly one million people, of which the Catholic population numbered 50,000 at the start of the 'Glorious Revolution'.[44] Factionalism within the Protestant strands emerged during the Scottish settlement of 1690, resulting in the overthrowal of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism as Scotland's national religion.[45] In contrast, Ulster stood out as a majority Protestant province within the predominantly Catholic kingdom of Ireland. Toby Barnard has highlighted how confessional communities correlated with ethnic ones; predominantly Catholic Old Irish and Old English, the Anglican English and Welsh settlers, and the overwhelmingly Presbyterian Scots.[46] The population of Ulster increased from 300,000 in 1660 to 600,000 by 1715, comprising 45% native Irish and Catholic, 33% Presbyterian, 20% Anglican, as well as, various Baptist and Quaker communities.[47] In Ulster, Catholics did not constitute the only concern to Anglican elites as Scottish Presbyterians became viewed as

---

[42] Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Crisis of the Regal Union 1690-1707', in B. Harris & A. R. MacDonald (eds.), *Scotland: The Making & Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100-1707. Volume 2. Early Modern Scotland c.1500-1707* (Dundee, 2007), p. 74.

[43] James Kelly, 'Disappointing the Boundless Ambition of France: Irish Protestants & the Fear of Invasion, 1661-1815', in *Studia Hibernica,* 37(2011), (2011), p. 32; Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* p. 303.

[44] Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 180; James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland Since the Year 1680', in *The Innes Review,* 4(1), (1953), p. 51.

[45] T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London, 1998), p. 213; Toby Barnard, *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641-1760* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 11.

[46] Toby Barnard, 'Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland, 1660-1704', in Elizabethanne Boran & Crawford Gribben (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland & Scotland, 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 227; Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow, 2008), p. 195; John Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks in Ulster & the Irish House of Commons, 1692-1714', in *Parliaments Estates & Representation,* 33(2), (2013), p. 124.

[47] Liam Kennedy, Kerby A. Miller & Brian Gurrin, 'People & Population Change, 1600-1914', in Kennedy & Ollerenshaw (eds.), *Ulster Since 1600,* p. 59; David N. Doyle, 'Scots Irish or Scotch-Irish', in J. J. Lee & M. R. Casey (eds.), *Making the Irish American. History & Heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York, 2006), p. 151.

troublesome. By the 1690s, Presbyterians outnumbered Anglicans within Ulster and the

Established Church of Ireland had fresh memories relating to the Presbyterian overthrowal of

Episcopacy in Scotland.[48]

## Historiography

Scottish and Irish historiographies of early modern Scottish migration has traditionally lacked

synergy. The former acknowledges that the migration did occur, and discusses the push and

pull factors to some extent. However, Irish historiography provides a greater focus on the

impact of these migrants on Ulster's society, presenting more detail on their social and

economic influence. Consequently, a correlation between the Scottish and Irish

historiographies, which this thesis proposes, will strengthen this research area. There is some

consensus on the extent of this migration, as Philip Robinson notes that throughout the 17th

century, more Scots settled in Ulster out with the Plantation period (1609-1625).[49] T. C.

Smout argues that 'by 1707, more Scots were gathered together in Ulster than anywhere else

in the world outside Scotland.'[50] Louis Cullen states that migrants travelled to existing

Scottish settlements in Ireland as it was essentially 'an extension of inland movement.'[51]

Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean note that at least treble the number of people journeyed

to Ulster in the 1690s than at the start of the 17th century (1603-28).[52] Indeed, by 1700,

Ireland was a kingdom of 'net immigration.'[53] The continuation of immigrants to Ulster into

---

[48] Sean J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 167; Marcus Walsh, 'Swift & Religion', in Christopher Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 170.
[49] Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin, 1981), p. 193.
[50] T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union,* pp. 92-93.
[51] Louis M. Cullen, 'Scotland & Ireland, 1600-1800: Their Role in the Evolution of British Society', in R. A. Houston & I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 229; J. C. Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in Ireland 1687-1780* (London, 1948), p. 14.
[52] Steve Murdoch & Alexia Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005), p. 29.
[53] Patrick Fitzgerald & Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History 1607-2007* (Basingstoke, 2008)*,* p. 113.

the early 18th century only reinforced the existing strong cultural and institutional connections with Scotland.[54]

However, this general consensus divergence occurs when the number of migrants who journeyed to Ulster during this decade are discussed. Patrick Fitzgerald's approximation of c.41,000-50,000 Scots is the most acceptable estimate.[55] John Young and Toby Barnard opt for slightly larger numbers ranging from 40,000-80,000 Scots migrating during this decade.[56] However, Smout, Landsman and Devine suggest some extremely high contemporary estimates, such as 80,000 suggested in 1698.[57] To believe these estimates is to accept that a quarter of the population left Scotland during this period.[58] However, concrete figures for this migration may never be established due to a lack of contemporary records.

Another area of inconsistency in the historiography stems from the push and pull factors that influenced this migration. Harvest failure and subsequent famine dominate the historiography as the main motive for this influx from Scotland. Sean Connolly notes that a series of 'disastrous harvests' from 1695-1698 caused the surge in migrants, with suggestions that most post-1695 migrants were fleeing famine.[59] Conversely, Murdoch and Grosjean argue that the mass migration occurred due to a combination of famine in Scotland and

---

[54] Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 207.

[55] Patrick Fitzgerald, ''Black '97': Reconsidering Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century & the Scotch-Irish in America', in William P. Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster & Scotland 1600-2000. History, Language & Identity* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 78-79.

[56] John R. Young, 'Invasions: Scotland & Ireland, 1641-1691', in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001), p. 55; Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (London, 2003), p. 2; Andrew Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil: The Real History of the Islandmagee Witches & Ireland's Only Mass Witchcraft Trial* (Dublin, 2013), p. 42; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 508.

[57] T. C. Smout, N. C Landsman & T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2010), p. 88. Another evaluation from 1715 stated that 50,000 Scots had left since 1688.

[58] Ibid, p. 88.

[59] Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 206; Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots & the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 153; Ian D. Whyte, 'Population Mobility in Early Modern Scotland'', in Houston & Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society*, p. 42; Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*, p. 92; Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*, p. 92 & See Chapter 1.

favourable economic opportunities in Ulster.[60] For his part, Devine acknowledges famine as a key factor, combined with better weather in Ulster.[61] He also argues that Scots with wealth and capital pursued economic opportunities in Ulster before 1695.[62]

Similarly, there have been varied arguments concerning the social make-up of Scottish migrants. Jean Agnew and Robert Whan provide the only in-depth examinations of higher-class migrant profiles. The former detailed study focused on the merchant community of Belfast, including successful Scottish mercantile families such as the McCartney's and Eccles'.[63] Alternatively, the latter examined the Scottish ministry in Ulster, as well as, doctors, gentry and emigrants of a lower, middle-class social status.[64] Nevertheless, both of these studies tend to focus on higher social orders, effectively supporting Connolly's argument that Scottish migrants had their own independent capital.[65] Cullen suggests that British migrants to Ireland came from well-developed areas as the economic downturn made it problematic for younger sons of lesser gentry and wealthy yeomen to uphold their social position.[66] At the turn of the 18th century, Ulster's Presbyterian community contained a handful of the landed gentry, although their main component comprised a 'middling sort', of shopkeepers, tradesmen and artisans in the towns and tenant farmers in the countryside.[67]

However, these migrants from lower social orders troubled a class-conscious Ulster.[68] Fitzgerald disputes the traditional notion of Scottish migrants as entrepreneurial planters, instead of famine migrants can be challenged.[69] Similarly, Devine concurs, proffering the

---

[60] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, p. 29.
[61] Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, p. 29.
[62] Ibid, p. 29.
[63] Jean Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families in the 17th Century* (Dublin, 1996), p. 59.
[64] Robert Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster, 1680-1730* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. vi.
[65] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power*, p. 170.
[66] Louis M Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981), pp. 84-85.
[67] David W. Hayton, 'The Emergence of a Protestant Society, 1691-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 161-162.
[68] Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), p. 31.
[69] Patrick Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', in Devine & Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook*, p. 298.

opinion that some of the pre-1690s Scottish migrants journeyed to Ulster on their own

capital; in contrast, to later migrants who fled from famine in Scotland.[70] Nevertheless,

Scottish historians have focused more on the poverty of the Scottish population, rather than

the poorness of their migrants to Ulster. William Ferguson bears testimony to Scotland's

meagre living conditions and modest life expectancy.[71] Meanwhile, Whyte claims that by the

late seventeenth century, 'the tenantry begin to emerge as a group with marked differences in

wealth and status rather than a homogenous, impoverished mass.'[72]

The economic impact of Scottish migrants in 1690s Ulster has also been debated within

the historiography. Scottish Presbyterian migrants' 'imperialist' inclinations in the 1690s,

created friction with the Anglican community.[73] This Anglican aggravation towards Scottish

migrants can be better understood by emerging Scottish migrant economic independence at

the start of the 18th century, as Anglicans began to be displaced from Ulster's fertile lands.[74]

By the end of the century, Belfast had become a Scottish town, revitalised by migrant

Scottish merchants as the expansion of trade brought benefits to the whole community.[75]

Cullen and Smout note that the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster caused 'a substantial

transfer of capital, as well as, labour from, one economy to the other.'[76] This new migration

precipitated considerable economic growth.[77] In addition, the Belfast merchant community

shared close ties through intermarriage, employment and trading connections.[78] Likewise, the

MacDonnells and other Lowland Scottish settlers in Ulster maintained close links with their

---

[70] Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, p. 29; David Dickson, *New Foundations Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000*,* p. 48.

[71] William Ferguson, *Scotland. 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 86.

[72] Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition, c.1500-c.1760* (Hampshire, 1997), pp. 38-39.

[73] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 31.

[74] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 170.

[75] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p. 68.

[76] Cullen & Smout, 'Economic Growth', p. 4.

[77] W. Macafee & V. Morgan, 'Population in Ulster, 1660-1760', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to Partition* (Belfast, 1981), p. 59; William J. Smyth, 'Ireland a Colony: Settlement Implications of the Revolution in Military-Administrative, Urban & Ecclesiastical Structures, c.1550 to c.1730', in Terry Barry (ed.), *A History of Settlement in Ireland* (Oxon, 2000), p. 181.

[78] Ibid, p. 59.

kinsmen in Scotland thereby facilitating strong trading links with Scotland.[79] Colin Breen

argues that the North Channel served as a catalyst and not a barrier for connecting trade and

communications between Scotland and Ulster: regions that already enjoy strong cultural

links.[80]

   Most historians agree on the regional origin of the 1690s Scottish migrants, concurring that

a large proportion of migrants came from south-west Scotland.[81] Fitzgerald and Lambkin

locate the south-west of Scotland as the 'heaviest regional concentration' bound for Ireland

post-1650,[82] while, Murdoch and Grosjean stress the need to be conscious of other migrants

from other regions.[83] However, the regional origin of 1690s migrants requires further

research.[84] Likewise, the majority of Scottish and Irish historians concur that Scottish

Presbyterians predominated 1690s migration to Ulster, and Young located them in the

Scottish 'cradle of Presbyterian radicalism.'[85] Between 1690 and 1715, Ulster became the

favoured destination for Scottish Presbyterians, as Anglicans became outnumbered in Ulster

during the 1690s.[86] Finally, Raymond Gillespie notes that 'not all migrants from Scotland

were Presbyterian', but does not specify their affiliation.[87]

---

[79] Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters & Irish Confederates,* p. 11.
[80] Colin Breen, 'Randal MacDonnell & Early Seventeenth-Century Settlement in N-E Ulster, 1603-30', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Michael Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012), p. 155.
[81] Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland*, p. 87; Smout, Landsman & Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', in Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move*, p. 93.
[81] Fitzgerald & Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 99
[82] Ibid, p. 99
[83] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, p. 29.
[84] John R. Young, 'Scotland & Ulster in the 17th Century: The Movement of Peoples over the North Channel', in Kelly & Young (eds.), *Ulster & Scotland*, p. 13.
[85] Young, 'Invasions: Scotland & Ireland', p. 55.
[86] Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants & Exiles. Ireland & the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), p. 152; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy*, p. 508; Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 42; Hayton, 'Parliament & the Established Church', p. 84.
[87] Raymond Gillespie, 'Scotland & Ulster: A Presbyterian Perspective, 1603-1700', in William P. Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Scotland & the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland* (Dublin, 2009), p. 93.

The political impact of Scots in Ulster is given little acknowledgement within Scottish historiography. However, the local political impact of Scots in Ulster is covered fairly extensively in Irish historiography, with less consideration given to their national influence. Presbyterians took full advantage of their numerical strength in Belfast and Derry to control municipal government.[88] Gillespie suggests that Scottish merchants contributed to the prosperity of late 17th century Belfast because their Presbyterian beliefs made them wary of dealing with the Dublin Government and Church of Ireland,[89] a wariness underpinned by Anglican's dominance of the electoral system.[90] Only sons of peers, greater gentry, army officers, wealthy lawyers and merchants within the Anglican community could gain an Irish Parliamentary seat,[91] thereby, blocking Presbyterian participation in national politics. Thus, John Sherry argues that 'political representation of the Scottish Presbyterian community in Ireland was much lower than their numbers merited.'[92] However, Pádraig Lenihan states that the period between 1663 and 1740 witnessed a four-fold numerical increase of settlers, mostly Scottish, in north-west Derry.[93] Indeed, he claims that Presbyterians outnumbered Anglicans and started to dominate several northern corporations and return MPs from boroughs.[94] Although the 'older colonial community' enjoyed 'fleeting dominance' in the 1689 Irish 'Patriot' Parliament.[95] For the first time in twenty-six years, the 1692 Irish Parliament 'sought the advice of the Protestant political nation.'[96]

---

[88] Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in Ireland*, p. 37.
[89] Raymond Gillespie, *Early Belfast. The Origins & Growth of an Ulster Town to 1750* (Belfast, 2007), p. 119.
[90] McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers,* p. 55.
[91] Ibid, p. 55.
[92] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 139.
[93] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest,* p. 200.
[94] Ibid, p. 200; Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 125; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 508.
[95] Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Imagining Political Representation in 17th Century Ireland', in Robert Armstrong & Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 43; McGrath, 'The Parliament of Ireland', p. 331.
[96] James McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692', in Thomas Bartlett & David W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979), p. 1.

Irish ecclesiastical politics had become so politicised and sectarian by the late 17th century,[97] that 'in secular politics, it was the relative importance accorded by each party to the threats posed to the establishment by Catholics and Presbyterians which formed the basis of divisions between Whig and Tory in Ireland.'[98] The Irish Tory party, or the 'Church' party, included High Churchmen such as William Tisdall, and the party's stance to defend the rights and privileges of the Established Church, became intertwined with an extreme dislike for Presbyterians.[99] Furthermore, Sherry identifies a lack of toleration and hostility towards Presbyterians in Ulster after the 'Glorious Revolution', with elite Anglo-Irish 'churchmen' viewing their Presbyterian counterparts as untrustworthy 'non-conformists'.[100] Ulster Presbyterianism had always been aware that it existed in an 'English' Ireland.[101]

The Scottish historiography largely neglects the Anglican hostility to Presbyterianism; however, considerable attention is given in the Irish historiography. The enhanced numerical strength of Presbyterians, as a consequence of the 1690s Scottish migration, led Anglicans to perceive dissenters as an equivalent or even greater threat than Catholicism.[102] Anglicans in Ulster became 'alarmed' due to the arrival of the strongly numerical Scottish Presbyterian immigrants in 1694-97.[103] Ulster Presbyterians became uncontrollable due to their numerical strength and affiliation with co-religionists in Scotland, causing concern to Ireland's civil and ecclesiastical officials.[104] The united front of all Irish Protestants against Catholics disintegrated in the 1690s as communicants of the Church of Ireland perceived Presbyterians

---

[97] David W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: Politics, Politicians & Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004)*,* p. 35.
[98] Ibid, p. 154.
[99] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 186.
[100] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 122.
[101] Robert Armstrong, 'Of Stories & Sermons: Nationality & Spirituality in Presbyterian Ulster in the Later 17th Century', in Armstrong & Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland*, p. 230.
[102] McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, pp. 286 & 289.
[103] David W. Hayton, 'Parliament & the Established Church: Reform & Reaction', in James Kelly, David W. Hayton & John Bergin (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (London, 2010)*,* p. 84.
[104] Richard L. Greaves, ''That's No Good Religion that Disturbs Government': The Church of Ireland & the Nonconformist Challenge, 1660-88', in Alan Ford, James McGuire & Kenneth Milne (eds.), *As by Law Established. The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 120-121.

to be the new danger as a consequence of the fresh influx from Scotland.[105] Bartlett suggested

that Scottish migrants posed a problem to the Irish Government as they brought over an

intense form of Presbyterianism which disdained the 'crypto-Catholic, bishop-ridden, state-

established Church of Ireland.'[106] Likewise, Patrick Griffin bears testimony to the perceived

radicalism of Scottish Presbyterians and how their recent overthrowal of Episcopacy in

Scotland steered the Irish Protestant Ascendancy to view these new Scottish Presbyterian

migrants as dangerous rivals for their continued supremacy in Ireland.[107]

Scottish Presbyterians represented a danger to the Established Church due to their

numerical strength and organisation; thereby encouraging the latter to harden its approach to

dissent in the 1690s and early 1700s.[108] In the closing decades of the 17th century, clear

differences emerged between Scottish Presbyterians and other Irish Protestants, heaping

hostility and suspicion on non-conformists.[109] Fitzgerald, whose work considers both the Irish

and Scottish experience, suggests that the profound antagonism and suspicion between

Scottish and English interests in Ireland before 1707 should not be underestimated.[110] The

reaction to Scottish migrants arriving in Ulster fuelled hostility and panic in the Anglican

elite.[111] Scottish Presbyterians resurfaced as a force to be reckoned with in the aftermath of

the Williamite Wars in Ireland and reignited a bitter rivalry between Presbyterians and

Anglicans in Ulster.[112] Nevertheless, some Irish historians have considered the positive

---

[105] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 13.

[106] Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland: A History* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 105.

[107] Patrick Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness: The "New" British History & the Meaning of the Revolution Settlement in Ireland for Ulster's Presbyterians', *Journal of British Studies,* 39(3), (2000), Britishness', p. 274.

[108] Connolly, *Divided Kingdom,* p. 206.

[109] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 105; Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 274.

[110] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 81.

[111] Sean J. Connolly, 'Ulster Presbyterians: Religion, Culture & Politics, 1660-1850', in H. Tyler Blethen & Curtis W. Wood Jr. (eds.), *Ulster & North America. Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Alabama, 1997), p. 298.

[112] Ibid, p. 33; This contention can be traced back the early 17th century during Sir Thomas Wentworth's era – See Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 14-18; James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1834)*,* pp. 222 & 223.

reception of Scots to Ulster. Barnard highlights that the longevity of Scottish migration to this region compared to other Irish counties, demonstrating the extent that Protestant newcomers received a warm welcome.[113] Likewise, Brooke also suggested a more positive experience, whereby Presbyterians developed into an open community and established their role in public life.[114] Similarly, Armstrong argues that the Scottish migration to 1690s Ulster changed the community structure as some Presbyterians developed into 'denizens of new intellectual territories.'[115]

Moreover, a consensus prevails in the Scottish and Irish historiographical on the religious links between Scotland and Ulster. For example, Smyth and Whyte highlight that these strong connections were created by prospective Ulster ministers coming to Scotland's universities to study theology.[116] Thus, Scotland became the chosen destination for those who wished to serve the Presbyterian mission, as Trinity College Dublin exclusively catered for Church of Ireland ministers, thereby excluding all non-conformists from their degrees and fellowships.[117] Barry Vann states that 'the deposition of ministers at the Restoration era can be viewed as empirical evidence that Puritan-Presbyterianism made an indelible mark in south-west Scotland and Northern Ireland and in doing so created a dissenting Irish Sea culture area.'[118] Furthermore, he argues that some Scottish ministers appointed to Ulster for a lengthy period, with a potentially permanent position, viewed an opportunity to return to Scotland as a sign from God.[119] Thus, at the outbreak of war in 1689, around fifty ministers

[113] Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland,* p. 2.
[114] Peter Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism. The Historical Perspective 1610-1970* (Dublin, 1987), p. 64.
[115] Armstrong, 'Of Stories & Sermons', p. 230.
[116] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes & Memory. A Geography of Colonial & Early Modern Ireland c.1530-1750* (Indiana, 2006), p. 464; Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 281; Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy,* p. 59.
[117] William Urwick, *The Early History of Trinity College Dublin 1591-1660* (London, 1892), p. iv.
[118] Barry Aron Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land. The Birth & Geotheological Imagings of a Transatlantic People 1603-1703* (South Carolina, 2008), p. 110.
[119] Ibid, p. 117.

fled to Scotland.[120] However, some of these clergymen returned to Ulster in the autumn of 1689, after Schomberg, the Williamite General, landed with a force in east Ulster, thereby securing Ulster and preventing invasion.[121]

In contrast to Irish writings, the Scottish historiography gives little attention to return migration. Agnew states that these long-established links became reinforced throughout the migration flows of the 17th century.[122] The importance of geographical proximity between Scotland and Ulster also maintained the close contacts between individuals in the two regions.[123] Murdoch and Grosjean comment that 'the geographical proximity of Ulster to Scotland facilitated constant movement, a case of coming and going rather than always leaving or staying for good.'[124] More specifically, Armstrong notes that the North Channel facilitated a constant flow of clerical traffic during the 17th century, as Ulster Presbyterian ministers serviced fluid rather than static communities.[125] Vann highlights how the Scottish ecclesiastical intellectuals and their members in the Irish Sea culture area strongly believed in Scotland's geotheological significance – the relationship between kingdoms linked by divine and worship.[126] This traffic over the Irish Sea between Scotland and Ulster in the 17th century created a 'unique cross-channel community of dissenting Protestants' and a continual flow of ideas and literature.[127] The importance of recognising that cyclical migration occurred in this period is key, as several Scottish migrants maintained connections with their homeland.[128] Successive scholars have also acknowledged the close links of the Presbyterian ministry of

---

[120] James Barkley Woodburn, *The Ulster Scot: His History & Religion* (London, 1914)*, p. 171; Pádraig Lenihan, 'Introduction', in Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance*, p. 18.
[121] Ibid, p. 18;
[122] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p. 13.
[123] Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters & Irish Confederates,* p. 1.
[124] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, p. 30.
[125] Robert Armstrong, 'Adair, Stewart & Presbyterian Ulster', in Robert Armstrong, Andrew R. Holmes, R. Scott Spurlock & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *Presbyterian History in Ireland. Two Seventeenth-Century Narratives. Patrick Adair & Andrew Stewart* (Belfast, 2016), p. 6.
[126] Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land,* pp. 7 & 98.
[127] Ibid, p. 112; Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent,* p. 118; McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* p. 169.
[128] Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land,* pp. 30-31; Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 36.

Scotland and Ulster. Many Ulster Presbyterians looked towards Scotland for 'religious leadership',[129] while Presbyterian churches in both regions 'maintained the idea and actuality of a community which straddled the North Channel.'[130] This close bond established support networks that allowed the ministers to move freely between the two kingdoms, thereby preventing isolation and enabling the clergy to perform their duties in the latter part of the 17th century.[131]

Many radical Presbyterians continually journeyed back and forth over the North Channel responding to attitude changes towards toleration and persecution.[132] The 1690s migration uncovered the key function of established sea routes.[133] During the 17th century, return migration most likely occurred amongst British migrants who crossed the Irish Sea, usually moving in substantial numbers during crisis periods such as the late 1680s.[134] Many Scottish migrants, or people of Scottish descent, fled Ulster to Scotland during the tumultuous period of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688-1691.[135] Although the least-severe and disruptive of the three wars which book-ended 17th century Ireland, the aftermath of the Williamite Wars precipitated a migration flow back to Ulster from Scotland, traffic accentuated by Scotland's disastrous decade in the 1690s.[136] Subsistence migrants in Scotland included women and children who were given charity for their journey back to Ulster.[137] In addition, some parishes

---

[129] Hayton, 'The Emergence of a Protestant Society', p. 161.

[130] Toby Barnard, 'Protestantism, Ethnicity & Irish Identities, 1660-1760', in Tony Claydon & Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism & National Identity. Britain & Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 227; Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land,* p. 112.

[131] Richard L. Greaves, 'Conformity & Security in Scotland & Ireland, 1660-85', in Boran & Gribben (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland & Scotland,* p. 235.

[132] Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', p. 296.

[133] Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land,* p. 49.

[134] Patrick Fitzgerald, ''Come Back, Paddy Reilly': Aspects of Irish Return Migration, 1600-1845', in M. Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 34-35

[135] Young, 'Scotland & Ulster in the 17th Century', p. 24; Raymond Gillespie, 'Economic Life, 1550-1730', in Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland,* pp. 551-552.

[136] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union*, pp. 139-141; Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Making Ireland Modern* (Dublin, 2006), p. 204; & generally Chapter 1.

[137] Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', pp. 297-298.

sponsored people to go to Ireland as it helped sustain their poor relief funds,[138] thereby transferring the financial burden to Ulster. Moreover, these Irish migrants maintained connections to their homeland,[139] although little consideration has been given to travellers who returned to Ireland.[140] Thus, there are several discrepancies between the Scottish and Irish historiographies which this thesis will address, thereby creating fresh perspectives. Re-examination of accepted historiographical beliefs has created a more complete, rounded view of this neglected, yet extremely significant part of Scottish and Irish history.

**Migration Theory**

Migration and diaspora theory are pivotal to contextualising this project, although historians have tended to treat immigration and emigration as separate phenomena rather than as different aspects of the same phenomenon.[141] An important aspect of migration theory involves recognising the difference between migration and movement, as migration invariably results in the resettlement of the people who have moved.[142] There are also various types of migration identified within the past ten years; seasonal, temporary, rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural.[143] It is also crucial to recognise linear or cyclical migration – did the migrants stay in their new settlement or did they return to their point of origin.[144] Recent scholarship has characterised migration networks suggesting 'a degree of rational decision-making among the leavers', with migrants often following well-established routes carved by economic and labour market situations,[145] while others have

---

[138] Ibid, pp. 297-298.
[139] Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives & Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004), p. 312.
[140] Ibid, p. 312.
[141] Fitzgerald & Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 37.
[142] Ibid, p. 10.
[143] Ibid, p. 11.
[144] Ibid, p. 54.
[145] Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild, 'Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750: An Introduction', in Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007), p. ix.

identified Scottish migrants as 'sojourners', with their initial temporary objective for leaving Scotland to achieve a specific goal, usually linked to their occupation or a business project.[146] As 'habitually migratory people', the Scots primarily migrated to Europe, Ulster and England for work, food and position.[147] Cyclical 17th century Scottish migration to Ulster occurred in periods of significant influx such as the 1610s, 1650s and 1690s, but also with periods of severe outflow such as the late 1630s, early 1640s and later 1680s.[148]

    Geographic mobility is another aspect of migration theory central to this thesis. The importance of recognising the geographical proximity of south-west Scotland and Ulster is crucial in establishing the main migration patterns.[149] The journey from Portpatrick (Scotland) to Port Davy (Ulster) took a little more than four hours.[150] At its closest point, the crossing is only twenty kilometres, which could be undertaken in an open boat.[151] Bernhard Peters claims that 'ease of travel and communication, as well as, geographical proximity may further continuing relations with the country of origin.'[152] Migration fluctuates over time, with flows of changing character, strength and direction.[153] Geographical mobility is strongly associated with social movement; illustrating the extent to which previous societies were 'fixed and rigid, or fluid and permeable.'[154] As Scots had already settled in Ireland, movement tended to be perceived as an expansion of inland relocation;[155] even the poorest migrants, journeyed easier by water rather than land.[156] Thus, the geographical proximity of

---

[146] Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson & Graham Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 133.
[147] T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London, 2003)*,* p. 96; Morgan, 'Scottish Mercantile Networks', pp. 263-264.
[148] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad,* p. 30.
[149] Ibid, p. 99.
[150] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil*, p. 28,
[151] E. E. Evans, 'The Personality of Ulster', in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 51, (1970), p. 9; Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union,* p. 178.
[152] Bernhard Peters, 'Collective Identity, Cultural Difference & the Developmental Trajectories of Immigrant Groups', in Rosemarie Sackmann, Bernhard Peters & Thomas Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration. Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 34.
[153] Fitzgerald & Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History,* p. 36.
[154] Whyte, 'Population Mobility', p. 37.
[155] Cullen, 'Scotland & Ireland', in Houston & Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society,* p. 229.
[156] Whyte, 'Population Mobility', p. 38

Scotland and Ulster facilitated the ease of cyclical and return migration, which occurred when migrants returned to their native country of their own accord.[157] There are believed to be five main reasons for general return migration: success in the new home resulting in sustainable funds to return home, failure, homesickness, a call to return to take over family property, or rejection of life overseas.[158] The decisions of migrants to return to their home country is based on current and upcoming conditions in their host country.[159]

Furthermore, analysing the migrant assimilation theory provides a greater understanding of the hostility towards Scottish migrants; dominant cultural groups increased their control while simultaneously holding in suspicion and contempt of those who lay on the periphery of the process or hampered its development.[160] Furthermore, a migrant's determination to preserve their ethnic and cultural characteristics is often the source of conflict to the host country.[161] This struggle to engage with large new cultural groups results in apprehension and hostility, or migrant fear. A general conclusion within migration studies is that second-generation migrants receive more attention than the first generation.[162] Therefore, these theories help establish the approach used in this thesis.

**Methodology**

This thesis examined the nine counties of the Ulster province (Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan and Tyrone). The Protestant perspective of this migration was a key focus in this study, and thus Catholic records were

---

[157] Ibid, p. 35; Christian Dustmann & Yoram Weiss, 'Return Migration: Theory & Empirical Evidence from the UK', in *British Journal of Industrial Relations,* 45(2), (2007), p. 238.
[158] Mark Wyman, 'Emigrants Returning: The Evolution of a Tradition', in Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings,* p. 21.
[159] Ibid, p. 237.
[160] Sarah Barber, 'Settlement, Transplantation & Expulsion: A Comparative Study of the Placement of Peoples', in Ciaran Brady & Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (New York, 2004), p. 280.
[161] Rosemarie Sackmann, 'Introduction: Collective Identities & Social Integration', in Sackmann, Peters & Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration,* p. 1.
[162] Ibid, p. 7.

not consulted to the same extent. However, a detailed examination of numerous Presbyterian, Anglican and Quaker sources allowed for a comparison to be made between the different Protestant denominations in Ulster. Strong similarities existed between Quakerism and Presbyterianism as both faiths had 'a combination of personal convictions lived out in a closed group, coupled with a strong sense of social and business sense.'[163] Quakers survived and thrived as a 'small, coherent and cohesive community in Ireland',[164] who faced criticism from other religions in Ulster due to their wealth, exclusivity and strong discipline.[165] Unsurprisingly, the Presbyterian records tended to mention Scotland and their inhabitants more frequently.

Several archives were consulted, primarily in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland. The Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (P.R.O.N.I.) and the National Records of Scotland (N.R.S.) held the most crucial records for this study. Within P.R.O.N.I., the main estate and family papers analysed were the Nugent papers (County Down), the Earl of Erne papers (County Fermanagh), and the Earl of Antrim papers (County Antrim). These chosen collections provided the most numerous rentals for the period examined (1680-1709), allowing for a proportional comparison to be made ten years before and after the 1690s; thereby determining the extent of the 1690s Scottish migration on Ulster. The main Presbyterian records consulted included the Antrim, Laggan and Route Presbytery's minutes. Armagh's Convocation records provided an insight into hostility towards Presbyterians by the upper echelons of the Church of Ireland. Other sources such as Bishop Nicholson's diary provided 1690s weather entries, allowing for a comparison to be made with Scotland's extreme weather during the same period. In addition, Tobias Pullein's pamphlet gave an

---

[163] Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent,* p. 90.
[164] Ibid, p. 90.
[165] Ibid, p. 161.

insight into the disease analogies utilised by Anglican elites against Presbyterians, allowing a novel aspect to be examined.

With regards to N.R.S., these crucial records established the Scottish viewpoint of this migration. The travel passes and Privy Council proclamations for travel to Ireland became one of the most significant sources for this project. The historiography does not discuss these records; thus, an original finding could be analysed. Other key records included the kirk session books for Ayr, Inverkeithing, Peebles and Stranraer which furnish vital information concerning charity collections, payment for poor Irish people and their travel to Ireland, fugitives fleeing and ministerial connections between Scotland and Ulster. These archives also held the General Assembly of Scotland records highlight their attempts to convert the Episcopal Highlands to Presbyterianism. Another source contained in this repository was the Inverkeithing council minutes which gave an insight into the entrepreneurial and 'improvement' mindset of the Scots during this period. Furthermore, George Home of Kimmerghame's diary provided 1690s weather, allowing comparison to Ulster's more favourable climate. This source also commented on Scotland's poverty and perilous commercial position during this period. The late 1690s correspondence of Edinburgh minister, Robert Bowes, contained within the Cunninghame Graham family papers, gave crucial insight into the experience of a 1690s Scottish migrant to Ulster. In addition, several other estate and family papers were consulted including the Agnews, Scotts, Murrays, Humes, Dalrymple-Hamiltons, Shairps, Douglas-Hamiltons and Cathcarts, all of which provide key information such as travel passes, news from Ireland and family business affairs in Ulster. Therefore, N.R.S. collections were a valuable source for this thesis.

Other repositories also presented crucial evidence to support this study. The Armagh Robinson Library contained a plethora of contemporary pamphlets covering a range of topics such as anti-Presbyterianism, Scottish Episcopal persecution and the 1689 events of

Enniskillen and Derry. Bishop King's correspondence gave an insight into the Anglican elite fear of Presbyterians, especially relating to the potential repealing of the 1704 Test Act. Furthermore, the Dopping papers catalogue the anti-Presbyterianism of Anglican elites, as well as, the general concerns of maintaining a strong Established Church, while detailing their problems and vulnerable position. Sources within the National Library of Ireland (N.L.I.) contained a wide variety of material, with extensive pamphlet collections offering numerous opposing contemporary sources contributing greatly to the pamphlet debate discussed in this thesis. The letters of Reverend William Smythe, contained within the Smythe of Barbavilla collection, also catalogues Anglican elite hostility towards Presbyterians. This source also contained evidence of Scottish Episcopalians transferring to Ulster. The Trinity College Dublin Library archives (T.C.D.) hold the William King papers, which chart an elite view of Presbyterianism, and the 'church in danger' over a critical thirty to forty year period. This collection developed the anti-Presbyterian context of this thesis and became a crucial source of information. Another valuable archive, the Mitchell Library (T.M.L.), contained imperative evidence to this study. The Barony Glasgow kirk session books strengthened the information collected from the N.R.S. kirk sessions, with further evidence of fleeing fugitives and charitable collections for poor Irish refugees. This archive also contained the estate and family papers for the Maxwells of Pollok which offered a contemporary insight into Scotland's dearth and contributed towards information concerning the family business affairs between Scotland and Ulster discussed in chapter five. In addition, consultation of the Wodrow collection contained within the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S.) provided a vision into the anti-Episcopalian thoughts of Scottish Presbyterian minister and historian, Robert Wodrow. The Bodleian Library (T.B.L.) archives consisted of the Clarendon State Papers which included depositions regarding negative connotations of the native Irish, as well as, racial remarks towards Scots in Ireland.

*The Records of the General Synod of Ulster (Volume 1, 1691-1720)* reinforced important pronouncements on the demography of migrants, the fugitive aspect of Ulster/Scottish migrants, the regional origin of migrant ministers, and also highlighted Ulster's awareness of Scotland's scarcity during this period. The *Journals of the House of the Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland (Volume 2)* shed light on the workings of the Irish parliamentary democracy, as well as, the voting record of an Ulster Presbyterian MP, demonstrating his influence on Irish national politics. Likewise, the *Statutes Passed in the Kingdom of Ireland (Volume 2)* gave a detailed account of the additional clauses of the 1704 Popery Act aimed at dissenters. Moreover, the correspondence and journals of Jonathan Swift illustrated his extreme Scotophobia, combined with Anglican elite dismay at Presbyterians' economic and political progression in Ireland. It also conveyed the extent of Whig and Tory rivalries within the Irish Parliament. *The FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church (Parts 3-5)* collection proved crucial, especially to chapter four of this thesis, in providing biographical information of the Presbyterian ministers practicing in Ireland during this period. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (Volumes VI-XVI)* provided one of the strongest sources for this thesis. Key areas of research expanded with this resource, as it contained evidence of mass migration to Ulster before 1695, travel passes, return migration, collection and distribution of charity, the impact of Williamite Wars on escapism to Scotland, and a strong fugitive element - crucial to this study. Several contemporary writings such as those of Robert Sibbald (1699) and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1698) proved significant in conveying the poverty of Scotland, and the potential reasons behind the large influx to Ulster during this decade. A plethora of contemporary pamphlets helped convey the pamphlet debate between Anglicans and Presbyterians. The Earl of Melville papers (1689-1691) also contributed towards the high level of hostility King William II and III faced from the Scottish Parliament in the 1690s.

A range of online resources, many of which have been digitised in the last ten to twenty years, such as the Records of the Parliament of Scotland (RPS) also greatly contributed strong evidence for this thesis. Numerous acts contained information concerning the Massacre of Glencoe and its aftermath, the 'improvement' and entrepreneurial ideology of the Scottish Government, committee matters, and social problems such as poverty and immorality.[166] These acts, petitions and parliamentary workings gave a greater insight into Scotland and its people during the 1690s. The State Papers Online also produced a wide variety of evidence for this thesis, with the correspondence and petitions encompassing the military, economic and political impact of Scots on Ulster.[167] In addition, strong evidence was apparent concerning Scotophobia, the numerical strength of Scottish migrants, the appeal of Ireland in terms of land, economic opportunities and food, travel passes, and the fugitive aspect too. The Oxford Dictionary Online (ODNB) and the Dictionary of Irish Biography (DIB) provided crucial biographical information for numerous people mentioned throughout the thesis.[168] The Irish Legislation Database also proved fruitful in conveying the extent that the English Parliament controlled Irish legislation during this period.[169] Additionally, the Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online (MEMSO) resource strengthened the Scottish Presbyterian kirk records for this decade.[170]

Furthermore, Scotland's People, a digitised database compiled by the National Records of Scotland containing birth, death and marriage records from church registers in Scotland from 1553,[171] greatly facilitates the identification of potential Scottish migrants in chapter two. This digitised source enabled quick name searches for records of people in Scotland during

---

[166] Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707 (https://www.rps.ac.uk/) (23 June 2021).
[167] Gale - State Papers Online (https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online) (23 June 2021).
[168] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (https://www.oxforddnb.com/) (23 June 2021).
[169] Queen's University Belfast – Irish Legislation Database (https://www.qub.ac.uk/ild/) (23 June 2021).
[170] Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online (https://tannerritchie.com/shibboleth/memso/) (23 June 2021).
[171] The National Records of Scotland – Scotland's People (https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/) (23 June 2021).

the 17th century, ascertaining name matches with the Ulster rentals. Analysing surnames to speculate someone's origin or religion has precedent in the historiography. Malcolm Smith and Donald MacRaild used this approach to analyse the decline in Irish Catholic forenames among descendants of 19th century Irish migrants to Britain. They could not determine whether these people followed Catholicism; however, they possessed traditionally Catholic names, and they based their research on this assumption.[172] Similarly, Leanne McCormick utilises the same method of surname analysis, by assuming people's religion through their addresses, in the context of Belfast's 'religious residential segregation.'[173] Therefore, this thesis utilised the same approach to determine Scottish names in Ulster's leases through using Scotland's People and cross-referencing with surname origin books in chapter two.

**Chapter Outline**

The following discussion provides a brief overview of the six chapters in this thesis and their key themes.

**Chapter One – 1690s Scotland & Ireland: A Comparison**

Chapter one provides a detailed analysis of 1690s Scotland and Ireland in terms of their societies, economies, politics and religious affiliations. The similarities and differences of each region were highlighted to determine whether these aspects impacted the large influx to Ulster during this decade. The stark differences in Scotland and Ireland's societies emerged, although the Williamite Wars occurred in Ireland, Scotland faced a more tumultuous decade. Economically, Scotland and Ireland's fortunes reversed by the end of the 1690s, as Scotland's economy dwindled, and Ireland's flourished. Politically, Scotland and Ireland

---

[172] Malcolm T. Smith & Donald M. MacRaild, 'Paddy & Biddy No More: An Evolutionary Analysis of the Decline in Irish Catholic Forenames among Descendants of 19th Century Irish Migrants to Britain', in *Annals of Human Biology,* 36(5), (2009), pp. 596-604.
[173] Leanne McCormick, '"No Sense of Wrongdoing": Abortion in Belfast 1917-1967', in *Journal of Social History,* 49(1), (2015), p. 138.

differed drastically as Scotland controlled their government, whilst Westminster essentially ruled Ireland's. However, some similarities also emerged. In terms of religion, Scotland, a strongly Protestant country, had just overthrown Episcopacy and re-established Presbyterianism as the national religion. A majority Catholic country, ruled by a Protestant majority, its northern, predominantly Protestant province (Ulster), attracted large numbers of Scottish migrants to this region.

## Chapter Two – The Ulster Appeal

In chapter two, the main focus of the research centres on the leases contained within three sample estate and family papers from P.R.O.N.I. Examination of the rentals from a decade before and after the 1690s helped determine the extent of this migration on Ulster's leases. Furthermore, analysis of these rentals can establish whether famine predominated as the main migratory factor, in line with recent historiography. Moreover, some of the leases contained occupations of the leaseholder which allowed this study to analyse whether higher or lower class migrants dominated the rentals, through comparison with a social order model.

## Chapter Three – The People of the Great Migration

A detailed analysis of the social order of these 1690s Scottish migrants continues in chapter three, with a greater focus on the lower classes. Scrutinisation of travel passes and Privy Council proclamations uncovered an extreme poverty problem within 1690s Scotland. An in-depth examination of lower-class migrants occurred; although records lacked for lawful citizens, an apparent fugitive element emerged and was subsequently explored. This chapter also challenges the accepted historiographical belief that most migrants came from south-west Scotland, with an examination of migrants who hailed from throughout Scotland. Another recognised historiographical aspect of this migration is the Presbyterian affiliation of these migrants. Again, this is contested in this chapter, with greater consideration given to

Episcopalian migrants, especially in light of their overthrowal and subsequent persecution in Scotland.

**Chapter Four – Return Migration & Ministerial Maritime Motorway**

Chapter four examines return migration, and the extent to which the Williamite Wars presented both a crisis and an opportunity for encouraging an influx to Scotland, and then subsequent return journeys to Ireland upon conclusion of the conflict. Ministerial return migration provided a fruitful area of research; indeed, the exploration of the 'ministerial maritime motorway', and the extent to which the North Channel facilitated the constant movement of clergymen between Scotland and Ulster proved particularly illuminating. Four ministerial case studies best exemplified this movement: Samuel Hallliday, John Harvy, Alexander McCracken and John McBride. Scrutinization of their itineraries gave an insight into the extent of ministerial movement over the North Channel during this period.

**Chapter Five – Ulster: Their New Home. The Impact of these Scots in Ulster**

Chapter five examines the economic and political impact of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster, traffic which helped revitalise Ulster's trade through transferring their commercial networks. The extent of Anglican elite dismay at the economic progression of Scottish migrants has been considered, as has the level of familial business activities between the two regions. Politically, an in-depth examination occurs to determine the extent that Scottish migrants impacted local politics through employment in northern corporations and high office roles, and its effects on Anglican political dominance. Thus, the impact of these migrants on national politics is also explored through Anglican comments, the Irish House of Commons journal, and a Presbyterian MP's voting record.

**Chapter Six – Reaction, Rhetoric & Reception of the Scottish Migrants**

Lastly, chapter six provides a detailed examination of the reaction, rhetoric and reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster; indeed, an analysis of the migrant fear phenomenon

helps create comparisons between modern-day migrant experiences. Migrant theories are also analysed which suggested that those negative connotations of societies also created negative perceptions regarding their native people. Anti-Presbyterian vernacular is also examined, with disease and demonic analogies regularly utilised in contemporary pamphlets to convey the dangers of non-conformity to a wider group. There are also numerous similarities between anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian rhetoric, such as the same disparaging language and methods used towards them. Moreover, the overwhelmingly negative reception of Scottish migrants to Ulster is also scrutinised, mainly driven by Anglican ecclesiastical and political elites; although, some positive experiences are also recorded. Therefore, these responses give a greater insight into the 1690s Scottish migrant experience.

# Chapter One – 1690s Scotland & Ireland: A Comparison

Scotland and Ireland have long been closely associated in historical, socio-economic and cultural ways; therefore, it is imperative to assess the societies, economies, politics and religious affiliations of these two regions to allow background information and the wider context of this thesis to be portrayed. This chapter will examine Ireland as a whole, with especial emphasis on Ulster. The beginning of the 1690s was a volatile period for both Scotland and Ulster's societies.[174] Although Ireland became the main area of conflict during the Williamite Wars,[175] Scotland experienced a decade of European warfare and internal conflicts during the 1690s.[176] Although arguably more economically advanced than Ireland during the 17th century, Scotland suffered more severely from English trading barriers.[177] Moreover, the Scottish and Irish Parliaments drastically differed, although the former had complete control of their government, an unstable institution emerged,[178] while the latter fought to gain some legislative freedoms.[179] Lastly, 1690s Scotland and Ireland had contrasting confessional affiliations – Protestantism dominated Scotland, whilst the majority of Ireland supported Catholicism. Ulster became a Protestant-dominated region within Catholic Ireland, which advocated Episcopacy and opposed Scottish Presbyterianism.[180]

A detailed examination of Scotland and Ulster's societies helps determine the extent each region experienced their own social problems throughout the 1690s. Furthermore, both economies will be scrutinised to ascertain their reversal of fortunes by the end of the decade. This chapter will also provide a detailed analysis of the Scottish and Irish Parliaments and their impact on their respective countries during this period, with an analysis of the effects of

---

[174] John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution: Second Edition* (Oxford, 2014), p. 92.
[175] Young, 'Invasions: Scotland & Ireland', p. 83.
[176] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* pp. 301-309.
[177] Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* p. 79.
[178] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* p. 300.
[179] McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers,* pp. 38 & 40.
[180] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 167.

Poynings' Law (1494) and the Penal Laws on Ireland. Religious affiliations will also be examined to determine the extent of similarities and differences between Scotland and Ulster's confessional strongholds. Finally, it will help uncover a strong awareness of both regions' environments, and whether these aspects encouraged Scots to migrate to the northern province during the 1690s.

**Society**

Although the Williamite Wars severely impacted Ireland, specifically Ulster during this period, the remainder of the 1690s proved less turbulent than Scotland's experience. 17th century Scotland is often viewed as an 'unhappy' era dominated by 'cultural failure, religious fanaticism, economic decay, political violence and corruption.'[181] King William II and III developed a negative attitude towards Scotland, as manifest in the negligent policies he imposed on his new northern kingdom.[182] He inherited a Stuart disregard for the Highlands, resulting in the maintenance of a Scottish army to control its extensive Jacobite areas.[183] Although the Williamite government had fresh ideas for controlling the Highlands, it fell back on the age-old tactics of feud and warfare, as manifest in the Massacre of Glencoe (1692).[184] In the summer of 1691, a deal had been struck which allowed the clan chiefs to recognise William II and III as King of Scotland by the end of the year.[185] Alasdair McIan, chief of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, missed this deadline by five days, resulting in the massacre of thirty-eight people at Glencoe by Robert Campbell of Glenlyon on 13 February 1692, with the full collusion of John Dalrymple of Stair and William II and III.[186] A recommendation in favour of the Glencoe-men on 8 July 1695 conveys the brutality of this

---

[181] David Stevenson, 'Twilight before Night or Darkness before Dawn? Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland', in R. Mitchison (ed.), *Why Scottish History Matters* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 37.
[182] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England,* p. 174.
[183] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p. 303.
[184] Ibid, p. 305.
[185] Brown, *Kingdom or Province?,* p. 175.
[186] Ibid, p. 175; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 495.

attack on the MacDonald clan. It states that on February 1692, the MacDonald Clan were 'murdered and butchered' with the 'grossest cruelty under the colour of His Majesty's authority', with the surviving clan members then plundered of everything they owned, including their clothes, money, houses, and supplies.[187] The recommendation states that the government's reconciliation offering to the affected families to 'save them and their exposed widows and orphans from starving, and all the misery of the extremest poverty to which they were inevitably liable.'[188] The Scottish parliamentary address to the king on the murder of the Glencoe-men on 10 July 1695 deemed the killings 'unwarrantable', 'barbarous' and 'inhumane', laying the blame squarely on the Master of Stair for exceeding His Majesty's instructions.[189] The actions of the Williamite Government turned this episode from an internal Highland conflict into an issue of national politics.[190] The 1695 parliamentary enquiry exposed the government's mismanagement of this event and the brutality imposed on the Highlanders involved.[191] However, it cleared the king of any wrongdoing, placing the blame firmly on Stair.

The Nine Years' War (1688-1697) impacted Scotland negatively through increased taxation and disruption to trade. King William's foreign policy had English and Dutch interests at its core, with little regard for Scottish matters.[192] Whatley argues that the conflict created a 'hostile maritime environment', bringing 'Scots directly into the orbit of a European

---

[187] Keith M. Brown et al, 'Recommendation in favour of the Glencoe-men', 8 July 1695, *Records of the Parliament of Scotland [Hereafter RPS],* (https://www.rps.ac.uk), (1695/5/160), (12 January 2021).
[188] Ibid.
[189] Brown et al, 'Address by the Parliament to the King Touching the Murder of the Glencoe-men', 10 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/164), (12 January 2021).
[190] Jenny Wormald, 'Confidence & Perplexity: The Seventeenth Century', in Jenny Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History* (Oxford, 2005), p. 166; Gillian H. MacIntosh & Roland J. Tanner, 'Balancing Acts: The Crown & the Parliament', in Keith M. Brown & Alan R. MacDonald (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament. Volume 3. Parliament in Context, 1235-1707* (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 28.
[191] Alasdair Raffe, 'Scotland Restored & Reshaped: Politics & Religion, c.1660-1712', Devine & Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook,* p. 262.
[192] Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 495; David Onnekink, 'The Earl of Portland & Scotland (1689-1699): A Re-evaluation of Williamite Policy', in *Scottish Historical Review,* 85(2), (2006), pp. 231-232.

war.'[193] This conflict caused huge damage to Scottish trade and exacerbated Scottish criticism of the new monarch.[194] In addition, it also saw skilled Scottish mariners conscripted in much larger numbers than their English counterparts,[195] and the consequential disruption to Scotland's trade with France wreaked havoc on their economy.[196] A punitive fiscal imposition on Scottish society helped fund King William's ambitions in the Nine Years' War; including the Hearth Tax, a poll tax, a malt tax, as well as, cess or land tax.[197] This greatly impacted the poorer classes, as the poll tax affected everyone except those in receipt of charity, thereby affecting two-thirds of the population.[198] The 'act and offer to their majesties of three months' cess and hearth-money in lieu of the sixth part of annualrents' of 10 September 1690 details the intricacies of the Hearth Tax and cess money: 'furnished, advanced or paid by them to their majesties' forces and of the previous arrears due to the army, and for the suppressing of the present unnatural rebellion.'[199] The statute lists an additional £216,000 to be collected from inhabitants within the shires and burghs of Scotland, combined with their usual payment of £144,000 to provide and maintain the army, excepting the hearths of hospitals and poor people dependent on church charity.[200] Therefore, the pressure exerted upon an already struggling Scottish society possibly explains why such large numbers of Scots migrated to Ulster during this period.

A devastating famine in the 1690s ravaged Scottish society, further exacerbating an already acute problem created by numerous harvest failures. For the majority of Scotland, the

---

[193] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* p. 157.
[194] Ibid, p. 157.
[195] Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* p. 79.
[196] Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 495; Whatley, 'The Crisis of the Regal Union', p. 81.
[197] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* p. 157; Bowie, 'New Perspectives on Pre-Union Scotland', p. 316; T. C. Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Scottish Historical Review,* 47 (143), (1968), p. 71.
[198] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union*, p. 158.
[199] Brown et al, 'Act and offer to their majesties of three months' cess and hearth-money in lieu of the sixth part of annualrents', 10 September 1690, *RPS,* (1690/9/14), (12 January 2021).
[200] Ibid.

1690s began with five years of reasonably plentiful grain.[201] However, things rapidly

deteriorated during the 'ill years' starting from the harvest of 1695 to 1700. In most places;

three bad harvests and two scarcely sufficient ones caused disruption and scarcity.[202] Whatley

argues that mortality rates varied throughout Scotland; from 5% in some regions to at least

20% in Aberdeenshire and potentially more in the Highlands, as well as, the northern and

western islands.[203] Indeed, the Scottish death rates match the worst famine-affected European

states such as Estonia where around one in five people died.[204] Local and national authorities

struggled with the social and economic issues that arose from this crisis, although the extent

of the Scottish famine is rarely discussed within the Scottish and Irish historiographies.[205]

The Scottish Parliament did not mention the famine until 1698, but several retrospective

references appear in the record until the 1707 Act of Union. This would suggest that the

Scottish government took few famine-prevention measures throughout the initial crisis

period. Writing in 1699, Robert Sibbald, a contemporary Scottish doctor and antiquarian,

noted that several years of scarcity and dearth meant 'some Die by the Way-side, some drop

down on the Streets, the poor sucking Babs are Starving for want of Milk, which the empty

Breasts of their Mothers cannot furnish them.'[206] He also commented that the famine even

affected the wealthier parts of Scottish society as 'many House-keepers who lived well' were

'forced to abandon their Dwellings, and they and their little Ones must Beg; and in this their

Necessity they take what they can get.'[207] Thus, a combination of poor Highland policies,

warfare leading to increased taxation and trade disruption, in conjunction with, a devastating

---

[201] Flinn, *Scottish Population History,* p. 164.
[202] Ibid, pp. 166-167; Karen J. Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The 'Ill Years' of the 1690s,* (Edinburgh, 2010)*,* p. 1.
[203] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* p. 143.
[204] Ibid, p. 143.
[205] Cullen, *Famine in Scotland,* p. 1.
[206] Robert Sibbald, *Provision for the Poor in Time of Dearth & Scarcity* (Edinburgh, 1699), p. 3.
[207] Ibid, p. 3.

famine provides substantial reasoning for Scots wanting to leave their native land during this period.

Ireland experienced more intense fighting than Scotland during the Williamite Wars (1688-1691), yet Scotland suffered more in its aftermath.[208] Moreover, Ireland did not suffer from post-war famine with reasonably good harvests being produced during the 1690s, with an increase in grain exports.[209] Nor had she any major involvement in the Nine Years' War, which led to more economic and social opportunities. The 'Glorious Revolution' occurred at a crucial period for William II and III as he needed a settlement in Scotland to prepare for his military campaign in Ireland.[210] Indeed, King William II and III did not plan to engage in Irish affairs but was forced to act as Louis XIV supported James VII and II as King of Ireland.[211] Thus, bloody battles took place in Ireland at the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691), as well as several devastating sieges combined with the economic impact of armies, militias and rapparees.[212] One such campaign was the 1689 Siege of Derry, triggered by Jacobites controlling all of Ulster except Derry and Enniskillen.[213] This battle lasted 105 days and was a critical affair within the larger conflict of the Williamite Wars involving the ongoing battle between Catholics and Protestants.[214] James VII and II arrived at Derry's walls with combined Irish and French forces demanding the surrender of the town, however, the Protestants of the city defended it with gunfire and the idea of surrender disappeared.[215] In consequence, many people fled Ulster to Scotland during the 'Glorious Revolution',[216] and

---

[208] Ian D. Whyte, 'Scottish & Irish Urbanisation in the 17th & 18th Centuries: A Comparative Perspective', in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston & R. J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development. Ireland & Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995), p. 27.
[209] Gillespie, 'Economic Life, 1550-1730', p. 551; James Kelly, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' & the Irish Crowd* (Dublin, 2017), p. 30.
[210] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England,* p. 173; Miller, *The Glorious Revolution,* p. 94.
[211] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland,* p. 199.
[212] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England*, p. 92; Miller, *The Glorious Revolution*, p. 92.
[213] Karen A. Holland, 'Disputed Heroes: Early Accounts of the Siege of Londonderry', in *New Hibernia Review,* 18(2), (2014), p. 21.
[214] Ibid, p. 21.
[215] Ibid, p. 21.
[216] Young, 'Scotland & Ulster in the 17th Century', p. 24.

the extent of return migrants as a potential migratory group from Scotland to Ulster in the 1690s will be fully considered in chapter four.

Furthermore, an army based on the Laggan Army of the 1640s established itself at Enniskillen and won early victories against the Jacobites.[217] During the 1640s and 1650s, the Laggan Army buttressed the Scottish presence in west Ulster, in particular, east Donegal, the Foyle basin, and Fermanagh.[218] John Childs commended their prowess as 'hard, tough, resourceful, aggressive and fierce men.'[219] George Walker, an Anglican clergyman who participated in the Siege of Derry,[220] stated that two officers riding towards Dublin commented 'that the Scots were within six Miles, and had taken the great Guns, Carriages, Ammunition, and Provisions that were going to Derry, and had killed the Convoy.'[221] In contrast, a detailed report of the Scottish army in 1691 illustrated the ineffectiveness of various regiments of a nation that prided themselves on their martial ability.[222] The 1691 report by Colonel John Michelburne, Governor of Londonderry, noted at once their Scottish ethnicity and military incompetence stating; 'now comes up to the Camp whole droves of idle People especially the Lagganeers; and for one honest Man twenty Thieves, and not a man of the Militia.'[223] Scots predominated in Ireland's army regiments, especially in the north as evidenced in a letter from Henry Sydney, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to William II and III on 20 February 1693, which claimed that half of the Ulster army were Scottish.[224] Furthermore, their dominance in Ulster's regiments is also manifest in a letter from Secretary Hedges to the

---

[217] Thomas Bartlett, 'Politics & Society, 1600-1800', in Kennedy & Ollerenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600,* p. 38.
[218] Ibid, p. 36.
[219] John Childs, *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688-91* (London, 2007), p. 47.
[220] Piers Wauchope, 'George Walker (1645/6-1690)', *ODNB,* (4 September 2021).
[221] George Walker, *A True Account of the Present State of Ireland; Giving A Full Relation of the New Establishment* (London, 1689), p. 455.
[222] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union*, p. 140.
[223] John Michelborne, *An Account of the Transactions in the North of Ireland Anno Domini 1691* (London, 1692), p. 36.
[224] 'Letter from Sydney to the King', 20 February 1692/3, *Gale – State Paper Online [Hereafter SPO],* (https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online), SP 63, Vol. 355, (12 December 2019), p. 51.

second Duke of Ormonde, dated 1 February 1705, which stated that 'the 3 Regim[en]ts y[ou]r Grace has named have been recruited with Scots in the North of Ireland, and is of opinion that They have more Scots in them then any other Regiments.'[225] Although a decade after the previous letter, it suggests that the military impact of the Scots in Ulster remained significant. Furthermore, the martial prowess is evidenced in a letter from Sydney to King William II and III dated 28 February 1693: 'the Scotch Regiments… could be contrived to have them serve in England, and let us have two English Regiments in the Place of them.'[226] Despite their numerical superiority, especially in the north of Ireland, the authorities preferred English regiments to maintain the 'English interest' in Ireland. Indeed, some regarded Scottish troops as cannon fodder for overseas assistance as documented on 11 February 1705, in a letter from Edward Southwell, chief secretary to Ormonde,[227] who suggested 'taking those who find most Scotch in them and not loading out with Gent officers.'[228] Therefore, Scotland's unsettled populace and Ulster's relatively calm society provides strong reasoning for Scots migrating over the North Channel in such large numbers during this period.

**Economy**

Although in an economically superior position to Ireland, and especially Ulster in the 1690s, these roles would be reversed by the end of the decade as Ulster's trade increased and Scotland's contracted with her being 'virtually bankrupt for nine years' by 1700.[229] However, the latter's more advanced economy and commercial ambition are best manifested in their forward-thinking decision to create the Bank of Scotland in 1695, a crucial step towards the

---

[225] 'Letter from Hedges to Duke of Ormond', 1 February 1704/5, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 3, (20 December 2019), p. 100.
[226] 'Letter from Sydney to the King', 28 February 1692/3, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 355, (12 December 2019), p. 59.
[227] David W. Hayton, 'Edward Southwell, (1671-1730)', *ODNB,* (7 June 2021).
[228] 'Letter from Edward Southwell', 11 February 1705, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 365, (14 December 2019), p. 57.
[229] Daniel Szechi, 'The Hanoverians & Scotland', in Mark Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest & Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991), p. 121.

provision of vital credit services for economic improvement.[230] In contrast, the Irish

Parliament rejected an attempt to establish the Bank of Ireland in 1721,[231] believing that such

an institution would be devastating to Ireland's economy, leading to corruption and a loss of

financial control.[232] Ultimately, the Bank of Ireland would not be founded until 1782, just

short of 100 years after the Bank of Scotland.[233] The 'act for erecting a public bank' in

Scotland passed on 17 July 1695, with a joint-stock amount of £1,200,000 created for

erecting and managing a public bank.[234] Furthermore, an 'act anent the post office', also

ratified on 5 July 1695, outlined the great advantages of this institution to Scotland and its

trade. The establishment of a general post office at Edinburgh, where all letters and packets

would be sent to their destination with haste, also demonstrates Scotland's attempt at

encouraging economic regeneration during the 1690s.[235] Although, in part, a consequence of

the drastic changes made to the British fiscal-military state between 1688-1714, that

ultimately created a more powerful body.[236] Such drastic modifications meant higher taxes,

the expansion to a larger and more well-organised civil administration, the maintenance of a

standing army and the drive to become a dominant European power.[237] These changes to the

fiscal-military state have been acknowledged as a predictable outcome considering Britain's

central involvement in the immensely costly Nine Years' War against Louis XIV and his

allies.[238] Scotland joined England in the European conflict as they feared the Irish situation

---

[230] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 246; David L. Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles 1603-1707* (Oxford, 1998), p. 314.
[231] Andrew Sneddon, *Witchcraft & Whigs. The Life of Bishop Francis Hutchinson, 1660-1739* (Manchester, 2008), p. 183.
[232] Ibid, pp. 183-184.
[233] C. W. Munn, 'The Emergence of Central Banking in Ireland: The Bank of Ireland 1814-1850', in *Irish Economic & Social History,* 10(1), (1983), p. 19.
[234] Brown et al, 'Act for Erecting a Public Bank', 17 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/239), (12 January 2021).
[235] Brown et al, 'Act anent the Post Office', 5 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/151), (13 January 2021).
[236] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power. War, Money & the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989), p. 137.
[237] Ibid, p. 137.
[238] Ibid, p. 137.

and the security of the post-Revolution establishment in Scotland.[239] Consequently, Scotland's economy suffered greatly,[240] while Ireland gained economic stability.

Nevertheless, Scotland's far-reaching economic ambitions led to the ratification of colonial exploitation legislation in the 1690s. The 'act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies' was passed by the Scottish Parliament on 26 June 1695 to distract Scots from the outrage concerning the 1692 Massacre of Glencoe, whereby King William II and III endorsed a scheme he believed would be abortive.[241] The act stated that merchants could enter into societies and companies to trade any goods or merchandise to any kingdoms, not at war with His Majesty and that numerous people - natives and foreigners of Scotland - could invest large sums of money in an American, African and Indian trade from Scotland.[242] However, this legislation ultimately spawned Scotland's disastrous, colonial, Darien scheme. Two voyages embarked to settle the colony on the Isthmus of Panama, first in 1698 where less than one in four survived the hostile 'natives' and fever-infested swamps of 'New Caledonia'.[243] The second attempt occurred in September 1699, but the English colonies withheld provisions, resulting in the eventual surrender to Spanish troops in April 1700 and the subsequent collapse of the Company of Scotland.[244] Lack of funding and support from the king also contributed to the company's demise as he effectively supported East Indian petitions and English mercantile groups who argued that Darien should not prosper.[245] 'New Caledonia' failed and resulted in a loss of around 25% of Scotland's liquid capital, dealing a devastating blow to Scotland's economy and its independence.[246] A 1700 pamphlet published

[239] Ibid, p. 230.
[240] Ibid, p. 232.
[241] Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* p. 80.
[242] Brown et al, 'Act for a Company Trading to Africa and the Indies', 29 June 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/104), (13 January 2021).
[243] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* p. 308.
[244] Ibid, p. 308; Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* pp. 96-98; Fry, *The Scottish Empire,* p. 28.
[245] Allan I. Macinnes, *Union & Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007)*,* p. 177.
[246] John R. Young, 'The Scottish Parliament & the Politics of Empire: Parliament & the Darien Project, 1695-1707', in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 27(1), (2007), p. 175; Christopher Storrs, 'Disaster at Darien

in Glasgow laid bare the downfall of the Company of Scotland; the lack of financial

resources meant its credit collapsed to less than 2d, with some company leaders forced to

mortgage their estates.[247] Thus, 'the economic effects of the Nine Years' War, crop failures

and the crown's lack of support for the African Company and its Darien colony had, by 1699,

produced a deep pool of discontent among many Scottish elites and middling sorts.'[248] The

colonial attempt at Darien graphically illustrates Scottish ambitions to expand her

commercial networks, aiming towards the west into the Atlantic and its greater

opportunities.[249]

However, the commercial crises of the 1690s, combined with vagrancy and poverty,

created acute economic problems for Scotland.[250] Several parliamentary acts ratified

throughout the 1690s encouraged manufactories and beneficial trade establishments,

highlighting Scotland's economic ambitions at a local level during the 1690s. The 'act in

favour off William Scott' dated 17 July 1695 acknowledged the need for a sawmill to benefit

the country, 'considering how necessary and advantageous it will to prove to this nation.'[251]

The 'act in favours off Robert Douglas', passed the same day alluded to the earlier

establishment of his soap and sugar manufacture.[252] Furthermore, an 'act in favours off the

Burgh of Air' ratified on 16 July 1695 expressed the need to repair Ayr's harbour for trade,

which would also benefit Ulster.[253] These parliamentary acts suggest a commitment to social

and economic improvement by the Scottish Government during the 1690s. The desire to

enhance Scotland's economy also manifests itself throughout the 1690s at a local level as

---

(1698-1700)? The Persistence of Spanish Imperial Power on the Eve of the Demise of the Spanish Habsburgs',
in *European History Quarterly,* 29(1), (1999), p. 5.

[247] George Ridpath, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien* (Glasgow,
1700), p. 99.

[248] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 160; Collins McKay, *The Duke of Queensberry & the Union of Scotland
& England* (New York, 2008), p. 40.

[249] Fry, *The Scottish Empire,* p. 20.

[250] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 33.

[251] Brown et al, 'Act in Favours off William Scott', 17 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/235), (13 January 2021).

[252] Brown et al, 'Act in Favours off Robert Douglas', 17 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/235), (13 January 2021).

[253] Brown et al, 'Act in Favours off the Burgh of Air', 16 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/194), (13 January 2021).

illustrated in the records of Inverkeithing Council of Fife on 23 November 1693, regarding David Marther's acquisition of land for salt pans.[254] Inverkeithing Council minutes of 7 June 1697 also highlights Scotland's improvement ideology through the activities of Robert Baird, the current Baillie, and William Henderson, Dean of the Guild, who sought employees for the coal sector.[255] Thus, as Scots committed themselves to improvement and colonial expansion, it is unsurprising such large numbers considered migration to Ulster.

Ulster was transformed throughout the 17th century into the early 18th century from a 'poor, sparsely populated, peripheral region into one that lay at the core of the Irish economy.'[256] Belfast emerged as the most important of Ulster's ports, and became the fourth port in Ireland, after Dublin, Cork and Waterford.[257] A 1697 pamphlet by Robert Molesworth, Irish politician, political writer, and later a key improver,[258] noted the extent of economic growth experienced by Belfast and its surrounding areas during the latter part of 17th century: 'about Belfast and Carrickfergus, the former of which Towns is the third in Ireland for Number of People, and Trade; and yet grew up to what it is from nothing.'[259] Belfast survived the Williamite Wars relatively well compared to other Ulster towns, and some merchants even made handsome profits through resourcing the armies.[260] This growing prosperity is conveyed through a post-Restoral increase of trade and range of imported luxury goods (silk, tobacco, glass and sugar), with much of this prosperity owed to Scottish migrant

[254] 'Council Minutes; 29 April 1689-10 Sept 1745', 23 November 1693, (N.R.S., Records of Inverkeithing Burgh, B34/10/1).
[255] 'Council Minutes; 29 April 1689-10 Sept 1745', 7 June 1697, (N.R.S., Records of Inverkeithing Burgh, B34/10/1).
[256] Gillespie, 'The Early Modern Economy', p. 12.
[257] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster*, p. 104; Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes & Memory,* p. 445; Raymond Gillespie, *Settlement & Survival on an Ulster Estate: The Brownlow Leasebook, 1667-1711* (Belfast, 1988)*,* p. xxv.
[258] David W. Hayton, 'Robert Molesworth (1656-1725)', *ODNB*, (22 November 2021).
[259] Robert Molesworth, *The True Way to Render Ireland Happy and Secure* (Dublin, 1697), p. 7.
[260] Gillespie, *Early Belfast*, p. 121; Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p. 20; Dickson, *New Foundations,* pp. 47-48.

merchants.[261] Consequently, Belfast swiftly increased from 530 houses in 1663 to 2000 in

1725.[262] Towns on the outskirts also benefitted from this phenomenal growth, specifically

Lisburn and Lurgan, as Belfast merchants used these places as 'feeders for their export

trade.'[263] Lurgan also became the source of successful linen manufactories as evidenced by a

1703 petition by the landowner, Arthur Brownlow.[264] A petition on behalf of himself and the

inhabitants of Lurgan highlighted how industrious British settlers had developed the town

through linen manufacturing.[265] The Irish Privy Council passed several acts in 1697, 1698,

and 1703 to encourage the Irish linen manufacture, although these would be rejected by the

English House of Commons.[266] During this period, the English state began to assess its

responsibilities in 'more explicitly economic areas' due to increased awareness of

international competition, implementing the Navigation Acts which ensured a closed market

for English exports.[267] Unsurprisingly, the English administration became alarmed at

Ireland's economic progress, especially woollen exports, thereby attempting to prevent any

further development.[268] Thus, one could argue that Ulster found itself in a more favourable

economic position than Scotland and possessed the same improvement mindset demonstrated

by the Scots during this period.

    Ulster's inhabitants improvement ideology became a core article of faith and their belief in

the superiority of a 'civilising' culture.[269] If the Irish population remained loyal to the British

monarch, then peace and prosperity would be their reward, with Protestants promised earthly

---

[261] Gillespie, *Early Belfast,* pp. 111 & 119; Louis M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1987), p. 29; Gillespie, 'The Early Modern Economy', p. 19.

[262] Ibid, p. 19.

[263] Ibid, p. 19.

[264] E. M. Johnston-Liik, 'Arthur Brownlow (1645-1711)', *ODNB,* (7 June 2021).

[265] 'The Humble Peticon of Arthur Brownlow Esqr in behalfe of Himself and Inhabitants of Lurgan', 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (11 December 2019), p. 85.

[266] Queen's University Belfast, 'Irish Legislation Database', (https://www.qub.ac.uk/ild/), (22 March 2021).

[267] William A. Pettigrew, 'Constitutional Change in England & the Diffusion of Regulatory Initiative, 1660-1714', in *History,* 99(338), (2014), pp. 848 & 855.

[268] Kelly, 'The Irish Woollen Export Prohibition Act', pp. 24-25.

[269] Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets & Profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008), p. 13.

and eternal lives.[270] Indeed, Ulster's growing economic prosperity could be explained by the domination of Presbyterian merchants. By the end of the 17th century, Presbyterians emerged as powerful and substantial merchants.[271] Many families wanted to ensure their sons became apprentices in the mercantile trade. Apprentices usually lived with their master and served them for about seven years.[272] Throughout this period, the apprentice's father would pay a premium to the master for his son's training, experience and upkeep.[273] However, apprenticeships came under scrutiny from Church of Ireland members, such as the vehemently anti-Presbyterian William Tisdall, who claimed that Presbyterian merchants would not take on Anglican apprentices unless they renounced their Church of Ireland faith and converted to Presbyterianism.[274] He complained that Anglican parents had the dilemma of 'giving up their Children to Idleness and Poverty, or to Presbytery', as few children converted back to the Church of Ireland after their apprenticeship ended.[275] Despite these initiatives and improvements, Ireland still suffered a shortage of capital and skilled labour throughout the 17th century. The Irish economy developed by the latter part of the 17th century producing greater processed goods for export to a European market.[276] From 1696 to 1700, Ireland's circumstances encouraged further economic growth.[277] However, by the 1720s its economy deteriorated due to four successively poor harvests in 1725, and another in 1728 which increased the demand for food, and inflated prices.[278] Thus, the economy did not sustain its heights of the late 17th century. Ulster's economy, for its part, began to flourish in

---

[270] Ibid, p. 13.
[271] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families,* p. 68.
[272] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* pp. 100-101.
[273] Ibid, p. 101.
[274] William Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland* (Dublin, 1712), p. 25; Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 17; & See Chapter Six.
[275] Ibid, p. 25; This improvement ideology shared by both regions is apparent and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.
[276] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland*, p. 10.
[277] Dickson, *New Foundations,* p. 49.
[278] Kelly, *Food Rioting in Ireland,* p. 33.

the 1690s as Scotland's collapsed, encouraging Scots to migrate to the northern province during this period.

**Politics**

Acknowledgement of the Scottish and Irish parliamentary workings is crucial to contextualising this thesis. Scottish and Irish government policy impacted their respective societies, creating momentum for Scots to migrate to Ulster in the 1690s. Scotland controlled their parliament, while Ireland's legislative making powers remained more limited and subject to London's approval. The Scottish parliamentary structure consisted of a unicameral chamber with three estates – nobility, barons and burgesses.[279] A further seven or eight senior officers of state also attended, such as the lord advocate, clerk register and senior clerk of parliament.[280] Although mainly Presbyterian, an opposition group, 'The Club', consisted of allied Jacobites, Episcopalians and rogue Presbyterians.[281] By end of the 17th century, the Scottish Parliament contained over 200 members.[282] The Williamite Parliament derived from the 1689 Convention of Estates, holding ten sessions between 1689 and 1702.[283] Four standing committees were regularly selected from the 1693 session onwards – Committee of Trade, Committee of Security of the Kingdom, Committee for Controverted Elections and Committee for the Address; all comprising of equal numbers from each estate.[284] The committees' tasks varied from advising the Scottish Parliament to resolving petitions. Their influence on the Scottish Williamite Government is illustrated in a recommendation by the Committee for Security on 27 April 1693 for increasing forces and supplies for the army.

---

[279] Julian Goodare, 'The Estates in the Scottish Parliament 1286-1707', in *Parliamentary History,* 15(1), (1996), pp. 11 & 30.
[280] Alastair J. Mann, 'A Brief History of an Ancient Institution: The Scottish Parliament', in *Scottish Parliamentary Review,* 1(1), (2013), p. 7.
[281] Mann, 'Inglorious Revolution', p. 122.
[282] Mann, 'A Brief History of an Ancient Institution', p. 7.
[283] Young, 'The Scottish Parliament & the Politics of Empire', p. 176.
[284] Ibid, pp. 177-178; Mann, 'A Brief History of an Ancient Institution', p. 9.

This proposal suggested that a fund be collected for the sufficient maintenance of an additional four regiments of foot and two companies of dragoons, with £4000 for arms, £8 for the levy of each horse; thus, totalling £5000 for the two dragoon regiments of 300.[285] Furthermore, the Committee of Trade offered advice to the Scottish Parliament on 17 July 1695 about a petition delivered by William Boick regarding a misunderstanding at Rotterdam port. After the seizure of Boick's goods, the Committee of Trade recommended an interjection of the king's authority to the Scottish Parliament, relaying this information to the admiralty at Rotterdam to prevent future problems.[286] Additionally, the Committee of Controverted Elections contributed towards the Scottish Parliament ratifying the 'act in favour of Captain William Burnett' on 5 June 1693. The act considered Burnett's petition regarding several robberies committed against him, with the committee agreeing to modify and liquidate the damage to £1,000.[287] Therefore, the committees of the Scottish Parliament played a prominent role in decision-making, in terms of investigation and providing recommendations.

Although the Scottish Government controlled their parliamentary management, William II and III's political agenda prioritised maintaining anti-French alliances and the interests of his powerful English subjects over Scotland, thereby lessening their real influence.[288] William II and III's interest in Scotland was primarily strategic as he needed resources for his European campaign.[289] Writing in 1698, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a contemporary Scottish author and politician, stated that King William II and III 'did engage us in a long and expensive war.

---

[285] Brown et al, 'Report of the committee for security of the kingdom concerning the raising of additional forces', 27 April 1693, *RPS,* (C1693/4/7), (13 January 2021).
[286] Brown et al, 'Recommendation in favour of William Boick and others', 17 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/224), (13 January 2021).
[287] Brown et al, 'Act in favour of Captain William Burnett', 5 June 1693, *RPS,* (1693/4/69), (13 January 2021).
[288] Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* p. 98; Raffe, 'Scotland Restored & Reshaped', p. 263; Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy & Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), p. 21; Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 495.
[289] Wormald, 'Confidence & Perplexity', in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland. A History*, p. 166.

And now that we are much impoverished', with the greatest part of mercenaries at home and abroad trying to survive.[290] William II and III saw Scotland as a stepping stone towards his main goal of European dominance. His lack of interest in Scottish affairs divided the Scottish Parliament, as he rarely gave exact instructions which caused ministers to complain of his disregard for the country.[291] The Scottish Government's opposition party, 'The Club', emerged due to this early distrust of the king and they soon dominated the Scottish Parliament and his officials found themselves desperately scrambling to maintain royal power.[292] This animosity towards the new king within the Scottish Parliament is highlighted in a letter from Sir John Dalrymple to Lord George Melvill on 31 January 1690:

> The Club heir are so bold, that they stagger them with fals assertions, that it's not designed that the King should come down, or the Parliament sitt… Queensberry is plain in the Club, tho his son hath written to him laitly, very honestly to intreat him not to medle with them… If Queensberry have power to unite the Jacobite and cavallir party to the Club, we are like to loos as many members as we gain of Presbiterians; in short, if the King come down, all will evanish in smoak; if not, I see no good ishew.[293]

William II and III's lack of support for the Darien venture further exacerbated the Scottish division. The ratification of the 1695 act endorsing Darien in his absence infuriated the king as it potentially damaged his English commercial interests.[294] To that end, he ordered his English colonies to refuse support to the Scots.[295] The Darien failure precipitated a request from the African Company asking him to call a parliament in late October 1699. William II and III refused, stating that the parliamentary adjournment would remain until March 1700.[296] Fletcher of Saltoun conceded the unlikelihood of the king's support for Darien, given his over-riding Dutch and English interests. He expressed 'that no Scots man is an Enemy to the African Company' and that King William II and III should support Darien, however, as he is

---

[290] Andrew Fletcher, *The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher* (London, 1732), p. 27.
[291] Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England,* p. 174.
[292] James Halliday, 'The Club & the Revolution in Scotland 1689-90', in *The Scottish Historical Review,* 45(140), (1966), pp.145-146; Raffe, 'Scotland Restored & Reshaped', p. 263.
[293] William Leslie Melville, *Leven & Melville Papers. Letters & State Papers Chiefly Addressed to George Earl of Melville Secretary of State of Scotland 1689-1691* (Edinburgh, 1843), p. 389.
[294] David Armitage, 'The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture', in John Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 100.
[295] Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion,* p. 28; Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution,* pp. 96-97.
[296] Ibid, p. 30.

also 'King of England, and Stat-holder of the United Provinces, our interest in this point may come to interfere with that of those Nations.'[297] Thus, the fragmented 1690s Scottish Parliament became filled with uncertainty and apprehension towards William II and III's conduct, resulting in a lengthy period of political instability.

The Irish Assembly organised along English lines consisted of a two-chamber parliament during the 1690s.[298] Although structurally based on the English Government, the Irish Parliament remained separate until the British-Irish Union of 1801.[299] No parliament had met in Ireland since 1666, excluding James's 1689 sitting.[300] From the 1690s, the number of MPs remained at 300 until its dissolution.[301] Only six MPs sat in both the parliaments of James VII and II and William II and III; few of the Irish Williamite Government had any previous parliamentary experience and his Irish Parliament contained very few Presbyterians.[302] Although many Ulster MPs had Presbyterian sympathies, only five Ulster MPs have been recognised as Presbyterians.[303] The admission of Bishops into the post-war Irish House of Lords and House of Commons in the 1690s demonstrates an early determination to lessen Presbyterian influence within the national government.[304] Following the emergence of the Irish Protestant Ascendancy, no Catholic sat in the Irish Parliament between 1692 and 1828.[305] King William paid more attention to Ireland to secure it from the Jacobite threat, weak Ireland rendered Britain vulnerable to invasion from a foreign enemy.[306] The Irish

---

[297] Andrew Fletcher, *Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1698), p. 13.
[298] Charles Ivar McGrath, 'The Parliament of Ireland to 1800', in Clyve Jones (ed.), *A Short History of Parliament* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 321; Coleman Dennehy, *The Irish Parliament, 1613-89. The Evolution of a Colonial Institution* (Manchester, 2019), p. 3.
[299] David W. Hayton & James Kelly, 'Introduction: The Irish Parliament in European Context: A Representative Institution in a Composite State', in Kelly, Hayton & Bergin (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State,* p. 4.
[300] Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy,* p. 503.
[301] McGrath, 'The Parliament of Ireland', p. 331.
[302] Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin,* p. 8.
[303] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 125.
[304] Ibid, p. 123.
[305] Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin,* p. 11; McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers,* p. 54.
[306] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, p. 11.

Parliament operated independently, effectively forming a non-integrative union with England; thereby, creating a characteristic example of an early modern 'composite state'.[307] The Commons dealt with more important business such as legislation, and the Lords discussed indirect matters including private bills, judicial cases and questions of procedure.[308] Thus, several major differences existed between the structures of both the Scottish and Irish Parliaments during this period.

The most distinct feature between the two governments was Poynings' Law (1494) which required all intended Irish parliamentary legislation to be submitted to London for prior approval.[309] Later commentators construed Poynings' Law as an English attempt to subordinate the Irish Parliament.[310] After the 1692 Irish Parliament, a compromise between English and Irish governments allowed the Irish Parliament to initiate legislation that nullified its most important restriction, with its eventual repeal in 1782.[311] Furthermore, the Heads of Bills procedure, adopted in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, meant that a certain house would draft the heads of a bill and forward it onto the Irish Council to format and present as a standard bill to England.[312] The use of Heads of Bills is demonstrated in a c.1690 speech in the Lords for promotion of linen production stating that linen, the 'most beneficiall trade that can be encouraged in Ireland', which provided 'so favourable an occasion for inviting and encouraging Protestant strangers to settle in this kingdom.'[313] Another Heads of Bills is also mentioned in the London Gazette of 26 August 1697, encouraging Protestant

---

[307] Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin*, p. 4.
[308] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, p. 108.
[309] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power*, p. 107.
[310] Robert Dudley Edwards & T. W. Moody, 'The History of Poynings' Law: Part 1, 1494-1615', in *Irish Historical Studies,* 2(8), (1941), p. 415.
[311] McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers,* pp. 38 & 40; Charles I. McGrath, 'Government, Parliament & the Constitution: The Reinterpretation of Poynings' Law, 1692-1714', in *Irish Historical Studies,* 35(138), (2006), pp. 161-162; Dudley Edwards & Moody, 'The History of Poynings' Law', p. 415.
[312] McGrath, 'The Parliament of Ireland to 1800', p. 323.
[313] 'Speech of the Lords', c. 1690, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 352, (10 December 2019), p. 118.

sailors to Ireland.[314] The promotion of Irish Heads of Bills to a wider audience by the English press demonstrates the legislative relationship and workings between Ireland and England during this period. Heads of Bills provided an important, unique part of the Irish Parliament, which sharply contrasted with Scotland's relatively efficient legislative principles.

However, similarities existed between the Scottish and Irish Parliaments during this period. After the 'Glorious Revolution', both governments gathered more frequently, with a larger role in handling their parliamentary business.[315] Furthermore, the emergence of English 'party' politics became evident in Ireland.[316] The 'Whig' and 'Tory' nicknames derived respectively from Scottish Covenanters, and Irish Catholic, gentry-led bandits.[317] In terms of party affiliations, Ulster Presbyterians aligned themselves with the Whig Party as they supported non-conformist interests, whereas, the Tory party saw Presbyterians as a greater threat to Ireland than Catholics.[318] Some High-Churchmen even intermittently expressed a preference for Catholics compared to Presbyterians.[319] Jonathan Swift, political pamphleteer and Anglican clergyman, expressed the intense hatred between the two political parties stating that 'there is hardly a Whig in Ireland who would allow a potato and buttermilk to a reputed Tory.'[320] Likewise, William King, Tory Archbishop of Dublin, comments 'I would no more wish a Whig damn'd than I would cut his Throat.'[321] King also

---

[314] 'The London Gazette', 26 August 1687, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (10 December 2019), p. 196.

[315] Tony Claydon, ''British' History in the Post-Revolutionary World 1690-1715', in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History Founding a Modern State 1603-1715* (New York, 1999), p. 121.

[316] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 77; David W. Hayton, 'The Beginnings of the 'Undertaker System'', in Bartlett & Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age*, p. 43.

[317] Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism,* p. 56; John Miller, 'The Glorious Revolution', in Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict,* pp. 29-30; Hayton, 'The Beginnings of the 'Undertaker System'', p. 42.

[318] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 126; Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism,* p. 56; Sean Connolly, 'The Penal Laws', in Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath* (Belfast, 1990), pp. 167-168.

[319] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland,* p. 154.

[320] Stanley Lane-Poole (ed.), *Letters & Journals of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1888), p. 256.

[321] William King, *A Vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell, from the False, Scandalous and Malicious Aspersions Cast Upon Him in a Late Infamous Pamphlet, Entitled the Modern Fanatick* (London, 1711), p. 13.

refers to a Church Whig being worse than a dissenter.[322] Thus, a comparison to the Scottish

Parliament can be drawn with regards to the mainly Protestant composition of the two

governments, and the factionalism that existed within them. A vote from the Irish House of

Commons on 19 August 1697 illustrates the Protestant nature of the Irish Parliament

throughout the Williamite period, conveying the want to preserve the interest of His

Majesty's Protestant subjects so that none of them will suffer through the laws of the Irish

Parliament.[323] Another likeness to the Scottish Parliament centred on the use of committees

within the Irish Executive. Key committees for the whole House of Commons consisted of

supply, state of the nation, as well as, ways and means.[324] Smaller committees emerged in

both the House of Commons and the House of Lords to deal with various matters, including

the consideration of petitions, creation of addresses and answers, as well as, drafting Heads of

Bills.[325] The use of committees to resolve parliamentary petitions is portrayed in the case of

Richard Delamar on 7 September 1695. He successfully lobbied the Irish Parliament on his

Catholic father's attempts to disinherit him for being Protestant.[326] Another Irish Government

committee, formed on 10 October 1692, addressed a vote of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant for

his speech.[327] On 17 September 1695, a Heads of Bills committee emerged to examine

English laws from which to build their Irish legislation.[328]

**Religion**

Similarly, the religious affiliation of 1690s Scotland and Ireland is vital in comprehending the

large-scale influx of Scots to Ulster. Ulster became the Protestant northern province of

---

[322] 'Letter from William King to Dean Bolton', 24 April 1716, (A.R.L., William King Correspondence, P002475761), p. 213.
[323] 'Votes of the House of Commons', 19 August 1697, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (10 December 2019), p. 406.
[324] McGrath, 'The Parliament of Ireland', p. 328.
[325] Ibid, p. 328.
[326] *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. Volume 2* (Dublin, 1796), p. 54; Arkins, 'The Penal Laws', p. 515.
[327] Ibid, p. 11.
[328] Ibid, p. 64.

Catholic Ireland, which appealed to an overwhelmingly Protestant Scottish kingdom. The overturning of the national religion of Scotland occurred about five times in the 17th century – it began with Episcopacy, then Presbyterianism became re-established in 1638, with movement back to Episcopacy during the Bishop's Wars (1638-39), then a return to Presbyterianism (1639-40), then Episcopacy became re-established in 1662, and Presbyterianism in 1690.[329] This unexpected turn of fortune for Scottish Presbyterians meant they had finally escaped twenty-eight years of 'spiritual exile', and believed that providence granted them the opportunity to reconstruct the Church of Scotland according to their principles.[330] Thus, Scotland became embroiled in religious turmoil as Presbyterianism re-established itself after the 'Glorious Revolution', giving the kirk the right to purge 'all inefficient, negligent scandalous and erroneous ministers.'[331] To that end, the Scottish Parliament passed an act for restoring Presbyterian ministers who had been deprived after the 1660 Restoration on 25 April 1690. This legislation focused on the re-establishment of Presbyterian ministers to their churches and the removal of Episcopalian clergymen to accommodate this charge.[332] The return of these Presbyterian ministers resulted in the dismissal of at least two-thirds of Episcopalian parish ministers.[333] Presbyterians allegedly dislodged Episcopal ministers and their families along with their belongings and threatened them with death if they ever returned to preach.[334] A 1690 pamphlet graphically described this appalling treatment being applied to one minister and his family. Mr Gabriel Russell, minister at Govan, and his family were assaulted by several people at their own home, with most of the perpetrators being his parishioners, 'so inhumanely, that it had almost endangered

---

[329] Ryan K. Frace, 'Religious Toleration in the Wake of Revolution: Scotland on the Eve of Enlightenment (1688-1710s), in *The Journal of the Historical Association,* 93(311), (2008), p. 356.
[330] Jeffrey Stephen, *Defending the Revolution: The Church of Scotland, 1689-1716* (Farnham, 2013), p. 20
[331] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* pp. 303-304.
[332] Brown et al, 'Act restoring the presbyterian ministers who were thrust from their churches since 1 January 1661', 25 April 1690, *RPS,* (1690/4/13) (13 January 2021).
[333] Julian Goodare, *State & Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), p. 316.
[334] Anon, *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland Truly Represented* (London, 1707), p. 134.

his life', with threats of more severe action if he ever offered to preach in Govan again.[335]

Between 1690 and 1712, no legal toleration of Episcopalians existed out with the church.[336] Although one hundred Episcopalian ministers gained statutory protection through avoiding deprivation of their churches, no toleration of Episcopal worship ensued until a 1712 Toleration Act granted legal recognition to their religious group.[337] Alasdair Raffe argues that Presbyterians described their previous prosecution of dissent in the 1680s as 'cruel persecution', which Episcopalians viewed as a required procedure against rebellion and treason.[338] Robert Wodrow, a Scottish Presbyterian minister and historian, outlined the sinful treatment of Presbyterians being labelled as debauched and immoral by hypocritical Episcopalians, who lived unscrupulous lives through 'drunkenness, swearing, sabbath breaking, and many other sad scandalous sins.'[339] However, the tables had turned, and the persecuted Presbyterians celebrated their 'faithfulness of the godly' by the end of the century, with Episcopalians subsequently cast out.[340] Thus, the rivalry between these two Protestant factions would be characterised by rebellions, atrocities and overthrowing tainted their inter-denominational relations throughout the 17th century. A letter from William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow University, to William II and III in 1695, outlined his distrust of Episcopalians due to their support of King James VII and II 'knowing that many of the Episcopall clergie were still inclyned to King James.'[341] He continued, 'that the presbyterians

---

[335] Thomas Morer, John Sage & Alexander Monro, *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland* (London, 1690), 16.

[336] Alasdair Raffe, 'Presbyterians & Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660-1715', in *The English Historical Review,* 125(514), (2010), p. 571.

[337] Ibid, p. 571.

[338] Alasdair Raffe, Propaganda, Religious Controversy & the Williamite Revolution in Scotland', in *Dutch Crossing. Journal of Low Countries,* 29(1), (2005), p. 26.

[339] 'A Modest & Sober Presentation of such Grievances', 1691, (N.L.S., The Wodrow Collection, Octavo IV IX), p. 425.

[340] David W. Miller, 'Religious Commotions in the Scottish Diaspora: A Transatlantic Perspective on 'Evangelicalism' in a Mainline Denomination', in David A. Wilson & Mark G. Spencer (eds.), *Ulster Presbyterians in the Atlantic World. Religion, Politics & Identity* (Dublin, 2006), p. 25.

[341] 'Memorial on Behalf of the Church of Scotland', 1695, (N.L.S., The Wodrow Collection, Octavo IV XIII), p. 508.

cannot trust such men who did protest and encourage all or either of them who attended to the protestation with the shame of the government of the church.'[342] Thus, religious distrust and instability characterised Scotland during the 1690s.

Episcopalian dissenter numbers outstripped pre-Revolution Presbyterians, with several parts of the north-east of Scotland and Highlands having strong Episcopal support.[343] The north of Scotland's historic adherence to Episcopacy exacerbated these tensions and slowed down Presbyterian progress into these areas.[344] However, Presbyterianism became the dominant religion in Scotland during this period, with Ulstermen apparently being paid to travel the North Channel to become involved in Episcopal rabblings.[345] Extreme Presbyterian measures to convert Episcopalians involved violence all over Scotland, 'in such Places where the Presbyterians were absolute Masters.'[346] These conversions allegedly involved armed men taking Episcopal ministers to 'the Market Place of the Town or Village where he resided, or to the most publik Place of the Parish, if it had no Town in it; and there, giving him Names in Abundance, pull'd his Gown over his Ears, and tore it in many Pieces.'[347] On some occasions, they ordered Episcopal ministers 'through Rivers, in a deep Storm of Snow… and in such deep Places, as that the Water reach'd up to their Necks.'[348] A 1690 pamphlet provided a graphic account of local Presbyterians performing these actions on Mr Simpson, minister at Gastown. They took him to the most public part of the village to put on his morning gown and forced him to walk through the deepest part of the river with his face turned northward.[349] They told him 'get you gone to your Own Country, and see for your life

[342] Ibid, p. 518.
[343] Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, p. 192; T. M. Devine, 'Making the Caledonian Connection: The Development of Irish & Scottish Studies', in *Radharc,* 3, (2002), p. 5.
[344] Jeffrey Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians & the Act of Union 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 12.
[345] Ann Shukman, *Bishops & Covenanters: The Church in Scotland, 1688-91* (Edinburgh, 2012), p. 41.
[346] Anon, *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy,* p. 134; Ibid, p. 41.
[347] Ibid*,* p. 134.
[348] Ibid, p. 134.
[349] Morer, Sage & Monro, *An Account of the Present Persecution,* p. 17.

you never look Southward or Westward again.'[350] A 1707 tract also gave an instance of the minister of Kilbride, 'cruelly beaten and wounded' with Presbyterians turning on his pregnant wife who came to assist him 'so violently push'd with the Club-End of their Muskets' that she miscarried.[351] Episcopalians, for their part, rejected the Presbyterian application of divine right; after the Revolution, they continued to deny the Presbyterian government's divine origin, arguing instead that Christ intended his Church to be ruled by bishops.[352] Another 1690 pamphlet claimed that Episcopalians ruled the greatest church governments by divine right.[353] Consequently, the General Assembly periodically sought to educate and christianise the Highlands due to their strong pro-Episcopal and anti-Presbyterian beliefs.[354] On 11 November 1690, the Register of the General Assembly conveyed its enthusiasm to spread Presbyterianism into the Highlands of Scotland by conducting charity collections to transport bibles, testaments and catechisms to the northern region.[355] Some success in converting several regions in the Highlands is evidenced by petitions of 29 January 1692 received by the General Assembly from Aberdeen, Murray and Montrose, alluding to the supply of Presbyterian ministers for these areas.[356] The General Assembly enthusiastically welcomed requests to import Presbyterianism into the northern regions of Scotland. However, a 1702 pamphlet expressed concern at Presbyterianism being forced upon the north of Scotland as non-conforming ministers regularly closed the church doors on people who refused to acknowledge them; indeed, this became a daily occurrence within the Aberdeen diocese.[357]

---

[350] Ibid, p. 17.
[351] Anon, *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy,* p. 134.
[352] Alasdair Raffe, 'Presbyterianism, Secularization & Scottish Politics after the Revolution of 1688-1690', in *The Historical Journal,* 53(2), (2010), pp. 323 & 325.
[353] John Sage, *The Prelatical Church-man against the Phanatical Kirk-man* (London, 1690), p. 3.
[354] John Hill Burton, *History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection* (London, 1853), p. 236.
[355] 'Register of the Proceedings of the General Assemblies 1690 & 1692', 11 November 1690, (N.R.S., Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, CH1/1/13), pp. 37-38.
[356] 'Register of the General Assembly 1692', 29 January 1692, (N.R.S., Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, CH1/1/17), p. 35.
[357] Anon, *Two Letters from a Person in Scotland, to his Friends in Ireland*; *being a Narrative of the General Assemblies Proceedings with some Episcopal Ministers in that Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1702), p. 4.

Although strongly Presbyterian during the 1690s, Scotland's battle between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy did continue throughout this decade due to Episcopal maltreatment after the Revolution. Therefore, religion contributed to the Ulster exodus; with a further examination of Episcopal migrants and a more detailed analysis of religion being conducted in chapters three, four and six.

In contrast, the vast majority of Ireland's population followed Catholicism, they would be suppressed and controlled by a divided minority Protestant community from the end of the 17th century.[358] If one includes the last influx of Scottish and English settlers (1690-1715), Protestants constituted 27% of Ireland's population.[359] During the Williamite period, the Irish Catholic community were persecuted for rapparee attacks, mob violence and lawlessness, which only heightened Protestant anxieties.[360] Insecurity underscored the minority Protestant Ascendancy.[361] This uncertainty manifested itself into the establishment of the Penal Laws, which banished Catholic clergy in an attempt to make the Catholic Church leaderless and unstable; thereby, encouraging Catholic conversion to the Church of Ireland.[362] Some chose to due to religious enthusiasm, and others to avoid penalties from the acts.[363] Ireland viewed persistent yet controlled financial measures as the only practical way for religious conversion.[364] In addition, Ulster's Protestants faced a different experience from other Irish Protestants as religious hostility and political suspicion characterised relations between

---

[358] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation,* p. 13; Neal Garnham, 'Defending the Kingdom & Preserving the Constitution: Irish Militia Legislation 1692-1793', in Bergin, Hayton & Kelly (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State*, pp. 107-108.
[359] Miller, *Emigrants & Exiles*, p. 22.
[360] Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland & the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766. A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2004), p. 52.
[361] R. F. Foster, 'Ascendancy & Union', in R. F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), p. 163.
[362] Charles I. McGrath, 'The Provisions for Conversion in the Penal Laws, 1695-1750', in Michael Brown, Charles I. McGrath & Thomas P. Power (eds.), *Converts & Conversion in Ireland, 1650-1850* (Dublin, 2005), p. 38.
[363] Ibid, p. 38; Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk, 1976), p. 10.
[364] John Morrill, 'The Causes of the Penal Laws: Paradoxes & Inevitabilities', in John Bergin, Eoin Magennis, Lesa Ní Mhunghaile & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 65-66.

Anglicans and Presbyterians.[365] After the 'Glorious Revolution', Presbyterians within

Scotland and England improved their position, however, little changed for Presbyterians in

Ireland as Anglicans continued to monopolise economic, cultural and political institutions.[366]

Indeed, Ireland performed a 'remarkable balancing act' through safeguarding the preservation

of the Anglican church-state by limiting Presbyterian toleration.[367] Presbyterians remained a

constant threat to Anglicans due to their strong discipline and organisation, in conjunction

with their recent overthrowal of Episcopacy in Scotland,[368] remaining fresh in peoples'

memory. A letter from Lord Sunderland to the Lord Deputy of Ireland of 31 May 1687

outlines Anglican suspicion and fear of Presbyterians within Ireland. Sunderland expressed

his apprehension to take any unnecessary action against dissenters,[369] presumably due to fear

of Presbyterians rising and overthrowing Episcopacy as had happened in Scotland.

The Penal Laws enacted by the Irish Parliament initially against Catholicism would be

extended to Presbyterianism in the early 18th century. These Penal Laws deprived Catholics

of their political, military and social influence.[370] Consequently, most of the laws against

Catholics would emerge after 1691, when the threat of James VII and II's return remained a

possibility.[371] In 1697, the Irish Parliament ratified 'an act for banishing all Papists exercising

any ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all regulars of the Popish clergy out of this kingdom',

which bore testimony to their political, military and social threat.[372] A further act passed in

Queen Anne's first parliament of 1703-4 made it illegal for any Catholic clergymen to arrive

---

[365] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 105; Simms, 'The Establishment of the Protestant Ascendancy', p. 25.
[366] Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 265.
[367] Glenn Burgess, 'Religion & Civil Society: The Place of the English Revolution in the Development of Political Thought', in Michael J. Braddick & David L. Smith (eds.), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain & Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 283.
[368] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power*, p. 125.
[369] 'Letter from Lord Sunderland to the Lord Deputy of Ireland', 31 May 1687, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 340, (10 December 2019), p. 235.
[370] Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy', p. 15; Connolly, *Divided Kingdom,* pp. 197-199; McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers,* p. 35.
[371] Ibid, p. 16.
[372] *Statutes Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland, Vol. 2* (Dublin, 1794), pp. 287-288.

in Ireland after 1 January 1703 and required all resident Catholic clergymen to register their names and parishes, as well as, guarantee their good behaviour.[373] The authorities extended the provisions of the abovementioned 1697 'Banishment Act' to all priests discovered in Ireland after 24 June 1705, who had not been recorded under the 1704 statute.[374] However, animosity towards Catholics soon expanded to include Presbyterians, whose numbers began to swell, especially in Ulster. Consequently, in 1704, the Dublin Government curbed Presbyterian power, enacting legislation in the form of the Sacramental Test added as a clause into the Irish 'Popery Bill'.[375] 'An act for preventing the further growth of Popery' passed in 1703 during Queen Anne's reign, reiterating Catholic's obligations regarding education, property, inheritance and marriage. However, Clause 15 of this act stated that the advantages of 'Protestants' mentioned throughout this legislation, only applied to Church of Ireland members.[376] Clause 17 of this statute compelled all civil and military officials to receive Church of Ireland communion within three months of their employment, thus excluding dissenters from public office and town corporations unless they converted within the given timeframe.[377] Therefore, Anglicans initially targeted Catholics, however, when Presbyterians became a problem, they dealt with them in a similar legislative manner. This Anglican phobia of Presbyterianism existed before the mass migration,[378] but the large-scale influx of Scots to Ulster merely exacerbated this problem. Nevertheless, Presbyterians would not have known the extent of Anglican hostility towards them until they arrived in Ulster, thus, the strongly Protestant northern province of Ireland would have appealed to Scots during this decade.

---

[373] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 274.
[374] Ibid, p. 274.
[375] Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 276; Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (London, 2016), p. 25; David W. Hayton, 'Exclusion, Conformity & Parliamentary Representation: The Impact of the Sacramental Test on Irish Dissenting Politics', in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1997), p. 52.
[376] *Statutes Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland, Vol. 2,* p. 394.
[377] Ibid, pp. 396-397.
[378] This extends back to the era of Strafford and the 1st Duke of Ormond (1633-1641).

**Conclusion**

Scottish society suffered a tumultuous period during the 1690s as a result of a combination of internal conflict, European warfare and famine. However, although Ireland, specifically Ulster, suffered from the Williamite Wars at the start of the 1690s, no disastrous societal incidents occurred during the remainder of the century. Economically, Scotland began this decade in a superior financial position to Ireland. However, these characteristics arguably led to Scotland's economic demise through the Darien venture. In contrast, Ireland's economy, but particularly Ulster's, expanded during the 1690s with greater commercial networks and fewer trading restrictions than Scotland; thus, Scotland's dwindled as Ulster's flourished.

   With regards to politics, Scotland had control over their parliamentary dealings, although hampered with uncertainty and apprehension towards the new monarch. However, Westminster essentially ruled the Irish Government, which also utilised unique, English-controlled legislative checks such as Heads of a Bill and Poynings' Law. Acknowledgement of the parliaments is crucial to gain a better understanding of the two regions. Lastly, the Protestant religion of Scotland contrasted drastically to Catholic Ireland. Rivalries existed within the Protestant factions of Scotland between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. These conflicts can also be witnessed in Ulster during the same period. Therefore, this chapter consulted various contemporary sources and engaged with the historiography to contextualise the Scottish migration to Ulster during this decade. The next chapter will analyse Ulster's rentals from three sample areas to determine the extent of this migration and the factors that encouraged this influx over the North Channel during the 1690s.

# Chapter Two – The Ulster Appeal

The nature and extent of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster will be examined in this chapter, using an original approach of analysing rentals from estate and family papers to determine influx periods, migration factors, and migrant occupations. Concrete numbers for this movement may never be established. However, this does not mean that other aspects of this migration cannot be examined to provide a clearer view of this extreme outflow of Scots to Ulster. There is no consensus in existing historiography regarding the merits of push and pull factors of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster, although as has been argued, famine predominates as a key factor of this migration.[379] However, other factors such as cheap land, leases and economic opportunities have also been highlighted, although not given the same historiographical consideration.[380] Furthermore, both Irish and Scottish historiographies lack a definitive consensus as to these migrants' social class.[381]

This reappraisal portrays the upward and downward trends of rentals given to those of a probable Scots origin within these decades; thus, an examination of the number of leases granted before and after August 1695, when harvesting traditionally began, problematises the extent to which famine caused this migration. Other factors will also be considered such as land, warfare and economic opportunities, not given due consideration in the historiography. An analysis of the combined impact of these factors on the large influx of Scots in this decade will be suggested, rather than a solitary migratory cause. Lastly, the occupations listed on these leases will be compared with a social order model,[382] while the main professions

---

[379] Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, p. 206; Gillespie, *Settlement & Survival*, p. xviii; Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* p. 153.

[380] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad,* p. 29; Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, p. 29; Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 81; Cullen, 'The Famine of the 1690s', p. 151.

[381] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* p. 200; Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation,* p. 31; Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*, p. 92; [381] Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', p. 298; Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, p. 29; McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland,* p. 169.

[382] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* p. 157.

mentioned on the rentals will be examined to determine whether they correlate with the push and pull factors discussed in this chapter.

**Lease Analysis**

To determine the extent of the 1690s migration on Ulster, the statistics compiled from rentals of three sample estate and family papers within P.R.O.N.I's collections have been proportionately analysed: the Nugent Papers (County Down); the Earl of Erne Papers (County Fermanagh); and the Earl of Antrim Papers (County Antrim). Thus, an examination of these rent rolls (1680-1709) provided a micro-study of the numbers of Scots entering Ulster during this period, allowing a proportionate assessment of the full impact this large-scale influx had on Ulster. The full names on the leases have been analysed – as surname origin can be misleading – using *Scotland's People*.[383] This digitised database facilitated a re-examination of the names that came to the fore in the archival research otherwise deemed non-Scottish by utilisation of surname origin books.[384] Cross-referencing the names established in the estate and family papers between the surname origin books and *Scotland's People* database allowed for more accurate results.

This will determine whether a proportionate increase occurred in the number of Scots listed in Ulster's 1680s and 1690s rentals to establish the extent of this migration and its impact on Ulster's leases, through examination of 1700s rental figures. Firstly, the results of the Nugent Papers of County Down rental analysis are illustrated on the graph below (Figure 1).

---

[383] Smout, Landsman & Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', p. 92.
[384] George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning & History* (New York, 1974); & David Dorward, *Scottish Surnames* (Edinburgh, 2003).
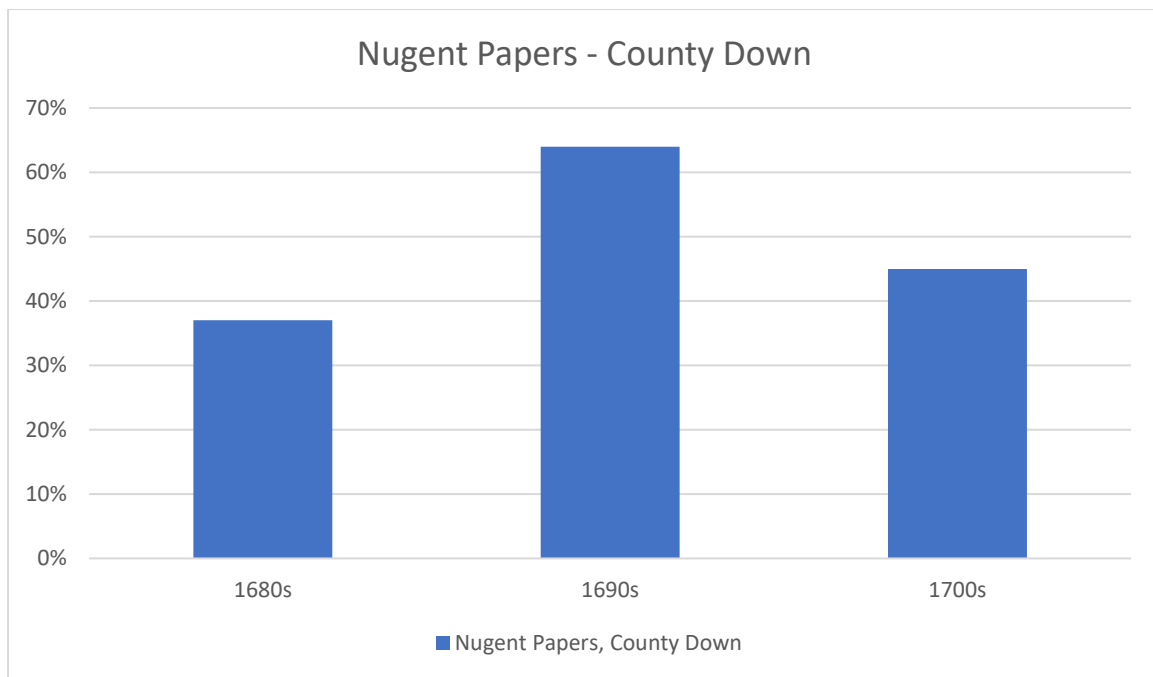
Figure 1: Rental statistics from the Nugent Papers [D552] in P.R.O.N.I. relating to the number of Scottish names given leases from the 1680s-1700s.

Of the twenty-eight leases examined, eighteen (64%) of the names appeared on searches of *Scotland's People* database, thereby suggesting over half of the rentals had been granted to Scots in the 1690s. When compared with the nineteen leases available for the 1680s within the Nugent Papers, seven (37%) of them produced results on *Scotland's People*. In just a decade, a possible 27% increase of  Scots being awarded leases emerges, highlighting the extent of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster. A proportionate comparison can be made to the 1700s leases; of the fifty-one consulted, twenty-three (45%) matched names listed in *Scotland's People*. Therefore, it is evident that a large increase occurred in the leases being given to (probable) Scots between the 1680s and 1690s, correlating with the escalating migration of the 1690s. However, there is a slight percentage decrease in the number of Scots granted leases in the 1700s; yet these figures are still greater than the 1680s statistics, suggesting that many of the Scots who migrated to Ulster in the 1690s remained there.

Similarly, the Earl of Erne papers for County Fermanagh shows a spike in the number of (potential) Scots given leases from the 1680s to the 1700s as illustrated on the graph below (Figure 2).
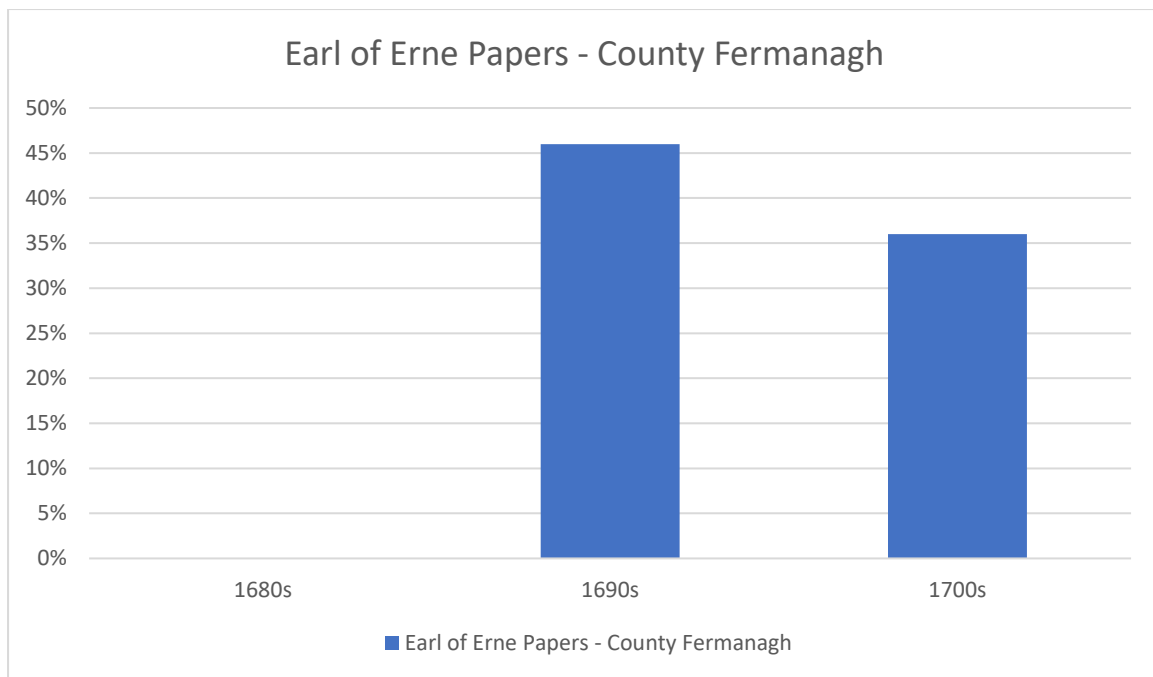
Figure 2: Rental statistics from the Earl of Erne Papers [D1939] in P.R.O.N.I. relating to the number of Scottish names given leases from the 1680s-1700s.

Thirty-five leases exist for the 1690s, and sixteen (46%) of these names provided results on *Scotland's People* database. Three leases survive for the 1680s with none given to Scots, potentially demonstrating the low appeal of leases for this county during this decade. The substantial leap of 46% in leases from the 1680s to 1690s, points to a sudden demand from Scots in the 1690s, correlating with mass migration. The 1700s statistics provide a corresponding result with the Nugent Papers of County Down. Of the eighty-eight leases available, Scots received thirty-two (36%) of them. The relatively high number of rentals in the 1700s compared to the 1680s, suggests that Scots continued to settle in Ulster after the mass influx of the 1690s. Although the 1690s provided stark numbers of Scots moving to Ulster, this influx formed part of a continuum of Scots migrating to Ulster during the 17th century.[385]

---

[385] See Chapter One.

Conversely, the Earl of Antrim papers for County Antrim provides the most surprising figures concerning rentals for potential Scots throughout these decades as conveyed on the graph below (Figure 3).
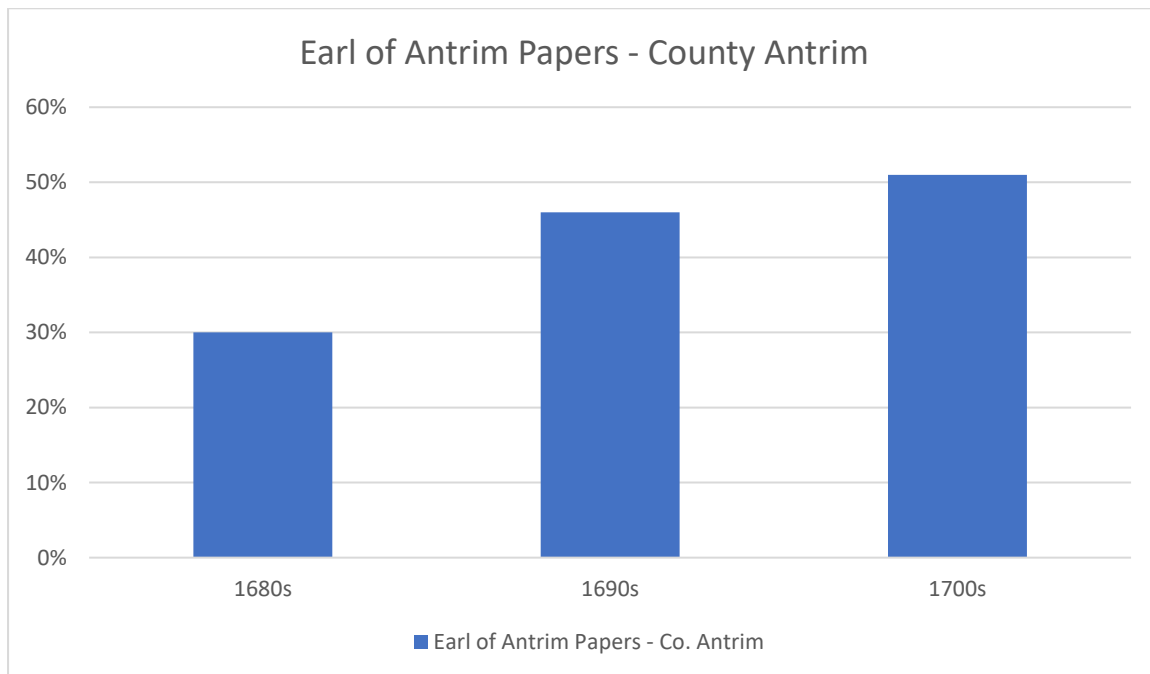


Figure 3: Rental statistics from the Earl of Antrim Papers [D2977] in P.R.O.N.I. relating to the number of Scottish names given leases from the 1680s-1700s.

Of the fifty-six leases available to consult in this sample for the 1690s, twenty-six (46%) of the lease names appeared on *Scotland's People*. These results are surprising as more Scottish names would have been expected for the 1690s given the historiographical emphasis of the Scottish settlement in Antrim.[386] The 1680s findings identify sixty-nine leases of which Scots received only twenty-one (30%) of them. Therefore, consistency of rental increase from the 1680s to the 1690s is noted in all three samples. The findings of the 1700s leases differ from the other two sample results. Of the 108 leases available for consultation, Scots got fifty-five (51%); a further increase from the 1690s rentals. A possible explanation for this could be Scottish migrants began to look towards colonial North America, starting their journey by crossing into Antrim before travelling up the Bann valley towards Derry. This

---

[386] Ibid, p. 161, Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 5; Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora,* p. 22; Alan Ford, 'The Origins of Irish Dissent', in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *The Religion of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1996), p. 14.

route is often referred to as the 'Atlantic Gateway'.[387] Louis Cullen has argued that Scottish settlers in Ireland predominated among permanent migrants to leave Ireland for North America. These Scots created a robust settlement pattern spreading outwards from their original bases.[388] Although a plausible suggestion, further research is required to determine the accuracy of this theory. The lower than expected influx of lease figures for County Antrim in the 1690s could be a result of Antrim experiencing more generational migration throughout the 17th century. Furthermore, by the start of the 18th century, many of the Belfast merchants became kinsmen connected by blood or marriage.[389] A long-standing settlement by the 18th century, this level of integration in Antrim could not have occurred solely from the 1690s migration. Therefore, further research may determine exactly why the Antrim results differ from the other two sample areas, especially County Down, another Scottish stronghold. However, onward migration to colonial North America from County Antrim may explain this discrepancy.

Further explanation for why certain parts of Ulster received more Scots than others is conveyed in a letter of 26 August 1693 to Reverend William Smyth, Bishop of Raphoe, which highlights County Cavan's straitened, economic condition.[390] It is reasonable to conclude that certain areas of Ulster suffered more in the post-war era than others, thereby influencing Scottish migrants' settlement decisions and potentially impacting the rise in rentals in certain areas. The observation of Ulster's evolving Scottish Presbyterian presence also occurred in County Donegal on 9 March 1681,[391] highlighting Ulster's emergence as the destination choice of Scots during this period. Connolly argues that by the late 17th century,

---

[387] Robert Gavin, William P. Kelly & Dolores O'Reilly, *Atlantic Gateway. The Port & City of Londonderry since 1700* (Dublin, 2009), p. 3.
[388] Louis M. Cullen, 'The Irish Diaspora in the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries', in Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move,* p. 119.
[389] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families,* p. 189.
[390] 'Letter from Oliver Lambert', 26 August 1693 (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Reverend William Smyth, MS 41,575/12).
[391] 'Order of Councill about Irish Fast', 9 March 1681, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 342, (12 December 2019), p. 549.

Presbyterians constituted more than half of the Protestants in Ulster, and nearly half in Ireland, with the majority of them of Scottish descent,[392] demonstrating the rapid growth of Scots in Ulster during this period. By 1692, the Scottish community became the largest settler group in Ulster, further strengthened by the 1690s migration, with an estimated 100,000 people of Scottish descent inhabiting the province by the end of the century.[393] Contemporary pamphlets deemed Scots in Ulster as 'unquestionably the greatest Body of Protestants in Europe, intirely united in Principle, Interest, Alliance and mutual Accord.'[394] Another ambitious pre-1690s estimate suggests 'their Number three years since, were found to amount to Eighty Thousand Fighting Men; and upon a more exact since, to about 1,000,000.'[395] These grossly exaggerated estimates from before the mass migration of the 1690s illustrate how solid numbers for this influx may never be established.

W. H. Crawford argues that the increase of Ulster's population due to the 1690s Scottish migration did not manifest itself until 1715.[396] However, this research would take issue with Crawford's findings as the 1690s Scottish migration rapidly impacted on Ulster's population as manifest in the surviving statistical evidence which suggests a substantial increase in the number of rentals given to potential Scottish people between the 1680s and 1690s, as well as, the literary evidence. Colonel Fitzpatrick noted as early as 1693 that in the north of Ireland, the Scots and English outnumbered the Irish natives.[397] Lenihan argues more specifically that Presbyterians overwhelmed east Ulster, with an increasing amount in west Ulster; where they soon started to outnumber Anglicans.[398] Several contemporary writings from numerous Protestant perspectives, including Anglicans and Presbyterians, supported this argument.

---

[392] Connolly, 'The Penal Laws', p. 167.
[393] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 121.
[394] John Mackenzie, *An Apology for the Failures* (London, 1689), p. 17.
[395] Ibid, p. 17.
[396] W. H. Crawford, 'Landlord-Tenant Relations in Ulster 1609-1820', in *Irish Economic & Social History,* 2, (1975), p. 10.
[397] 'Colonel Fitzpatrick's Paper', 22 April 1693, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 355, (13 December 2019), p. 82.
[398] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 200.

Although a hostile source due to his anti-Presbyterian tendencies, Tisdall's 1712 pamphlet rightly stated that Presbyterians in the 1690s 'encreased and multiplied by a Numerous Conflux of their Brethren from Scotland.'[399] He continued to compare Presbyterians to Ulster as 'a perpetual Stream flowing in from Scotland.'[400] Likewise, the Scottish Privy Council records comment on the 'the withdrauing of many persones to Ireland.'[401] Another contemporary estimation points to the numerical strength of Scots in 1690s Ulster, expressing the opinion that dissenters dominated eight out of ten parts of Ulster, making them 'sole possessors of the North of Ireland.'[402] Brooke argues that the General Synod visibly met and attempted congregational expansion throughout Ireland.[403] From 1661-1690, the creation of thirty-four congregations occurred, with a further forty-four established between 1691-1715.[404] This correlates with James Barkley Woodburn's argument that by 1697, Ulster Presbyteries grew from five to seven synods, with two sub-synods and a General Synod.[405] Smyth concurs, suggesting that 'by the early 18th century, the number of Presbyteries had more than doubled.'[406] The dominant Scottish Presbyterian presence in Derry is evidenced by the prominent Presbyterian, Joseph Boyse's 1690 pamphlet, which stated that conformists preached at the cathedral to a thin audience. However, he added that 'in the Afternoon it was very full, and there were four or five Meetings of Dissenters in the Town besides.'[407] This dominance in Derry is also echoed in a letter by William King, Bishop of Derry, to Samuel Foley, Bishop of Down and Connor, alluding to the latter's claims that there are 3,000 public

[399] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 14.
[400] Ibid, p. 27.
[401] Scottish Record Office [Hereafter S.R.O.], *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XVI – AD 1691* (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 596.
[402] Ralph Lambert, *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitl'd A Vindication of Marriage* (Dublin, 1704), p. 56.
[403] Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, p. 64.
[404] Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes & Memory,* p. 374.
[405] Barkley Woodburn, *The Ulster Scot*, p. 172.
[406] Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes & Memory,* p. 464.
[407] Joseph Boyse, *A Vindication of the Reverend Mr. Alexander Osborn, In Reference to the Affairs of the North of Ireland* (London, 1690), p. 25.

worshippers in Derry, with 2,700 being Presbyterian.[408] Elsewhere, King writes to James

Bonnell, accountant-general and a strong Anglican advocate for Ireland,[409] stating that Lord

Capel acknowledged '[th]e large tract of ground on [th]e map [tha]t is spread over by [th]e

Scotch Dissenters.'[410] The extent of Ulster's population growth throughout the 1690s is also

highlighted in 'country Whig' politician, Robert Molesworth's 1697 pamphlet,[411] which stated

that 'Belfast and Carrickfergus, the former of which Towns is the third in Ireland for Number

of People, and Trade; and yet grew up to what it is from nothing.'[412] The same pamphlet

notes that Ulster was already 'full of people'.[413] Therefore, the evidence highlighted in this

section would further disprove W. H. Crawford's comments.

Many Scottish migrants who settled in Belfast travelled as a family unit, however, lone

migrants also made the journey to reunite with their relatives.[414] Contemporary evidence also

states that 'many thousand Families' came from Scotland after the 'Glorious Revolution'.[415]

Around 8,000 families journeyed over the North Channel.[416] This not only highlights the

extent of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster; it also provides an insight into the

demographics of these familial migrants. A 1690 pamphlet stated that Ulster became so

populous as several families travelled from Scotland and England to settle in the northern

province.[417] A greater understanding of Scottish migrant profiles can also be gained from the

General Synod of Ulster, which records the arrival of Jean McGee, an eleven/twelve year old

---

[408] 'Letter from William King to Samuel Foley', 12 May 1694, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MS 1995-2008/354).
[409] David W. Hayton, 'James Bonnell (1653-1699)', *ODNB*, (7 June 2021).
[410] 'Letter from William King to James Bonnell', 8 January 1694/5, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MS 1995-2008/397).
[411] Hayton, 'Robert Molesworth (1656-1725)', *ODNB*, (19 July 2021).
[412] Molesworth, *The True Way to Render Ireland*, p. 7.
[413] Ibid, p. 26.
[414] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families,* p. 27.
[415] James Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians* (London, 1713), p. 557.
[416] Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent & Controversy*, pp. 25-26.
[417] Randal Taylor, *A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland from the Late K. James Accession to the Crown, to the Siege of Londonderry* (London, 1690), p. 6.

Scottish girl on 2 June 1698.[418] She had disappeared after landing in Antrim, and her mother's husband, Alexander Small, sought any information on her.[419] The different waves of migration over the North Channel during this period, further emphasise that one mass exodus did not occur.

**The 'Famine Factor'**

This analysis of rentals in estate and family papers points to a significant number of Scots travelling to Ulster in this decade, as does anecdotal evidence from literary sources. As has been suggested, famine is widely recognised as the main stimulant for the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster. In the 1690s, Scotland faced a combination of disastrous events, which individually would have caused catastrophe to any society.[420] However, famine dominates the historiography. Therefore, an analysis of the number of leases given to potential Scots before August 1695 has been conducted and compared to post-famine rentals. Thus, it will be suggested that famine must be considered in conjunction with other factors for encouraging this migration.

During the 1690s, Ulster did not experience the same extent of extraordinary weather as Scotland, although Ireland later suffered an acute famine during 1740-41, with an excess mortality rate of c. 300,000-400,000 deaths (12.5%-16% of the populace).[421] Thus, unpredictable weather did occur throughout this period. From the early 13th to the late 19th centuries, several parts of Europe experienced 'The Little Ice Age', with particularly low temperatures recorded during 1675-1715, known as the 'Late Maunder Minimum'.[422] During

---

[418] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster from 1691 to 1820, Vol. 1, 1691* (Belfast, 1890), p. 32.
[419] Ibid, p. 32.
[420] See Introduction.
[421] James Kelly, 'Coping with Crisis: The Response to the Famine of 1740-41', in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 27, (2012), p. 99 & 102; David Dickson, *Arctic Ireland. The Extraordinary Story of the Great Frost & Forgotten Famine of 1740-41* (Belfast, 1997).
[422] Robert A. Dodgshon, 'The Little Ice age in the Scottish Highlands & Islands: Documenting its Human Impact', in *Scottish Geographical Journal,* 121(4), (2008), p. 322.

1687-1717, Europe experienced particularly cold springs, resulting in the mean European temperature decreasing by 2˚C.[423] The extent of the 'Little Ice Age' on Scotland is conveyed in George Home of Kimmerghame's diary on 8 May 1694; 'it raind this day who was very seasonable ther being a great drought but it was cold the wind being still.'[424] Further unusual weather was recorded on 13 June 1694 with frost and ice being documented for the summer months.[425] On 9 March 1695, 8 and 11 April 1695, and 18 March 1696, additional entries mentioned snow in the spring,[426] with an additional account of snow recorded in the autumn on 28 September 1697.[427] The devastation of the 'Little Ice Age' weather is apparent through the case of the Culbin estate, close to the Moray Firth in north-eastern Scotland. In 1694, a cool summer led to a wild autumn, resulting in the barley harvest being late, with a fierce, 30-hour northern gale hitting on the 1 or 2 November.[428] The strong winds resulted in huge waves flooding the village, with the estate being eradicated overnight and buried under thirty metres of sand.[429] Although much less severe, Ulster also documented extreme weather in 1695 as highlighted in entries to Bishop Nicholson's diary: 'May 9th – a g[rea]t snow in [th]e fells. No more rain before Jun 24 and [the]n very little… Jun 29th – Haid frost.'[430] Despite this, the success of Ireland's 'plentiful' crop yield is noted in a memorial to William II and III on 9 November 1699, which contrasts sharply with the Scottish situation.[431] This was so dire that a year previously, on 2 June 1698, the General Synod of Ulster offered a day of fasting for several social and religious reasons including 'scarcity of victualls in Scotland.'[432] On 9

---

[423] Ibid, p. 323.
[424] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 7 May 1694 – 7 April 1696, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/1).
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid.
[427] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 20 September 1697 – 31 December 1699, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/2).
[428] Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300-1850* (New York, 2000), pp. 132-133.
[429] Ibid, p. 133.
[430] 'Bishop Nicholson's Diary', 1695, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC 69/3).
[431] 'Memorial Presented to his Majesty by the Envoy of Portugal', 9 November 1699, *SPO,* SP 66, Vol. 2, (17 December 2019), p. 119.
[432] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 31.

December 1696, the Peebles kirk session minutes highlight the extent of Scotland's food shortage; one Patrick Dicksone requested charity for him and his family due to 'the straitnesse of the tymes and darth of victuall are in a starving conditione.'[433] Therefore, it is evident that Ulster presented greater survival opportunities, thus, it can be reckoned that many Scots took advantage of a prospective Ulster during this period.

Evidence of migration before 1695 is also documented in the Scottish Privy Council records of 17 November 1691, suggesting that the mass withdrawal of Scots to Ireland left vacant parishes, thereby creating a heavy financial burden for stipends and poor inhabitants.[434] If Scots left in large numbers by the early 1690s, then they did not do so because of the famine. Rentals from the three sample areas in counties Antrim, Down and Fermanagh have been consulted to determine whether leases spiked in the aftermath of the famine. However, it is necessary first to consider when people in Scotland first knew about the harvest failure in 1695. If they left Scotland before this was known, they came for other reasons than to escape famine. Grain provided the main source of nutrition in Scotland during this decade;[435] thus, it is necessary to establish when Scots realised that their harvest had failed. Crop yielding techniques and harvesting months would not have greatly differed between Ireland and Scotland at this time. Therefore, in Ireland, flax would be harvested at the start of August, followed by wheat and barley in the first or second week of September, then lastly oats about ten days after the wheat and barley.[436] This is corroborated by a letter to the Earl of Nottingham which noted the parliament could not sit before the beginning of September due to harvesting.[437] Additionally, Glasgow's Barony kirk session records

[433] They were awarded 18s fortnightly; 'Peebles Kirk Session Minutes', 1691-1722, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/420/3), pp. 26-27.

[434] S.R.O., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Third Series, Vol. XIV, AD 1691* (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 596.

[435] Cullen, *Famine in Scotland,* p. 1.

[436] Angelique Day & Patrick McWilliams (eds.), *Ordinance Survey Memoirs of Ireland. Parishes of Co. Fermanagh 1834-5. Volume 4* (Belfast, 1990), p. 114.

[437] 'Letter to the Earl of Nottingham', 8 June 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (16 December 2019), p. 448.

mention two women leaving the parish to harvest on 29 September 1696.[438] Thus, the people

of Scotland would have known about the harvest failure by August 1695.

   The Nugent papers (Figure 4) show reference to leases being issued before news broke on

harvest failures, meaning that not everyone who left for Ulster did so to escape famine.

Indeed, the same number of leases had been signed before and after August 1695.



Figure 4: Rental statistics from the Nugent Papers [D552] relate to the number of leases given to Scottish people before and after August 1695, looking at the 1690s in isolation.

   This point is made even more forcibly by a similar study of leases in the Earl of Erne

papers: a far higher number of leases pre-date August 1695 leases (Figure 5). Scots in this

area thus received 94% of their leases before August 1695.

---

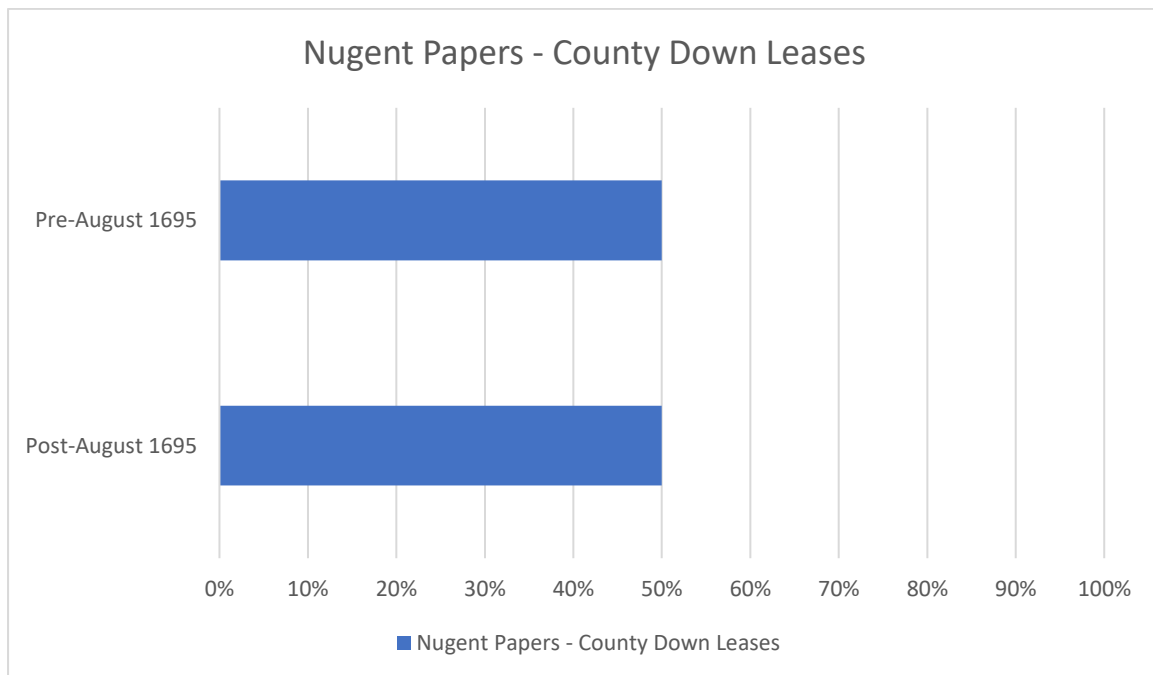[438] 'The Session Book of Baronie Kirk of Glasgow', 1680-1698, (T.M.L., CH2/173/1), p. 215.
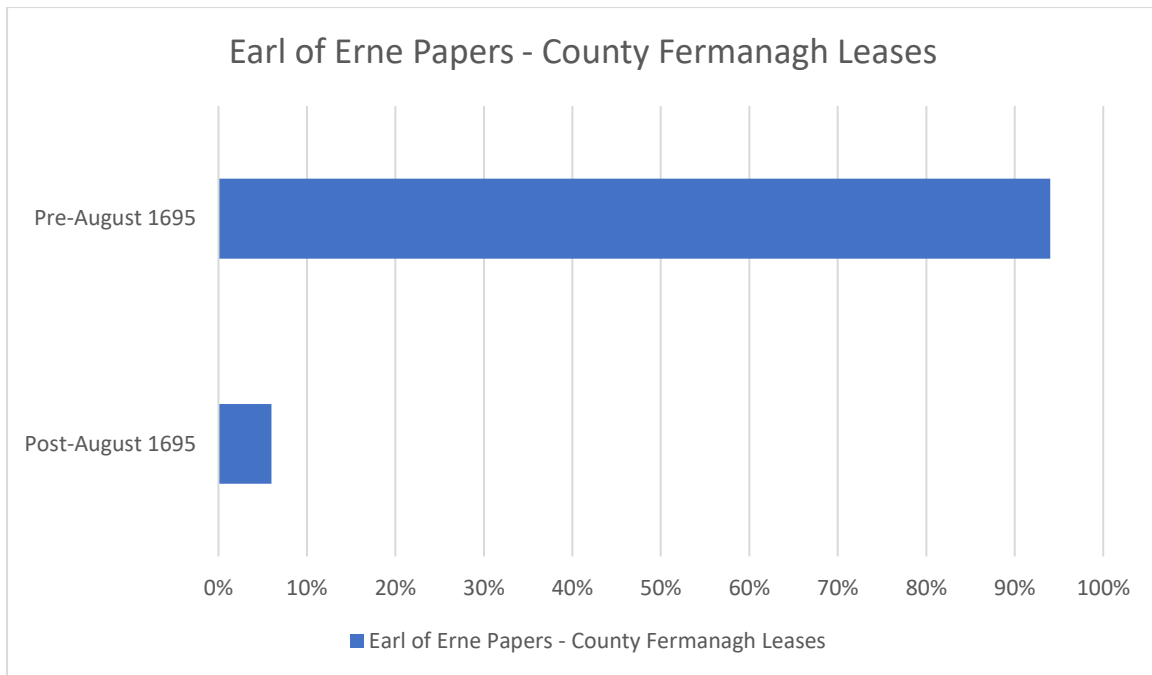
Figure 5: Rental statistics from the Earl of Erne Papers [D1939] relate to the number of leases given to Scottish people before and after August 1695, looking at the 1690s in isolation.

Lastly, the Earl of Antrim papers offers slightly different findings from the other two sample areas, as highlighted on the graph below (Figure 6), thereby dating 58% of the leases to a period after August 1695, thereby identifying famine as the main cause of migration.
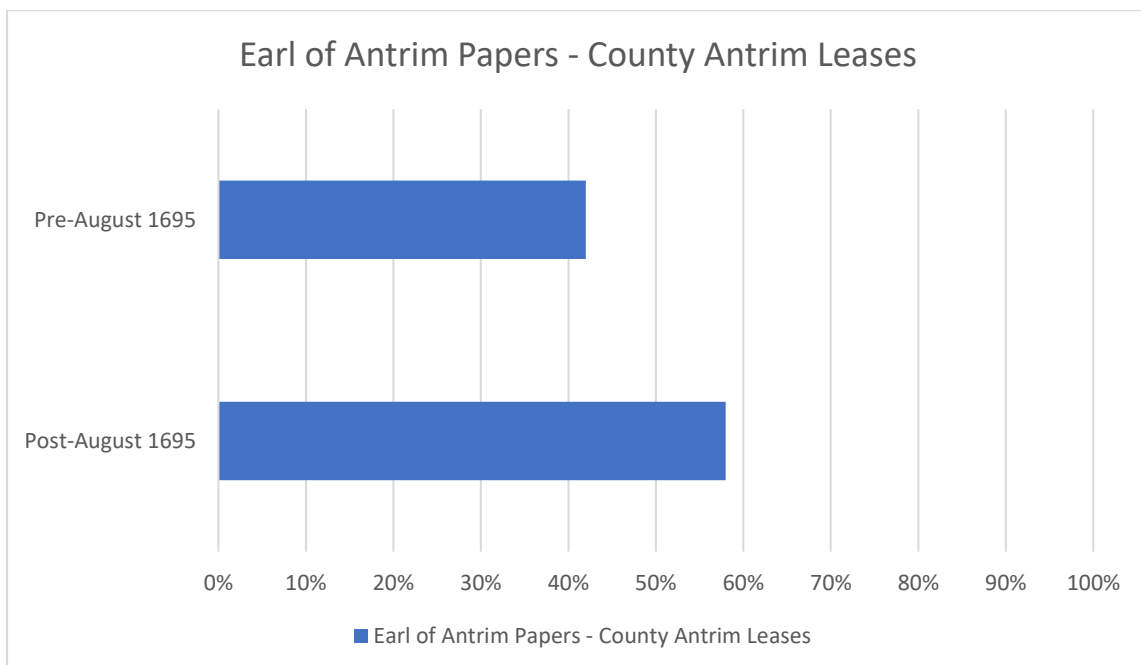


Figure 6: Rental statistics from the Earl of Antrim Papers [D2977] relate to the number of leases given to Scottish people before and after August 1695, looking at the 1690s in isolation.

Therefore, the samples for counties Down and Fermanagh suggest that famine cannot be the sole cause of this large-scale migration of Scots to Ulster in the 1690s. Similarly, the

Antrim sample demonstrates that famine must still be considered as a factor, although in conjunction with other causes.

**Other Push and Pull Factors**

These findings allow an examination of a combination of push and pull factors that explain the Scottish migration to Ulster during this period. Migration had already started by 1695, predominantly due to pull factors, including cheap land, as plot value remained low after the Williamite wars.[439] Scots fled famine, and those wanting greater prospects became enticed to 'crisis-free Ulster' for the availability of favourable lands and cheap rent.[440] The following section will examine the extent to which a combination of push and pull factors such as land, warfare, famine and economic opportunities played a role in encouraging Scots to migrate to Ulster. Firstly, the attractiveness of the leases and lands will be considered. Whyte notes that in early modern times, short leases predominated in eastern Lowland estates in Scotland and the tenants usually paid in kind; however, western Lowlands and upland areas paid by cash.[441] From 1689-1693, tenants in Inverness-shire could not pay their rents.[442] Fletcher of Saltoun commented on their predicament, 'in short, the changing of money-rent into corn, has been the chief cause of racking to that executive rate they are now advanced.'[443] However, Ulster landowners needed potential tenants, creating attractive leases for the English and Scottish, over thirty-one or sixty-one years, three lives or three lives renewable.[444] These lease lengths correlate largely with those in the three sample areas of counties Antrim, Down and Fermanagh to a certain extent. Of the 161 leases containing their length of term, 109 (68%) were granted for thirty-one years or above between 1680-1709. Therefore, the

---

[439] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 81; Dickson, *New Foundations*, p. 47.
[440] Cullen, 'The Famine of the 1690s', p. 151.
[441] Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy,* p. 37.
[442] Flinn, *Scottish Population History,* p. 165.
[443] Fletcher, *The Political Works*, p. 160.
[444] David Dickson, 'Middlemen', in Bartlett & Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age*, p. 171; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland,* p. 26; Gavin, Kelly & O'Reilly, *Atlantic Gateway*, p. 8.

availability of long-term Ulster leases may also have attracted Scots, as they provided greater security than the short-term rentals offered in Scotland.

By the 1690s, leases would not be issued for less than twenty-one years.[445] However, shorter leases became normal and did not greatly influence migration in the 1690s. This decade saw the lowest percentage of long-term lease lengths out of the three decades examined with only 22% of the leases in the 1690s having lengths over thirty-one years, compared to 79% in the 1680s and 67% in the 1700s. The only explanation for this outcome is that the influx of Scots into Ulster during this period created more competition for land. Thus, shorter lease lengths became normal and did not greatly influence the 1690s migration. Religious preference for rentals also determined the extent to which favourable leases encouraged the Scottish influx. In the 17th century, Ulster landlords preferred non-Irish, Protestant tenants and even offered a lower rent rate as an enticement.[446] This would have appealed to Scots such as John Guthrie, John Robinsine, Thomas Hendersone and James Brotherstones who had 'payed no rents for a long tyme'.[447] Furthermore, a 1713 pamphlet by James Kirkpatrick, an Ulster Presbyterian minister of Scottish origin, states 'tis true…the Church-Proprietors to prefer these New Scotch Presbyterian tenants for some small Advance in the Rent of their Lands; but tis certain, that in many Places twas the Landlord's Real Interest to receive [th]em as Tenants.'[448] Furthermore, he elaborates that 'several Protestant landlords (and even some of the Establish'd Church) encouraged those of our Persuasion to settle themselves and their Families on their Estates.'[449]

---

[445] Gillespie, *Settlement & Survival,* p. liii.
[446] Ibid, p. 170; Dickson, 'Middlemen', p. 171.
[447] 'Peebles Kirk Session Minutes', 1691-1722, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/420/3), pp. 80-81.
[448] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 450.
[449] Ibid, p. 511.

The names from the three Ulster sample areas can be further analysed to determine where the people who held them came from by utilising George Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (1974).[450] This method helped determine the number of people with exclusively Lowland surnames who got leases, with surnames common throughout Scotland excluded, which is particularly useful in this regard. The results convey that 115 (58%) of the 198 leases examined in all three sample areas from 1680-1709, contained predominantly Lowland surnames. Although these statistics do not account specifically for the religion of these people, it shows a correlation between the Presbyterian Lowlands and the perceived masses of Scottish Presbyterian migrants to Ulster.

Alternatively, the fertility of Ulster needs to be taken into consideration as a further incentive to the Scottish migration. In 1689, Ireland attracted settlers for 'the great Plenty of Provisions, and the Cheapness thereof for Support of Life.'[451] Further enticement came in the form of the promise that Irish bog lands could be transformed into profitable and valuable lands. Ireland had potentially thousands of acres that could be drained and re-purposed.[452] A Dublin Council Chamber missive to the king, on 19 September 1692 also highlighted the availability of 600,000 acres of arable land in Ireland.[453] The appeal of Irish lands is further echoed in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's speech to parliament on 10 October 1692, drawing attention to 'a Country [Ireland] so fertile by nature, and so advantegiously situated, for Trade and navigation.'[454] A 1692 pamphlet concerning the situation in Ireland states 'the Country is naturally very fruitful, and seems by the Soil always to have been so.'[455] These advertisements outlining the abundance of profitable lands in Ulster gave desperate Scots

---

[450] Black, *The Surnames of Scotland.*
[451] 'Great News from Ireland', 1689, (N.R.S., Scott Family Papers, GD157/1641), p. 291.
[452] Ibid, p. 292.
[453] 'Council Chamber of Dublin to the King', 19 September 1692, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 354, (13 December 2019), p. 151.
[454] 'Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's Speech', 10 October 1692, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 354, (13 December 2019), p. 234.
[455] John Shirley, *The True Impartial History & Wars of the Kingdom of Ireland* (London, 1692), p. 7.

hope as many wanted to improve their lands, but their landlords prevented them from doing so. Fletcher of Saltoun stated that landlords, 'get as much as possible from poor tenants, who by such means are made miserable, and so far from improving that they run out and spoil the ground, ruin their neighbours by borrowing.'[456] Therefore, Ulster would have been appealing to Scots who had not been given the same opportunity in their homeland.

Furthermore, the opportunity for trade resonates in a letter by Charles Porter and Thomas Coningsby, the Lord Justices of Ireland,[457] which expressed the belief that Irish fisheries would 'be of great use and advantage to the Crowne, and to their Maties Subjects in Generall.'[458] The correspondence stressed the need to increase the fishing trade and the availability of seamen in Ireland through employing 'people who live lazily and poorly for want of worke.'[459] These rich fisheries appealed to 'improvers' due to Ireland's proximity to the Atlantic and its untapped source of wealth.[460] This type of improvement thinking is also evidenced in a 1691 petition by John Lovet, a Dublin merchant, who commended Ireland's rich coastal fisheries; indeed, he further suggested that an increase in seamen and shipping would subsequently grow the king's revenue.[461] Lovet continues to state that fishing would also benefit His Majesty's subjects through employing 'poor inhabitants of both sexes and ages', and encouraging people to come to Ireland, increasing industry and jobs for 'thousands that want worke it home.'[462] However, Scotland could not offer these prospects, given the kingdom's grave condition. Her straitened situation is documented in a letter from Hugh Maxwell of Dalswinton to Sir John Maxwell on 14 January 1689: 'I never saw money so hard

---

[456] Fletcher, *The Political Works,* p. 161.
[457] Charles I. McGrath, 'Sir Charles Porter (1631-1696)', *ODNB,* (19 May 2021).
[458] 'Letter from Charles Porter & Thomas Coningsby', 1691/2, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 1, (19 December 2019), p. 77.
[459] Ibid, p. 77.
[460] Andrew Sneddon, 'Legislating for Economic Development: Irish Fisheries as a Case Study in the Limitations of 'Improvement'', in Kelly, Hayton & Bergin (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State,* p. 139.
[461] 'Humble Petition of John Lovet of the citty of Dublin, Merchant, on the Behalf of Himselfe & Severall of the Nobility, Gentry & Merchants of Ireland', 1691, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 1, (19 December 2019), p. 71.
[462] Ibid, p. 71.

to be gotten…for both our crop was exceeding bad, and beasts sells not.'[463] Similarly, George

Home of Kimmerghame's diary on 11 July 1694 echoed Scotland's dire situation as he wrote

about the scarcity of corn in Scotland. A year later, on 16 July 1695, he stated there was little

fruit in the country.[464] Likewise, another entry from Home's diary on 7 April 1699 reiterated

Scotland's poverty; followed by comments on 26 April 1699 about the 'great dearth and

Scarcity of fodder in the country.'[465] These desperate Scottish circumstances are also

repeated in a 1696 memorandum on Irish victuals that complained of 'the great scarsitie and

dearth' of meal.[466] Conversely, in a letter to William King, Bishop of Derry, Colonel

Fitzgerald, stationed in that city on 24 December 1696, gives a contrasting view of Ulster's

prosperity: 'for it is surely [th]e interest thereof [tha]t grain shou'd be no cheaper [tha]n it is

every body has had plenty of money since it has bin.'[467]

Therefore, as Scotland struggled; Ulster flourished. Thus, the former's extremity explains

the mass migration to Ulster, due to the extent of fertile lands and economic opportunities

available over the North Channel. Another push factor to be acknowledged is the catastrophic

impact of warfare on Scottish society. In addition, trade restrictions and increased taxes

caused by this warfare added extra pressures to an already struggling country, while

migration to Ulster offered fewer commercial barriers and no involvement in this European

conflict. Fletcher of Saltoun provides a contemporary view of the negative feelings towards

Scotland's involvement in this warfare and the discontent at the lack of support in return for

their efforts:

---

[463] 'Letter from Hugh Maxwell of Dalswinton to Sir John Maxwell', 14 January 1689, (T.M.L., The Maxwells of Pollok Records, T-PM113/810).
[464] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 7 May 1694 – 7 April 1696, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/1).
[465] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 20 September 1697 – 31 December 1699, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/2).
[466] 'Memorandum about Irish Victuall', 1696, (T.M.L., The Maxwells of Pollok Records, T-PM109/83)
[467] 'Letter to William King from Colonel Fitzgerald', 24 December 1696, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MSS TCD IE 750/1/52).

It is not a shame for any man who possesses an estate, and is at the same time healthful and young, should not fit himself by all means for the defence of that, and his country, rather than to pay taxes to maintain a mercenary who though he may defend him during a war, will be sure to insult and enslave him in time of peace.[468]

Warfare encouraged Scots' evasion and ingenuity in their attempts to trade and gain profit. Indeed, Scotland became reliant on overseas trade and the commercial networks they had established and sought to evolve their entrepreneurial skills to evade international laws in the latter part of the 17th century.[469] Nevertheless, Ireland also provided economic ambition and opportunities. A 1692 pamphlet paints an idyllic picture, 'to encourage and promote the Trade of the Kingdom, Ships daily arrived in the Ports with Provision and other Necessaries.'[470] Ulster's commercial position would have appealed to Scots who desired to continue their trade elsewhere. Scots wished to improve their lives: 'most men who have small sums at interest, will be obliged to employ it in trade, or the improvement of land.'[471] Even the poorer parts of Scottish society harboured this ambition and 1690s Ulster allowed them to do so. Therefore, it is understandable why Scots migrated in such large numbers to Ulster - the perceived land of opportunity - as Scotland could not offer the same prospects due to the country's appalling circumstances. However, warfare also acted as a pull factor, as highlighted in the Scottish Privy Council records of 25 June 1689, whereby Captain William Rowan and his men, received a bond to pass to Ireland to enter into the service of William and Mary.[472] A regiment of His Majesty's horse under Colonel Langstoune also got permission for passage to Ireland on 23 September 1689.[473] Therefore, additional push and pull factors must be considered in conjunction with famine to establish the motives for this large-scale Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s.

---

[468] Fletcher, *The Political Works*, pp. 51-52.
[469] Macinnes, *Union & Empire,* p. 137.
[470] Shirley, *The True Impartial History*, p. 99.
[471] Fletcher, *The Political Works,* p. 166.
[472] Henry Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XIII – AD 1686-1689* (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 583.
[473] Henry Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XIV – AD 1689* (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 322.

**Lease Occupations**

Leases from the three sample areas point to a range of occupations, while comparison can be made to a social order model to determine the leading migrant social strata.[474] The most prominent professions mentioned within the leases of the three sample areas (gentry, yeomen, merchants and lower-skilled) correlate with the push and pull factors discussed above. Therefore, analysis of the sample leases shows that the upper social orders of Scottish society mostly made the crossing to Ulster. However, it must be noted that the dominance of higher social classes among lease-holders, may be a result of them having the means to pay the rent. Thus, the lower social orders will be considered in the next chapter.

Of the leases examined, 109 provided evidence of occupation, allowing the categorisation of professions for analysis; the gentry, yeomen and merchants formed the higher social order, with tradesmen and artisans representing the lower orders. The gentry, or landed elite, constituted a higher class with a superior education, standard of living, comfort and leisure.[475] Meanwhile; yeomen formed part of the colonial, landowning class, who had dispossessed many native Irish landowners during the Plantation of Ulster.[476] Many of the 17th century Irish yeomen came from English or Scottish descent, and most 1690s yeomen migrants arrived with some resources.[477] Successful end-of-century merchants became almost indistinguishable from the gentry with their vast wealth, and most of these originated from Scotland.[478] Ulster's promising mercantile prospects correlated with economic opportunities as a strong pull factor, explaining the proliferation of merchants among lease-holders. Nevertheless, the lower social orders constituted the largest social group within Ulster's

---

[474] Whan, *The Presbyterians,* pp. v, vi & 157.
[475] G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry. The Rise & Fall of a Ruling Class* (New York, 1976), p. 2.
[476] Gerard Farrell, 'Class Divisions & the 'Mere Irish' of Colonial Ulster', in *Journal of Postgraduate Research,* 8, (2014), p. 81.
[477] Dickson, *New Foundations,* p. 48
[478] Whan, *The Presbyterians,* p. 55; Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families,* pp. 59 & 68.

Presbyterian society.[479] Lower-skilled occupations yielded low incomes and included professions such as butcher, chandler, cooper, shoemaker, tanner, tailor, mason, ale seller, goldsmith, clock and watchmaker, gunsmith, baker, bookbinder, stationer, glover, currier, weaver, carpenter, smith, innkeeper and cutler (sharp objects manufacturer).[480] These occupations further bolster the significance of economic opportunities as a pull factor to Ulster. Scottish migrants to Ulster also paid for their journey and settlement, establishing a solid foundation of tenant settlers filling the social space between large planters and immigrant servants.[481] Lower skilled migrants may have been further down the social ladder; however, they were not the lowest among the social orders to migrate to Ulster, as many famine victims fled over the North Channel during the 1690s too.[482] The chart below details the results of this analysis (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Occupational statistics for the sample estate and family papers – Nugent Papers, County Down [D552], Earl of Erne Papers, County Fermanagh [D1939] and Earl of Antrim Papers, County Antrim [D2977] - relates to the most prominent occupational profession in the rentals for 1680-1709.

---

[479] Whan, *The Presbyterians,* p. 156.
[480] Ibid, p. 157.
[481] Cullen, 'The Irish Diaspora', p. 118.
[482] Benjamin Bankhurst, ''Scum of the Earth, & Refuse of Mankind': The Negative Reputation of Irish Presbyterians on the Colonial American Frontier', in Marti D. Lee & Ed Madden (eds.), *Irish Studies: Geographies & Genders* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 50.

The higher social orders predominated in the three sample areas between 1680-1709 (in descending order); gentry (38%), yeomen (28%), lower-skilled (18%) and merchants (17%). The additional professions categorised under lower-skilled included seamen, captains, tanners, chandlers, tailors, clerks, blacksmiths, butchers, weavers, gardeners and shoemakers. A possible explanation for the gentry's domination of the leases is their ability to pay the rents. Nevertheless, an insight into potential Scottish migrant professions sheds light on this large-scale influx of people. Moreover, when analysing the 1690s in isolation, there is a shift in the most prominent occupation to be granted leases, see below graph (Figure 8).
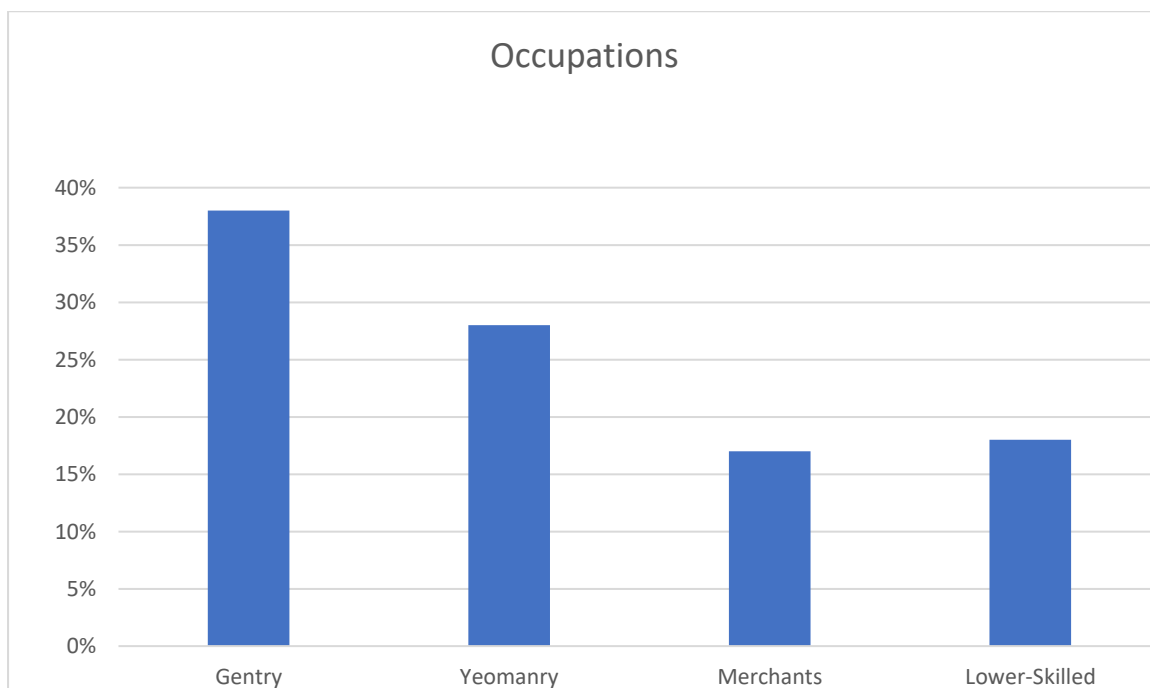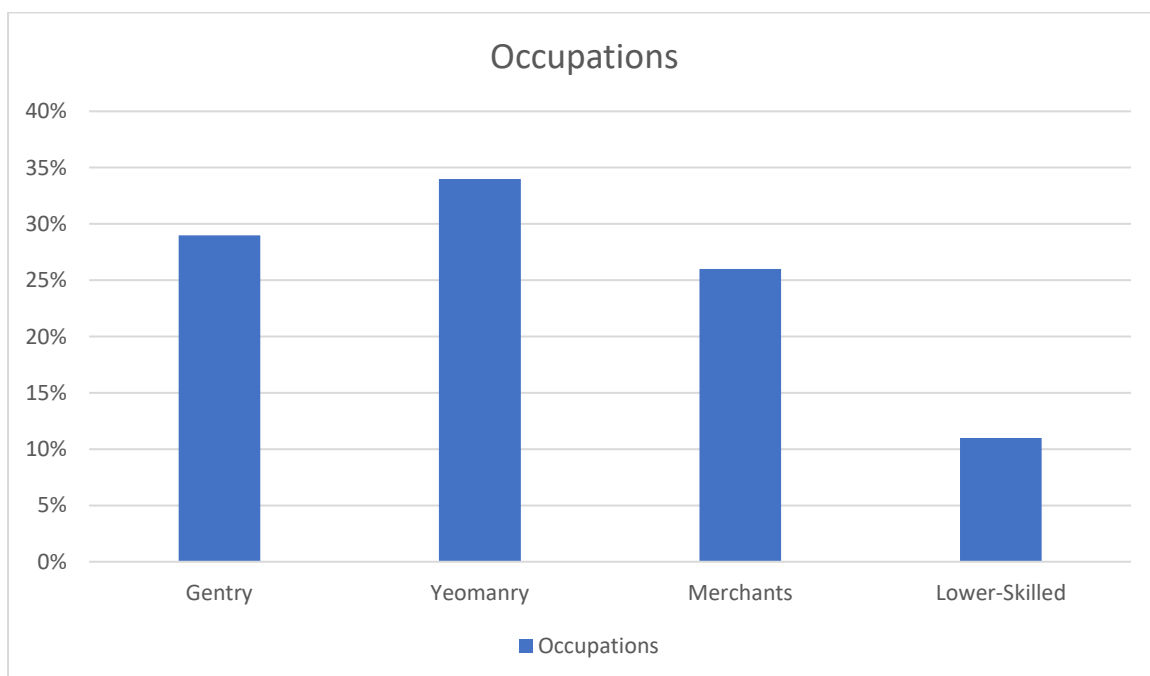


Figure 8: Occupational statistics for the sample estate and family papers – Nugent Papers, County Down [D552], Earl of Erne Papers, County Fermanagh [D1939] and Earl of Antrim Papers, County Antrim [D2977] relates to the most prominent occupational profession in the rentals for the 1690s.

Although these results alter the position of the most prominent profession, the same domination of occupations still exist. The most frequent profession is that of 'yeoman' (34%), followed by gentry (29%), merchants (26%) and the lower-skilled (11%), with over a quarter listed as yeomen. This correlates with Whyte's claim that in the latter part of the 17th century, landowners fell by 25% in Aberdeenshire,[483] with significant numbers of Scottish

---

[483] Whyte, *Scottish Society,* p. 25.

yeomen migrating to Ulster providing a plausible explanation for this decline. Therefore, a parallel can be drawn between the increase in yeoman leases and the availability of land in Ulster. Gentry dominance among leaseholders could be explained by the relative poverty of large numbers of the Scottish nobility in the 17th century.[484] The demise of Scottish gentry is apparent within the 1697 Ayr kirk session which awarded Mistress Stewart, a distressed gentlewoman, £1 and 4s.[485] Kirk sessions would only award charity to those in extreme poverty, highlighting the downfall of the gentry. Similarly, a letter from the Council Chamber of Dublin on 4 September 1697 alluded to the plight of the Right Honourable Lettice, Countess Dowager of Kilmarnock, who had to sell her lands to pay debts.[486] A decline in the 1690s Scottish gentry's wealth and power indicates why these higher social strata received leases, rather than granting them to others.

**Conclusion**

Concrete figures for the 1690s migration may never be established. However, this chapter provided fresh perspectives by adopting an original approach of analysing three sample estate and family papers for counties Antrim, Down and Fermanagh from 1680-1709. Examination of the rentals contained within these papers found upward trends from the 1680s to the 1690s, with differing results for the 1690s to the 1700s, thereby, illustrating the full extent of the 1690s migration on Ulster's leases. With regards to the cause of this migration, famine is often considered the sole migratory factor but an analysis of the number of rentals granted before and after the Scottish famine complicates the picture. Other push and pull factors, including land, warfare and economic opportunities demonstrated that famine must be recognised in conjunction with the above elements. Furthermore, occupations noted on the

---

[484] Keith M. Brown, 'Scottish Identity in the Seventeenth Century', in Brendan Bradshaw & Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness & Identity. The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 243.
[485] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1693-1698, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/751/8), p. 242.
[486] 'Letter from the Council Chamber of Dublin', 4 September 1697, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (14 December 2019), p. 227.

leases allowed greater scrutiny into the 'type' of social class making the journey to Ulster. Higher classes such as gentry, yeomen, merchants and lower-skilled workers predominated these rentals, and the domination of the higher social strata within these leases could most likely be the result of this societal section having the ability to pay for rent. A more in-depth examination of Scottish migrant profiles such as social status, regional origin and religious affiliation will be conducted in the next chapter.

# Chapter Three – The People of the Great Migration

Scottish migrants to Ulster have generally been accepted as Presbyterians from the south-west of Scotland, and historiographical debate on this traffic has centred on their social class. Lower classes have been largely overlooked, presumably due to their minority group status. This chapter will test these assumptions and seek to fill an important historiographical gap in Ulster's great Scottish post-Revolution migration, through a series of case studies that examine the social status, regional origin and religious affiliation of migrants. Although the previous chapter examined the social classes of potential Scottish migrants contained within the sample leases in Ulster, this chapter will delve deeper into the largely neglected lower social classes. Examination of individuals from a whole variety of social positions including doctors, surgeons, fugitives and petty criminals will be conducted. Privy Council proclamations will be consulted to examine passes issued for travel to Ireland. The scrutiny of the different social classes of Scottish people travelling to Ulster will create a migrant profile, which might go some way to explain their migration choice. In terms of the regional origin of Scottish migrants, it is unsurprising that migrants originated in south-west Scotland. However, this chapter will also focus on those who hailed from numerous other regions of Scotland. Examination of geographical proximity will ascertain whether Scots came from throughout the kingdom to embark from the south-west at the closest point to Ireland. Lastly, consideration will be given to the religious affiliation of migrants, with a particular focus on Episcopalians who have been largely ignored within the historiography. Especial consideration will be given to Scottish Episcopal ministers who sought and received vacancies in Ulster. Thus, consultation of contemporary correspondence, diaries, kirk session records, passes and proclamations of parliament provide fresh evidence for this migration.

**Scottish Migrants' Social Status**

Contemporary travel passes allowed a detailed examination of the social classes that travelled to Ulster during this period. It is important to stress that although passes state 'Ireland' and not 'Ulster', it is fair to assume that people who left Scotland landed in Ulster due to their geographical proximity and the constant movement of goods and arms over the North Channel.[487] The necessity of passes for all migrants, no matter their social class is prevalent during this period. A 1687 pamphlet written by Alexander Shields, a Scottish Presbyterian minister,[488] stated that everyone over sixteen years of age needed a travel pass as certification of their loyalty and good principles, as well as, taking the Oath of Abjuration which stated that James VII and II had no right to the crown.[489] In 1685, John Strachan, Governor of Earlston, granted Robert Lennox a travel pass for Ireland as he had 'abjured the "Apologetical Declaration"', which renounced Charles II's authority in Scotland.[490] The necessity of obtaining an expensive travel pass made it extremely difficult for poor people to travel to Ireland.[491] However, an instance is recorded in 1691 wherein Robert Lennox and his wife Jean obtained travel passes for Londonderry, from the Earl of Melville, with a clause stating 'in respect of their extream poverty Wee do hereby recommend them to the Charity of all well disposed Christians to help them forward thither.'[492] Thus, it must be considered whether the granting of travel passes to Ireland for lower-classes was an attempt to relieve the financial burden on Scotland's charity. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.

---

[487] Geoffrey R. Sloan, *The Geopolitics of Anglo-Irish Relations in the 20th Century* (London, 1997), p. 92; Robert Armstrong, 'Ireland's Puritan Revolution? The Emergence of Ulster Presbyterianism Reconsidered', *English Historical Review,* 121(493), (2006), p. 1068.
[488] Michael Jinkins, 'Alexander Shields (1659/60-1700)', *ODNB*, (21 July 2021).
[489] Alexander Shields, *A Hind Let Loose* (Edinburgh, 1687), p. 537; & J. G. Simms, 'Irish Catholics & the Parliamentary Franchise, 1692-1728', in *Irish Historical Studies,* 12(45), (1960), p. 32.
[490] 'Passport & Passes', 1685, (N.R.S., Papers of the Murray Family, GD10/532).
[491] Shields, *A Hind Let Loose*, p. 538.
[492] 'Passport & Passes', 1691, (N.R.S., Papers of the Murray Family, GD10/533).

Moreover, greater insight into the strict use of these passes and the 'type' of higher-class migrants is conveyed in a letter from 1694, which claimed that 'Scotch Secretaries passes have never been allowed but for Scotsmen coming imediatly from Scotland.'[493] Government officials also required travel passes, which could only be used for travel from Scotland. As highlighted in the previous chapter, yeomen emerged as the most prominent higher-class migrants within the sample leases consulted. This finding is further supported in a letter from the Earl of Nottingham to the Lords Justices of Ireland on 15 March 1692 which states that the former had completed their request to forward on the Duke of Hamilton's proposal regarding the prevention of Scottish yeomen travelling to Ireland without a pass.[494]

These passes had been in operation before the mass 1690s migration, with most being granted to skilled tradesmen and higher social classes. Peter Wallace, a surgeon, and James Scott, a wright (skilled tradesman), got passes for travel to Ireland at Irvine on 19 August 1685.[495] Likewise, Duncan Graham, a gentleman in his Majesties troop of guards, received a pass at Holyroodhouse on 15 November 1687.[496] Captain William Rowan and his men were also got clearance for Ireland on 24 June 1689.[497] The movement of higher social orders continued into and after the 1690s. Lord Bargennie received a travel pass for Ireland for himself and his three servants, horses and arms from Edinburgh on 8 January 1696.[498] Similarly, Thomas Sharp, MP for Houston and a Justice of the Peace, got one for his servant, Hugh Aitken in 1702.[499] A manservant to a Justice of the Peace was a respected role that

---

[493] 'Unknown Letter', 1694, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 356, (16 December 2019), p. 218.

[494] 'Letter from Nottingham to the Lords Justices of Ireland', 15 March 1692, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 1, (17 December 2019), p. 159.

[495] 'Pass by James Boyle to Peter Wallace & James Scott to go to Ireland and Return', 19 August 1685, (N.R.S., Hume Family Papers, GD158/880).

[496] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 196.

[497] Ibid, p. 459.

[498] 'Pass by Marquis of Tweeddale to Lord Bargennie to pass to Ireland & Return', 1696, (N.R.S., Dalrymple-Hamilton Family Papers, GD109/2614).

[499] 'Pass by Thomas Sharp to let his servant Hugh Aitken go to Ireland', 1702, (N.R.S., Papers of the Shairp Family of Houston, GD30/2213).

involved advocating and maintaining their master's upper-class status.[500] These higher social classes represented a range of occupations, and they continued to travel to Ulster before and after the main Scottish famine era.

Although the higher classes emerged as the most visible migrant group, this does not mean that the lower classes did not also participate. Bartlett argues that lower-class Scottish migrants troubled class-conscious Ulster, an opinion strongly supported by several proclamations published by the 1690s Scottish Privy Council.[501] The powers of the Privy Council in Scotland included passing compulsory innovative laws, which could be sanctioned by proclamations.[502] Complaints and petitions from corporate bodies or individuals often started Privy Council proceedings, usually law and order grievances.[503] Furthermore, on 16 August 1689, the Scottish Privy Council waived the special licence needed for natives to travel to Ireland, thereby encouraging Irish people back to their homeland. [504] The need to publish these proclamations aimed at the lower social strata suggests lower-class migration from Scotland had become an issue for the higher classes of Scottish society. Therefore, consideration has to be given as to the establishment of these proclamations and whether they formed part of a broader discussion on vagrancy in Scotland. Cullen argues that vagrancy rose in Scotland from the late 1680s to the early 1690s.[505] Indeed, Fletcher of Saltoun's writing from 1698 corroborates this, stating that many poor families survived through church boxes, others contracted diseases from eating foul food and 200,000 people begged from door

---

[500] Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs. Intimacy, Eroticism & Violence Between Servants & Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Maryland, 2009), p. 45.
[501] Bartlett, *The Rise & Fall of the Irish Nation,* p. 31.
[502] Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England & Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 4; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, p. 16; Julian Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliament & its Early Modern 'Rivals'', in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 24(1), (2004), p. 148.
[503] Ibid, p. 24.
[504] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIV*, p. 54.
[505] Cullen, *Famine in Scotland*, p. 158.

to door.[506] Although these estimates may be exaggerated, it gives an insight into the poverty of Scotland during this period. In 1692, complaints from burghs echoed reports of 'abandoned or ruinous properties' and 'general urban decay'.[507] Thus, it is no surprise that this considerable vagrant population engaged the Scottish legislative elite in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[508] Vagrancy remained a problem in late 17th century Scotland and between 1680 and 1709 the Scottish Parliament passed numerous acts dealing with beggars. These acts also highlight the wider social problem of poverty in Scotland during this period. On 8 June 1686, the 'Act for Cleansing the Streets of Edinburgh' highlighted many complaints about the grimness of its streets and the great number of beggars in and around the city.[509] The push for the prevention of unnecessary begging in 1695 can be seen in the imposition by the Church of Scotland that no judicatory (kirk court) should give charitable recommendations to anyone out with their bounds, and those considered for charity would only be eligible for a definite period.[510] However, an influx of hundreds of famine-stricken country folk into Edinburgh between 1695-1696, led to the 'Act anent the poor', passed on 17 July 1695, which focused on maintaining the poor and limiting beggars, while emphasising the need for the Scottish Privy Council to make the most effective course of action to achieve these outcomes.[511]

The first Privy Council proclamation specifically requiring lower-class Scottish migrants to obtain a travel pass for Ireland came into force on 26 September 1690. Thus, Scotland had

---

[506] Andrew Fletcher, *Selected Discourses and Speeches: A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias; Two Discourses concerning the Affairs of Scotland; Speeches by a Member of the Parliament; A Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Government,* (Edinburgh, 1698), p. 24.
[507] Michael Lynch, 'Continuity & Change in Urban Society, 1500-1700', in Houston & Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society*, p. 104.
[508] Ian D. Whyte, *Agriculture & Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 39.
[509] Brown et al, 'Act for Cleansing the Streets of Edinburgh', 8 June 1686, *RPS,* (1686/4/38), (13 January 2021).
[510] Walter Steuart, *Collections & Observations Methodiz'd; Concerning the Worship, Discipline & Government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1709), p. 168.
[511] Cullen, *Famine in Scotland,* p. 10; Brown et al, 'Act Anent the Poor', 17 July 1695, *RPS,* (1695/5/209), (13 January 2021).

been attempting to deal with their poverty problem since the beginning of the decade. The edict noted that many people left Scotland to acquire waste land and cheap rents in Ireland; that they did not pay their taxes or rents before their sudden departure, which left many unhappy Scottish landlords.[512] The proclamation also targeted rebels who fled to Ireland to evade punishment, ordering that no passengers should travel to Ireland without sufficient passes.[513] Another proclamation of 26 January 1694 stipulated the need for retired levies - most likely armies raised for the Williamite Wars - to acquire sufficient passes for travel to England and Ireland.[514] The need for another announcement of 31 December 1695 suggests these vagrancy rules had been largely ignored. This decree stated that numerous vagabonds and other idle persons regularly frequented Scotland every summer and retired to Ireland for the winter,[515] which explained the requirement of passes for travel to Ireland. Therefore, these proclamations provide crucial evidence that lower social class migrants left before and after the peak of the famine, thereby undermining a central tenet of the early modern Scottish and Irish migration historiography. Migrants of all social classes travelled to Ulster during this period, as evidenced by an examination of these passes and proclamations. Furthermore, the wider study of Scottish societal contexts will help build the framework for the establishment of lower-class migrant profiles discussed in the next section.

**Lower-Class Fugitive Migrants**

The lack of a comprehensive case study of lower-class Scottish migrant profiles is a substantive gap in the historiography. Lawful lower-class migrants would have undoubtedly journeyed to Ulster, but a lack of contemporary evidence and interest prevents them from

---

[512] 'Act; passes required for travel to Ireland', 26 September 1690, (N.R.S., Proclamations & Other Public Announcements, (RH14/353).
[513] Ibid.
[514] 'Proclamation of Act; passes required for travel to England and Ireland', 26 January 1694, (N.R.S., Proclamations & Other Public Announcements, RH14/432).
[515] 'Proclamation; no person to go to Ireland without a pass', 31 December 1695, (N.R.S., Proclamations & Other Public Announcements, RH14/487).

being documented with the same attention as fugitives. A well-trodden escape route facilitated the movement of criminals between Scotland and Ulster throughout this period, with Scottish criminals escaping to Ulster being a common occurrence and necessitating an effective extradition process. This highlights the extent to which the Privy Council travel proclamations targeted lower-class migrants and people evading punishment. The cases also provide a greater understanding concerning the 'type' of criminal travelling to Ireland and the variety of crimes committed during this period; helping to create a lower-class Scottish migrant profile. In Ireland, Swift stated that children from poor families forced their mothers to beg, with their offspring growing up to be thieves.[516] Likewise, most Scottish criminals from the early modern period came from the lower classes and were usually extremely poor.[517] Furthermore, contemporary observers noted a correlation between increased poverty and an escalation in crime during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.[518] Wealthier members of British society could buy their freedom, while poorly educated and desperate lower-class individuals often suffered greater punishments.[519] Jenny Wormald argues that by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Scottish state moved towards more violent forms of punishment to assert its power and authority to the wider population, which could explain the influx of criminals to Ulster during this period.[520] Scots became familiar with punishment for serious crimes such as murder, treason and witchcraft with 'gruesome displays of judicial violence' including limb amputation (pre- and post-mortem), drowning, burning at the stake, as well as, being hung, drawn and quartered – however, these practices became rare by the 18th century.[521] Although the 1690s Scottish Privy Council records are lacking, the records for the

---

[516] Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burden to their Parents or Country* (Dublin, 1729), p. 6.
[517] Allan Kennedy, 'Crime & Punishment in Early-Modern Scotland: The Secular Courts of Restoration Argyllshire, 1660-1688', in *International Review of Scottish Studies,* 41, (2016), p. 17.
[518] Neal Garnham, *The Courts, Crime & the Criminal Law in Ireland 1692-1760* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 163.
[519] Daniel J. Codd, *Crimes & Criminals of 17th Century Britain* (Yorkshire, 2018), pp. 12-15.
[520] Anne-Marie Kilday, *Crime in Scotland 1660-1960: The Violent North?* (London, 2018), p. 8.
[521] Ibid, p. 8.

previous decade are extremely detailed. A well-trodden escape route from Scotland to Ulster

by the 1690s migration is apparent from the 1680s documentation. However, as a society is

stabilised through economic growth, society becomes less tolerant of violent crimes,[522] which

could explain the outpouring of fugitives to Ulster during the 1680s.

A letter to the Duke of Lauderdale of 7 October 1680 states that Russell, one of the

'barbarous murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews', and some of his accomplices,

had travelled to Ireland. His order for their apprehension and return to Scotland for

prosecution was subsequently granted.[523] Cooperation between the two regions around the

detention and return of criminals escaping Scotland is conveyed as Russell, [aka Johnstoun],

and two Balfours were successfully captured in Ireland and sent to Scotland.[524] These orders

continued throughout the 1680s. One Ludovick Irving, a notorious thief, fled Scotland for

Ulster. However, the authorities arrested him and sent him from Donaghadee back to

Dumfries.[525] A letter from Lord Sunderland to the Duke of Ormond of 15 Nov 1684 also

addressed the need for the capture and return of Scottish fugitives, such as one named

Campbell, [aka Bellfoot or Clubfoot], accused of 'great crimes'.[526] In addition, Sunderland

wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on 27 November 1684 referencing several accused

murderers who had escaped from Scotland into Ireland, with all necessary orders to be

communicated to the required Ulster ports to apprehend them on arrival.[527] The success of the

collaboration around the capture and return of criminals is further highlighted in a letter from

Lord Sunderland to the Lord Justices of Ireland on 18 April 1685, which specifically names

---

[522] Garnham, *The Courts, Crime & the Criminal Law,* pp. 182-183.
[523] P. Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Vol. VI – AD 1678-1680* (Edinburgh, 1914), p. 559.
[524] P. Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Vol. VII – AD 1681-1682* (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 30.
[525] P. Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Vol. VIII – AD 1683-1684* (Glasgow, 1915), p. 151.
[526] 'Letter from Lord Sunderland to Duke of Ormond', 15 November 1684, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 340, (13 December 2019), p. 36.
[527] 'Letter from Lord Sunderland to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland', 27 November 1684, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 340, (13 December 2019), p. 38.

one such fugitive, Montgomery of Longshaw, from the Scottish Borders, who would be

transferred from Ireland once an arrival port had been chosen.[528] Similarly, a letter of

instructions for Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Henry, Viscount Sydney, Lord Chancellor of

Ireland, Sir Charles Porter, and Lord Justice of Ireland, Thomas Conningsby, dated 4 Dec

1690 stated that numerous rebels and fugitives came from Scotland and sheltered in Ireland;

thereby, the above people had orders to capture and return such persons to Scotland.[529]

Nevertheless, some fugitives caused havoc within Ulster as highlighted in a letter from

Bishop King to Bishop Foley of Down and Connor, on 16 June 1691. It detailed Archdeacon

Brown, or Piper, who had fled Scotland after committing serious crimes, created trouble in

Clogher, County Tyrone, before escaping further north.[530] The Ulster Synod records warned

members about another fugitive, Neil Beaton, who escaped from Scotland on 6 June 1707.[531]

Not all fugitives fleeing Scotland committed violent offences, although many of the cases still

involved serious crimes such as robbery, fraud and theft.[532] A letter of 23 March 1690/91

from David Marshall to John Clark, a writer in Edinburgh, called for the arrest of James Lang

and James Henderson, tenants of Hamilton, for non-payment of rents.[533] This also supports

the previous chapter's emphasis on cheap land as a significant pull factor for Scottish

migrants to Ulster. Kennedy highlights that fining became the most frequent punishment in

Argyllshire between 1660-1688, followed by compensation, execution and transportation.[534]

Thus, James Parker from Carmunnock, Glasgow paid 1000 merks as his penalty for alleged

---

[528] 'Letter from Lord Sunderland to the Lord Justices of Ireland', 18 April 1685, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 340, (1f4 December 2019), p. 77.

[529] 'Instructions for our Right Trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Henry Viscount Sidney, Sir Charles Porter Knt and Thomas Conyngesby esqr', 4 December 1690, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 1, (16 December 2019), p. 112.

[530] 'Letter from William King to Rev Dr Samuel Foley', 16 June 1691, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/137).

[531] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 138.

[532] Kilday, *Crime in Scotland*, p. 8.

[533] 'Letter from David Marshall, Hamilton, to John Clark, writer in Edinburgh', 23 March 1690/91, (N.R.S., Douglas Hamilton Family Papers, GD406/1/11770).

[534] Kennedy, 'Crime & Punishment', p. 24.

involvement in the Bothwell Bridge rebellion. Cited at Glasgow's Justice Court in 1683, he failed to appear and fled to Ireland where he was proclaimed as a fugitive.[535] On 5 January 1686, failure to pay debts landed John Campbell, a poor servant in Edinburgh Tolbooth; from where he sought release to Ireland.[536] Likewise, on 3 January 1684, Richard Murray fled Scotland for Ireland to evade the death penalty after fraudulently falsifying deeds of lease and release papers.[537] On 6 January 1685, John Campbell of Woodside in Perth allegedly built a rival paper mill that deprived Peter Bruce of water by breaking his mill dam; he subsequently left for Ireland during the proceedings.[538] Similarly, James McKenzie, a journeyman and tailor, called before the Ayr kirk session for a reprimand in 1696: he did not appear and purportedly fled to Ireland.[539]

Religion also played a significant role in the lower-class/fugitive migration aspect. The cases of moral transgression detailed below, provide significant insight into lower-class Scottish migration during this period. Scotland strove for a 'godly society', and Armstrong suggests that 'the Protestant zones of Ulster experienced in the 1640s a 'Puritan Revolution'.[540] This moral crusade represented 'a committed response, a personal and communal affirmation of the work of the reformation' with 'an unrelenting attachment to spiritual transformation of all of society.'[541] Kirk sessions traditionally dealt with people of a lower social order to discipline wrongdoing and promote a moral society. In the 16th and 17th centuries, pressure from the clergy for a godly, moral society resulted in the Scottish Parliament ratifying acts against a variety of sexual offences that could be tried in secular

---

[535] Henry Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume X – AD 1684-1685* (Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 65-66.
[536] Henry Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XI – AD 1685-1686* (Edinburgh, 1929), p. 447.
[537] Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume VIII*, p. 326.
[538] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume X,* pp. 93-94.
[539] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1693-1698, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/751/8), p. 174.
[540] Armstrong, 'Ireland's Puritan Revolution?', p. 1074.
[541] Ibid, p. 1074.

courts.[542] One such parliamentary act, passed on 18 July 1690, is the 'Act against

Profaneness' expressed 'all vice and profaneness be punished and suppressed and virtue and

godliness encouraged.'[543] Parliamentary acts against 'cursing, swearing,

drunkenness, fornication and uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's day, and mocking and

reproaching of religion and the exercises' would also be revived.[544] A traditional view of

female crimes constitutes less violent offences, most likely sexual or moral misconduct.[545]

Sexual offences became categorised as crimes subject to criminal prosecution, with the least

serious, yet most frequently prosecuted transgression being fornication, which was usually

punished with a fine, becoming an important source of income for the church.[546] Cases of

fornication frequently came before the church courts and the accused persons suffered public

shame and humiliation.[547] In the early 1690s, church authorities began a campaign against

sexual immorality.[548] Earlier sources suggest that several people left for Ulster who had

committed sins; this may have also applied to the 1690s. Thus, several 'scandalous' people

fled Scotland to escape punishment from immoral sins as evidenced in the Glasgow Barony

kirk session book entry of 2 October 1680 which alludes to a report that James Jackson and

Katrine Murray, alleged fornicators, had fled to Ireland.[549] Likewise, on 3 June 1683, James

French failed to appear at the Glasgow Barony kirk session to face reprimand for fornication

with Mary Millar as he had also escaped to Ireland.[550] The same kirk session book for 30

---

[542] Brian P. Levack, 'The Prosecution of Sexual Crimes in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in *The Scottish Historical Review,* 89 (228), (2010), p. 173.
[543] Brown et al, 'Act against Profaneness', 19 July 1690, *RPS,* (1690/4/116), (13 January 2021).
[544] Ibid.
[545] Kennedy, 'Crime & Punishment', p. 19.
[546] Levack, 'The Prosecution of Sexual Crimes', p. 173; Annie Harrower-Gray, *Scotland's Hidden Harlots & Heroines: Women's Role in Scottish Society from 1690-1969* (South Yorkshire, 2014), p. 41.
[547] Ibid, p. 41.
[548] Goodare, *State & Society in Early Modern Scotland*, p. 317.
[549] 'The Session Book of the Baronie Kirk of Glasgow', 1680-1698, (T.M.L., CH2/173/1), p. 146.
[550] Ibid, p. 166.

May 1703 recorded the case of alleged fornication between Isobell Bogle and Arthur Colhoun, however, he could not be cited as he had escaped to Ireland.[551]

**Scottish Migrants' Regional Origin**

Having considered the social status of the Scottish migrants, attention must now turn to challenge the recognised historiographical belief that migrants solely came from south-west Scotland. Although it is irrefutable that many Scots left from the south-west for Ulster, this does not necessarily mean that their journey began there. There is ample evidence from records of the Scottish Privy Council, kirk session books, the General Synod of Ulster, FASTI, estate and family papers to conclude that migrants also came from the east of Scotland, the central belt, the Borders and the Highlands. Within the contemporary sources, 'Ireland' is frequently mentioned with no specific details on the ultimate destination of these migrants. Thus, it is important to clarify that these Scots did not necessarily stay in Ulster, it simply shows that they landed there. An analysis of the regional origin of ministers active in 1690s Ulster highlights the proportion of Ulster/Irish, Scottish and English ministers practicing in the northern province through utilising FASTI records, with different volumes covering separate eras listing the active clergymen in Ireland, including some biographical information on them.[552]

Thus, the names of forty-four ministers occur in the FASTI records, and their regional origin is highlighted on the chart below (Figure 9). These results demonstrate that twenty-two (50%) of the forty-four ministers originated in Ulster/Ireland, closely followed by twenty-one (48%) Scots and one (2%) Englishman. The figures correlate with the existing historiography and the perceived dominance of Scots in the northern province. Another examination of the FASTI records focused on the regional origin of the Scottish clergymen present in 1690s

---

[551] 'The Session Book of the Baronie Kirk of Glasgow', 23rd July 1699-26th March 1727, (T.M.L., CH2/173/2), p. 57.
[552] James McConnell (ed.), *FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church – Part 3 (1661-1690), Part 4 & 5 (1690-1720)* (Belfast, 1951), pp. 55-124.

Ulster. However, only nine of the twenty-one ministers had specific details on their birthplace, allowing this analysis to determine whether most Scottish migrant ministers came from south-west Scotland or elsewhere, as illustrated in Figure 10.
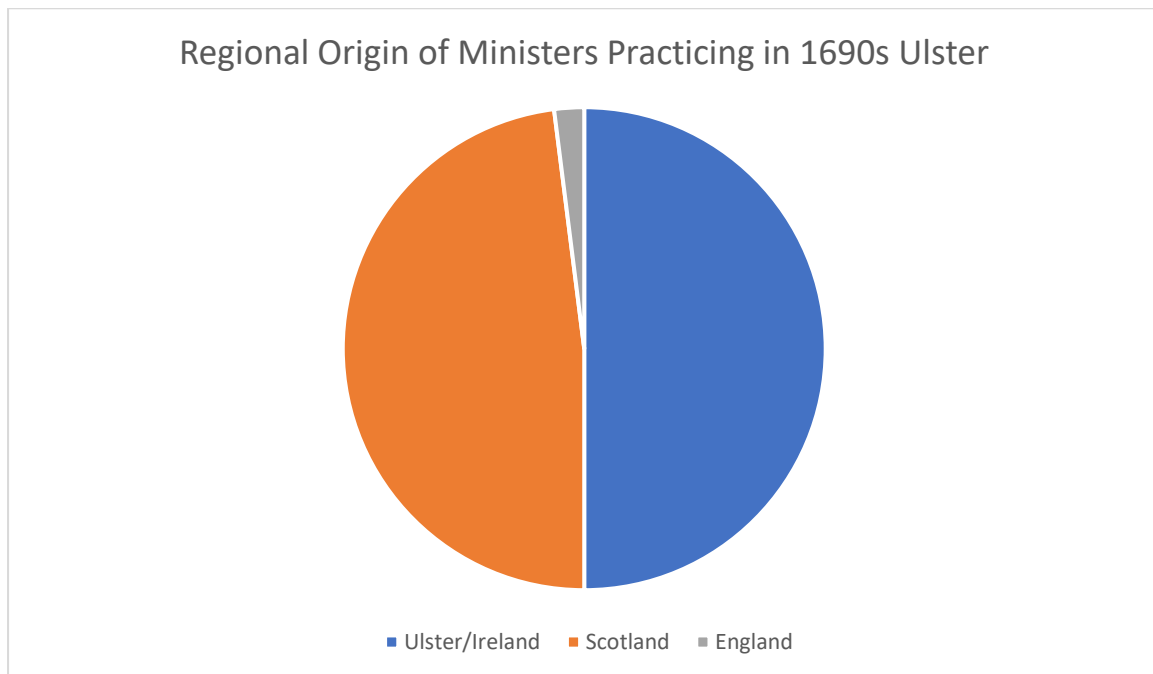


Figure 9: Ministers from the FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Part 3, 4 & 5 (1661-1720) records illustrating the regional origin of ministers active in 1690s Ulster.
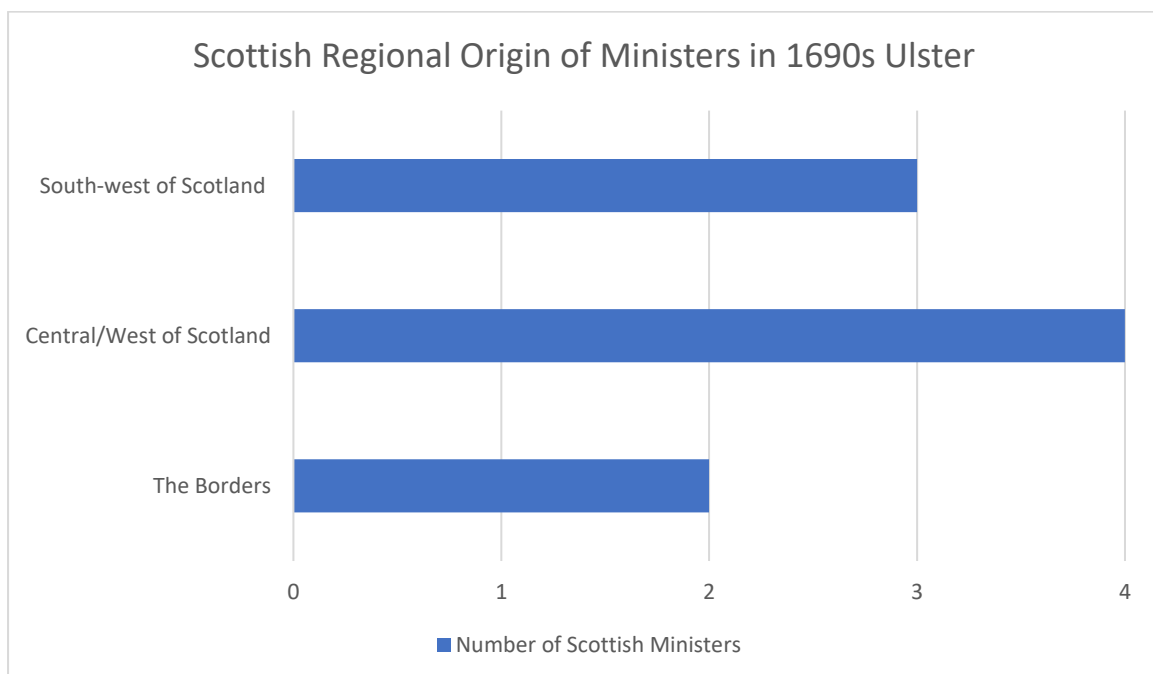


Figure 10: Ministers from the FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Part 3, 4 & 5 (1661-1720) records illustrating the regional origin of Scottish ministers active in 1690s Ulster.

These findings show that central/west of Scotland supplied Ulster with four out of the nine ministers, the south-west of Scotland with three clergymen, and the Borders region with two ministers. Thus, in contrast to existing historiography, this study demonstrates that south-west Scotland did not predominate in the supply of ministers to Ulster. Specific case studies can also through further light on their origin. The Presbytery of Laggan minute book on 5 July 1693 alluded to the arrival of Archibald Ross, a minister from Presbytery of Irvine, with a licence to preach.[553] Furthermore, John Darragh came to supply Glenarm and Cushendall, with a testimonial - a contemporary example of a certificate - from the Presbytery of Kintyre on 1 January 1688/89.[554] A synod held at Antrim on 30 September 1691 considered the case of a newly-arrived Scottish minister, Hugh Wilson, from the Presbytery of Wigtown and Stranraer.[555] Within the same session, another minister, Archibald Hamilton, also from Wigtown arrived in Bangor. The Synod hesitated at sending him back to Scotland, fearing persecution.[556] In addition, another synod held at Antrim on 5 June 1705, mentions a probationary minister, Robert Gemble, who arrived at Coleraine Presbytery with a testificate to preach from Irvine.[557] Likewise, Laghlen Campbell, a minister from Kintyre came to Ulster to be a colleague to Mr Iredell on 3 June 1707.[558]

Migrants from other regions of Scotland require greater consideration. Cullen argues that a few migrants came from the 'highly stratified arable Lothians'.[559] However, 'a few migrants' downplays the extent of Scots who migrated from this region. These examples point to a well-established migration route from the Lothians in eastern Scotland. In the late 17th century, before the mass migration, a Scottish Privy Council record of 11 February 1685

---

[553] 'Copy of Minute Book. Presbytery of Laggan Cos. Londonderry & Donegal', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/6), pp. 189-190.
[554] 'Copy of Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/1), p. 413.
[555] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 6.
[556] Ibid, p. 1.
[557] Ibid, p. 104.
[558] Ibid, p. 131.
[559] Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland,* p. 87.

noted that Alexander Campbell from the Calder parish had transferred to Ireland.[560] In

addition, Robert Bowes, a minister from Edinburgh, received help from his friend Robert

Graham of Callingad, for his journey to Letterkenny, County Donegal.[561] This evidence not

only points to migration from the east of Scotland, but it also demonstrates migrants

travelling towards south-west Scotland to make the journey. This theory is also bolstered by

an extract from Home of Kimmerghame's diary in 1699, which provides an account of Lord

Polwarth giving higher-class migrants horses for their onward journey to the west port:[562]

further evidence that south-west Scotland merely provided an embarkation point for some.

Further proof of migration from the east coast of Scotland emerges from cross-referencing

the Presbytery of Laggan minutes and the FASTI records concerning the Presbyterian

minister, Seth Drummond. An entry in the Laggan session book of 8 March 1692/3 records

that the Presbytery would write to Drummond, resident in Scotland, to invite him to Ulster;

corroborative FASTI records note that Seth Drummond received a licence from the

Edinburgh Presbytery in 1696 and was ordained in the Ramelton parish (County Donegal) in

the same year.[563] The General Synod of Ulster records also highlight post-1690s migration

from the east of Scotland, on what can be considered an established route. For example,

Charles Masterton, a minister from Linlithgow in West Lothian, appeared at the Antrim

Synod on 1 June 1703 with a licence to preach.[564] The same session also considered James

Faith, who had arrived at the Synod with a testimonial from the Presbytery of Dalkeith in

---

[560] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume X,* p. 414.
[561] 'Letter from Robert Bowes to Robert Graham of Callingad', 18 November 1697, (N.R.S., Cunninghame Graham Family Papers, GD22/2/91).
[562] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 20 September 1697-31 December 1699, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/2).
[563] 'Copy of Minute Book. Presbytery of Laggan', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/6), p. 178; & McConnell (ed.), *FASTI – Part 4*, p. 95.
[564] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster,* p. 71.

Midlothian.[565] On 3 June 1707, John Jarvy from the Presbytery of Linlithgow got approved

by the Antrim Synod to preach.[566]

Moreover, central belt migration should also be acknowledged. Indeed, the Barony kirk

session on 16 August 1686 provides evidence of traffic from central Scotland, as a minister,

simply named John, left Glasgow for Ireland.[567] Migration from the central belt to Ulster

from the 1680s is also apparent from the Presbytery of Laggan minute book regarding one

Robert Rule, a minister from Stirling, who wished to remain in a parish in Londonderry.[568]

Correspondence from Oliver Lambert to Reverend William Smyth c.1693 noted that

Alexander Cairncross, the former Archbishop of Glasgow had transferred to the Irish See of

Raphoe, County Donegal.[569] The Antrim Synod on 2 June 1697 provides an account of a

troublesome Glaswegian minister, William Forsyth, who had also been rebuked by the

Glasgow Synod for his 'disorderly cairiage'.[570] Scottish central belt migration is further

highlighted in a letter from Reverend Andrew Hamilton to Bishop King on 17 June 1698,

which states that one Mr Squire 'did produce a testimonium from Glasgow of his having

taken his degree.'[571] Despite numerous ministers being trained at Glasgow University, there

is little historiographical consideration given to Glasgow as a potential migrant pool area.

Indeed, Whan argues that the majority of active ministers in Ulster during 1680-1729 studied

at Glasgow University.[572] Presbyterian ministers, gentry and merchant families came

predominantly from the south-west of Scotland.[573] Central Scotland migration continued into

---

[565] Ibid, p. 71.
[566] Ibid, p. 134.
[567] 'The Session Book of the Baronie Kirk of Glasgow', 1680-1698, (T.M.L., CH2/173/1), p. 38.
[568] 'Copy of Minute Book. Presbytery of Laggan', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/6), p. 48.
[569] 'Letter from Oliver Lambert to Rev. William Smyth', c.1693, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/1).
[570] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster,* p. 19.
[571] 'Letter from Rev. Andrew Hamilton to William King', 17 June 1698, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/578).
[572] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* p. 30.
[573] Ibid, p. 100.

the 1700s, as illustrated in the Synod of Ulster which records on 5 June 1705 the arrival of Archibald Dixon, a minister from the Presbytery of Hamilton – just outside of Glasgow – with his testimonials for preaching.[574]

The neglect of the Highlands in migration historiography is surprising, especially considering the historiographical emphasis on famine migrants, and the Highlands being the worst affected area. For example, the Bredalbane estate, which faced potential financial ruin,[575] provides a well-documented microcosm of Highland famine devastation. In a letter to Mr Yard, dated 20 July 1697, one Mr May highlights the movement of Scottish Highlanders, followers of Colonel McNeil, to Donegal, Ulster.[576] However, further research within the Highland archives is required to determine the extent of Highlander migration to Ulster during this period. Finally, there is also very little recognition given to the Scottish Borders migration. A 1685 testificate for Robert Lennox, signed by John Strachan, Governor of Earlstoun, Berwickshire, also contains a pass for Lennox to travel to Ireland.[577] This is further substantiated by the testimonial for George Forbes, an Episcopalian minister from Peebles, dated 25 June 1696 contained within the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh's papers.[578]

**Scottish Migrants' Religious Affiliation**

The strong and influential presence of Presbyterianism within Ulster is indisputable, yet this should not blind us to other denominations. The neglect of Episcopalians as migrants is striking, given the demand for Scottish Episcopalian ministers in Ulster. Beckett highlights the Church of Ireland's fear of Presbyterians, not least in consequence of their recent

---

[574] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster,* p. 97.

[575] Karen J. Cullen, Christopher A. Whatley & Mary Young, 'King William's Ill Years: New Evidence on the Impact of Scarcity & Harvest Failure during the 1690s in Tayside', in *The Scottish Historical Review,* 85(2), (2006), p. 264.

[576] 'Letter from May to Mr Yard', 20 July 1697, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (12 December 2019), p. 74.

[577] 'Testificate, signed by John Strachan, governor of Earlstoun', 1685, (N.R.S., Murray Family Papers, GD10/532).

[578] 'Testimonial of Scottish minister by Richard Brown parson of Drumfries & Mr David Spence minister of Kirkurd', 25 June 1696, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/17).

overthrow of Episcopacy in Scotland.[579] Kilroy has argued that the strength and structure of

Scottish Presbyterianism posed a great challenge to the Established Church of Ireland.[580] In a

1703 pamphlet, Charles Leslie, a prominent non-juror,[581] reported that Scottish Episcopal

bishops and their clergy had been treated with 'unheard of cruelty', 'Plunder'd and Abus'd in

their Persons… turn'd out with numerous Families, and no Maintenance, and hardly Charity

enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread.'[582] This attitude is echoed in an anonymous

tract from 1702, which noted that thousands came to Glasgow to discover their ministers had

fled from persecution.[583]

Presbyterians allegedly dug up the graves of dead Episcopal children, as they deemed

them not deserving of a proper burial among 'holy Christians',[584] which highlights the extent

of Episcopalian discrimination. However, it must be noted that these tracts may be an

Anglican ploy to discredit Presbyterians, as only the Established Church of Ireland had

graveyards, and they may have dug up their relatives to bury elsewhere.[585] Nevertheless, a

lurid report from the late 17th century on the murder of Dr Pearson, a Scottish Episcopalian

minister, by Presbyterians reported that they dumped his body on a dunghill for animals to

devour.[586] However, the Established Church of Ireland stood on more solid foundations than

its Scottish counterpart, providing prospective ministers with an escape route and religious

toleration. After the 'Glorious Revolution', dissenters in Scotland and England improved

their portion, while hardly anything changed for dissenters in Ireland.[587] Thus, it is surprising

---

[579] Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in Ireland,* p. 28.
[580] Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent & Controversy,* p. 206.
[581] Robert D. Cornwall, 'Charles Leslie (1650-1722)', *ODNB,* (19 August 2021).
[582] Charles Leslie, *Reflections Upon some Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets viz. 1. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. 2. The Character of a Low-Churchman. 3. The New Association*, (London, 1703), pp. 11 & 18.
[583] Anon, *Two Letters from a Person in Scotland*, p. 13.
[584] Ibid, p. 13.
[585] Raymond Refaussé, 'Gone but not Forgotten – the Church of Ireland Graveyards of the City of Dublin', in *Dublin Historical Record,* 68(1), (2015), p. 87.
[586] Anon, *Two Letters from a Person in Scotland*, p. 13.
[587] Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 265.

that little contemplation has been given to Scottish Episcopalian migrants considering the suffering they endured during this period.

The dearth of Ulster Episcopalian ministers resonates throughout the contemporary sources, especially with an emphasis on preventing the spread of Presbyterianism. Ulster Anglicans strove to prevent Presbyterians from gaining 'fruits of Protestant triumph' in the 1690s,[588] further evidenced in a letter from William Hansard of 13 April 1694: 'I am truely sorry Mr Greson Left his cure vacant for there are a greate many dissenters in that place if a Curate is not Sudenly provided it may prove of ill consequence.'[589] Likewise, Bishop King warned Bishop Dopping the result of any Anglicans promoting Presbyterianism would probably be fatal to the Anglican cause.[590] A manuscript from 1690 contained within the William King papers, also noted the numerical dominance of Presbyterians over Anglicans.[591] This, in conjunction with the lack of Anglican ministers, allowed the dissenters to take advantage of the Established Church's neglected congregations.[592] Anglicans believed that Presbyterians sought to gain control over their church, just as the dissenters obtained dominance through commerce by converting the 'vulgar sort' to their religion.[593] Charles Hanson in County Cavan wrote to Reverend William Smyth on 9 December 1694, expressing his concern that a shortage of Anglican ministers would encourage people to embrace Presbyterianism. He believed that younger people could be easily persuaded, and the poverty of others meant they would not be able to travel to attend Anglican services, therefore, turning into 'heathens'.[594] In contrast, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland employed numerous

---

[588] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation,* p. 31.

[589] 'Letter from William Hansard', 13 April 1694, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/14).

[590] 'Letter from William King to Anthony Dopping', 27 May 1695, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.3), p. 289.

[591] 'State of the Church of Ireland', 1690, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/115a).

[592] Ibid.

[593] Ibid.

[594] 'Letter from Charles Hanson', 9 December 1694, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/15).

ministers creating a wide geographical footprint.[595] Reverend Smyth in a letter from the

gentlemen of County Cavan, dated 18 November 1695, stated that dissenting ministers

settling in Ireland would have the dreadful consequences of people converting to

Presbyterianism due to easy inclinations and favourable services offered by the non-

conformists.[596] Similarly, Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, and William King, Bishop of

Derry, wrote to Lord Capel, one of his Majesties Lord Justices, on 24 March 1693/4 reporting

that several dioceses are now occupied by dissenters due to the neglect of Anglican bishops

and clergymen in these areas.[597] Furthermore, Dopping and King proposed that a 'learned,

moderate, prudent and well temper'd person' be appointed to deal with the Down diocese,

occupied by a disorderly Presbyterian minister named David Houston.[598]

The Armagh Convocation journal stated that Newry and Mourne also experienced

'enormous irregularities' due to neglect such as 'Clandestine marriages much lewdness &

vice & a most scandalous general Licentiousness.'[599] The Bishops of Meath and Derry further

expressed their fears of ministerial negligence in a letter to the Lord Justices of Ireland of 28

March 1694: 'that Catechising, visiting [th]e sick & administration of the Sacraments were so

neglected that many left the Church & turned Presbyterian or Papists.'[600] Methods to conform

Presbyterians to the Established Church commenced with the 1703 Armagh Convocation,

which proposed that the 'Synod may invite the teachers of the severall persuasions of

Dissenters in this Kingdome to propose to the Convocation the Terms on w[hi]ch they will

---

[595] Ibid.
[596] 'Letter from the Gentlemen of County Cavan', 18 November 1695, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/16).
[597] 'Letter from Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath & William King, Bishop of Derry to Lord Capel', 24 March 1693/4, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 356, (12 December 2019), p. 74.
[598] Ibid, p. 74.
[599] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 24 February 1703, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/1), p. 67.
[600] 'Letter from Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath & William King, Bishop of Derry to the Lord Justices of Ireland', 28 March 1694, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 356, (12 December 2019), p. 80.

return to the Comunion of the establish'd Church.'[601] Thus, in 1704, the Convocation

proposed that 'Dissenting Ministers together with their Congregations will come into the

Church… upon an Invitation Letter from the Convocation setting forth the sin and danger of

Schism and the readiness of the Church to receive them when they return.'[602] By 1711, the

Convocation claimed that 'by Gods Blessing and the care of the Clergy great Numbers have

bin reduced from Popery and Schism and joined to the Church.'[603] Therefore, the Anglican

Church felt under pressure to enhance their services and ensure the people of Ulster stayed

true to Episcopacy and did not convert to other 'heathen' religions.

The need for more Anglican ministers is conveyed by Bishop King on 18 January 1694:

'as to Clergymens doing much to get ground of the dissenters I believe with a litle help they

may do much.'[604] The main problems included want of ministers and protestants, pluralities

leading to non-residency of the clergy, and the ruinous state of their churches.[605] The lack of

material resources meant that churches could not be repaired, nor parishes adequately

supported.[606] On 20 April 1704, Swift wrote to Tisdall regarding the dire condition of the

Church of Ireland; 'I find nothing but the good works and wishes of a decayed ministry,

whose lives and mine will probably wear out before they can serve either my little hopes, or

their own ambition.'[607] Of the forty-seven Anglican parishes in Derry during the 1690s, only

twenty-five had regular, resident clergy.[608] In 1709, the Armagh Convocation records

highlight that seven or eight parishes amalgamated to generate £40-50 for ministerial

---

[601] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 30 March 1703, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/1), p. 76.
[602] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1704, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/2), p. 143.
[603] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1711, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/3), p. 272.
[604] 'Letter from William King', 18 January 1694/5, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/396a).
[605] Ibid, p. 178; Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 273.
[606] Ibid, pp. 178-179.
[607] Harold Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift. Volume 1: 1690-1713* (Oxford, 1963), p. 46.
[608] Philip O'Regan, 'William King as Bishop & Parliamentarian, 1691-7', in Nigel Aston & Benjamin Bankhurst (eds.), *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent & the Hanoverian Succession, 1714-1760* (Oxford, 2019), p. 75.

maintenance; however, lack of clerical dwellings rendered clerical residency impossible, resulting in the neglect of congregations.[609] Human neglect also impacted the dire state of the Established Church as some bishops failed to frequently visit their diocese, while others stayed elsewhere, held multiple roles, or disregarded their duties.[610] One such case was Bishop Hackett, appointed to the Down and Connor diocese in 1672; however, he resided in England for the majority of his employment.[611] His neglect meant non-conformity seeped into the diocese, resulting in his dismissal in 1694, as well as his dishonourable clergy being purged, and the diocese's order restored.[612] Consequently, filling vacant parishes became a priority.

William Kildare wrote to William Smyth, Bishop of Kilmore, County Cavan on 1 February 1693/4 detailing the desire to encourage 'learned', 'principled' Scottish Episcopalian ministers, who had been overthrown from their parishes, to settle in Ulster.[613] Similarly, the recently deceased, Alexander Cairncross, Bishop of Raphoe, assigned a tenth of his money and belongings to the Episcopal clergy in Scotland in his will.[614] King became fascinated with providing for the deprived Scottish Episcopalians,[615] as demonstrated in his missive to John Bolton of 18 December 1702 which records that clergymen collected funds for the distressed Episcopal clergy of Scotland.[616] It can also be argued that the connections between Scotland and Ulster facilitated the seamless migration of Scottish Episcopal ministers to Ulster. Lord Capel wrote to William II and III on 3 April 1694 to inform him that

---

[609] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1704, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/3), p. 9.
[610] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 179.
[611] J. C. Beckett, 'The Government & the Church of Ireland under William II & Anne', in *Irish Historical Studies,* 2(7), (1941), p. 289.
[612] Ibid, p. 289.
[613] 'Letter from William Kildare', 1 February 1693/4, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/13).
[614] 'Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin', 16 May 1701, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 750/2/2/137).
[615] J. C. Beckett, 'William King's Administration of the Diocese of Derry, 1691-1703', in *Irish Historical Studies,* 4(14), (1944), p. 179.
[616] 'Letter to John Bolton', 18 December 1702, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/968).

there had been a 'reduction of a great many Dissenters to the bosome of the Church and the Letters which Wee receive from thence tell Us that these effects begin to appeare already, and tis hoped will spread from thence over the Kingdome.'[617] Similarly, Bishop King provided a positive response regarding Anglican congregational growth as he wrote to Bishop Dopping on 11 May 1694: 'I perceive almost from every place [tha]t the congregations do increase, & I hope [tha]t tru devotion doth encrease.'[618] King boasted in a further letter to Dopping about conforming 103 dissenters and their children, believing that the 'progress of nonconformity will not only be stopped, but will the countenance of government the neck of it broken.'[619]

This apparent success of appeals is further emulated by King's letter to Robert Southwell, diplomat and government official: 'I understand the state of the Church in the North very well…I believe the Clergy in the North were never more numerous, more industrious, and more learned, than at this time.'[620] Another letter from Bishop King to Richard Synnot on 10 July 1701 suggests that these attempts have been successful: 'I find the Churches Generally in Good ord[e]r the people in Good terms with their past[o]rs and I think the numb[e]r of Conformable p[er]sons much increased.'[621] Considering the Church of Ireland's need to curtail Presbyterianism throughout the 1690s, this is an overly positive statement concerning Episcopal numbers in Ulster.[622] However, on 12 August 1708, King wrote to Swift concerning four ministerial candidates who had abandoned their positions as the Church of Ireland became overstocked with no means of maintaining new clergymen: 'we must either

---

[617] 'Letter from Lord Capel, Wick & Dunsmore to the King', 3 April 1694, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 356, (12 December 2019), p. 102.

[618] 'Letter from William King to Anthony Dopping', 11 May 1694, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.3), p. 256.

[619] 'Letter from William King to Anthony Dopping', 27 May 1695, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.3), p. 289.

[620] Toby Barnard, 'Robert Southwell (1635-1702)', *ODNB,* (7 June 2021); 'Letter from William King to Robert Southwell', 19 November 1700, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 750/2/2/16-20).

[621] 'Letter from William King to Richard Synnot', 10 July 1701, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 750/2/2/17-18).

[622] Beckett, 'The Government & Church', pp. 290-291.

maintain them out of our own pockets or let them starve.'[623] Therefore, the evidence suggests it is highly possible that Scottish Episcopalian migrants travelled to Ulster during this period, also correlating with the increase in Episcopalians by the 1700s.

Profiles of these ministers can be created by analysing testimonials and correspondence. For example, the Queen's Letter to Henry Sydney, Lord General and General Governor of Ireland of 18 April 1693 states that they wish to offer Alexander Carncrosie, late Archbishop of Glasgow, the See of Kilmore.[624] Scottish ministers keenly sought to practice within the province, as conveyed in a letter to Bishop King from Sir Patrick Dun, President of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland, on 24 September 1700: 'Mr Patrick Hastings was recommended… and one of the Episcopall Clergy of Scotland he is desirous to serve God in the Ministry in this Kingdome.'[625] Episcopalian ministers mistreated in Scotland wanted to preach within Ireland, yet there is little mention of this within the existing historiography. This is supported by a testimonial from Scotland dated 25 June 1696, regarding a destitute Scottish Episcopalian minister, George Forbes, who required support from Ulster after being deprived of his ministry in Peebles.[626] Forbes is described as 'a good man being rendered uncapable to live by the altar in his owne native countrey.'[627] In addition, the language and sympathetic tone of the letter highlights the hostility between Episcopalians and Presbyterians in Ireland, while the use of terms such as 'oppressed brethren' and 'good man' convey the strong feelings contained within this correspondence.

---

[623] Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift,* p. 92.
[624] 'Queen's Letter for Henry Sydney (Lord General & General Governor of Ireland)', 18 April 1693, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/6).
[625] 'Letter from Sir Patrick Dun', 24 September 1700, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/723).
[626] 'Testimonial of Scottish minister by Richard Brown parson of Drumfries & Mr David Spence minister of Kirkurd', 25 June 1696, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/17).
[627] Ibid.

Moreover, another Scottish Episcopalian minister, David Rob, wrote to the Reverend William Smyth on 12 January 1693/4, boasting of his ecclesiastical achievements at the helm of Donaghadee ministry, County Down, within two years of his arrival from Scotland.[628] However, not all Scottish Episcopalian ministers were deemed suitable to preach in Ulster. Bishop King, writing on 9 May 1693 stated that Scottish ministers have an 'unfortunate way of speaking that his preaching is of no use, and his reading prayers not gratefull; as it happens in all, almost [tha]t come from Scotland.'[629] By remarking on his ability to understand Scottish accents in Ireland, King himself of Scottish origin made a larger general point about immigrant Scottish ministers. He believed that only the Established Church could be the sole legitimate claimant as the universal church in Ireland, and Presbyterian dominance threatened their position.[630] Although this particular minister may not have been up to Bishop King's standards, he stands in stark contrast to the flow of Episcopal migrants coming from Scotland during this decade. Therefore, the small, but significant Episcopalian migrants to Ulster in the 1690s, needs to be acknowledged as a potential migrant group to provide establish a more holistic understanding of the Scottish experience in this crucial decade.

**Conclusion**

Overall, this chapter has challenged several historiographical certainties concerning the 1690s migration to Ulster, while also shedding light on the various social classes involved in that traffic. Identification of passes for higher-class, pre-famine migrants, strengthened the previous chapter's argument of Scottish migrants not solely constituting famine victims. Although the lower-class migration has been largely ignored, numerous Scottish Privy Council proclamations throughout the 1690s were aimed at them. These decrees reiterated the

---

[628] 'Letter from David Rob', 12 January 1693/4, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/13).

[629] 'Letter from William King', 9 May 1693, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 1995-2008/274).

[630] Joseph Richardson, 'William King, (1650-1729): 'Church Tory & State Whig'?', in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 15, (2000), p. 58.

need for travel passes to Ireland, illustrating this class travelled during this period, as well as highlighting the wider social poverty problem in Scotland. Evidence for lawful lower-class migrant profiles is lacking, so the focus became fixed on the fugitive aspect, ranging from violent to non-violent, yet serious crimes. Consequently, a successful partnership existed between Scotland and Ulster for the apprehension and return of these offenders, conveying the regularity of criminals escaping over the North Channel.

The regional origin narrative of Scottish migrants coming solely from south-west has also been challenged here. Ample evidence of migrants from throughout Scotland travelling to Ulster existed, thereby contesting the accepted south-western migrant narrative. Thus, the south-west of Scotland provided the main embarkation point due to its geographical proximity to Ulster. Lastly, consideration has been given to Episcopalian migrants who have received little historiographical attention. The Established Church of Ireland appealed to Scottish Episcopalian ministers to fill their vacancies. Strong links existed between Episcopalians in Scotland and Ulster, with the calls for Scottish Episcopal migrants seemingly successful as numbers grew by the 1700s, show that Episcopalians also made this crossing. The next chapter will delve into greater detail on this ministerial migration, and whether return migrants should be considered as a potential migrant group.

# Chapter Four – Return Migration & Ministerial Maritime Motorway

The return and cyclical migration patterns across the North Channel, as well as the significance of return migrants, especially Presbyterian clergymen, contributing to the 1690s influx will be analysed. Migration theorists, Christian Dustmann and Yoram Weiss argue that many of today's migrations are temporary rather than permanent.[631] Economic motives, natural disasters and persecution are the key reasons for modern migration.[632] Fitzgerald has highlighted that cyclical migration occurred between Scotland and Ulster in the 17th century; however, there is no specific focus on the 1690s or return migrants to Ireland, remedied by this chapter.[633] Furthermore, return migration among ministers has been discussed to some extent concerning clergymen servicing both sides of the North Channel.[634] Subsequently, this body of water became a maritime motorway allowing people, especially ministers, to undertake cyclical migration.[635] This migratory pattern also encompassed migrant workers who moved regularly between the host and origin country;[636] allowing for a fluid relationship between 1690s Scotland and Ulster to be portrayed.

Therefore, this chapter will examine the military and socio-economic reasons for return migration in the 1690s. The impact of the Williamite Wars on Irish migration to Scotland, and its subsequent return cycle will also be analysed. In addition, an examination of the Scottish Privy Council and parish records uncover attempts to encourage people back to Ireland. Consideration will also be given to the migration theories regarding crisis and

---

[631] Dustmann & Weiss, 'Return Migration', p. 236.
[632] Ibid, p. 237.
[633] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 73.
[634] Vann, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land,* p. 112; Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent,* p. 118; Greaves, 'Conformity & Security in Scotland & Ireland', p. 235.
[635] Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora,* p. 96; Morgan, 'Scottish Mercantile Networks', pp. 263-264; Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad,* p. 30.
[636] Dustmann & Weiss, 'Return Migration', p. 238.

opportunity, and how this correlated with the 1690s migration. Furthermore, little

consideration has been given to the impact of the Williamite Wars in Ireland on the

Presbyterian ministerial migration to Scotland, and the potential return migration to

Ulster/Ireland. Finally, this chapter will also examine the 'ministerial maritime motorway'

across the North Channel and its impact on the 1690s migration to Ulster. Contemporary

sources such as kirk session records, Ulster Presbyterian minutes, General Synod of Ulster

records and pamphlets have been consulted to create these fresh perspectives.

**Return Migration**

The continual movement between 17th century Scotland and Ulster created the ideal

conditions for return migration. Migration networks developed from extended family and

common community roots, sometimes producing arbitrary and complex results.[637] Fitzgerald

and Lambkin note that migration flows generally have 'changing cross-currents and counter-

currents driven by economic cycles of boom and bust, as well as, intermittent crises of famine

and war.'[638] The Williamite Wars gave many Protestants flashbacks to the violence of the

1641 Ulster Rebellion.[639] James VII and II's intention to re-establish the Restoration land

settlement to gain Irish Jacobite support meant Catholicism would regain a privileged place

in Irish society, and more than 3,000 Protestants feared losing their properties, as well as,

their lives.[640] Irish Protestant merchants and landowners also resolved to leave Ireland during

this period.[641] A rough Glasgow Hearth-Tax calculation from 1691 suggests that 14,000-

15,000 who paid hearths – a small but significant group – were Ulster refugees.[642] Thus,

---

[637] Delaney & MacRaild, 'Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities', p. ix; Colin G. Pooley & Ian D. Whyte, 'Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change', in Colin G. Pooley & Ian D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants & Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991), p. 3.
[638] Fitzgerald & Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History,* p. 7.
[639] De Krey, *Restoration & Revolution in Britain,* p. 223; John R. Young, 'The Scottish Response to the Siege of Londonderry, 1689-90', in William Kelly (ed.), *The Sieges of Derry* (Dublin, 2001), p. 63.
[640] Kelly, ''Disappointing the Boundless Ambition of France'', p. 37; James McGuire, 'James II & Ireland, 1685-90', in Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict,* p. 51.
[641] De Krey, *Restoration & Revolution in Britain.* pp. 223-224.
[642] Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community', p. 54.

every crisis or opportunity precipitated migration from the affected area,[643] as demonstrated on 24 September 1689 concerning the case of Mr Harvie who fled from Ireland to Scotland, yet decided 'upon settling of that country may probably return thither, and who has no substance here.'[644] Mr Harvie's flight from subsistence in Scotland to Ulster demonstrates the dire condition of 1690s Scotland. Returning to conflict provided a better economic option than staying in Scotland.

Males, usually pedlars or military recruits predominated among the demographic of 17th century migrants.[645] Vann examines thirty-nine migrations for political reasons from Ulster to Scotland during the 17th century, noting that 'the fear, hopes and goals of the 1689 'Glorious Revolution', caused the biggest singular movement of people to Scotland with fourteen instances.[646] British migrants represented the largest return migration or 'coming and going' flow into Ireland, with crisis periods such as the late 1680s dramatically increasing this 'backwash effect' over the North Channel.[647] Thus, fluid movement back and forth meant that people who feared the Irish war left Ulster to avoid conflict, while others returned from Scotland to Ulster to fight for the Protestant cause. In Fife, the Inverkeithing kirk session minutes highlight two wounded Irishmen who arrived within their parish on 31 December 1689.[648] Although this extract does not explicitly mention the Williamite Wars, the nature of their injuries is suggestive of their fleeing this conflict.

However, Scotland could not provide for poor, starving Irish Protestants, some felt that returning to Derry to defend the Protestant interest was a better option.[649] The movement of

---

[643] Andrea Knox, ''Women of the Wild Geese': Irish Women, Exile & Identity in Spain, 1750-1775', in Delaney & MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration,* p. 2.
[644] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIV,* p. 339.
[645] Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', p. 292.
[646] Barry Vann, 'Presbyterian Social Ties & Mobility in the Irish Sea Culture Area, 1610-1690', in *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 18(3), (2005), p. 248.
[647] Fitzgerald, ''Come Back, Paddy Reilly'', pp. 34-35.
[648] 'Inverkeithing Kirk Session Minutes', 1688-1698, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/195/1), p. 13.
[649] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 416.

troops became apparent during the 1690s between Scotland and Ulster.[650] On 23 July 1689, Robert McNeill from County Down fled Ulster for Scotland with his tenants, subtenants, neighbours and servants; however, he soon professed a willingness to return to protect the Protestant interest in Ireland and got permission to take sixty men and their arms back to Ireland.[651] Childs describes the Ulster Association's forces as 'weak, untrained, undisciplined, unpaid and numbered in the hundreds' resulting in volunteers assembling in Enniskillen as the 'centre of defence and protection for Protestants.'[652] It is plausible that McNeill and his men returned to protect vulnerable Ulster Protestants. Furthermore, McNeill's return with sixty men shows that whole communities fled Ulster. Additionally, his ability to recruit a considerable number of men points to a significant amount of Irish refugees in Scotland during this period. On 14 August 1690, James Campbell, a former ensign, and his servant received travel passes from Scotland to Ireland to fight in His Majesty's force: 'driven to many straits for want of the ordinary pay ordained by their Majesties to be given to such as were in their service.'[653] Further Scottish Privy Council records provide evidence of fifteen men from County Down receiving passes for return travel to Ulster during the Williamite Wars.[654] These passes would have been granted by the Scottish Privy Council only if the petitioner's loyalty to King William and Queen Mary could be guaranteed.[655] Therefore, it can be suggested that these men also returned to Ulster to defend the Protestant cause, as awarding passes to Catholics would have threatened Scotland's position too. Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell and Lord Deputy of Ireland under King James VII and II, challenged the Williamite regime and supported King James's proposed French invasion of Ireland, encouraging the widespread enlistment of Irish

---

[650] Young, 'The Scottish Response', p. 61.
[651] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 547.
[652] Childs, *The Williamite Wars,* p. 40.
[653] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV*, p. 386.
[654] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 425.
[655] 'Passport & Passes', 1691, (N.R.S., Murray Family Papers, GD10/553).

Jacobites.[656] This also prompted the secret return military migration from the Scottish Highlands on 5 September 1689.[657] The links between the Scottish Highlands and Catholicism remained strong, as they contained disproportionately large numbers of Roman Catholics.[658] The majority of Scots did not support James VII and II's war in Ireland, so secrecy was key when assisting Catholic 'rebels' back to Ulster.

In addition, the Scottish Privy Council encouraged non-combatants to return to Ulster with goods and provisions.[659] In contrast to Scotland, Ireland did not have a well-established poor relief system:[660] where each Scottish parish had an obligation to provide for their poor parishioners through collections. Despite this, many Scots perceived poverty as a moral failing incompatible in a 'godly society'.[661] The 1662 act limited the Justices' authority to remove non-settled poor people within forty days of their arrival at a new parish.[662] Any person who went unobserved could not be removed from the parish, thereby obtaining a settlement.[663] An examination of poor relief in contemporary England and Wales shows their respective church's legal obligation to provide for a poor person holding a settlement within their parish.[664] The Presbytery of Lanark records of 14 June 1699 state that one Mr Bannatyne attended a meeting which concluded every parish should maintain their own poor, to avoid vagrancy.[665] Scotland thus followed in the footsteps of their English and Welsh

---

[656] Ó Ciardha, *Ireland & the Jacobite Cause*, p. 52; Miller, 'The Glorious Revolution', p. 34; Gary S. De Krey, *Restoration & Revolution in Britain. A Political History of the Era of Charles II & the Glorious Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 222-224.

[657] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIV,* p. 225.

[658] Robert E. Tyson, 'The Population of Aberdeenshire, 1695-1755', in *Northern Scotland,* 6(1), (2015), p. 113; Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy,* p. 37.

[659] Ibid, p. 54.

[660] McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* p. 139.

[661] Ole Peter Grell & Andrew Cunningham, 'Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th & 19th Century Northern Europe', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham & Robert Jütte (eds.), *Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th Century Northern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 6 & 11.

[662] Lorie Charlesworth, *Welfare's Forgotten Past. A Socio-Legal History of the Poor Law* (Oxon, 2010), pp. 50 & 52.

[663] Ibid, p. 52.

[664] Ibid, pp. 50 & 52.

[665] 'Ecclesiastical Records: The Presbytery of Lanark (1623-1709)', 14 June 1699, *Medieval & Early Modern Sources Online,* (https://tannerritchie.com/shibboleth/memso/), (7 June 2021), p. 132.

counterparts: no relief could be granted to able-bodied people, it was reserved for the 'merely

destitute.'[666] Edinburgh established 'poor relief camps' in Greyfriar's churchyard to support

people, and the Yester parish in East Lothian effectively gauged the relief needed for their

poor, which saved many lives.[667] For those reliant on poor relief, the early 1690s proved to be

particularly challenging and complaints began about the increasing numbers and burden of

paupers.[668] Ultimately, the Scottish Privy Council wished to offload these refugees on

Ireland, thereby reducing the financial strain on Scotland's charity. In 1691, the English

Government attempted to encourage Irish natives back to their 'safe' homeland as conveyed

in a letter from the Earl of Nottingham to the Lords Justices of Ireland: 'His Maj[es]ty does

still think it necessary, that you should prevail with as many of the Irish as you can, to return

home and live quietly.'[669]

Numerous petitions regarding distressed, poor Irish migrants are documented in the

Scottish Privy Council records in the late 1680s and early 1690s as the Lords of the Treasury

recommended a voluntary collection for them.[670] One such petition on 4 June 1689 by John

Peirie, Robert McCasland and John McFarlan concerned a collection for poor Irish

Protestants landing in Scotland, and the distribution of funds to those in need living in

Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr, and other western places.[671] On 10 July 1689, the Barony Glasgow

kirk session records established a specific charity collection for poor Irish and French

Protestants within the parish, which yielded £50 and 2s.[672] Troubled Irish people landing in

Scotland could access these funds. A distressed, unnamed, Irish soldier received 14s in

---

[666] Rosalind Mitchison, 'The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', in *Past & Present,* 63, (1974), p. 58; Charlesworth, *Welfare's Forgotten Past,* p. 50.
[667] T. C. Smout, 'Famine & Famine-Relief in Scotland', in Cullen & Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects,* p. 25.
[668] Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, p. 165; Cullen, Whatley & Young, 'King William's Ill Years', pp. 269-276; Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* pp. 152-155.
[669] 'Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Nottingham to the Lords Justices of Ireland'*,* 26 December 1691, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 353, (11 December 2019), p. 207.
[670] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV,* p. 469.
[671] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII,* p. 410.
[672] 'The Session Book of the Baronie Kirk of Glasgow', 1680-1698, (T.M.L., CH2/173/1), p. 90.

1690.[673] While James Drysdell and John Young, another two distressed Irish soldiers, got £1 and 8s.[674] Money given to Irish migrants arriving in Scotland, as well as, funds for travel to Ireland within the 1690s Ayr kirk sessions totalled £8 and 2s,[675] equivalent to ninety days wages for a skilled tradesman in 1690, and £1,112 in 2021.[676]

A 1690 pamphlet by John MacKenzie, a Presbyterian minister and regiment chaplain during the Siege of Derry, details movement to Scotland from Ulster during the Williamite Wars. MacKenzie states that a cavalry and foot party of King James VII and II marched to Culmore, then onto the Barony of Inishowen in County Donegal where they robbed numerous people waiting for passage to Scotland.[677] The pamphlet also gave instructions from Whitehall, on 1688/9 ordering soldiers/prospective soldiers to be allowed horses and boats on their travel to England or Scotland 'for carrying the Officers, Sick-men, Women and Children home to their several Habitations or places whither they have a mind to resort.'[678] Accordingly, many French and Irish refugees fled Ulster to avoid the war, and Scotland became their obvious destination.[679] A sizeable refugee group fleeing warfare for Scotland included those women and children who sought the Jacobite exodus to France.[680] It is estimated that approximately 15,000-16,000 soldiers left after the Williamite Wars, an exodus including 2,000 women and children, often condemned to poverty, illness and early death.[681] Likewise, the 1689 Scottish Privy Council records also demonstrate that women, children and infirm people predominated among the poor Protestants who came from Ireland.[682] In 1689,

---

[673] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1686-1693, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/751/7), pp. 64-65.
[674] Ibid, p. 122.
[675] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1686-1698, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/751/7-8).
[676] 'Currency Converter', *The National Archives [Hereafter TNA]*, (https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result) (3 June 2021).
[677] John Mackenzie, *A Narrative of the Siege of London-Derry* (London, 1690), p. 31.
[678] Ibid, p. 61.
[679] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIV*, p. 48.
[680] Mary O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (Harlow, 2005), p. 98; Bernadette Whelan, 'Women & Warfare, 1641-1691', in Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance,* p. 338.
[681] Frank D'Arcy, *Wild Geese & Travelling Scholars* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 69-70.
[682] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 416.

Margaret Biggar and Mary Swan, both from Ireland, received 12s each.[683] Families also entered en masse after the conclusion of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, as illustrated in the Ayr Kirk session minutes for 1692 when James Downie and his wife, Mary Brown, landed in Scotland with their two small children and received 6s.[684] Jo Blair, wife to William Blair reached Scotland in 1692 with their three small children and got 8s.[685] Furthermore, Mr Williams, his wife and five children fled Ireland on 12 June 1689.[686] Honora Brooke, her husband and three children escaped to Scotland on 6 December 1689 to preserve their lives and gain supplies.[687] Anna Hellena Scot lost her husband during the Williamite Wars, then re-located to Scotland with her poor children in such haste that they transported no belongings with them.[688] Similarly, Richard Robertson also moved to Scotland with his wife and five small children, on foot of Catholic persecution.[689] As the most vulnerable category within Ulster, this group would have placed acute pressure on Scotland's poor relief. Many burghs and parishes attempted to return the destitute to their place of origin.[690] Therefore, the Scottish Privy Council and kirk sessions paid poor Irish refugees, especially women and children, to return to Ireland to lessen the financial charitable burden on Scotland, as illustrated in the case of Barbara McDonald, the widow of William Hamilton, a Belfast seaman, who travelled to Scotland with her three children to seek bread.[691] However, the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury granted her permission to return to Ireland and promised to fulfil any reasonable needs for her journey.[692] This enthusiasm for Irish repatriation stemmed from a wish to lessen the financial burden of their refuge. Moreover,

---

[683] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1686-1693, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/751/7), pp. 64-65.
[684] Ibid, p. 122.
[685] Ibid, p. 122.
[686] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIII*, p. 428.
[687] Paton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XIV*, p. 545.
[688] Ibid, p. 530.
[689] Evan Whyte Melville Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XV – AD 1690* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 123.
[690] Ibid, p. 170.
[691] Ibid, p. 227.
[692] Ibid, p. 227.

some women even asked the Scottish Privy Council to return to Ireland, rather than being encouraged by institutions or parishes. These cases do not explicitly state the reason for these women wanting to return to Ireland; however, both instances have similarities concerning their husband's absence, possibly suggesting that Ulster provided a stronger support network. Thus, there is some evidence that families escaped the Williamite Wars in Ireland to Scotland for safety. Kathrin Lochrig, the wife of Robert McCleland, a seaman detained in France, asked the Scottish Privy Council for money to return on 19 August 1690.[693] Margaret Campbell, the widow of James Muir, skipper in Belfast, also requested that the Scottish Privy Council transport her and her family back to Ireland on 28 August 1690.[694]

Nevertheless, families did not solely receive payments to return as evidenced in the grants awarded to individuals such as Samuel Duncan, a broken merchant, (£1 and 8s in 1690); Isobell Hastie (6s for her journey to Ireland in 1691); William Crawford, a distressed seaman, (14s in 1693); Samuel Smith, a clothier, (14s for him and his wife to travel to Ireland in 1693); John Moreson, a stranger, (£1 for his journey over the North Channel); and Thomas Williams, a disbanded soldier, (12s to go for Ireland).[695] People given charity to travel to Ireland appear in the records as 'broken', 'distressed', or 'disbanded' illustrating their dire need for help.[696] This language also gives a flavour of elite attitudes towards the poorer members of society during this period. The money given to the poor from the Ayr kirk sessions totals £4 and 14s, equivalent to fifty-two days of wages for a skilled tradesman in 1690, and converts to £645 in 2021.[697] Therefore, the kirk sessions would rather pay destitute people a significant lump sum for their travel to lessen the long-term financial burden on their charity and transfer the poverty strain back to Ireland. Thus, it is evident that Irish migrants

---

[693] Ibid, p. 398.
[694] Ibid, p. 413.
[695] 'Ayr Kirk Session Minutes', 1686-1698, (N.R.S., Records of Church of Scotland, CH2/751/7-8).
[696] Ibid.
[697] 'Currency Converter', *TNA*, (3 June 2021).

travelled to Scotland during and shortly after the Williamite Wars in Ireland, and it must be considered whether these people then journeyed back to Ulster when Scotland became inhabitable during its tumultuous decade.[698]

A severe decline in poor relief donations occurred by 1700, mainly a result of 'donor fatigue' and a 'confidence crisis' over Darien.[699] Therefore, 17th century Scotland suffered from prolonged rural poverty, heaping additional numbers of the destitute poor on decreasing resources.[700] The cases examined demonstrate how this added destitution would have been a substantial burden on Scotland's already struggling poor relief system. This analysis of several Scottish parishes distributing their money to people arriving from Ireland, and for travel to Ireland, does not include the funds given to distressed Scots in need of parish charity. Therefore, 1690s Scotland provided little or no opportunities, and although recently embroiled in war, Ulster provided a better quality of life. Thus, potential return migrant groups and the impact of the military and socio-economic motives on their movement back to Ulster must be considered when analysing the Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s.

**Ministerial Return Migration**

Another potential return migrant faction is ministers who had fled the Williamite Wars in Ulster and then returned, and those who journeyed home after obtaining their university degree in Scotland. Between 1680 and 1740, around 29% of Ireland's Presbyterian ministers originated in Scotland, with more than half being born in Ulster.[701] Of the 303 prospective Presbyterian ministers attending Scottish universities for theological training between 1680-1729, Glasgow admitted 60%, Edinburgh just over 20%, while Aberdeen and St. Andrews

---

[698] See Chapter One.
[699] R. A. Houston, 'The Economy of Edinburgh 1694-1763: The Evidence of the Common Good', in Connolly, Houston & Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development,* p. 62.
[700] Mitchison, 'The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', p. 71.
[701] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 30.

trained only six and seven clergymen respectively.[702] Whan has recognised a sharp decline of ministers coming from Scotland in 1690 as a result of the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the need of all available ministers to fill vacant parishes.[703] Vann also identified the return migration of twenty-four Ulster ministers from Scotland between 1649-1689, with fifteen (63%) of them completing a full migratory circuit due to political reasons.[704]

   The FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church records (see Figure 11 below) demonstrate the extent of ministerial migration to Scotland as a consequence of the Revolution in Ireland (1688-91).[705] These results convey that of the eighty-eight ministers examined in part three of the FASTI records, fourteen (16%) of them explicitly stated they were leaving Ulster/Ireland due to the Williamite Wars. However, when analysing the number of clergymen who left during the Revolution period (1688-91) with no specific reasoning, the total increases to thirty-one (35%) ministers.

---

[702] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* p. 30.
[703] Ibid, p. 17.
[704] Vann, 'Presbyterian Social Ties', p. 246.
[705] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI – Part 3 & Part 3 Continued*, pp. 55-84.

Figure 11: Ministers from the FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Part 3 (1661-1690) records illustrating the number of clergymen who left Ulster/Ireland for Scotland during the Revolution (1688-1691).

The number of the ministers who subsequently returned to Ulster after moving to Scotland is highlighted on the graph below (Figure 12). The findings demonstrate that of the fourteen clergymen who explicitly stated the Revolution as their reason for leaving; five (36%) of those ministers returned to Ulster/Ireland. However, when all eighty-eight clergymen who left Ulster/Ireland during this period (1688-91) are examined, only thirteen (15%) returned to Ulster/Ireland. Nevertheless, these results suggest that a return ministerial migration, (albeit of a small number), did occur in the 1690s.
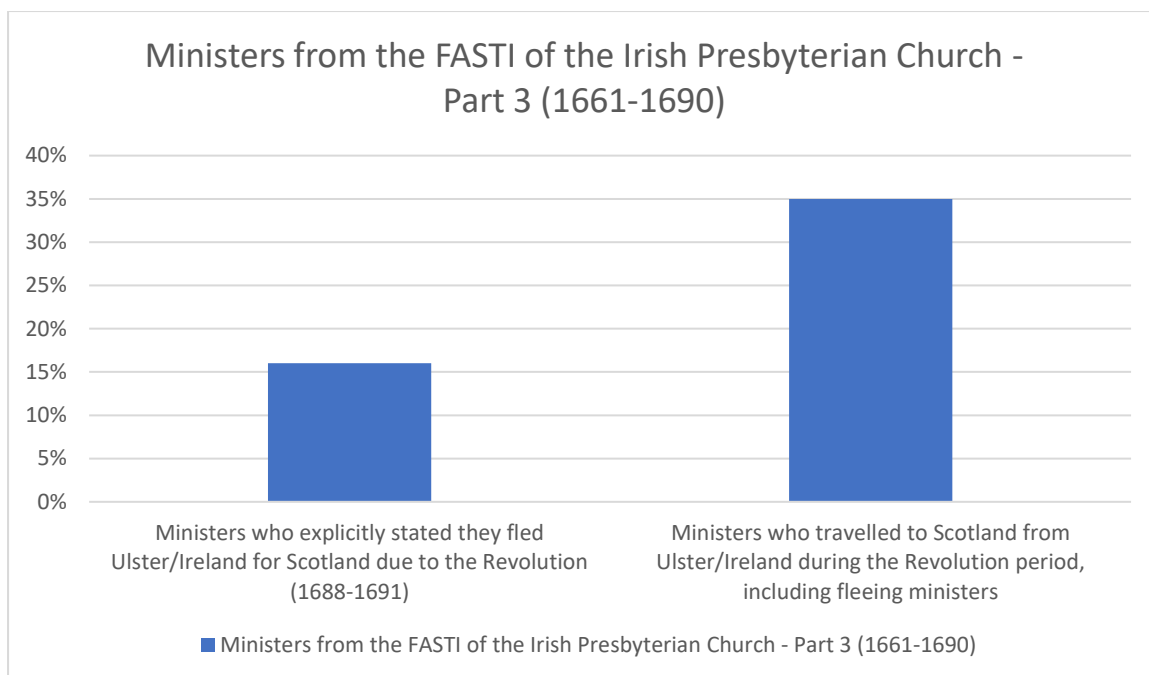
Figure 12: Ministers from the FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Part 3 (1661-1690) records highlighting the number who returned from Scotland.

The FASTI records also highlight several Scottish Presbyterian ministers being present in Derry during the 1689 siege, including David Brown and William Gilchrist, who subsequently died. While James Gordon participated in the conflict and demanded thirteen Apprentice Boys to close the gates of Derry on James VII and II's army on 7 December 1688,[706] he fled shortly afterwards to Scotland.[707] Of the seven ministers contained within the FASTI records purportedly present in Derry during the siege, four (57%) were of Scottish origin.[708] Scottish ministers had a connection with Ulster, with ministerial refuge to Scotland during this period only strengthening this argument. Lenihan notes how Presbyterian migrants brought atrocity stories of the Williamite Wars to Scotland from Ireland.[709] The defence of Enniskillen provided content for such stories, as the 'Enniskilleners' took up armed resistance against the Jacobite army to defend their town,[710] declared for William and

---

[706] J. M. Bulloch, *The Strange Adventures of the Reverend James Gordon, Sensualist, Spy, Strategist & Soothsayer* (Buckie, 1911), p. 25.

[707] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Part 3,* pp. 58 & 63.

[708] Ibid, p. 63.

[709] Young, 'Invasions: Scotland & Ireland', p. 76; Childs, *The Williamite Wars,* pp. 40-41.

[710] J. G. Simms, 'The Williamite War in South Ulster', *Clogher Record,* 10(1), 1979, p. 156.

Mary and created a continual nuisance to Jacobite forces through violent raids and skirmishes.[711] A 1689 Anglican tract also noted that the Enniskillen inhabitants 'rummaged the Country for near thirty Miles round about them' and 'disarmed several Companies of the new raised Irish.'[712] Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskeery and eyewitness to these events stated that he ordered ministers to escape to Scotland for their safety.[713] The Scottish Privy Council provides compelling evidence that ministers who fled Ulster for Scotland during this struggle did so because they feared becoming targets of persecution:

> Mr. John Huntar, minister of the gospell, sheuing that the petitioner was of late, since the trowbles began in Ireland, thrust from the exercise of his ministrie ther, and having come into this kingdome he hes, at the desyre of the paroch of Kirkmichell and appoyntement of the presbytrie of Air… being vaccant and he a strainger driven from his charge in Ireland to his great loss.[714]

The terminology used - 'thrust from the exercise of his ministrie' – suggests Huntar's forcible removal from his Irish parish, most likely by Catholics or Jacobite forces. He also left Ireland to 'his great loss', suggesting an unwillingness on his part to leave, and illustrating the temporary nature of the migration to Scotland. Another example of a minister fleeing the conflict in Ireland is documented in the Scottish Privy Council records on 15 January 1691 with Thomas Cobane and his family 'being necessitate to flee' from Ireland came to Scotland.[715] Robert Campbell suffered a similar fate: 'being necessitat amongst many others to flee from Ireland when the enemies came to the north.'[716] Again, the language used suggests that these ministers left Ireland to Scotland under duress, rather than choice. On 15 December 1691, Patrick Dunlop also stated he escaped Ireland in 1689 due to the Williamite Wars, served as minister for Monigaff in Wigtown, and later returned to Ulster and ministered Stonebridge, County Monaghan in 1700.[717] Likewise, another Ulster minister,

---

[711] Ibid, p. 159.
[712] Walker, *A True Account of the Present State of Ireland,* p. 452.
[713] Andrew Hamilton, *A True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling Men* (London, 1690), p. 6.
[714] S.R.O., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XVI*, p. 336.
[715] Ibid, p. 33.
[716] Ibid, pp. 107-108
[717] Ibid, p. 609; McConnell (ed.), *FASTI – Part 4 Continued*, p. 96.

Alexander Colden, barely escaped the Williamite Wars with his family in April 1689.[718] To stem this tide, William II and III offered additional help for ministers and their families to return to Ireland through proportionately shared public charity to maintain ministers for impoverished congregations.[719] This offer of charity is strikingly similar to the Scottish Privy Council provision to return poor Irish migrants. Therefore, it is worth considering whether this monetary endowment sought to lessen the long-term financial burden on Scotland of ministers 'reduc'd to Insupportable Straits'.[720] However, one cannot determine whether this support encouraged ministers back to Ulster.

Nonetheless, many Ulster Presbyterian ministers returned from Scotland after the war,[721] with the Synod of Ulster being created in 1690.[722] Armstrong deemed the Synod an extraordinary achievement, 'not merely of scattered bodies of religious dissidents but of the institutional structures of an alternative church to that sponsored by the state.'[723] Patrick Adair, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, who played a key role in the 1690 establishment of the General Synod,[724] developed along the lines of the General Assembly of Scotland,[725] received correspondence from eleven ministers in Scotland who desired to return to work in Ulster during the Williamite Wars.[726] Adair's prominence within Ulster's Presbyterian society explains why these ministers wrote to him. Although this is just one Ulster Presbytery, it demonstrates the surge in numbers of ministers wanting to return in the aftermath of the Williamite Wars. John Smith, a Scottish minister, who left Ulster with his

[718] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV*, p. 503.
[719] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 406.
[720] Ibid, p. 406.
[721] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 30.
[722] Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism,* pp. 59-64.
[723] Armstrong, 'Adair, Stewart & Presbyterian Ulster', p. 26.
[724] Ibid, p. 26.
[725] Hayton, 'The Emergence of a Protestant Society', p. 161.
[726] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), pp. 441-442.

family as a result of persecution, wished to return in 1690.[727] He returned to Ulster at some point during the 1690s and received orders in Newtownards in 1700.[728]

Mark Wyman states there are numerous reasons for return migration, however, one of which is an urge to take over the family property, or something similar.[729] Therefore, the pull of parishes wanting their ministers to return and 'take over' their congregations may have influenced some clergymen's decisions to come back to Ulster. James Alexander, from Raphoe, County Donegal, left in November 1689, leaving behind his congregation and possessions.[730] His parish in Derry invited him to return in 1690 and he felt 'necessitate to yeild to their serious desyre (judging himselfe bound in duety so to doe)… to answer the call of that people to whom he did stand under ane pastorall relatione as their lawfull minister.'[731] Alexander did not need much persuasion to return to Ulster, suggesting that these ministers knew that their departure would be temporary. Furthermore, some ministers left before the outbreak of the Williamite Wars such as Mr Munro, who stated on 3 April 1688 that he would be back within two months,[732] a promise he fulfilled on 5 June 1688.[733] Mr Munro is not an isolated example of the pre-1690s ministerial return migration from Scotland back to Ulster. John Darragh, a Scottish minister who had travelled to preach in Ulster, returned to Scotland but completed the journey back over the North Channel with a Scottish testimonial to allow for his settlement in Ireland on 1 October 1688.[734] This return migration from Scotland continued into the early 1690s as illustrated by David Cunningham on 1 April 1690 and John Campbell on 24 April 1690.[735] Clerical migrants must be acknowledged as a

---

[727] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV*, p. 302.
[728] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI - Part 5,* p. 121.
[729] Wyman, 'Emigrants Returning', p. 21.
[730] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV*, p. 541.
[731] Ibid, p. 541.
[732] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691 (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), p. 355.
[733] Ibid, p. 368.
[734] Ibid, pp. 397-398.
[735] Ibid, pp. 435-437.

significant group of people crossing the North Channel from Scotland to Ulster during this period.

However, some ministers who fled Ulster during the late 1680s and early 1690s remained in Scotland to the disadvantage of their congregations.[736] Presbyterian ministers in Ulster put pressure on other clergymen to return from Scotland, fearing that the vacant parishes would convert to the Established Church of Ireland. Ulster Presbyteries and the General Synod of Ulster consequently issued several requests for their return. The Antrim Presbytery minutes on 5 November 1689 state 'the Br[ethre]n belonging to Ireland, now in Scotland, having met, app[oin]t[e]d some of their br[ethre]n to return speedily hither.'[737] A typical example of a non-returning minister is John Lee, an Ulster-born minister who attended Glasgow University in 1676 and was ordained at Antrim Presbytery in 1688.[738] Lee applied to his presbytery for a testimonial to travel to Scotland for a year on 1 April 1690; who permitted his travel under the condition he stayed under their conduct.[739] However, he overstayed his agreed time and the Glenarm congregation wrote to him urging his return in September 1691.[740] Although there is no confirmation of his return date, he is listed as supplying Ervey and Kells by 1703.[741] On 26 February 1690, Antrim and Down ministers assessed the number of clergymen needed to maintain their congregations and then wrote to the specific and relevant persons living in Scotland to ask them to return.[742] One such minister 'necessarily called to Scotland' was Mr Campbell. The Antrim Presbytery, on 4 November 1690, recorded it would 'interpose with him to return to reside' in Ulster.[743]

---

[736] Young, 'Scotland & Ulster in the 17th Century', p. 25.
[737] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), pp. 423-424.
[738] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI - Part 5*, p. 113.
[739] Ibid, p. 113.
[740] Ibid, p. 113.
[741] Ibid, p. 113.
[742] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), p. 432.
[743] Ibid, pp. 455-456.

This dearth of ministers in Ulster is also echoed in the General Synod of Ulster records on 30 September 1691, which state that if the brethren did not return from Scotland, then the Synod would use all effectual means to 'bring them to a sense of their duty.'[744] The Synod's threats illustrate the seriousness of the matter; however, it cannot be determined whether these threats and pleas from the General Synod and Ulster Presbyteries had the desired effect. Ministers continued to ignore the calls for their return, necessitating the Synod of Ulster's further warning of Ulster of 5 June 1694 that non-returning ministers would be labelled as offensive and scandalous persons.[745] These humiliating associations would sit uncomfortably with the Presbyterian's emphasis on a 'godly society'. Therefore, the Synod attempted to create a greater drive in connecting sin and crime, using the same language for immoral people such as fornicators and adulterers,[746] which conveyed the magnitude of the matter.

Ministerial return migration continued into the early 1700s, as highlighted in the Route Presbytery minutes of 14 August 1705 which recorded the dispatch of Robert Gemble back to Ulster from Scotland.[747] The unrelenting calls for ministers to return continued into the early 1700s, showing the extent of the religious networks between the two regions. Therefore, it is evident that many Ulster ministers considered Scotland as a haven. However, further research is also required to determine the extent to which Scottish congregations may have been encouraged to join these returning ministers over the North Channel during this decade.

**'Ministerial Maritime Motorway'**

Analysis of return migration uncovers the continual movement of some ministers and the efficiency of the 'maritime motorway' over the North Channel. Several Presbyterian ministers

---

[744] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 5.
[745] Ibid, p. 13.
[746] Young, 'The Scottish Covenanters', p. 26.
[747] 'Copy of Minutes of Route Presbytery', 1701-1705, (P.R.O.N.I., Notes on Plantation & Presbyterianism, MIC637/8 & D1759/2A/13), p. 13.

routinely travelled between Scotland and Ulster to preach.[748] Other early Scottish sojourner migrants left with a particular ambition, often associated with a job or a business project.[749] This traffic is best exemplified by the movement of Samuel Hallyday senior, a Scottish Presbyterian minister. Hallyday graduated from Glasgow University with a Masters in Arts in 1656, and his degree profile lists his nationality as Scottish.[750] Like the majority of Scottish ministers, he got his education in Scotland then travelled to Ulster. Hallyday first appears in Antrim Presbytery minutes on 3 June 1690, stating his intent to return to Ireland 'ready to imbrace a clear call to return to their work there again.'[751] The 'intent to return' terminology suggests that he had previously lived in Ulster. Hallyday moved to Ulster sometime after his graduation, then returned to Scotland, and now wished to journey back. He re-appears on 9 December 1690, as minister of Dunscore in the Dumfries region of Scotland, after he fled the Williamite Wars in Ireland with his family.[752] Later, he wished to utilise the Scottish Privy Council's monetary help offered to ministers in Scotland to assist with their return to Ulster.[753] It is not clear if Hallyday returned to Ulster between 3 June and 9 December 1690. However, his wish to access the financial support to aid his return would suggest he remained in Scotland during this period.

Hallyday re-surfaced in the Presbytery of Laggan minute book on 29 July 1691 with numerous Ulster parishes calling for his return from Scotland.[754] There is no evidence that he came back to Ulster during this period, although he did write to the Antrim Presbytery on 3 June 1690, stating his desire to return. A year later, the Presbytery of Laggan asked him to

[748] Greaves, ''That's No Good Religion'', p. 121.
[749] Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora*, p. 133.
[750] 'Records of Graduates from 1451-1914', *GU,* (https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/), (6 April 2021).
[751] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), pp. 441-442.
[752] Balfour-Melville (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XV,* p. 592.
[753] Ibid, p. 592.
[754] 'Copy of Minute Book. Presbytery of Laggan Cos. Londonderry & Donegal', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I, Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/6), p. 118.

return, which suggests that he had remained in Scotland during this period. Further evidence of his movements emerged on 15 May 1692, which suggests that he had returned to Scotland from the Laggan district; 'the call of Adstra to Mr Halladay, desireing his serious & as speedy thoughts of it, as he conveniently call, both upon the account of the people, and his owne, he being shortly to return to Scotland.'[755] Later, on 1 November 1692, he returned to Ulster from Scotland.[756] Hallyday was thus moving back and forth over the North Channel during this period, demonstrating the ease of ministerial traffic between the two regions in the 1690s.

John Harvy, another Presbyterian minister who fled the Williamite Wars in Ulster for Scotland in April 1690, preached for the Presbytery of Lochmaben in Dumfries and Galloway, a region with fourteen vacant kirks.[757] This number of vacant parishes would have been a common experience for Ulster Presbyterian ministers arriving in Scotland, due to the recent overthrowal of Episcopacy and the need to fill these vacancies with Presbyterian clergymen.[758] Harvy then appears within the Laggan Presbytery records of 5 January 1692 concerning the Donaghmore parish, in County Donegal, which called him to repair to Ulster.[759] Again, within a short period, Harvy, like Hallyday, came back to Ulster. However, by 29 March 1692, Harvy had returned to Scotland, serving the New Abbey parish within the Presbytery of Dumfries.[760] Likewise, Alexander McCracken, who graduated with a Masters in Arts from Edinburgh in 1673, is another Scottish Presbyterian minister who continually travelled between Scotland and Ulster throughout the late 17th century.[761] McCracken is first mentioned in the Presbytery of Antrim records on 5 November 1689, as the only minister to respond to the Presbytery's calls

---

[755] Ibid, p. 143.
[756] Ibid, p. 161.
[757] S.R.O., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume XVI*, p. 3.
[758] Alasdair Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution, 1685-1690* (Edinburgh, 2018), p. 74.
[759] 'Copy of Minute Book. Presbytery of Laggan Cos. Londonderry & Donegal', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I, Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/6), p. 130.
[760] Ibid, p. 138.
[761] 'Laureation & Degrees Album, 1587-1809', *Edinburgh University,* (http://archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/), (6 April 2021).

to return from Scotland.[762] However, less than six months later, on 1 April 1690, McCracken reappeared in Scotland. He wrote to Patrick Adair in Ulster from Glasgow stating that he could not return to Ireland unless ministers returned to Scotland to fill the vacant parishes.[763] McCracken's importance within the Presbyterian community provides an insight into the profile of ministers who continually travelled between Scotland and Ulster and likely exerted considerable influence in religious business between the two regions.

Anglican and Presbyterian elites often argued over loyalty, rather than the liturgy.[764] The following extracts are part of a pamphlet debate between High-Church Anglican, Tisdall, and prominent Presbyterian, Boyse. The former argues that McCracken's reasons for moving between Scotland and Ulster were overtly political, insinuating Presbyterian disloyalty to Queen Anne:

> There is in the North of Ireland one Alexander McCrakan, a Dissenting Teacher, of great Consideration amongst the Brother-hood, he is said to have the 1st who brought over Instructions from Scotland to the Dissenting Teachers of Ireland… to refuse the Oath of Abjuration.[765]

However, the latter responds by denying the conveyance of communications to avoid oaths; 'that the Presbyterians in Scotland sent Instructions to the Dissenting Teachers of Ireland, to refuse the Oath of Abjuration, is false. That Mr Mac-Crackan brought over any such Instructions from 'em is false.'[766] The continuous flow of Presbyterian ministers over the North Channel aroused suspicion among several parties, mainly Ulster Anglican elites, as highlighted in Tisdall's 1712 pamphlet. He mentions McCracken's meeting with Mr McBride on his return from Scotland,[767] and how McCracken had left Ireland for Scotland, and then

---

[762] 'Copy of the Minutes of the Antrim Meeting', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., Extracts from Presbyterian Church Records, MIC637/1), p. 424.
[763] Ibid, p. 433.
[764] Gillespie, 'Religion & Politics in a Provincial Town: Belfast, 1660-1720', in Salvador Ryan & Clodagh Tait (eds.), *Religion & Politics in Urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750. Essays in Honour of Colm Lennon* (Dublin, 2016), p. 190.
[765] William Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test* (Dublin, 1714), p. 44.
[766] Joseph Boyse, *Remarks on a Pamphlet Publish'd by William Tisdall* (London, 1716), p. 59.
[767] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 80.

returned to Ulster.[768] The North Channel's ease of crossing allowed the regular flow of information and intelligence between Scotland and Ulster.[769] Therefore, McCracken and McBride's meeting would have increased the angst of Anglicans at the ceaseless Presbyterian ministerial traffic between the two regions as John McBride had the reputation of being a vehement anti-Anglican.[770] Tisdall's 1714 tract denigrates McCracken stating he was 'oblig'd to take Sanctuary in Scotland, from whence he soon return'd to Lisburne, and still persisted to Preach under the same Legal Incapacities.'[771] These pamphlets were an oppositional tool to discredit threatening religious factions. This debate, however, demonstrates the contested nature of the Scottish ministerial movement between Scotland and Ulster.

John McBride, an Ulster-born Presbyterian, who graduated from Glasgow University in 1673, also travelled several times over the North Channel and graduated from Glasgow University in 1673.[772] The 1704 Sacramental Test, which excluded Presbyterians from public office and commissions within the military,[773] explains his flight from Ulster for Glasgow, where he got a parish in the early 1700s.[774] This demonstrates that he had returned to Ulster sometime after the completion of his degree, and then made his way back to Scotland. Evidence in the Stranraer kirk session suggests that Scottish ministers maintained communication with him, as Mr Laurey reported he had not yet received return correspondence from Mr McBride.[775] During the latter's time in Ulster, he fell foul to the authorities for failing to take the Abjuration Oath as he did not want to 'commit himself to

---

[768] Ibid, pp. 86 & 91.

[769] Gillian Sarah Macdonald, 'Black-boxes, Flying Packets, & Espionage: The Information Trade & Scottish Governance, 1689-91', in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 40(3), (2020), p. 282.

[770] Linde Lunney, 'John McBride', *Dictionary of Irish Biography [Hereafter DIB]* (https://www.dib.ie/), (8 April 2021).

[771] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test,* p. 45.

[772] Innes, *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis,* p. 39.

[773] Mary Ann Lyons, 'Concepts of Citizenship in Ireland during an Era of Revolutions, 1688-1798', in Steven G. Ellis (ed.), *Enfranchising Ireland? Identity, Citizenship & State* (Dublin, 2018), p. 37.

[774] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 85.

[775] 'Stranraer Kirk Session Minutes', 1695-1707, (N.R.S., Records of the Church of Scotland, CH2/938/1), p. 268.

uphold Episcopacy.'[776] Therefore, Scotland provided a safe destination for non-conformists as Presbyterianism had been re-established after the 'Glorious Revolution'.[777] It can be suggested that the relentless movement of ministers over the North Channel points to Scotland's role as a refuge, as highlighted earlier in the chapter regarding the Williamite Wars. Furthermore, 'after this signal Victory, Mr McBride came to Belfast, Replaced himself in his Meeting-House there, Preached again publickly, and quitted the Kirk, he had in Glascow.'[778] McBride finally returned in June 1713, and despite an active warrant, he lived the remainder of his life in Belfast.[779] A plausible explanation for the dismissal of McBride's warrant on his 1713 return to Ulster is that Presbyterians posed a reduced threat to Anglicans as they began to migrate to North America during this period.[780] Thus, the continual flow of ministers between Scotland and Ulster would have contributed to the 1690s Scottish migration to some extent, either through business relations or encouraging congregations.

**Conclusion**

Return migration from Scotland to Ulster in the 1690s needs to be recognised to establish a more well-rounded view of this phenomenon. The Williamite Wars presented both a crisis and an opportunity. Several people fled Ulster to avoid this conflict. However, others journeyed over the North Channel to fight for the Protestant cause. The influx of poor Irish Protestants meant the Scottish Privy Council attempted to lessen their financial burden by paying for their repatriation. Ministers formed another sub-section within this mobile, migrant group. Many clergymen fled the war, then returned upon its conclusion. Nevertheless, many ministers did not come back which prompted warnings from the General

---

[776] David W. Hayton, 'John McBride (c. 1650-1718)', *ODNB*, (1 December 2020).
[777] Vann, 'Presbyterian Social Ties', p.248.
[778] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters,* p. 86.
[779] Hayton, 'John McBride', *ODNB,* (1 December 2020).
[780] David W. Miller, 'Searching for a New World: The Background & Baggage of Scots-Irish Immigrants', in Warren R. Hofstra (ed.), *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (Knoxville, 2012), p. 10.

Synod of Ulster as their parishes needed to be occupied. Thus, constant movement over the North Channel demonstrates the fluidity of travel between Scotland and Ulster during this period. The examination of numerous clergymen's movements illustrated the extent of utilisation of the 'ministerial maritime motorway' and its impact. Consultation of a plethora of contemporary sources uncovered that return migration was an integral aspect of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster and must be acknowledged. The next chapter will focus on the economic and political impact of these Scottish migrants on 1690s Ulster.

# Chapter Five – Ulster: Their New Home. The Impact of these Scots in Ulster

The economic and political impact of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster will be fully explored in this chapter. Scottish historians have acknowledged the 1690s migration, but there is no detailed analysis of their economic and political influence on Ulster. Irish historiography focuses more on the consequence and significance of the Scottish migrants landing in the northern province. Bartlett and Connolly comment that Presbyterian economic progression in Ulster created a hostile atmosphere with displaced Anglicans.[781] Nevertheless, Agnew, Cullen and Smout argue that Scottish migrants revitalised Ulster's trade, and brought capital and labour from Scotland.[782] Thus, aspects of this traffic's impact merit greater examination. The political influence of Scottish migrants to Ulster has elicited a varied response in the historiography. Lenihan argues that Scots made a substantial impact on northern corporations, and even national politics; however, Sherry counters by suggesting that Scottish Presbyterian parliamentary representation has traditionally been exaggerated, as they did not greatly impact the Irish Government.[783] Thus, the historiographical debate surrounding this topic merits further discussion.

This chapter will conduct an in-depth analysis of the economic and political impact of Scottish migrants in 1690s Ulster. Their impact on the development of Ulster's trade and the extent of family business connections between Scotland and Ulster will also be scrutinised, as will the movement of relatives to Ulster as agents for familial ventures. Two case studies supporting this thesis are analysed: the Agnews of Lochnaw and the Maxwells of Pollok, which provide further evidence of migrating family members seeking control of their

---

[781] Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 170; Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 31; Cullen & Smout, 'Economic Growth', p. 4; Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p. 68.
[782] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 31; Connolly, *Religion, Law & Power,* p. 170; Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p. 68; Cullen & Smout, 'Economic Growth', p. 4.
[783] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest,* p. 200; Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 139.

business within Ulster. In addition, a comprehensive examination will be conducted to determine the true extent that the 1690s Scottish migrants politically impacted Ulster's local corporations, as well as the subsequent effect on the national Irish Government. This chapter uses a broad range of sources, including Presbyterian kirk session books, Irish state papers, General Synod of Ulster records, diaries, correspondence, estate and family papers to uncover fresh perspectives regarding this migration.

**Scottish Migrants' Economic Impact**

The economic impact of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster has been discussed to some extent; however, some aspects including influence on trade through commercial networks, and the magnitude of family business relations between Scotland and Ulster, require further examination. The extent of Scotland and Ulster's trading links remained significant, and the geographical proximity between Portpatrick and Ireland invariably facilitated the maintenance of this commercial relationship.[784] The Ulster port books for 1612-15 show the extent of commercial connections between Scotland, Ulster and England at the beginning of the 17th century, as illustrated on the graph below (Figure 13).

---

[784] Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume VII*, p. xxvi.
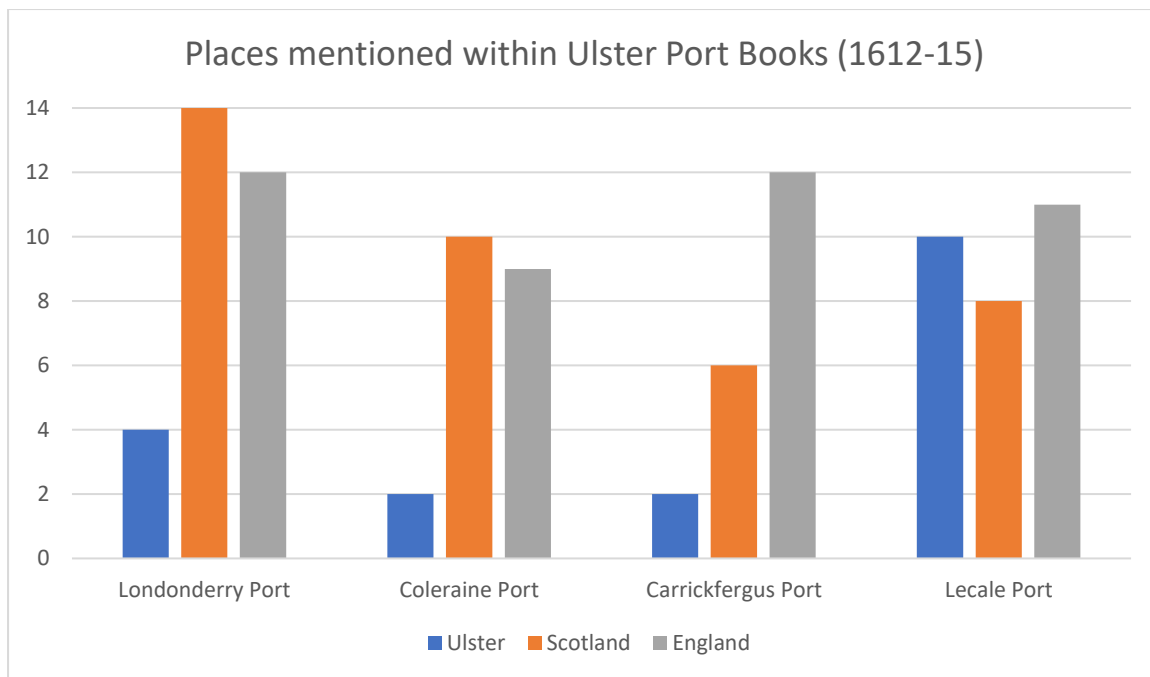
Figure 13: The number of places in Ulster, Scotland and England mentioned within the Ulster port books (1612-15).

The Londonderry and Coleraine ports for 1612-15 reference trading routes and ships from Scotland most frequently, with fourteen and ten mentioned respectively. This is closely followed by twelve English routes and cargo vessels recorded from Londonderry's port and nine from the Coleraine port, with a further four Ulster boats and routes noted in Londonderry and two in Coleraine.[785] Moreover, the Carrickfergus and Lecale ports highlight English routes and ships as their most common interaction with twelve and eleven respectively.[786] The Carrickfergus port only mentions six Scottish routes and ships and two Ulster towns, conveying it was the core port for English commerce.[787] However, the Lecale port seems to be the main hub for internal trading with ten Ulster towns mentioned, and only eight Scottish routes and ships.[788] Thus, a letter from Robert Bowes, a Scottish migrant minister to Ulster, dated 29 July 1697 provides evidence of these well-worn trading routes between Scotland and Ulster, specifically Greenock and Derry.[789] Another missive from

---

[785] Brendan Scott & R. J. Hunter, *The Ulster Port Books 1612-15* (Belfast, 2012), pp. 125-126.
[786] Ibid, pp. 127-128.
[787] Ibid, p. 127.
[788] Ibid, p. 128.
[789] Hume Brown (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Volume VII*, p. xxvi.

Bowes to Robert Graham of Callingad, Glasgow of 5 June 1699/1700 bears further testimony to the established link between merchants in Derry and Glasgow and his role as an intermediate between the dealings of the two regions.[790] Additional correspondence of Bowes, dated May 1700 states that 'they found not such occasion betwixt Darrie & Glasgow this while till now that there is heir a libertie of late granted for exporting of victual.'[791] This extract does not only reiterate commercial links between Glasgow and Derry; it also conveys Ulster's connections with the central belt, demonstrating connections out with south-west Scotland.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Ulster was the poorest of the four Irish provinces, however, this region became the most prosperous by the end of the century.[792] Belfast had been revitalised commercially by Scottish migrant merchants utilising their own commercial links, and creating an increased volume of trade.[793] Although the income from Irish imports greatly declined in 1693, there is an indication of continual capital inflow into 1690s Ireland, mainly attributed to Scottish migrants in the north-east of the island.[794] Agnew highlights that 'the trading figures for 1698 show that Belfast was exporting modest amounts of friezes to Scotland, the Plantations, Norway, Portugal and Spain.'[795] Scottish commercial networks boomed by the late 17th century, reaching New England, middle colonies and the tobacco and sugar plantations;[796] thus, Scotland's strong relations with Ulster meant their trading networks could be transferred to the northern province. The transmission of these commercial links seems to have happened, as demonstrated in a letter from Lord Justices of Ireland to

---

[790] 'To Mr Robert Graham of Callingad from Robert Bowie', 5 June 1699/1700, (N.R.S., Cunninghame Graham Family Papers, GD22/2/91).
[791] 'To Mr Robert Graham of Callingad from Robert Bowie', May 1700, (N.R.S., Cunninghame Graham Family Papers, GD22/2/91).
[792] Jonathan Bardon, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin, 2011), p. 301; David Dickson, *The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (New Haven, 2021), p. 57.
[793] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, pp. 68 & 184.
[794] Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland*, p. 29.
[795] Ibid, p. 119.
[796] Macinnes, *Union & Empire*, p. 172.

Duke of Shrewsbury on 18 April 1695 concerning the utilisation of ships to guard the

northern seas and ensure trading continues to West Indies.[797] With increased trading

connections, privateers caused concern through their enthusiasm to attack cargo vessels.

Trading restrictions also became problematic for Scottish commerce; however, Ulster did

not become subject to the same level of trading scrutiny, perhaps due to the lack of a

legislative threat to Irish trade from the English Government.[798] Therefore, the Navigation

Acts excluded Irish vessels from exporting cargo to the colonies, and allowed importation

through direct trade,[799] Scottish merchants used their Ulster contacts to circumvent the

English navigation laws imposed on them as evidenced in a letter from Lord Capel to King

William II and III of 7 February 1696. The correspondence repeated intelligence from Ulster

of the large quantities of corn that had been transported to France via Scotland.[800]

Furthermore, a letter from Mr Stewart of Blackhall to Sir John Maxwell on 23 December

1695 deemed his men just as guilty as the rest of the west of Scotland, both in the Highlands

and Lowlands, for transporting a small quantity of victual.[801] However, he argued that the

Gourock men were ten times more guilty than his men for trafficking victual into Scotland.[802]

Subsequently, criticism resonated from the English administration regarding the

circumvention of the Navigation Acts, causing concern among key members of Scotland's

mercantile elites.[803]

---

[797] 'Letter from Lord Justices of Ireland to Duke of Shrewsbury', 18 April 1695, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 357, (14 December 2019), p. 34.
[798] Louis M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p. 2.
[799] Ibid, p. 2.
[800] 'Letter from Lord Capel to the King', 7 February 1696, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 358, (14 December 2019), p. 21.
[801] 'Letter from A. Stewart of Blackhall to Sir John Maxwell', 23 December 1695, (T.M.L., Maxwells of Pollok Papers, T-PM 113 CXIII 53).
[802] Ibid.
[803] MacInnes, *Union & Empire*, p. 172.

The Scottish gentry also became apprehensive. Home of Kimmerghame's diary from 13 February 1696 noted: 'wee hear all the Scotch places or officers are in danger.'[804] Consequently, on 13 August 1699, his diary highlights the prohibition of trade with Scots in Darien; 'we heard that the proclamations emitted in [th]e Kings name forbidding Commerce w[i]t[h] the Scotch in Darien are common.'[805] A letter from Edward Southwell on 1 May 1705 discusses negotiating with Scotland for support on an issue while using Ulster's trading connections as a bargaining tool; 'if wee would Grant [th]e Scotch a Communication of Trade with us, or allow them to keep what places they could gain on their own account that then he believed they would join with us.'[806] Nevertheless, Scotland's commercial networks reluctantly acquiesced to the crown in the 1690s,[807] and by 1700, England became Scotland's only significant trading partner.[808] Therefore, England recognised Scotland's successful trading connections and feared that Scottish aggravation at English commercial restrictions would force them to transfer their business elsewhere. Thus, it is wholly understandable why Scottish merchants would consider a move to Ulster.

Moreover, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's speech on 10 October 1692 advertised Ireland as advantageously situated for trade and navigation.[809] A letter from Bishop King to Colonel Fitzgerald of 24 December 1696 lauded Ulster's prosperity, and an abundance of grain meaning 'every body has had plenty of money.'[810] It is evident Scots acted upon this promotion, as it was believed that Scottish Presbyterians controlled Ulster's trade.[811] Indeed,

---

[804] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 7 February 1694-7 April 1696, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/1).

[805] 'Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame', 1 January 1700-12 April 1702, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/891/3).

[806] 'Letter from Mr Southwell', 1 May 1705, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 365, (10 December 2019), p. 215.

[807] Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution*, p. 78.

[808] Whatley, *The Scots & the Union,* p. 160.

[809] 'Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's Speech', 10 October 1692, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 354, (12 December 2019), p. 234.

[810] 'Letter from William King to Colonel Fitzgerald', 24 December 1696, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MSS TCD IE 750/1/52).

[811] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 18.

the rapid recovery of trade after the Williamite war could be credited to the 1690s Scottish migration.[812] The increase of Scottish migrants' economic power is highlighted in a 1712 pamphlet that specifies 1690s Scottish migrants as the main instigators of the emerging, successful Ulster linen manufactory.[813] The tract also stated that Scottish Presbyterian migrants dominated a 'considerable branch of our trade.'[814] Scottish settlers enthusiastically entered the linen trade and although they may not have created the linen manufacture in Ulster, they certainly pioneered its exponential growth.[815] The longevity and positive impact of this industry are conveyed on 10 May 1707 as Bishop King stated, 'that of Lisburn town being the fountain of the Linen Manufactory ought not to be forgot.'[816] This is further corroborated in Arthur Brownlow's 1703 petition, which described Lurgan, his commercial centre, as consisting of a large number of industrious and trading British settlers, who had advanced and improved several manufactures in Ulster, especially linen.[817] Indeed, this evidence quotes 'British' settlers' positive impact on Lurgan's trade, however, most settler communities in Ireland perceived themselves as 'English', except Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster who acknowledged themselves as 'British'.[818] Thus, this supports contemporary views of Scottish migrants being industrious, aligning with their opportunistic approach to their migration. However, not everyone welcomed the strong Scottish presence. Tisdall argued that Presbyterians succeeded in Ulster's trade because they confined their commerce to Presbyterian merchants as they rose from 'pedlars to merchants', while Anglican traders fell from 'merchants to bankrupts'.[819] He also argued that the repeal of the Oath of Supremacy

---

[812] Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families,* p. 20.
[813] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 17.
[814] Ibid, p. 17.
[815] Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford, 1925), p. 16; Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief,* p. 24.
[816] 'Letter from William King to Nathaniel Hornby', 10 May 1707, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MSS TCD IE 750/3/2/115-116).
[817] 'Petition of Arthur Brownlow', 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (14 December 2019), p. 85.
[818] Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001), p. 82.
[819] Ibid, p. 24.

during Elizabethan times gave dissenters the capacity and opportunity to gain a monopoly of trade in Ulster.[820] Therefore, 1690s Scots migrants became an integral part of revitalising Ulster's trade through their ambitious nature and commercial networks.

**Family Business Connections between Scotland and Ulster**

Scotland and Ulster's commercial networks meant that Ulster Presbyterian merchants sustained a strong connection with Scotland through business activities;[821] indeed Scottish and Irish merchant communities abroad both retained 'close, kinship ties' with their homelands with personal mobility being strongly evident.[822] These solid connections are apparent in a bond created on 23 August 1689 between William Montgomery of County Down and Thomas Inglis, a merchant in Edinburgh concerning the repayment of a £5 sterling loan.[823] This demonstrates the trust between these two parties due to the reliance on the money being reimbursed. In addition, the emergence of land as another common commodity transacted throughout this period highlights the extent strength of interactions from Scottish landowners in Ulster to the mainland encouraging movement over the North Channel. This bolstered the continual core areas of Scottish settlement in Ulster.[824] A memorandum from Agnews of Lochnaw estate and family papers dated 16 November 1692 gives a detailed account of an Ulster farm let agreement being sent to Scotland. The contract between Sir Andrew Agnew of Wigtown with James Archibald and James Ramsay in the barony of Glenarm, County Antrim concerned thirty-nine acres of land set out on an eleven-year lease for an annual rent of £5 14s, and 18lbs of merchantable butter.[825] Land transactions between

---

[820] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 3.
[821] Whan, *The Presbyterians of Ulster,* p. 123.
[822] Louis M. Cullen, 'Merchant Communities Overseas, the Navigation Acts & Irish & Scottish Responses', in Cullen & Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects*, p. 165.
[823] 'Bond by William Montgomery of Rosemount, Co. Down, Ireland to Thomas Inglis, Merchant, Edinburgh', 23 August 1689, (N.R.S., Miscellaneous Small Collections, GD1/189/16).
[824] Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600-1670* (Belfast, 2000)*,* p. 114.
[825] 'Papers of the Agnew Family of Lochnaw, Wigtownshire, 1421-1981', 16 November 1692, (N.R.S., Agnew Family Papers, GD154/529).

Scots in Ulster and their native patrimony are also apparent. John McCubbine, Commissariat of Glasgow, who lived in County Antrim gifted his Scottish land worth 40s to his daughter in Ayr on 29 December 1696.[826] Similarly, a letter from Bishop King of Derry to the Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin on 16 May 1701, regarding the possessions of Alexander Cairncross, the Bishop of Raphoe, a deceased Sottish migrant, stated that he bestowed 'a tenth part of all his Money Goods and Chattells to the Distressed Episcopall clergy in Scotland.'[827] His will instructing his possessions to go back to Scotland illustrates that Scottish migrants maintained strong links with their motherland.

Another aspect of this interaction is the extent of family business links between Scotland and Ulster during the 1690s. Murdoch and Grosjean acknowledge the continuation of business or landed interests between families in Ulster back to Scotland.[828] However, not much detail is provided regarding the families' business affairs. The Agnew papers contain evidence of several corporate dealings regarding their County Antrim estate, demonstrating how businessmen used their Ulster-based relatives to manage their affairs. Several of these business transactions were conducted between Mr Agnew of Lochnaw in Stranraer to Mr Agnew of Kilwaghter in Ulster as highlighted on 13 August 1700: 'be pleased to pay to Mr James Camerone minister at Belleculter in the kingdome of Irland and Countie of Doune … the soume of six punds fifteine shillings sterling.'[829] Another letter of 3 June 1704, regarding transactions between the Agnews expressed that 'since my last James Guillies came over w[i]t[h] a boatful of limstone, and wold not take mony heir, therfor be pleased to pay to him three punds one shilling sterling.'[830] Patrick Agnew of Kilwaghter, Larne, also wrote to Sir

---

[826] 'Extract confirmed testament of John McCubbine of Bellhamie', 29 December 1696, (N.R.S., Cathcart Family Papers, GD180/223).
[827] 'Letter from William King to the Archbishop of Dublin', 16 May 1701, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MSS 750/2/2/137).
[828] Murdoch & Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad,* pp. 30 & 31
[829] 'Letter from Mr Agnew of Lochnaw to Mr Agnew of Kilwaghter', 13 August 1700, (N.R.S., Agnew Family Papers, GD154/533/6).
[830] 'Letter from Mr Agnew of Lochnaw to Mr Agnew of Kilwaghter', 3 June 1704, (N.R.S, Agnew Family Papers, GD154/533/12).

James Agnew on 17 August 1704 concerning his difficulty in collecting the rents of his Irish estates: 'I thought to have done that with yo[u]r people which now I dare not, for though I shoud distraine them I can make no mony of their goods.'[831]

Similarly, the Maxwells of Pollok papers convey the extent of family business activity between Scotland and Ulster. A letter from Robert Pont in Belfast to James Maxwell, dated 14 October 1688, for example, alluded to 'Mr Andrew Maxwel merch[an]t in bellfast (my intimatte freind, and one whom I dare confidently Recomend to you, as a very honnest man, and one who I conceive will be ambitious to be of yo[u]r acquaintance).'[832] Likewise, a missive from James Maxwell of Drumbegg, Ulster to Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, Scotland of 2 July 1682, highlights the extent of communication between the relatives regarding family business. The matter discussed concerned a refusal of payment in Ulster. However, James Maxwell eventually reimbursed Sir John explaining to him why he had not sent the money to Scotland yet.[833] The same letter continues, 'yo[u]r father S[i]r Georg, [whe]n he putt me on [th]is bussinesse',[834] showing relatives recruiting other family members for their business interests. Familial connections in the mercantile trade have been acknowledged in the historiography; however, family business transactions between Scotland and Ulster have not been considered in great detail. Thus, the positive economic influence of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster is apparent through the growth of trade, commercial networks and family business connections between the two regions.

---

[831] 'Patrick Agnew of Kilwaghter, concerning the difficulty of collecting the rents of Sir James Agnew's Irish estates', 17 August 1704, (N.R.S., Agnew Family Papers, GD154/677).
[832] 'Letter from Robert Pont to Sir John Maxwell', 14 October 1688, (T.M.L., Maxwells of Pollok Papers, T-PM113/809).
[833] 'Copy of a letter from James Maxwell of Drumbegg in Ireland to Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok', 2 July 1682, (T.M.L., Maxwells of Pollok Papers, T-PM 113 CXIII 53).
[834] Ibid.

## Scottish Migrants' Local Political Impact

The economic influence of Scottish migrants on Ulster was not reciprocated in the political sphere, although the political effect of their increasing influence can be expressed through the perception that the northern province was 'entirely Scotch, at least of the Presbyterian persuasion.'[835] Moreover, Presbyterian political participation quickly became an issue for Ireland's governing elite.[836] An increasing 'Scottishness' in Ulster included the establishment of 'an integrated system of Presbyterian government.'[837] Scots began to infiltrate into the northern corporations, controlling the majority of power within Ulster.[838] Thus, Anglicans felt alarmed about the rapid progression of Presbyterians into local government roles and the resultant swift exclusion of Established Church members from gaining high office positions. Consequently, during the 1690s, Presbyterians in the Belfast and Derry corporations had more power and interest than any other in Ireland.[839] Numerous Ulster counties experienced Presbyterian 'intrusion' into their high office roles, causing dismay among several members of the Anglican community. A letter from Bishop King of Derry to Bishop Lindsay of Killaloe, another rabidly anti-Presbyterian clergyman,[840] explains that few non-conformists existed in the Derry corporation before the Revolution; however, the deaths of aldermen and burgesses during the siege created vacancies which resulted in dissenters gaining a majority and using their power to exclude conformists from high office roles.[841] This is bolstered by arguments from Tisdall's 1713 pamphlet, however, his anti-Presbyterian stance would taint his perception of reality. Nevertheless, he claimed that dissenting mayors in Belfast and Derry refused to take any Established Church members as freemen.[842] These numerous

---

[835] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*, p. 45.
[836] Hayton, 'Exclusion, Conformity & Parliamentary Representation', p. 54.
[837] Gillespie, 'Scotland & Ulster', p. 85.
[838] Tisdall, *The Conduct of Dissenters*, p. 18.
[839] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 429.
[840] Daniel Beaumont, 'Thomas Lindsay (1656-1724)', *DIB*, (29 June 2021).
[841] 'Letter from William King to Bishop of Killaloo', 30 October 1706, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/3/2/62-63).
[842] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 433.

examples provide tangible local incidences of the hostile environment between Presbyterians and Anglicans in 1690s Ulster.

Furthermore, Tisdall argued that at the start of the 1689 revolution, three of Londonderry's twelve aldermen and five of the twenty-four burgesses were dissenters; however, before the passing of the Test Act (1704), Presbyterians had gained a majority of ten aldermen; and fifteen Presbyterian burgesses to nine Anglican burgesses.[843] In 1689, two of the twelve burgesses for Belfast were dissenters; yet by 1704, by the time of the Test Act, dissenters had a majority of eight aldermen, compared to four Anglican aldermen.[844] In Carrickfergus, the election of representatives and magistrates fell to freemen of the corporation, of whom dissenters had gained a majority.[845] Anglicans claimed that Belfast inhabitants, who could not choose their own representatives or magistrates, were also freemen of Carrickfergus, thereby governing their elections and ensuring that dissenters would also be chosen for high office employment in Carrickfergus.[846] Belfast and Derry cannot be held up as isolated examples. County Cavan also experienced Presbyterian domination of its corporation, to the annoyance of the gentlemen of this county, who wrote to Reverend William Smyth on 6 October 1696 to inform him of 'the Evils we have encounterd this last yeare through the Male administracon of our p[re]sent High Sheriffe, of whose disaffeccon to the Church yo[u]r L[or]d[shi]p was fully convinced.'[847] For what they saw as the interest and safety of County Cavan, they resolved not to accept another Presbyterian into a high office role, only those associated with the Established Church of Ireland.[848]

---

[843] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 19.
[844] Ibid, p. 20.
[845] Ibid, p. 21.
[846] Ibid, p. 21.
[847] 'Letter from the Gentlemen of County Cavan to Rev. William Smyth', 6 October 1696, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/18).
[848] Ibid.

Before the 1690s, and prior to Presbyterian dominance of these corporations, the selection process dictated that men could only be chosen as burgesses if they had served as sheriffs. Aldermen were selected from the burgesses, and the mayor was chosen from the aldermen.[849] A 'rule of superiority' stipulated that the men must firstly have acted as sheriff before any employment advancement.[850] However, James Kirkpatrick, Presbyterian minister, argued that after the Revolution, the corporations admitted the ablest citizens and jettisoned the need for sheriff experience, resulting in a proliferation of dissenters and a dearth of conformists.[851] Bishop King wrote to Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin on 14 November 1699 regarding the removal of this selection process by Presbyterians stating that Alderman Moncreiffe had six votes, with no other conformist standing in the election, thus dissenters will 'admitt none but of their own sort, no aprentice… nor will they imploy any other or admitt them to any favour, soe that the conformable parsons here suffer a severe persecution.'[852] King also alleged that Lord Capel would appoint any dissenter he could find to become sheriff, even 'the meanest contemptible fellow.'[853] He lamented that Anglicans had been ignored for positions of honour, trust and profit, which only bolstered Presbyterian strength and influence against the Established Church.[854] This further exacerbated the existing apprehension and hostility between Anglicans and Presbyterians.

The case of Thomas Moncreiff demonstrates the extent to which Presbyterians used their newfound power to remove Anglicans from local government. Bishop King argued that Moncreiffe stood next in line to become the mayor in 1691-2; however, the Presbyterian-

---

[849] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 426.
[850] Ibid, p. 426.
[851] Ibid, p. 427.
[852] 'Letter from William King to Archbishop of Dublin', 14 November 1699, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 1489/1/85-86).
[853] 'Letter from William King to William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield', 15 December 1696, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/1/48-49).
[854] Ibid.

dominated corporation instead chose James Lenox, a dissenter. [855] This pattern of electing

Presbyterian mayors would continue throughout the 1690s, with the elevation of Long, Lecky

and Kennedy.[856] Therefore, when a non-conformist became mayor, some conformists would

object to the appointment.[857] Such Anglican opposition to Presbyterian dominance within the

Derry corporations is evident. Moncreiffe told Bishop King on 16 November 1697 that

without freedom of elections and party impartiality, those of Anglican persuasion that have

presented themselves for aldermen, burgesses or sheriffs would be ignored for these

positions.[858] Dissenters chose people of their persuasion to fill the roles, although Established

Church members might be better suited to the job.[859] Thus, it has been argued that Scottish

Presbyterian migrants had a significant local political impact within several Ulster

corporations to the aversion of Anglicans.

**Scottish Migrants' National Political Impact**

Only in Ireland did the classic Presbyterian-Anglican rivalry have a 'serious political

future'.[860] McNally notes that the Dublin administration found the 1692 Irish Parliament,

although exclusively Protestant, surprisingly disruptive to parliamentary procedures.[861]

Unsurprisingly, Anglicans introduced this legislation to curtail the growth of Presbyterian

power within Ulster's corporations and local government. The Armagh Convocation – a large

assembly of Anglican elites - argued that the Established Church had been 'openly Insulted in

the Discharge of their office', with the Sacramental Test's timely implementation preventing

all northern corporations and civil offices from being absorbed by Presbyterians.[862] Likewise,

---

[855] 'The Case of Thomas Moncreiffe', 1697, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/1/131).
[856] Ibid.
[857] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 428.
[858] 'Letter from Thomas Moncreiffe to William King', 16 November 1697, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/1/130).
[859] Ibid.
[860] Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom*, p. 54.
[861] McNally, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers*, p. 37.
[862] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1711, (P.R.O.N.I., Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/3), p. 135.

Tisdall's 1713 pamphlet rejoiced that 'the Sacramental Test gave a seasonable stop to their Encroachments, and made them Retire a little, and lose ground in our Corporations.'[863] Anglicans considered the Established Church of Ireland to be the only legitimate religious institute of the kingdom, whose members were the only people who should gain civil, military or political positions of trust and influence.[864] A letter from Archbishop King to Edward Southwell of 8 November 1707 demonstrates the extent to which the Sacramental Test prevented Presbyterians from increasing their power. The correspondence states that only four of the twelve burgesses appeared at the Belfast elections; enquiries found that the other burgesses had not taken the Test, and the Dublin Government ruled that they were obliged to do so, resulting in them not appearing at the hustings.[865] Therefore, it is evident that Anglicans utilised the Sacramental Test to decrease Presbyterian power in elections. However, it is also apparent that the majority of election candidates remained dissenters conveying their influence still existed within early 18th century Ulster.

The Sacramental Test offended the sensibilities of Presbyterians who felt betrayed, having fought for the Protestant interest in Ulster. However, Anglicans needed a safety net to control, and ultimately decrease Presbyterian influence, which the 1704 Test Act helped them to achieve. Consequently, Presbyterians railed against its implementation, feeling exploited having fought to preserve the Protestant interest in Ulster during the 'Glorious Revolution', and valuing the 'natural Right of every Loyal and Dutiful Subject' to serve their king and country.'[866] Despite this, they suffered punishment rather than a reward for doing so.[867] A

---

[863] William Tisdall, *A Seasonable Enquiry into that Most Dangerous Political Principle of the Kirk in Power* (Dublin, 1713), p. 27.
[864] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 4.
[865] 'Letter from William King to Mr Southwell', 8 November 1707, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/3/2/160-161).
[866] Boyse, *Remarks on a Pamphlet*, p. 1.
[867] Ibid, p. 1; Barnard, *The Kingdom of Ireland,* p. 70; Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (New Jersey, 2001)*,* p. 13.

1705 pamphlet expressed Presbyterian's disgust, pointing out that Irish dissenters formed

'one of the chief Bulwarks in that Kingdom against Popery … a People who at the Price of

their Blood defended themselves to the last Extremity.'[868] The tract deplored the insult of

Presbyterians being 'be rank'd in the same Class with the Introducers of that Popery they laid

down their Lives to Oppose.'[869] Presbyterians expected support from Anglicans due to their

shared Protestantism; instead, they became insultingly labelled the same category of enemy

as Catholics as conveyed by Tisdall: 'you can bring them no Lower than this: that the

Protestant Dissenters… Joyn'd with their Capital Enemies the Irish Papists, or of being

rank'd in the same class with them.'[870] Presbyterians also appealed to different factions of

Irish Protestants to disregard this clause as dissenters defended the religion and liberty of

Ireland alongside other Protestants; 'Hand in Hand into the Field, and Hand in Hand into the

Grave, fighting for one another, and their dear Families and Religion.'[871] Northern

Presbyterians also feared that the Test Act would divide Protestants, and jeopardise the

Protestant interest in Ireland.[872] Dissenters fought against the implementation of the

Sacramental Test from the early 1690s as manifest in correspondence from the Earl of

Nottingham to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which expressed the view that 'the Bill for the

ease of Protestant dissenters is also rejected at present, because without the clause for a

Sacramentall Test it was not likely to passe in Ireland, and with it [th]e Dissenters perhaps

would not like it.'[873] Ulster Presbyterians continued to oppose the Test into the early 18th

century as demonstrated in correspondence from Archbishop King to Jonathan Swift of 20

November 1708:

---

[868] Daniel Defoe, *The Paralel* (Dublin, 1705), p. 3.
[869] Ibid, p. 3.
[870] William Tisdall, *The Nature & Tendency of Popular Phrases in General* (Dublin, 1714), pp. 10-11.
[871] Ibid, p. 12.
[872] Boyse, *Remarks on a Pamphlet*, p. 12.
[873] 'Letter from Nottingham to Lord Lieutenant of Ireland', 2 November 1692, *SPO,* SP 67, Vol. 1, (16 December 2019), p. 220.

> I understand some Dissenters from hence will apply to the Parliament of English this session, to obtain a repeal of the Test, and for a toleration on a larger foot than in England; and that a fund is raised, and agents appointed to solicit their affairs, by the presbyters of the North.[874]

Nevertheless, Anglicans regained local and national political control over Presbyterians by the early 18th century, and dissenters believed that they had little option but to appeal to England for support. The confidence of control is apparent in a missive from Bishop King to the Bishop of Killaloe of 21 July 1702 which states that he did not want to establish schism by law, and believes most other Anglicans would agree.[875] However, he could 'by no means understand the present measures, nor See the Reason of Continuing the parliament in Scotland Except it were to break them all in pieces.'[876] He effectively discounted the need for a Scottish Parliament as he believed all Scots were utilising the Irish Government, so deemed such an institution in Scotland as unnecessary. Although hyperbole, it gives an insight into the Anglican dismay at the election of Scottish Presbyterian Ulster MPs to the Irish Parliament. King expressed his exasperation to Edward Southwell on 31 December 1702 at the 'malicious' twelve MPs who voted against the Bill of Occasional Conformity.[877] A 1713 Presbyterian pamphlet surmised that any who wished to repeal the Test Act became dubbed as 'unworthy and inconsiderate men'.[878] Anglicans feared that its repeal would enable dissenters to 'over-run our Corporations, with the same Quickness and Dexterity' as they did after the repeal of the Oath of Supremacy; thereby, reducing the Established Church to a 'miserable condition'.[879] King strongly portrays the Anglican elite fear of repealing the Test Act stating:

> the oath of supremacy which kept out Dissenters effectually from all places of trust and imploym[en]t that was taken off immediately they became oppressive to the highest degree, and about 50 of them being

---

[874] Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift,* p. 111.

[875] 'Letter from William King to the Bishop of Killaloo', 21 July 1702, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 1489/2/59).

[876] Ibid.

[877] 'Letter from William King to Mr Southwell', 31 December 1702, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 1492/2/127-129).

[878] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 479.

[879] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 18.

powered into the North of Ireland and North Britain, they combined togeather and gott most the corporations and trade in [thei]re hands.[880]

Anglicans believed that allowing Presbyterians to regain power in places of public trust would be to 'arm the Kingdom of Antichrist, to act against the Kingdom of Christ.'[881]

Thus, the Scottish burgeoning political power, which stemmed from their increased monopoly of Ireland's northern boroughs, directly impacted the Irish Government. The ethnic differences of the Irish Parliament created a slightly volatile atmosphere.[882] A memoir for the second Duke of Ormonde of 15 November 1703 conceded that the north of Ireland was in the possession of Scots and Presbyterians, and these people would 'now be rely'd upon for Interest of present Governm[en]t, when some of them (as I am inform'd) have already shew'd themselves in Parliament ag[ain]st It.'[883] The passing of the 1704 Popery Bill faced no parliamentary opposition regarding the Catholic element, as only twenty, mainly Ulster MPs, voted against the whole legislation in objection to the Sacramental Test.[884] Bishop King's letter informed William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield, on 15 December 1696 of the weakness of dissenter's interest in Ireland, as evidenced by the last parliamentary session, where they 'cou'd not carry anything [tha]t we had not a mind to, & indeed there were hardly ten dissenters in [th]e house.'[885] Despite this setback, he found them 'mightly insolent' within the Irish House of Commons.[886] This contradictory statement demonstrates their lack of influence within the Irish Government, yet their ability to cause problems impacted the parliament. In 1715, King continued to discredit Presbyterian influence within the Irish Government stating: 'Tis alleged that the dissenters in Ireland can't be formidable because their Interest is so little;

---

[880] 'Letter from William King to the Archbishop of Canterbury', 24 March 1715, (A.R.L., William King Correspondence, P002475761), p. 165.
[881] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 42.
[882] Dennehy, *The Irish Parliament,* p. 3.
[883] 'Memoir for Duke of Ormond', 15 November 1703, *SPO,* SP 63. Vol. 363, (14 December 2019), p. 84.
[884] Dickson, *New Foundations,* p. 58.
[885] 'Letter from William King to William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield', 15 December 1696, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, MS TCD IE 750/1/48-49).
[886] Ibid.

that they have not bin able to make above half a Dozin parlem[en]t men in this present

Parlem[en]t.'[887] To add to King's variation concerning the perception of dissenters within the

Irish Government, his 1712 pamphlet addressed their growing economic and political power

in Ulster and their creation of strong interests with several leading members of the Irish

House of Commons.[888] Therefore, it is evident that King feared Presbyterians would acquire

greater political influence and negatively impact the Irish Government. This opinion is

supported by a despairing letter from Ormonde of 9 October 1703:

> a very violent party, that is for opposing every thing that is for her majesty's service… the supply for the supporting of the government but for one yeare, they saye the kindome is undone if they should give a supply, that would suporte the governem[en]t for more than one yeare for that then there would be no need of an annual parliament and that for that reasone they must not agree to what is asked from the government which is but for two yeares…the Scotch faction and the speakers will doe all they can to oppose it.[889]

Thus, Scottish Presbyterian MPs from Ulster caused great concern for several Anglican

elite members of the Irish Parliament. Their political impact is strongly conveyed through the

voting record of Mr Arthur Upton, a prominent Presbyterian and MP for Antrim.[890] On 25

October 1695, Sir Charles Porter, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, faced impeachment measures

in the Irish House of Commons.[891] Ultimately, Porter avoided his fate by 128 to seventy-nine

votes, with Upton being on the losing side of the vote.[892] Another ballot of 6 December 1695

concerned the toll of Dublin, with noes winning with forty-nine to forty-three votes, this time

Mr Upton junior, Arthur's son and also a Presbyterian, found himself on the wrong side of

the vote.[893] Furthermore, Arthur Upton continued to fall foul of results as he lost thirty-eight

to thirty-five votes on a petition of Mr Henry Aston of 7 December 1695.[894] His 'losing

streak' continued as he fell short by sixty-six to ninety-four on a Heads of a Bill for the better

---

[887] 'Letter from William King to the Archbishop of Canterbury', 24 March 1715, (A.R.L., William King Correspondence, P002475761), p. 165.
[888] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 28.
[889] 'Letter from Ormonde', 9 October 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (14 December 2019), pp. 212-213.
[890] David W. Hayton, 'Arthur Upton (1633-1706)', *ODNB*, (3 March 2021).
[891] McGrath, 'Sir Charles Porter', *ODNB*, (3 March 2021).
[892] *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, p. 108.
[893] Ibid, p. 135.
[894] Ibid, p. 135.

security of His Majesty's royal person and government of 22 October 1698.[895] The Lord Lieutenant's remarks concerning Presbyterian opposition to parliamentary decisions demonstrates the dissenter's political impact on a national level. It can be suggested that Scottish Presbyterian migrants had become influential within both local and national politics through utilising their power within Ulster's corporations and changing the course of the Irish Parliament by halting proceedings on legislation. Their role within Irish politics must not be exaggerated, yet more credit must be given to their political impact.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has undertaken a detailed examination into the economic and political impact of the 1690s Scottish migration on Ulster to demonstrate the true extent of the influence of this large-scale influx. Economically, the Scottish migrants positively impacted Ulster in numerous ways, including the transfer of their commercial networks, which ultimately boosted Ulster's fortunes. This movement also allowed Scots to continue trading through circumvention of the English Navigation Laws imposed on them, thereby benefitting both Scottish migrants and Ulster's inhabitants. However, Ulster Anglicans became aggrieved at the domination and enhancement of Ulster's trade by Scottish Presbyterians, as they felt side-lined. In addition, Scottish families transported relatives to Ulster to act as agents for family business affairs, as evidenced by the Agnews of Lochnaw and the Maxwells of Pollok. Both families migrated some of their members to manage business transactions between Scotland and Ulster, further demonstrating the economic impact of 1690s Scottish migrants on the northern province. With regards to politics, Scottish Presbyterian migrants greatly influenced the local government through infiltrating northern corporations. Anglicans became alarmed by this progression and introduced the Sacramental Test to curtail the dissenters' growing power. Unsurprisingly, Presbyterians were dissatisfied with the implementation of the

---

[895] Ibid, p. 253.

Sacramental Test as they had fought to preserve the Irish Protestant interest during the 'Glorious Revolution'. Likewise, the election of Ulster Presbyterian MPs at once dismayed Anglicans and affected the Irish Parliament. Anglican MPs claimed that the Ulster Presbyterian members disrupted parliament by rejecting several bills to their detriment, preventing the smooth processing of legislation previously experienced by the Anglican-dominated Irish Government. Scottish Presbyterian migrants wielded political influence at both local and national levels, a comparative, cross-channel political innovation warrants greater consideration. The Scottish migrants impacted 1690s Ulster in numerous economic and political ways. The next chapter will examine the reaction, rhetoric and reception of these Scottish migrants to 1690s Ulster.

# Chapter Six – Reaction, Rhetoric & Reception of the Scottish Migrants

Although touched upon in the last chapter, anti-Presbyterian reaction, rhetoric and reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster will be examined in this chapter to provide a greater understanding of this migration. Migrant fear is not a modern phenomenon and has existed for centuries, yet it has not been addressed in the recent writings of the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster. Thus, establishing the extent of migrant fear will help explain the context and reasoning behind the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric and the heightened level of fear experienced by Anglicans due to this migration.[896] The reception of the migrants has not been considered in the Scottish historiography to the same degree as the Irish historiography. Fitzgerald and Connolly note the Anglican elite antagonism and hostility towards Presbyterians.[897] Whereas, Brooke argues Presbyterians received a warm welcome, creating a positive experience for non-conformists.[898]

Therefore, this chapter will examine the reaction, rhetoric and reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster. Comparison to modern-day migrant experiences allows a relatable response to be established. This will explain the outpouring of hate received by the 1690s immigrant Scots. Anti-Presbyterian rhetoric expressed by Anglicans featured prominently in 1690s Ulster. The reasoning behind the analogies and negative vernacular will be scrutinised to facilitate an understanding of the vocabulary deployed, and illuminate the extent of hostility between both groups. A comparison between anti-Presbyterian and anti-Catholic pamphlets will also be conducted, with the vernacular similarities highlighted. Greater consideration will be given to the reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster,

---

[896] Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 274; Connolly, *Divided Kingdom,* p. 206; McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, pp. 286 & 289; Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 13.
[897] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 81; Connolly, 'Ulster Presbyterians: Religion, Culture & Politics', p. 298.
[898] Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism,* p. 64.

and whether it mirrored the contemporary anti-Presbyterian rhetoric. This analysis will be built on an examination of primary sources held in the Scottish and Irish archives, including various Ulster Presbyterian kirk session books, the General Synod of Ulster records, Irish state papers, correspondence, and pamphlets.

## Modern-Day and Early Modern Migrant Experiences

Modern-day Scottish and Northern Irish migrant communities have been examined to uncover the common themes in response to large-scale migrations. Rainer Bowböck argues that 'migration often flows in riverbeds carved out by already established historical links.'[899] With regards to more recent migrations to Scotland, Indian connections emerged between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries when Indian seaman and servants arrived for employment. Likewise, the Pakistani community emerged from the pre-1945 Indian Muslim migration, fuelled by the job opportunities offered by the East India Company in Britain.[900] In Northern Ireland, the settlement of German Jews began in the late 19th century, followed by Indians in the early 20th century, and Chinese migrants and Vietnamese asylum seekers in the 1960s.[901] These long-standing links are crucial for migration patterns, and similar age-old connections existed between Scotland and Ulster in the 17th century.[902]

As migrant groups become more visible in their host countries, the ethnic competition theory can emerge; the stronger the migrant assimilation, the clearer their perception of group discrimination.[903] By the 1960s, South Asian migrants had progressed up the 'economic

---

[899] Rainer Bowböck, 'Public Culture in Societies of Immigration', in Sackmann, Peters & Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration,* p. 53.
[900] Stefano Bonino, 'The Migration & Settlement of Pakistanis & Indians', in T. M. Devine & Angela McCarthy (eds.), *New Scots: Scotland's Immigration Communities since 1945* (Edinburgh, 2018), pp. 76.
[901] Ruth McAreavey, 'The Experience of Recent Migrants to Northern Ireland: Towards a Sense of Belonging?', in Shared Space: A Research Journal on Peace, Conflict & Community Relations in Northern Ireland, *Community Relations Council [Hereafter CRC],* (www.community-relations.org), (26 February 2021), p. 71.
[902] Donald M. MacRaild & Malcolm Smith, 'Migration & Emigration, 1600-1945', in Kennedy & Ollenrenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600*, p. 140.
[903] B. E. Aguirre, R. Saenz & S. Hwang, 'Discrimination & the Assimilation & Ethnic Competition Perspectives', in *Social Science Quarterly,* 70(3), (1989), p. 594.

labour ladder', incurring prejudice from Scottish natives.[904] Long-standing, well-established

Asian communities within Scotland suffered a rise in prejudice as a consequence of the

competition with natives in the marketplace. In relation to the Polish community, the two

largest inflows of migrants to Scotland occurred after World War II, followed by the EU

enlargement in 2004.[905] Upon arrival in Scotland, the Polish community suffered similar

hostility as experienced by the Indian and Pakistani communities of the 20th century and the

Scottish migrants of the 1690s. A Scottish Social Attitudes Survey in 2015 highlighted that

32% of people asserted that Eastern Europeans took jobs away from Scots.[906] Furthermore, a

2006 survey by Northern Ireland Life and Times (NILT), asked participants about their views

on migration, and 48% believed migrants had taken jobs away from local people.[907] This is

bolstered by a 2009 UNISON survey, mainly undertaken by nurses, where a majority

reported that they had overheard colleagues or patients stating migrant workers took local

people's jobs.[908] Furthermore, post-recession Britain meant migrants encountered numerous

difficulties, including employers favouring local applicants for job vacancies.[909] In 2010,

Patrick Yu, the Executive Director of the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities

(NICEM), stated that for the migrants who chose to stay, their employment opportunities

became restricted.[910]

Similar hostility can be discerned over 300 years prior in early modern Ulster. The brother

of Michael Ward, Church of Ireland Bishop of Derry, on 2 July 1681 lamented that a

previously Anglicised Londonderry had been effectively over-run by Scottish non-

---

[904] Bonino, 'The Migration & Settlement of Pakistanis & Indians', pp. 81-82.
[905] Emilia Piętka-Nykaza, 'Polish Diaspora or Polish Migrant Communities? Polish Migrants in Scotland, 1945-2015', in Devine & McCarthy (eds.), *New Scots,* p. 126.
[906] Ibid, p. 133.
[907] Raymond Russell, 'Migration in Northern Ireland: A Demographic Perspective', *Northern Ireland Assembly*, (www.niassembly.gov.uk), 2011, (26 February 2021), p. 32.
[908] Ibid, p. 32.
[909] Philip McDermott, *Migrant Languages in the Public Space. A Case Study from Northern Ireland* (Berlin, 2011), p. 113.
[910] Ibid, p. 113.

conformists.[911] The mass 1690s migration only exacerbated these feelings as highlighted by

Tisdall's 1714 tract which states that dissenters grew powerful due to an influx of Scottish

migrants and French refugees, who quickly 'Invaded the Church in all Quarters' and 'gain'd

a Superiour Interest to the Church in the Northern Corporations.'[912] Furthermore, he

commented that Presbyterians ousted Anglicans from the northern corporations, creating a

'Monopoly both of Power and Trade in Ulster amongst themselves, exclusive of

Conformists.'[913] Apprehensions of Scottish migrants to Ulster began near the start of the 17th

century and continued throughout this period as portrayed by John Bramhall, chief agent of

church affairs under Thomas Wentworth.[914] Thus, there are similar apprehensions towards

migrants' economic advancement in late 17th century Ulster and modern-day Northern Irish

and Scottish communities. In 1636, to deal with the new influx of Scottish Protestant

planters, Bramhall merged his northern English prejudices with his dislike of non-

conformists, thereby sending numerous Scottish ministers to America.[915] After the

introduction of the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, Bramhall's aggravation

towards Scots became unconcealed, with future Scottish sources describing Bramhall as rigid

and hostile.[916]

Moreover, Emilia Piętka-Nykaza argues that unwelcoming attitudes establish barriers to

migrant integration into their new communities.[917] When impediments to integration are

established by the natives, the immigrant groups counter by 'self-segregation and ethnic

solidarity'.[918] Therefore, these native obstacles are apparent within the migrant community of

Northern Ireland who stated that labour market problems still existed including barriers to

---

[911] 'Letter by Bishop of Derry's Brother, 2 July 1681, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 342, (12 December 2019), p. 120.
[912] Tisdall, *The Nature & Tendency,* p. 16.
[913] Ibid, p. 27.
[914] John McCafferty, 'John Bramhall (1594-1663)', *DIB*, (25 June 2021).
[915] Ibid.
[916] Ibid.
[917] Piętka-Nykaza, 'Polish Diaspora or Polish Migrant Communities?', p. 126.
[918] Fitzgerald & Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History,* p. 64.

setting up their businesses.[919] Patrick Manning comments that 'human communities organise themselves around language, not just proximity.'[920] Thus, modern-day migrants face significant levels of isolation from their new community due to language barriers.[921] Migrant obstacles posed by the host country come in a variety of forms, with blocks between Ulster natives and Scottish migrants also characterising the Scottish emigrant experience between the 1680s and 1700s, especially on foot of religious differences. The fear of Presbyterians formed by Irish Anglican political and ecclesiastic elites emerged strongly from the 1678 'Popish Plot', whereby Titus Oates, an excommunicated Church of England clergyman, claimed he had intelligence of a Catholic scheme to kill Charles II for James VII and II to replace him, and then blame the Presbyterians for their actions.[922] Therefore, the influx of Scottish Presbyterians in the late 17th century fuelled the Irish Government and Church of Ireland's anxiety towards dissenters meaning they formed obstacles. In a letter to Lord Lieutenant Ormond of 18 March 1681, King Charles II directed the Irish Council to prevent future fasts organised by Scottish Presbyterians in Ireland.[923] Suppression of Presbyterian gatherings created a hostile and unwelcoming atmosphere, subsequently establishing barriers between the people of Ulster and the Scottish migrants.

Another hindrance to migrants' integration into their new community was the hostility from the native population. Racist actions and beliefs contribute to maintaining racial domination, connected to the ideology of the subordinate group's inferiority.[924] In 2009, Belfast recorded a series of racial attacks against the Roma community, resulting in more

---

[919] McAreavey, 'The Experience of Recent Migrants to Northern Ireland: Towards a Sense of Belonging?', *CRC*, (26 February 2021), pp. 81-82.
[920] Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (London, 2013), p. 3.
[921] McDermott, *Migrant Languages,* p. 84.
[922] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 166.
[923] 'Letter to Lord Lieutenant', 18 March 1680/1, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 341, (12 December 2019), p. 65.
[924] Lincoln Quillian, 'New Approaches to Understanding Racial Prejudice & Discrimination', in *Annual Review of Sociology,* 32, (2006), p. 301.

than 100 people fleeing back to Romania.[925] In addition, a 2003-2004 Northern Irish survey found that ethnic minority communities within Ulster had suffered a variety of racial insults, such as being told to 'go back to your own country.'[926] The same terminology is also documented over 300 years earlier on 10 June 1685. Andrew Johnston, a Scotsman, recorded racial remarks from one Henry O'Hagan, a Catholic Irishman, who questioned Scottish habitation in Ireland, then proceeded to command Johnston to 'get out of theire Country'.[927] Fitzgerald has documented the often-cited phrase of British settlers in Ulster being 'the scum of both nations', which likely applied to the 17th century migrants.[928] It is not surprising that such unwelcome remarks continued to be made towards Scottish migrants in the aftermath of the 1690s migration, as conveyed in a letter from Archbishop King to Arthur Miller on 6 June 1704. The letter states that '[th]e Scotch in lreland shou'd join with their mother countrey.'[929] Breandán Ó Buachalla highlights the particular roles of Irish society concerning the 'in' and 'out' groups such as ruler/ruled, master/servant, foreigner/native and Protestant/Catholic.[930] After the Williamite Wars, a fresh wave of oppression against Catholics emerged as their conquered kingdom became ruled by foreigners.[931] Consequently, the Catholic community resented King William and his support for the Anglican Church, which only exacerbated their 'fierce Anglophobia'.[932] These categorisations remained throughout 17th century Ireland with different religious factions fluidly moving between 'in' and 'out' classifications during this period. Therefore, numerous elements of migrant fear are apparent between the experiences of early modern Scottish migrants to Ulster and modern-day Scottish and Northern Irish

---

[925] McDermott, *Migrant Languages,* p. 107.
[926] Kathryn Bell, Neil Jarman & Thomas Lefebvre, 'Migrant Workers in Northern Ireland', in Institute for Conflict Research, (Belfast, 2004), p. 69.
[927] 'Andrew Johnston Deposition', 10 June 1685, (T.B.L., MS Clarendon 88 fos. 86-88), p. 88.
[928] Fitzgerald, 'The 17th Century Irish Connection', p. 294.
[929] 'Letter from William King, Archbishop of Dublin to Mr Arthur Miller', 6 June 1704, (N.R.S., Records of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, CH12/12/363).
[930] Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Irish Jacobite Poetry', in *The Irish Review,* 12, (1992), p. 45.
[931] Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork, 2017), p. 42.
[932] Ó Ciardha, *Ireland & the Jacobite Cause,* p. 63.

migrant communities, thereby demonstrating that the outpouring of hatred is not just related to the political and religious circumstances of the time.

**Anti-Presbyterian Rhetoric**

Subsequent to the similarities in reactions to both modern-day and the 1690s migrants, it is unsurprising that anti-Presbyterian rhetoric became rife throughout this period. By the early 1690s, religious controversy had emerged between Anglican elites and Ulster Presbyterians. Both factions had become exasperated at their inability to effectively express their feelings through the lack of a printing press; thus, Belfast became the site of the new press, which enabled the pamphlet debate to flourish between them. Bishop King preferred persuading conversion through propaganda, rather than the compulsion of the law.[933] Contemporaries viewed the 1690s migration as an 'invasion', with Presbyterians replacing the conquered Catholics as a new enemy.[934] Although these Presbyterians would dominate Ulster numerically, at no time did they appear able to gain full control of Ulster. However, Anglican elites fuelled this unsubstantiated fear among the Ulster populace, which became evident within contemporary pamphlets.[935]

One common characteristic of these published writings is the comparison drawn between Presbyterians and disease. The population of Ulster could relate to this comparison due to the 1641 Ulster rebellion. This conflict took place on 22 October 1641 when rebels/Irish natives began to seize significant locations in Ulster, intending to cease British control over their province, resulting in several months of conflict and distress.[936] Consequently, disease and sickness became prevalent during this rebellion and remained fresh in Irish Protestants'

---

[933] Gillespie, *Early Belfast,* p. 133; J. C. Beckett, 'William King's Administration', p. 172.
[934] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 31.
[935] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 139; Hayton, 'The Beginnings of the 'Undertaker System'', p. 44.
[936] Annaleigh Margey, '1641 & the Ulster Plantation Towns', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012), p. 85.

minds.[937] Thus, the inhabitants of Ulster could easily relate to the 'dangers' of

Presbyterianism as argued by Anglicans. Disease analogies characterised the writings of

Tobias Pullein, Bishop of Dromore, whose 1697 pamphlet suggested that Anglicans should

deal with Presbyterian preachers 'as 'tis usually done with those that come from a Countrey

infested with the plague.'[938] Likewise, a 1717 pamphlet commented that 'Men, having no

Compassion upon the bad Estate of their Brethren dangerously infected with the Plague of

Schism.'[939] Fitzgerald argues that this is 'the classic psychological state of an individual host

reacting defensively against what they perceive to be a sudden flood or influx of outsiders

who were deemed to be different and threatening.'[940] This also infuses the works of Tisdall,

who published numerous works about the dangers that dissenters posed to the Established

Church.[941] He submitted a petition to the Armagh Convocation on 16 February 1704

concerning Anglican oppression fearing a similar schism to that which he had experienced

when preaching to small Anglican numbers within the Scottish heartlands of Ulster during

the phase of Presbyterian growth.[942] Jonathan Swift had the same experience during his time

in Kilroot, where he was surrounded by Scottish Presbyterians, hostile towards Episcopacy.

This undoubtedly strengthened his anti-Presbyterian stance and lifelong opposition to

repealing the Sacramental Test.[943] Swift's strong views emerged as a result of his early

ministerial experience in Ulster where he witnessed Catholic suppression, Presbyterian

growth and the decline of the Established Church, creating his 'visceral hostility to

---

[937] John Cunningham, 'Sickness, Disease & Medical Practitioners in 1640s Ireland', in John Cunningham, David Cantor & Keir Waddington (eds.), *Early Modern Ireland & the World of Medicine: Practitioners, Collectors & Contexts* (Manchester, 2019), p. 61.
[938] Tobias Pullein, 'Extract from a Pamphlet by Tobias Pullein, Bishop of Dromore', 1697, (P.R.O.N.I., T3793/1/3/19), p. 9.
[939] Anon, *An Impartial View and Censure of the Mistakes Propagated For the Ordaining Power of Presbyters; in a Late Book Entituled, An Enquiry Into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity & Worship* (London, 1717), p. 2.
[940] Fitzgerald, ''Black '97'', p. 80.
[941] John Bergin, 'William Tisdall', *DIB,* (8 December 2020).
[942] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 16 February 1704, (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/2), p. 83; Benjamin Bankhurst, 'The Politics of Dissenting Demography in Ireland, 1690-1735', in Aston & Bankhurst (eds.), *Negotiating Toleration,* p. 171.
[943] Walsh, 'Swift & Religion', p. 162.

dissent'.[944] Tisdall and Swift held equivalent, negative views of dissenters, with both of them

being vehemently anti-Presbyterian and agreeing on the approval of the bill against

occasional conformity.[945] Both of these clergymen knew each other and bonded over their

anti-Presbyterian stance, with their pamphlets highlighting Protestant Ascendancy

apprehensions about growing numbers of dissenters and their potential power.[946] In 1721,

Swift implied that Presbyterianism spread after King William's Irish expedition, thereby

creating evils following a 'violent change of government', and establishing 'some very bad

effects, which are likely to stick long enough by us.'[947] Thus, Tisdall's 1712 pamphlet called

for protection for 'Common-people from the Contagion of that Schism, which is thus

industriously spread.'[948] This pamphlet directly utilises the disease analogy to enable

'ordinary' people to understand the peril of Presbyterianism.

Moreover, Tisdall's 1712 pamphlet reiterates the Episcopal belief that Presbyterian

teachers were 'poysoning the minds of the People with such Principles';[949] another analogy

which lay folk could understand. Its regular usage is also conveyed in a sermon by Ezekiel

Hopkins, Bishop of Derry from 1681-1690.[950] This sermon expressed that natural corruption

was 'of a thriving, growing nature…and if the Discourse be poysonous, the Venom will

spread itself into the Life and Conversation.'[951] Similarly, the Bishop of London became

concerned about Scottish Episcopalian ministers coming to Ireland, arguing they may not be

the antidote needed.[952] Boyse, a Dublin-based English Presbyterian minister and theologian,

---

[944] David Oakleaf, 'Politics & History', in Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion,* p. 33.
[945] Thomas Seccombe & J. Falvey, 'William Tisdall (1669-1735)', *ODNB,* (8 July 2021).; Jim Smyth, ''Like Amphibious Animals': Irish Protestants, Ancient Britons, 1691-1707', in *The Historical Journal,* 36(4), (1993), p. 786.
[946] Bankhurst, 'The Politics of Dissenting Demography', p. 171.
[947] Lane-Poole (ed.), *Letters & Journals of Jonathan Swift*, p. 139.
[948] Tisdall, *The Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 55.
[949] Ibid, p. 41.
[950] Sean Kelsey, 'Ezekiel Hopkins (1633-1690)', *ODNB,* (22 April 2021).
[951] Ezekiel Hopkins, *The Works of the Right Reverend & Learned Ezekiel Hopkins, Late Lord Bishop of London-derry in Ireland* (London, 1701), p. 446.
[952] 'Letter from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to the Bishop of Meath', 8 December 1693, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.2), p. 234.

emerged as a 'formidable controversialist' due to his strong stance defending Presbyterianism against the Established Church of Ireland.[953] He replied to a pamphlet written by Tisdall, who had described dissenters as 'the Tumours and Excrescencys that deform and indanger' the constitution.[954] Anglicans feared Presbyterianism as their numbers grew exponentially and their congregations extended throughout Ulster, threatening the Established Church.[955] Thus, the negative language used within the pamphlets which correlates Presbyterianism with disease; strongly portrays non-conformity as a dangerous and unwanted epidemic.

Demonology and magic provoked panic amongst early modern societies,[956] thus it is not surprising that it would also be deployed for propagandist effect against Presbyterianism in the contemporary pamphlets. Church of England ministers routinely used classic demonic vernacular as an argument in their acrimonious war of words.[957] A sermon by Hopkins stated that 'when he [the Devil] keeps the stock of Corruption going… believe it, Corruption will be on the thriving Hand.'[958] Connecting Presbyterianism to the devil not only demonised them but also nodded towards their 'dishonest' religion. Peter Elmer argues that 'it would be a mistake, however, to dismiss recourse to the language of demonology as mere propaganda devoid of deeper meaning and significance.'[959] Ordinary people believed that the devil's power could only hurt those who led wicked lives and that individuals could escape hell by living good, moral lives through obeying the ten commandments.[960] Nevertheless, the devil's re-invention as a comparison to evil, rather than 'deluder, tempter and cheat' became significant in causing further destruction to the Presbyterian's reputation.[961] Protestants

---

[953] D. Murphy & L. Lunney, 'Joseph Boyse', *DIB*, (8 December 2020).
[954] Boyse, *Remarks on a Pamphlet*, p. 10.
[955] Bartlett, *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation,* p. 13.
[956] Brian P. Levack, *New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic & Demonology: Witchcraft in the British Isles & New England* (New York, 2001), p. 265.
[957] Peter Elmer, *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting & Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016), p. 233.
[958] Hopkins, *The Works of the Right Reverend & Learned Ezekiel Hopkins*, p. 433.
[959] Ibid, p. 96.
[960] Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Stroud, 2000), p. 64.
[961] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 192.

traditionally linked popery with the devil;[962] however, Anglicans transferred this comparison to Presbyterians in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1712, Boyse highlighted dissenters being conveyed as 'damnable Schismaticks, to the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, with the Devil and his Angels.'[963]

Matthew French, a High Churchman,[964] described one Boyse, a prominent Presbyterian, as 'a Jack-Pudding and Buffoon, full of Malice and Falshood, and has much of the Cloven Foot.'[965] The reference to cloven feet is significant, as the devil retained his cloven hooves when he adopted human form.[966] King bore testimony to Henry Sacheverell, a prominent High-Church divine, who allegedly 'not only Damns the Dissenters, but bids the Devil take them.'[967] In 1710, the Whigs impeached Sacheverell, causing a public uproar by a 'church' mob.[968] Tories and High-Churchmen rallied behind Sacheverell, mainly to oppose the Whig's decision and lessen the threat from dissenters.[969] Holmes argues that 'the manifestations of a great popular demonstration both positive and negative in its motivation: for a Church believed to be in peril.'[970] Their 'violent sympathy with a clergyman thought to have been maliciously persecuted; against Whig politicians and their clerical champions; above all, against nonconformity.'[971] Ralph Lambert, a well-known Low Churchman,[972] highlighted that Presbyterians accused the Established Church of 'delivering over Presbyterians to Satan.'[973] Aware of the demonisation method utilised by Anglicans, non-conformists

---

[962] Ibid, p. 71.
[963] Joseph Boyse, *A Clear Account of the Ancient Episcopacy* (London, 1712), p. v.
[964] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil,* p. 188.
[965] Matthew French, *A Collection of Mr. J. Boyse's Several Scurrilous and Abusive Reflections* (Dublin, 1709), p.19.
[966] Oldridge, *The Devil,* p. 61.
[967] King, *A Vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell*, p. 56.
[968] Geoffrey Holmes, 'The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd & the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London', in *Past & Present,* 72, (1976), pp. 55 & 59.
[969] Ibid, p. 62.
[970] Ibid, p. 67.
[971] Ibid, p. 67.
[972] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland,* p. 137.
[973] Ralph Lambert, *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitl'd a Vindication of Marriage* (Dublin, 1704), p. 9.

deployed their own demonic portrayal on the Established Church arguing they must have known the devil to 'deliver' the Presbyterians. John Anderson, a Scottish Presbyterian minister and a controversialist, condemned the establishment of Church of England liturgy into Scottish Episcopal services.[974] In 1714, he wrote *'A Defence of the Church-Government'*, 'one of the ableist justifications of Presbyterianism ever published',[975] which condemned Episcopalians attacks on 'wicked Presbyters' and 'incarnate Devils'.[976] Its diabolic language conveys the perceived malice of Presbyterians and their demonic human form, beyond the normal rules of moral obligation given to fellow Christians. It is not surprising that Episcopalians chose to demonise Presbyterians in this way as early-modern Britain and Ireland strived for a 'godly society', thereby, Anglicans hoped to dissuade people from following Presbyterianism by portraying the religion as 'immoral'. However, it is impossible to tell how far these pamphlets shaped popular opinion, but they would have certainly added to the culture of fear surrounding contemporary Presbyterian migration during this period.

The politicisation of witchcraft created popular protest across Whig and Tory lines is highlighted by the Jane Wenham and Islandmagee trials. Wenham, an old woman from Hertfordshire, was found guilty of witchcraft in March 1712,[977] a prosecution supported by the region's educated elite, clergy and magistrate, which caused a popular divide in approaches to witchcraft.[978] Mark Knights states that the Wenham trial has to be viewed in the context of the High Church's attempt to bolster support in God and the Church of England after the Sacheverell trial.[979] In addition, the 1711 Islandmagee witchcraft trial also

---

[974] John R. McIntosh, 'John Anderson (1671-1721)', *ODNB*, (8 December 2020).
[975] Ibid.
[976] John Anderson, *A Defence of the Church-Government, Faith, Worship & Spirit* (Glasgow, 1714), pp. 161 & 289.
[977] Phyllis J. Guskin, 'The Context of Witchcraft: The Case of Jane Wenham (1712)', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 15(1), (1981), p. 48.
[978] Mark Knights, *The Devil in Disguise. Deception, Delusion & Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011), p. 240.
[979] Ibid, p. 240.

needs to be considered when conveying the politicisation of witchcraft. Mary Dunbar accused several women of bewitchment; however, it was difficult to prosecute witchcraft in Ireland as the entire community, including local elites, had to agree on the alleged bewitchment and subsequent trial.[980] The Presbyterian gentry, clergy and lower-classes in Islandmagee believed the accused women had possessed Dunbar. This case intensified the party political struggle in east Antrim, as Justice MacCartney ultimately supported local Presbyterian Whigs and consequently led the jury to a guilty verdict.[981] Therefore, the Wenham and Islandmagee trials highlight the divisions of opinion between Whig Low-Churchmen and Tory High-Churchmen,[982] demonstrating that loyal Whigs and Tories would take any opportunity to gain the upper hand on one another. Therefore, the need for negative rhetoric around disease, demonic and witchcraft in contemporary pamphlets sought to appeal to the wider audience.

Presbyterian pamphlets also argued that Anglican clergymen were treated differently than dissenting ministers during the Siege of Derry; the latter received no allowance from the stores, yet the maintenance of the former continued unabated.[983] A 1692 Episcopalian pamphlet described Presbyterian preachers as a 'proud, sour, Inconversable Tribe… having Faces like their horrid Decree of Reprobation.'[984] High-Church Anglicans often represented religious groups they disliked, including Presbyterians, as 'papists in disguise',[985] although few political and ecclesiastical British leaders entertained the possibility of Presbyterians and Catholics joining forces against the Anglicans.[986] McNally comments that the perceived threat that Presbyterians posed to Anglicans left a 'lasting impression on King', especially

---

[980] Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil*, p. 200.
[981] Ibid, pp. 200 & 202.
[982] Knights, *The Devil in Disguise,* p. 243.
[983] Mackenzie, *A Narrative of the Siege*, p. 33.
[984] Jacob Curate, *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching* (London, 1692), p. 12.
[985] McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, p. 74.
[986] Griffin, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness', p. 269.

with the influx of the late 17th century.[987] Thereby some Anglican elites felt overwhelmed by this threat, arguing that the Established Church 'is plac'd like an isthmus, betwixt two Raging Seas, of Popery and Presbytery. That there troubl'd Waters, however they may seem to swell and foam at each other, do both beat with Violence against Her.'[988] The significance of Anglicans referring to themselves as an isthmus is important, as they felt trapped between the two faiths. An anonymous 1717 Anglican pamphlet argued that 'Popery and Presbytery are so far from being the greatest Opposites, that in this, like Herod and Pilate, they are Friends in sinking the Episcopate.'[989] Anglicans believed Episcopacy had helped them to mend their differences through their joint hatred of Anglicanism.

The Established Church perceived itself as a 'church in danger' against Catholicism and Presbyterianism as demonstrated in a letter to Queen Anne from the Armagh Convocation on 16 February 1703 who asked for 'a stedfast resolution to assert and maintain the Truth of the Christian faith against all unreasonable & wicked men.'[990] In addition, the Armagh Convocation wrote to the second Duke of Ormonde on the same day, reiterating the need to observe the Christian faith which had been 'corrupted by Heresies, & the discipline of the Church very much weakned by Licentious practices … in which we hope proper remedies will be applied for the Cure of these evils.'[991] Harder approaches emerged by the early 18th century, with one dissenting minister being fined, imprisoned and then banished from Ireland for publicly denying the divinity of Christ.[992] By 1711, Anglican anxieties towards other religions still existed: 'many Heretious Opinions, and wild Enthusiastical Notions still rife &

---

[987] Patrick McNally, 'William King, Patriotism & the 'National Question'', in C. J. Fauske (ed.), *Archbishop William King & the Anglican Irish Context, 1688-1729* (Dublin, c.2004), p. 49.
[988] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 2.
[989] Anon, *The Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry or Presbyterian Ordination, An Irregular and Unjustifiable Practice* (London, 1717), p. x.
[990] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 16 February 1703 (P.R.O.N.I, Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/1), p. 44.
[991] Ibid, p. 45.
[992] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1711, (P.R.O.N.I., Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/3), p. 228.

p[re]vailing among us', with 'most of them publickly maintained and propagated by Distinct

Bodies under different Denominations according to the Variety of their Heretical Tenets.'[993]

Therefore, the Church of Ireland's vulnerability became apparent during this period,

exacerbated with fears of collusion between Catholics and Presbyterians.

Consequently, the Established Church lumped Ulster Presbyterians under the same

category of 'enemy' as Catholics, placing both at the root of the majority of national

tragedies, as both religions had no allegiance to any Christian Prince who would not support

their beliefs.[994] An Episcopalian pamphlet (1703) argued that the Anglican categorisation of

Presbyterians and Catholics as the same 'enemy' was 'no new thing amongst those of the

High-Church, who turn the edg of the Laws that were design'd against Papists upon

Protestant Dissenters.'[995] Anglicans justified their decision by arguing that the Established

Church perceived both Presbyterians and Catholics as a threat due to their treachery,

unruliness and stubbornness. The stereotypical image of brutal, callous and ruthless Catholics

emerged from their violent actions in the 1641 rebellion, which proportionally resulted in a

'greater demographic catastrophe than the potato famine of the 1840s.'[996] Although

contemporary accounts are exaggerated, Catholics purportedly stripped Protestant men,

women and children, brutally assaulted and robbed them, and in some notorious cases: 'their

bellies being ripped … some butchered and cut into gobbets.'[997] Furthermore, hangings,

beheadings, repeated stabbings and mutilations allegedly occurred in the majority of

killings.[998] The rebels also desecrated Protestant bodies and denied them an honourable burial

---

[993] Ibid, p. 230.
[994] Tisdall, *A Seasonable Enquiry,* p. 7.
[995] Leslie, *Reflections Upon some Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets*, p. 11.
[996] Jane Ohlmeyer & Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Introduction – 1641: Fresh Contexts & Perspectives', in Micheál Ó Siochrú & Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641. Contexts & Reactions* (Manchester, 2013), p. 1.
[997] Henry Jones, *A Perfect Relation of the Beginning & Continuation of the Irish-Rebellion* (London, 1641), p. 8.
[998] John Walter, 'Performative Violence & the Politics of Violence in the 1641 Depositions', in Ó Siochrú & Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641,* p. 138.

as a final act of humiliation.[999] However, Aidan Clarke cautions that some of the horror

stories contained in the 1641 depositions are a 'crude propaganda exercise' to give Ireland

and Catholicism a bad reputation.[1000] Nevertheless, Presbyterians could not comprehend how

their religious beliefs could equal the heinous crimes committed by Catholics towards

Protestants in the 1640s. Dissenters felt 'undeserv'd Mortification, of being joined with your

Majesty's Capital Enemies, the Irish Papists.'[1001] Boyse's 1716 pamphlet argued that the

hypocritical Established Church made an enemy of dissenters and Catholics for not tolerating

the Anglican religion, yet Episcopalians could not accept Presbyterians or Catholics and

consequently persecuted them as heretics.[1002] Tisdall acknowledged the similarities between

Presbyterians and Catholics; satisfied to let the dissenters be disconcerted:

> But will never explain how far the Parallel betwixt Protestants, and Papists may be Drawn, and so leave
> the Credulous and Abus'd People to believe, that the Church, the Government and Legislature, had
> treated the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, in all Respects as Irish Papists.[1003]

Anglicans contended that they did not treat Presbyterians and Catholics in the same

manner, accusing non-conformists of hyperbole. However, in some cases, Presbyterians felt

that they received harsher treatment than Catholics, as conveyed by James Kirkpatrick, a non-

subscribing Scottish Presbyterian minister, who moved to Ulster in the late 17th century.[1004]

Kirkpatrick became moderator of the Synod of Ulster in 1712 and subsequently penned *'An*

*Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians'* (1713), in response to Tisdall's

criticisms of Presbyterian's loyalty and conduct.[1005] The pamphlet argued that 'the Dissenting

Protestant being the only Enemy, and therefore only persecuted, whilst the Papists remain'd

undisturb'd being by the Court thought Loyal, and by our Great Bishops not dangerous.'[1006]

---

[999] Ibid, p. 141.
[1000] Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', in Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library. Trinity College Dublin*
(Dublin, 1986), pp. 119-120; Lenihan, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[1001] Defoe, *The Paralel*, p. 3.
[1002] Boyse, *Remarks on a Pamphlet*, p. 23.
[1003] Tisdall, *The Nature & Tendency,* p. 11
[1004] A. D. G. Steers, 'James Kirkpatrick (c.1676-1743)', *ODNB*, (8 December 2020).
[1005] Ibid.
[1006] Kirkpatrick, *An Historical Essay*, p. 334.

Presbyterians felt specifically targeted by Anglicans due to their perceived disloyalty and the

significant threat they posed to the Established Church. Presbyterians took offence as they

believed that they suffered worse restrictions than 'inferior' Catholics. James McGregor, an

Ulster-born Presbyterian minister, complained of oppression and persecution by Anglicans in

his farewell sermon.[1007] Tisdall retorted that false Presbyterian complaints of persecution

merely insinuated to less observant people that the Established Church inclined to

Catholicism to divide and weaken Anglicans.[1008] It is significant to note, that both sides of the

argument use the derogatory connection with Catholicism to strengthen their case, albeit in

different ways. Another piece of Tisdall's work from 1715 claimed that Presbyterians

exaggerated their 'persecution' and 'classification' with Catholics as the laws allowed the

dissenters to do much more than Catholics.[1009] Anglicans, in seeking to reduce Presbyterian

power and dominance, adopted a different manner to deal with Catholics so they could not be

accused of their allegiance to Catholicism. Therefore, the hostility between Presbyterians and

Anglicans within Ulster during this period is evident. The extensive contemporary use of

anti-Presbyterian rhetoric portrays the utter contempt for dissenters during this period and

provides an insight into the hostility towards Scottish migrants to Ulster.

**Comparison of Anti-Catholic and Anti-Presbyterian Rhetoric**

Indeed, this negative rhetoric employed against Presbyterians had previously been utilised

against Catholics throughout this period. Several analogies, including demonology and

disease, would also be deployed against Catholics. With regards to disease, a 1681 anti-

Catholic pamphlet states; 'how many may we cleanse the leprous Disease of Dissention,

which the Papists, which are least assured to themselves, and most doubtful of their

Salvation, are not ashamed to ascribe unto many of us?'[1010] The reference to leprosy has

---

[1007] Kerby A. Miller, *Ireland & Irish America. Culture, Class & Transatlantic Migration* (Dublin, 2008), p. 126.
[1008] Tisdall, *The Nature & Tendency*, p. 23.
[1009] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 38.
[1010] John Dauncey, *A Certain Way to Prevent Popery in England* (London, 1681), p. 9.

biblical connotations, allowing lay folk to understand the relevance of associating Catholicism with a well-known 'infectious' disease. The demonic vernacular is apparent in works by Roger L'Estrange, an English author and press censor, often accused by Whig propagandists of being a 'closet Catholic', who wrote several anti-Catholic tracts to convince people otherwise.[1011] His 1673 pamphlet connected the devil to the source of discontent, in this case, Catholicism; 'a Church universal confined to the Pope's person, like Legion Crampt up in a single Lucifer.'[1012] These pamphlets could easily communicate the dangers of Catholicism or, by extension, Presbyterianism through the use of similar disease and demonology metaphors.

Moreover, the broad negative remarks used against Catholics and Presbyterians in the contemporary pamphlets are invariably deployed again, this time concerning Catholic priests and Presbyterian preachers. L'Estrange's, *'The Character of a Papist'* (1673) disapproves of Catholic teachings; 'according to those cursed tenets, his Priest have instil'd into him, 'tis impossible for him at once to serve God, and honour his King',[1013] for him popery was the opposite of real Christianity.[1014] Likewise, he accused Catholic priests of imparting damnable knowledge onto their congregations, just as Presbyterian preachers had been taken to task for polluting the minds of their followers. Non-conformist preachers also came under attack for lacking humanity and common civility, as well as, being ignorant, and without learning and good nature.[1015] Many feared that Catholics would join a campaign to re-introduce the Stuarts to their rightful position and stop at nothing to do so.[1016] Suppressed Catholic strength unnerved Anglicans, which resulted in a ban on Catholics gaining

---

[1011] Harold Love, 'Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704)', *ODNB,* (8 December 2020).
[1012] Roger L'Estrange, *The Character of a Papist* (London, 1673), p. 4.
[1013] Ibid, p. 6.
[1014] Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80. A Political & Social Study* (Manchester, 1993), p. 4.
[1015] Curate, *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp. 12-13.
[1016] Ibid, p. 7.

employment in a public role, entering politics or gaining commissions in the army.[1017] Thus, there are clear similarities between the actions used to curb potential Catholic and Presbyterian power during this period. Both anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian writings used comparable language and accusations against the targeted subject.

These complaints continued through allegations that Catholics boasted about being the most loyal subjects.[1018] This claim is also echoed in anti-Presbyterian pamphlets, where pro-Presbyterian writings glorified their superiority over Anglicans. Presbyterians acknowledged two religions; one fully restored to its original simplicity and purity – Presbyterianism, with Episcopacy deemed to be defective, corrupt, perverted and abusive.[1019] Both anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian writings adopted the same method, trumpeting the superior nature of their religion, allowing them to portray both Catholics and Presbyterians as overconfident and threatening to other religions. Although decades apart, similar disparaging sentiments also occupied both anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian tracts. William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, enthusiastically prosecuted religious dissenters and became regarded as a hero among bishops for his anti-Catholic works.[1020] In his 1686 pamphlet, Lloyd criticised Catholics describing 'their faith and doctrine' as 'Erroneous and Heretical'.[1021] Likewise, Tisdall's 1715 pamphlet welcomed the 1704 Test Act which stripped Presbyterians of their roles in local government and justified the legislation. He stated that Presbyterians were 'being oblig'd in Conscience to Maintain what they have Establish'd as sound and Orthodox, against what they have suppos'd Erroneous and Corrupt.'[1022] Thus, Anglicans used the same disapproving language to defame their 'enemies'. Therefore, it must be considered that

---

[1017] Ibid, pp. 8 & 14.
[1018] Curate, *The Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence*, p. 6.
[1019] French, *A Collection of Mr. J. Boyse's Several Scurrilous & Abusive Reflections*, pp. 25-26.
[1020] Michael Mullett, 'William Lloyd (1627-1717)', *ODNB*, (8 December 2020).
[1021] William Lloyd, *Papists No Catholicks: & Popery No Christianity* (London, 1686), p. 34.
[1022] Tisdall, *The Case of the Sacramental Test*, p. 5.

perhaps the same language characterised anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian tracts because they had both been penned by the same Anglican authors.

Flaws in Catholicism are examined in a 1670 pamphlet, which listed Catholics' imperfections and bad personality traits such as 'hypocrisie, flattery, lying, perjury, treasons, deceits, simony and other greater wickedness.'[1023] The negative behaviours associated with Catholics is lengthy and fault-finding. However, an anonymous author applied similar sentiments to prominent Presbyterian, Boyse, who he described as immodest, scandalous, a liar, full of evil and lack of honour.[1024] Although these negative remarks are aimed at a solitary Presbyterian; perceptions of non-conformists as dishonest and reprehensible people became widespread throughout the Anglican Ulster community during this period. A 1679 pamphlet entitled, *'A Letter from the Devil to the Pope and His Prelates'* deployed ever more offensive language against Catholics, 'and the mighty Whore which committed fornication with the Kings Earth*, the adulterous Spouse of Christ, and of a chaste person made a strumpet.'[1025] This pamphlet's satirical approach allows the author to convey his negative feelings towards Catholicism without explicitly mentioning the religion. However, the title of this pamphlet sets the tone as it insinuates connections between the Pope and the devil. Thirty years later, Ralph Lambert, recorded the negative remarks of a Presbyterian minister who castigated the objects of his anger as 'Sons of Whores' and this being branded as 'Common Scurrilous Language'.[1026] Gilbert Rule, a Scottish Presbyterian minister,[1027] highlighted that the Episcopal community viewed many Presbyterian ministers as 'scandalous: Some Adulterers: Some Fornicators: Some Blasphemers: Whole Families incestuous', and 'a Presbyterian had rather be accused of Adultery, Sodomy and Incest, then is he thought

---

[1023] Anon, *A Letter from the Devil to the Pope & His Prelates* (London, 1679), p. 2.
[1024] French, A Collection of Mr. J. Boyse, p. 19.
[1025] Ibid, p. 3.
[1026] Lambert, *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet*, p. 7.
[1027] Alexander Du Toit, 'Gilbert Rule (c.1629-1701)', *ODNB,* (4 September 2021).

Ignorant.'[1028] Although these pamphlets took a different approach to derogatory accusations and remarks, they both succeeded in their negative portrayal of Catholics and Presbyterians.

Likewise, both Irish Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians are portrayed as ruthless and barbarous people, perhaps in an attempt to strike fear into the Ulster Protestants. The stereotype of the 'bloody Papist',[1029] is conveyed in a 1685 account by Richard Hamon, an Ulster resident. He stated that as he approached Derryloran Church in Cookstown, County Tyrone, he noticed armed Scotsmen and questioned their doing so; they told him that they 'were informed that [th]e Irish were to rise [tha]t night & Cutt theire throats, & for feare of it they were upon theire watch & guarde.'[1030] A 1714 pamphlet describes Presbyterians as possessing 'an Unneighbourly, Cruel and Barbarous Spirit.'[1031] Similarly, one Mr Sterling, a Scottish minister resident within Parish of Lurgan purportedly said, 'they ought to cut the throat and kill every English man that came into this Countrey among them.'[1032] Therefore, both accounts portray Irish natives, likely Catholics, and Presbyterian Scots as brutal and callous; demonstrating a clear attempt to vilify these religious factions.

Another common theme in the negative rhetoric employed for both anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian writings centred on disdain and disregard for their religious sacraments. Lloyd's 1686 pamphlet against Catholics argued that 'to administer the Holy Sacraments according to Christ's Ordinance: therefore, in the Church of Rome there is no true Ordination, therefore no true Ministry, therefore no true Church.'[1033] The pamphlet continues to question the legitimacy of Catholic baptisms and declared the Catholic's belief of transubstantiation as 'a

---

[1028] Gilbert Rule, *A Defence of the Vindication of the Church of Scotland, in Answer to an Apology of the Clergy of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1694), p. 21.
[1029] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England,* p. 6.
[1030] 'Richard Hamon Deposition', 1685, (T.B.L., MS Clarendon 88 fos. 86-88), p. 88.
[1031] Anderson, *A Defence of the Church-Government*, p. 332.
[1032] 'A Memoir for Duke of Ormonde', 15 November 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (18 December 2019), p. 83.
[1033] Lloyd, *Papists No Catholicks,* p. 15.

meer cheat, for the Sacrament it self then ceaseth.'[1034] Likewise, Boyse highlights how

Presbyterian sacraments of baptism and communion also became 'null and void'.[1035]

Anglicans dealt with rival religious groups by discrediting their sacraments. The Established

Church feared suppression and became alarmed by large influxes of Presbyterians, in

conjunction with their awareness of the existing Catholic majority in Ulster. A 1681 pamphlet

strongly conveys their anxieties regarding Catholicism as 'an evil Weed growth fast, by

example of the new Catholics increase.'[1036] The description of Catholics as a 'weed' is

significant, as this unwanted plant will spread quickly if untreated. Sentiments regarding the

threat posed to Anglicans by the rapid growth of Presbyterians is further expressed by

Tisdall. He argued that the ignorance of the majority of Ulster people allowed the

Presbyterians to grow in power and fight against the uncovenanted monarchy.[1037] Anglicans

believed that the Irish population's unfamiliarity with the dangers of Presbyterianism

threatened the Established Church, especially in 1690s Ulster. Thus, there are clear

similarities between the negative rhetoric used against Catholics and Presbyterians, only a

few decades apart. The identification of matching rhetoric used against the subordinate and

hated Catholics highlights the level of hostility that Presbyterians faced during this period.

**Migrant Fear**

Migrant fear predominated as the overwhelming response to Scottish migrants arriving in

1690s Ulster amongst the Anglican elites. This phenomenon is usually expressed through

horrific tales of the perceived threat that migrants pose to their 'new home'. Relating Scots to

vermin and insects demonstrates a negative connotation, thereby incorporating the 'migrant-

phobia'. Therefore, examining contemporary conceptions of the Scots explains the

---

[1034] Ibid, pp. 20 & 22.
[1035] Boyse, A Clear Account of the Ancient Episcopacy, p. 278.
[1036] Dauncey, *A Certain Way to Prevent Popery*, p. 6.
[1037] Tisdall, *A Seasonable Enquiry*, p. 23.

trepidation they faced during this period. Fitzgerald highlighted the alarm caused by Irish migrants to England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries with the Lord Lieutenant of the Tower of London, William Waad, claiming that the Irish migrants and their numerous illegitimate children descended on London during the day to beg or steal.[1038] Likewise, negative assumptions emerged regarding Scots as violent individuals, creating an anti-Scottish sentiment known as 'Scotophobia'.[1039] Rosemarie Sackmann comments that 'the self-conception of the respective country of immigrants provides a framework for the perception of its migrants.'[1040] Wormald also reiterated the French proverb of 'rats, lice and Scotsmen: you find them the world over.'[1041]

A 1697 anti-Presbyterian pamphlet proposed that migrants would only be accepted in their new country if they had a good reputation with natives; however, if 'the Inhabitants are Prejudiced against them, from hence Animosities will Naturally arise, and such ill Blood may by degrees be bred in them.'[1042] These negative perceptions of Scots are apparent in the contemporary records due to Scottish participation in the Plantation of Ulster, essentially colonising Ireland and creating an unflattering image of Scots in Ulster. A 1689 tract strongly conveys this sentiment stating the 'mortal Prejudice against the Northern Scots Presbyterians: Notorious in three equally groundless and immodest Calumnies.'[1043] Scottish migrant merchants became stereotyped as devious, further staining their reputation. A letter of 20 July 1697 states that Stephen Godfrey, Surveyor of Londonderry's port, seized a boat containing malt, oatmeal and tanned hides headed for Scotland without entry or paying custom on the

---

[1038] Patrick Fitzgerald, ''Like Crickets to the Crevice of a Brew-house': Poor Irish Migrants in England, 1560-1640', in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of Migration* (London, 1992), p. 25.
[1039] Kilday, *Crime in Scotland,* p. 2.
[1040] Sackmann, 'Introduction', p. 2.
[1041] Jenny Wormald, 'The 'British' Crown, the Earls & the Plantation of Ulster', in Ó Ciardha & Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 26 & 27.
[1042] Molesworth, *The True Way to Render Ireland,* p. 5.
[1043] Mackenzie, *An Apology for the Failures*, p. 6.

items.[1044] Furthermore, a proclamation from the Lord Justices of Ireland on 13 August 1697 expressed large quantities of counterfeit money lay at Scotland's ports waiting for importation to Ireland.[1045]

Other negative connotations relating to Scottish migrants can be explained through Scotland's prolonged status as a barbarous and uncivilised nation.[1046] Rule disputed the view of Scots as 'Cunning, Avaritious, and Dissembling, beyond measure.'[1047] These cultural associations are corroborated in a letter from Lord Sunderland to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of 27 November 1684 which expressed that 'a mad fanatical sort of people', believed to have fled Scotland for Ulster, after they had committed several murders.[1048] Alarmist extremism is also portrayed in a memoir to the second Duke of Ormonde of 15 November 1703, which reported on a Scottish minister stating that every Englishmen that entered Ireland should have their throats cut.[1049] This is arguably a propagandist attempt by Anglicans to spread negative views of the Scots, especially Presbyterians, as dangerous people. A letter from Bishop Dopping and Bishop King to Lord Capel of 24 March 1694, describes Scottish people in Ulster as 'the Malcontents of Scotland and the Presbyterians that come from thence.'[1050] Ironically, King's father was a Scottish Presbyterian, but he conformed to the Church of Ireland and acquired a strong hostility towards dissenters.[1051] Additionally, the description of migrants as 'malcontents of Scotland' conveys the impression that Anglicans felt threatened and perceived them as troublesome. This negative emotion towards Scots

---

[1044] 'Letter from May to Mr Yard', 20 July 1697, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (16 December 2019), p. 74.
[1045] 'Proclamation by the Lords Justices & Council', 13 August 1697, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 359, (16 December 2019), p. 135.
[1046] Anne-Marie Kilday, 'The Barbarous North? Criminality in Early Modern Scotland', in Devine & Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook,* p. 332; Stevenson, 'Twilight before Night', p. 38.
[1047] Rule, *A Defence of the Vindication of the Church of Scotland,* p. 21.
[1048] 'Letter from Lord Sunderland to Lord Lieutenant of Ireland', 27 November 1684, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 340, (16 December 2019), p. 38.
[1049] 'A Memoir for Duke of Ormond', 15 November 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (18 December 2019), p. 83.
[1050] 'Letter from Anthony Dopping and William King to Lord Capel', 24 March 1693/4, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 356, (14 December 2019), p. 74.
[1051] McNally, 'William King', p. 48; McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* p. 118.

regularly resulted in their destructive portrayal with connotations of being cold-blooded and ruthless, correlating with Scotland's 'barbarous' reputation,[1052] whereby fuelling migrant fear.

This sentiment is further bolstered in '*A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland*' (1690) which states that English and Scottish Protestant migrants infiltrated Ulster in substantial numbers and became a terror to Irish natives, due to their perceived numerical strength[1053] This resulted in Cormuck O Neale, a professed Catholic, raising a regiment in counties Antrim and Down, marching to Carrickfergus with small skirmishes also occurring between Catholic and Protestants in Armagh and Monaghan.[1054] Ultimately, a conflict commenced between the two religious sects, resulting in Protestants being plundered and subjected to cruelty by 'those barbarous Cannibals', about Catholics.[1055] Unsurprising, the arrival of more Protestants caused anxiety among Irish Catholics; however, Scottish migrants would probably not have expected this apprehension towards them to extend to their Anglican Protestant cohort.

However, when analysing the religious turmoil of 17th century Britain and Ireland, it is apparent that internal divisions existed among Protestantism. Moreover, Anglican elites such as Archbishop King even acknowledged that Presbyterians and Anglicans uniting could be potentially disastrous as conveyed in his letter of 28 July 1711 to Jonathan Swift:

> There is a party amongst us, that have little sense of religion, and heartily hate the Church: these would have the natives made Protestants; but such as themselves are deadly afraid they should come into the Church, because, say they, this would strengthen the Church too much.[1056]

Jonathan Swift exuded Scotophobia, repelling any notion to advance Scots into public position stating; 'but, to think there is any Design for bringing the Scotch into Offices, is a

---

[1052] Rosalind Carr, *Gender & Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014), p. 10.
[1053] Taylor, *A Faithful History,* p. 6.
[1054] Ibid, pp. 26-27.
[1055] Ibid, p. 39.
[1056] Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift,* p. 244.

mere Scandal.'[1057] He also expressed his hatred for 'all nations, professions and communities', which unsurprisingly contained the 'Scotch'.[1058] The anxiety resonates in Anglican letters, correspondence and political pamphlets, characterised by Swift. Indeed, he acquired a passionate resistance to dissenters, perceiving political dissent and religious schism to be dangerous.[1059] Swift struggled against the native Catholics and immigrant Presbyterians, providing a microcosm of the Church of Ireland's relationship with Catholics and dissenters.[1060] Thus, these apprehensions and challenges became rife amongst the Anglican elite and Irish establishment during the 17th and early 18th centuries.

Migration is perceived by some as an enrichment of society and by others as a threat to their own culture;[1061] Church of Ireland men formed the latter perception. This 'stubborn sect' who dominated trade would use their economic power to monopolise the political control of Ulster and beyond.[1062] Indeed, the fear surrounding Scots gaining control of Ulster is apparent in a letter to King William II and III from Henry Sydney, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, regarding a replacement for the Mayor of Derry on 20 February 1693; 'without the approbation of the Councill which was never done before, and this was carried on by the Scotch faction, by which you may see what they will doe when they have power in their hands.'[1063] The derogatory referencing of the Scots continued into the early 18th century as illustrated in correspondence from Edward Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham of 9 December 1703; 'a letter wrote to my Lord by a friend that was travelling into [th]e North. It will shew something of these people.'[1064] The language used to describe inhabitants of the north as 'these people' conveys a detached contempt of these exotic, dangerous newcomers.

---

[1057] Ibid, p. 115.
[1058] Lane-Poole (ed.), *Letters & Journals of Jonathan Swift,* pp. 194 & 195.
[1059] Walsh, 'Swift & Religion', pp. 162 & 169.
[1060] Ibid, p. 162.
[1061] Sackmann, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[1062] Sherry, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks', p. 120.
[1063] 'Letter from Sydney to the King', 20 February 1692/3, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 355, (10 December 2019), p. 52.
[1064] 'Letter from Edward Southwell to Earl of Nottingham', 9 December 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (16 December 2019), p. 81.

Therefore, these stigmas attached to Scottish migrants provoked anxiety into the Irish establishment with the hostility towards Scottish migrants manifesting itself into paranoia which also characterised the reception for those 1690s migrant Scots arriving in Ulster.

**Scottish Migrants' Negative Reception**

These Anglican elite fears might explain the unwelcome reception received by some Scottish migrants between the 1680s and 1700s. Such ill feelings would only worsen with the massive influx of the 1690s. A letter from 16 July 1700, which noted that 'S[i]r Edward [Seymour] seems mightyly inclined to root out the Scotch in his Estate, and discourages both them & their religion.'[1065] Further correspondence from Edward Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham on 25 September 1703 states that 'there is a most strange mixture of Scotch & fanatical principles w[hi]ch sours the mass.'[1066] The apprehension of Scots and Presbyterianism seems widespread from the evidence consulted and correlates with the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric examined in this chapter.

By 1693, Bishop King had emerged as the 'most virulently anti-dissenter of all Irish churchmen' in both the English and Irish governments.[1067] On 18 January 1694/5, he expressed his exhilaration at the idea of a Presbyterian-free Ulster; 'I cannot but smile at [th]e fancy.'[1068] However, he took a stronger hostile stance towards the Scots in a letter to Arthur Miller in Scotland:

> There is one thing more [tha]t is a great obstruction, yo[u]r own countrymen are yo[u]r greatest enemys, the dissenters w[hi]ch are most numerous out of principle & the rest our of policy, for all of [the]m are lookd on w[i]th a jealousey, & great apprehensions left on any struggle for the possession [th]e Scotch in Ireland shou'd join with their mother countrey.[1069]

---

[1065] 'Letter from Harrison', 16 July 1700, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 361, (11 December 2019), p. 25.
[1066] 'Letter from Edward Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham', 25 September 1703, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 363, (13 December 2019), p. 252.
[1067] O'Regan, 'William King as Bishop & Parliamentarian', pp. 85-86.
[1068] 'Letter from William King', 18 January 1694/5, (T.C.D, The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MS 1995-2008/396a).
[1069] 'Letter from William King, Archbishop of Dublin, Dublin to Mr Arthur Miller', 6 June 1704, (N.R.S., Records of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, CH12/12/363).

Therefore, greater evidence of the antagonistic response received by Scottish migrants and the want for their return to Scotland. A letter to the Earl of Nottingham from the Irish Tory and judge, Richard Cox, who supported the union with England and feared increasing Scottish and Presbyterian influence,[1070] outlines his fear of not having enough English in Ireland would 'by Indignation Necesity and Despaire Will Turne Scotch or Irish.'[1071] This connects with Presbyterian's anger at being classified at the same level as the Catholic enemy. Rising apprehension about neglected Episcopal parishes encouraging people towards Presbyterianism became common throughout this period,[1072] as conveyed in a 1690 pamphlet expressing that those 'who make no small advantage of [th]e neglect of [th]e minister of [th]e parish & [th]e poverty & weaknesse of [th]e Curate to render [th]e proffession & perswasion Contemptible.'[1073] Furthermore, Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, wrote to Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath stating: 'we have heard likewise great complaints of non-residence, & dispensations for holding Benefices at extravagant distances.'[1074] A difficulty arose for isolated Anglican families trying to uphold their religion despite vacant Church of Ireland parishes.[1075] During Easter, rural communities could not return home in time to prepare for receiving Holy Communion, 'to the no small scandal' of the Established Church.[1076] This sentiment is also echoed in a letter from Reverend William Smyth to Charles Hanson, County Cavan, which stated that with working parishes being miles away 'so many soules because some by reason of their youth others their poverty are not able to goe so many miles & will of course turne heathens.'[1077] Additionally, the gentlemen of County Cavan

---

[1070] Smyth, ''Like Amphibious Animals'', p. 795.
[1071] 'Letter from Richard Cox to Earl of Nottingham', 13 February 1704, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 364, (12 December 2020), p. 58.
[1072] Bardon, *The Plantation of Ulster,* p. 307.
[1073] 'The State of the Church of Ireland', 1690, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, TCD IE MS 1995-2008/115a).
[1074] 'Letter from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to the Bishop of Meath', 25 September 1690, (A.R.L., The Dopping Papers, P001498149.2), p. 169.
[1075] Wall, *The Penal Laws*, p. 10.
[1076] 'Armagh Convocation Records', 1704, (P.R.O.N.I., Church of Ireland Records, DIO/4/10/3/2), p. 93.
[1077] 'Letter from Rev. William Smyth to Charles Hanson', 9 December 1694, (N.L.I., Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 41,575/15).

reiterated this outlook in 1695 as they dreaded the consequences of having a Presbyterian minister within their county; 'the meaner sort of Inhabitants… yett of easie inclinations and upon such an encouragement as these Gentlem[en] designe, may be seduced and p[er]suaded to a separation from our Churches.'[1078]

Peters states that 'groups have experiences and perceptions of the ways they are perceived, described and otherwise treated by the outside world.'[1079] Presbyterian's often adopted an inferior tone when addressing the crown utilising words such as 'beg' and 'opportunity' regarding their want of toleration in Ulster. However, it must be noted that this subservient sentiment may be exaggerated. Indeed, a letter from the Presbyterian ministers of the north of Ireland to Mr Vernon, Secretary of the Duke of Shrewsbury on 15 April 1695, expressed their indignation at the adverse press in Ulster. The correspondence states that Presbyterians are 'so desiring to be lookt upon as persons whose consciences & interest both oblidge them to be loyall & peaceable subject, we hope you shall not need to be ashamed of owning us as [tha]t.'[1080] The language used highlights the psychological impact of the unwelcome reception given to Scottish migrants by demonstrating the severity of the received hostility. This unfriendly reception of Presbyterian ministers did not end after 1699, as the General Synod of Ulster on 5 June 1705 assessed a Scottish probationer, Robert Gemble, for the Coleraine Presbytery and resolved that they can 'be tender of the young Man a Stranger among us.'[1081] Considering the deep-rooted Scottish settlements established during this period, labelling Robert Gemble as a 'stranger' is profoundly unwelcoming, effectively conveying him as an 'alien' or 'outsider'. Adair portrays a similar negative sentiment; 'but Strangers in a Manner in another Kingdome of the Scotch extraction and on these accounts

---

[1078] 'Letter from the Gentlemen of Co. Cavan to Rev. William Smyth', 18 November 1695, (N.L.I, Letters & Papers of Rev. William Smyth, MS 51,575/16).
[1079] Peters, 'Collective Identity', p. 19.
[1080] 'Letter from Presbyterian Ministers of the North to Mr Vernon, 15 April 1695, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 357, (11 December 2019), p. 32.
[1081] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 104.

both hated and despised by these of the English who were prelaticall.'[1082] Not only are Scots again referred to as 'strangers', but they are explicitly loathed by Ulster Anglicans, reinforcing the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric which infused contemporary Anglican thoughts.

Nonetheless, not every Scottish minister performed to a high standard, and several clergymen used their new location (Ulster) to continue their malpractice. These ministers would have added strength to the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric in Ulster during this period, as their ill behaviour would have contributed to the overall 'wickedness' and 'evil' vocabulary deployed by Anglicans. The following cases demonstrate how the ill behaviour of some ministers could tarnish the whole group. Presbyterians acquired a reputation for disciplining their congregations without using ecclesiastical courts; instead, they used kirk sessions for this function.[1083] Troublesome ministers could also be punished, and Scottish clergymen in the northern province were not exempt from reprimand. This is exemplified by the case of William Forsyth, whose return to his disorderly ways resulted in disciplinary action from the General Synod of Ulster.[1084] Reference in his censure to the Synod of Glasgow's sentencing of Mr Forsyth suggests he came from Scotland, caused more trouble in Ulster, and consequently faced punishment from the General Synod. Further evidence of disorderly Scottish ministers coming to Ulster emerges in a letter from Mr Robert Paton, minister of Dumfries, who stated that the Church of Scotland had deposed Mr Hugh Clany, who then travelled to Ulster and conducted 'irregular' marriages.[1085] In keeping with the negative experience of Scottish Presbyterian ministers to Ulster, the Presbytery of Antrim records on 5 October 1686 highlight the arrival of David Houston, a Scottish minister, who is 'an irregular and troublesome man'.[1086] Several months later on 1 March 1687, the kirk session at Dunagor

---

[1082] Patrick Adair, 'A True Narrative of the Rise & Progress of the Presbyterian Government in the north of Ireland', in Armstrong, Holmes, Spurlock & Walsh (eds.), *Presbyterian History in Ireland,* p. 271 [A. 318].
[1083] Hayton, 'The Emergence of a Protestant Society', p. 162.
[1084] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster,* pp. 18-19.
[1085] Ibid, p. 122.
[1086] 'Minutes of the Presbytery of Antrim', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/1), pp. 272-273.

comments on his actions, claiming that his disorderly manner and preaching reflected badly on the whole Ulster ministry.[1087]

**Scottish Migrants' Positive Reception**

This discussion provides insight into why Ulster's various confessional communities, especially communicants of the Church of Ireland, may have disliked Scottish Presbyterians. A mainly negative response dominated the contemporary sources, mirroring the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric during this period. Nevertheless, such positive reactions have been largely overlooked in the historiography. The 1692 legislation, 'for Encouragement of Protestant Strangers to Settle in the Kingdom of Ireland',[1088] uses the terminology of 'stranger' in a more welcoming manner. Simms states that this act did not include Scots, however, allowed other Protestant strangers to worship freely.[1089] Conversely, Sydney's letter on 8 October 1692 does not differentiate between the categories of 'Protestant strangers' by stating that 'all' were welcome to Ireland, especially those wanting to establish trade and manufactories in Irish towns and cities.[1090] Therefore, this letter does not exclude Scottish migrants, which would certainly have appealed to those Scots eager to create or maintain business ventures. This positive welcome is strongly supported by correspondence of 29 July 1697 from Robert Bowes, a minister from Edinburgh who moved to Letterkenny: 'I am in good health since I parted with you last in Glasgow, & am also well setled in a place neare Rapho… wher I hope I may be in a conditione to live blessed be God, & can have the frie exercise of my ministerie, without interruption.'[1091] In a further missive of 18 November 1697, he expressed on 'account of my setlment I thank God I live quietly & contented by, &

---

[1087] Ibid, p. 291.
[1088] 'For Encouragement of Protestant Strangers to Settle in the Kingdom of Ireland', 1692, *Irish Legislation Database,* (https://www.qub.ac.uk/ild/?func=simple_search), (14 January 2021).
[1089] Simms, 'The Establishment of the Protestant Ascendancy', p. 25.
[1090] 'Letter from Sydney', 8 October 1692, *SPO,* SP 63, Vol. 354, (10 December 2019), p. 168.
[1091] 'Letter from Robert Bowes to Robert Graham of Callingad', 29 July 1697, (N.R.S., Cunninghame Graham Family Papers, GD22/2/91).

am out of the reach of malice of our unfreinds.'[1092] The first letter highlights his initial apprehensions about living in Ulster, yet within four months he conveys his satisfaction at settling in the northern province. Bowes' letters suggest that his life had improved in Ulster, as he refers to avoiding 'malice' and alludes to an unpleasant Scottish experience.

Further evidence of a welcome reception is highlighted through a Scottish minister, Samuel Hallyday, who received monetary encouragements as highlighted in the Laggan Presbytery minutes of 8 February 1693; 'they have given him eleven pound eight shill[ings] for his transportation, and twenty barrels of corne, and that they will do farther both as to ther deficiencies, and ther securitie for his mentenance.'[1093] The attraction of money, food, security and maintenance to Scottish ministers in the 1690s would certainly have been allurement to Ulster. This was not an isolated incident as the Laggan Presbytery records illustrate that one Mr Harvey, another Scottish minister, was offered incentives including £40 annual salary, corn and construction of a new house at a convenient place.[1094] The high demand for Scottish ministers in Ulster's parishes encouraged these enticements. More surprisingly, however, the Irish Government also encouraged Scottish clergymen through offering annual pensions paid quarterly to Ulster Presbyterian ministers, as conveyed in a letter from Lord Capel on 15 February 1695.[1095] Conversely, Whan argues that some post-1690, Scottish ministers in Ulster were encouraged to serve back in Scotland.[1096] However, an examination of the FASTI records for 1661-1690 shows that forty-two of the eighty-eight ministers specifically gave their birthplace as Scotland.[1097] On further analysis, information for only nine (21%) of the forty-two Scottish clergymen specifically mentioned their return

---

[1092] Ibid.
[1093] 'Minutes of the Presbytery of Laggan', 1679-1695, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/6), p. 173.
[1094] Ibid, p. 327.
[1095] 'Letter from Capel', 15 February 1695, *SPO,* SP 63. Vol. 357, (11 December 2019), p. 9.
[1096] Whan, *The Presbyterians in Ulster,* p. 52.
[1097] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI – Part 3 & Part 3 Continued*, pp. 55-84.

and parish settlement in Scotland post-1690.[1098] To compare, only eleven Scottish ministers

are listed for the 1690-1720 FASTI records, and none of them directly expressed their return

and prolonged settlement in Scotland.[1099] Although Whan states Scottish ministers would

rather practice in their homeland during this period, this evidence suggests otherwise. Indeed,

it is worth considering the success of the abovementioned enticements in permanently settling

ministers to fulfil the needs of extensive vacant parishes, as well as, attracting and

maintaining new Scottish clergymen.

Although the Ulster parishes offered a positive experience to Scottish ministers through

enticements, these benefits also faced criticism from Anglican elites. Bishop King expressed

his loathing for Presbyterian ministers receiving benefits and the emphasis placed upon them:

> Presbytery wou'd sink of it self in the North if it were not encouraged & buoyed up with some p[re]sent
> favours & more hopes… needs neither force nor persecution to do it only steadiness & a du core [tha]t a
> man may not grow rich & powerfull & formidable by being a dissenter.[1100]

Unsurprisingly, Bishop King expressed concern at the further growth of Presbyterians as

their existing numerical presence spread throughout the province. He also vehemently

opposed the regium donum payment of £1200 towards Presbyterian pensions,[1101] arguing that

this money could be used more wisely stating; 'y[ou]r Lordship cannot imagine how great the

cry of [th]e Country already is for want of money, and according to y[ou]r Lordships

prediction it growes every day worse and worse.'[1102] Again, King's dismay is understandable

as he regarded the Church of Ireland as being under relentless threat from Catholics and

dissenters at the end of the 17[th] century.[1103] Anglican elites' angst at Scottish Presbyterian

---

[1098] Ibid.

[1099] McConnell (ed.), *FASTI – Part 4, Part 4 Continued & Part 5*, pp. 89-124.

[1100] 'Letter from William King', 18 January 1694/5, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, 1995-2008/396a).

[1101] Connolly, 'The Penal Laws', p. 167.

[1102] 'Letter from William King to John Bolton', 24 January 1702/3, (T.C.D., The Lyons Collection, 1995-2008/983).

[1103] McNally, 'William King', p. 49.

numerical strength in Ulster would only be exacerbated with these enticement methods which encouraged even more Scottish migrants.

Nevertheless, Ulster Presbyterianism harboured the Scottish belief in a 'godly society' or 'reformation of manners', encouraging moral behaviour from their respective societies, especially their clergymen.[1104] Kilroy states that Scottish Presbyterians had a 'strong and cohesive body of doctrine and practice'.[1105] Consequently, ministers to Ulster needed to provide testimonials before practising there. This procedure would ensure the selection of suitable, well-behaved ministers to perform their duties and not debarred clergy trying to practice elsewhere. The Antrim Presbytery minutes of 5 July 1693 noted that Mr Archibald Ross received a testimonial from the Presbytery of Irvine stating that he had received a licence to preach on 27 August 1689.[1106] Another example from the Presbytery of Antrim records of 30 October 1694 notes that Mr Samuel Henry from the Presbytery of Edinburgh appeared with testimonials in support of his licence to preach, and the moderator subsequently welcomed him to the Antrim Presbytery.[1107] However, not all testimonials were accepted. The General Synod of Ulster records states that on 5 June 1705 a Scottish probationer appeared with a license to preach certified by the Presbytery of Irvine.[1108] However, the Synod required that the testimonials covered more than two years of experience and deemed his paperwork insufficient, denying him the right to practice in Ulster.[1109] The rejection of such testimonials demonstrates the rigorous selection process and the need to maintain a 'godly society', thereby reinforcing the importance of Presbyterian doctrine and practice.

---

[1104] Young, 'The Scottish Covenanters', p. 26.
[1105] Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent,* p. 29.
[1106] 'Minutes of the Presbytery of Antrim', 1671-1691, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC637/1), pp. 189-190
[1107] Ibid, p. 255.
[1108] *Records of the General Synod of Ulster*, p. 104.
[1109] Ibid, p. 104.

**Conclusion**

The reaction, rhetoric and reception of the Scottish migrants provide a crucial aspect to the 1690s migration to Ulster. Comparisons of early-modern reactions in Ulster to modern-day migrant communities in Scotland and Northern Ireland allows a relatable association to be established. Similarities in the negative reactions towards migrants are evident, albeit 300 years apart. These negative mindsets concerning migrants help convey the strength of anti-Presbyterian rhetoric in the 1690s. The utilisations of disease and demonology analogies meant ordinary people could connect with the message being conveyed by Anglican authors concerning the dangers of Presbyterianism. Furthermore, similarities emerged between the anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian rhetoric of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Both vernaculars deployed the same negative metaphors and vocabularies towards Catholics and Presbyterians, probably a result of both religions being targeted by the same Anglican authors. Therefore, paranoia began to manifest itself into Ulster's society, mainly amongst Anglican elites, correlating 1690s Scottish migrants with negative cultural associations such as 'barbarous' and 'cold-blooded', utilised to exacerbate the migrant fear against the new arrivals. Strong evidence existed of a hostile reception towards Scottish migrants, however, examples of positive experiences also occurred. Nevertheless, an overwhelmingly negative reception was recorded in the contemporary sources. Therefore, the reaction, rhetoric and reception must be considered when analysing the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster.

# **Conclusion**

This thesis has rectified many historiographical gaps and uncertainties surrounding a much-neglected topic, starting with assessing Scotland's and Ireland's societies, economies, politics and religion in the 1690s. This comparison helped determine whether the similarities and differences encouraged this migration. The utilisation of an original approach shows the extent of the Scottish influx to Ulster in the 1690s, combined with the push and pull factors that stimulated this movement. Greater knowledge of the migrant demographic has been revealed through an in-depth analysis of their social status, regional origin and religious affiliation, proving that south-western, Presbyterian famine victims did not predominate the migrant pool. Uncovering the importance of return migrants as a potential group, and the extent to which the ease of travel over the North Channel facilitated this journey also proved crucial in providing significant details of this migration. The economic and political impact of these migrants played a key role in exposing the extent of their progression within these areas and explaining the subsequent elite, Anglican hostility that emerged towards them. An examination of the reaction, rhetoric and reception of the Scottish migrants to 1690s Ulster unearthed the degree of Scotophobia within Ulster during this period. A comparison between modern-day migrant communities and 1690s migrant experiences provides a relatable comparative context for the respective challenges both groups faced. In addition, analysis of the methods utilised to spread this hatred, and the ensuing negativity towards Scots demonstrated the aggressive and intimidating environment that they unknowingly entered upon their arrival.

Chapter one explored the similarities and differences for each factor, thereby providing a greater understanding of the two kingdoms, which goes some way to explain the large-scale migration of Scots to Ulster in the 1690s. Scotland and Ulster's societies had similar

involvement in the 'Glorious Revolution', albeit, different levels of intensity during this period. Scotland suffered during the 1690s with their Highland problems, involvement in the Nine Years' War and famine. To pacify the Highlands, William II and III's government opted for the cheapest time-honoured options of factionalism and feud, ultimately resulting in the 1692 Massacre of Glencoe. The Nine Years' War also caused trade disruption and increased taxation, infuriating the Scottish population. Scotland also fell victim to a catastrophic famine from 1695 to 1700 with a similar mortality rate of the worst affected regions in Europe. For its part, Ulster provided some of the earliest Irish theatres of the Williamite Wars. The beginning of the conflict heavily impacted the province, especially in the north with the Siege of Derry. The Enniskilleners' emerged as a 'new model' army based on the Laggan Army which had defended settlers in the 1640s and consisted of a strong Scottish composition. However, no disastrous societal incidents occurred as witnessed in Scotland during the rest of the decade, making Ulster the most settled of the two regions.

The economies of Scotland and Ireland also had more differences than similarities during this period. Scotland's forward-thinking, commercial ambition and approach manifested itself into the Bank of Scotland being established in 1695; an Irish counterpart would not emerge until 1782. Scotland also passed an act for establishing post offices to help with correspondence and trade, thereby conveying their want of economic progression. Even, the failed Darien venture speaks to Scottish economic ambition, although it ended up draining Scotland's economy. Thus, Scotland remained economically weak throughout the 1690s, even if the improvement ideology of Scots still prevailed. Thus, Scottish parliamentary acts included the establishment of a sawmill, soap manufactory, sugar works and repairs to Ayr's harbour. However, Scotland ended the decade in financial ruin. Although not as progressive as Scotland in terms of commercial networks at the beginning of the decade, Ulster's economy expanded by the end of the 1690s. Belfast emerged relatively untouched from the

Williamite Wars in Ireland and saw a huge increase in the importation of luxury goods and increased trading. Ulster's commercial links also remained intact through the Nine Years' War due to their non-participation. Additionally, the province did not find itself subject to the same level of trading restrictions as Scotland during the 1690s, as it posed less of a threat to England's commerce. In terms of similarity between Scotland and Ulster's economies, both had an improvement mindset to further enhance their societies. Scots played a significant role in the success of Ulster's linen industry too. By the end of the 1690s, the differences outweighed similarities; Scotland's economy had dwindled, while Ulster's had flourished, which inevitably enticed many Scots to 1690s Ulster.

With regards to politics, stark differences appear between Scotland and Ireland's parliamentary structures and workings. The Scottish Parliament being an independent body, with no English control over their dealings. It consisted of a unicameral chamber with three estates and a mainly Presbyterian composition. Throughout the 1690s, the unstable Williamite Scottish Parliament became filled with factions, uncertainty and apprehensions towards the new king, causing internal fragmentation and restlessness. For his part, he did not care for Scotland unless it could provide resources for the Nine Years' War. His lack of interest created an opposition party within the Scottish Parliament called 'The Club', who distrusted the new monarch. His failure to call a parliamentary session in the aftermath of the Darien debacle further exacerbated the situation, demonstrating his lack of enthusiasm for Scotland. Alternatively, the Irish Parliament's structure and workings drastically differed from Scotland's. Westminster essentially controlled the Irish Parliament modelled on the two-chamber English Parliament, effectively adopting England's party-political system. Poynings' Law (1494) provided another major difference between the Scottish and Irish Parliaments, as all intended Irish legislation had to be approved by the English Privy Council. This caused controversy during the 17th century resulting in the Heads of Bills being

introduced by the latter part of the century. This procedure allowed a draft bill to be created and given to the Irish Council to present and format as a standard bill to the Privy Council via the English Parliament. However, similarities also existed between the Scottish and Irish governments concerning the Protestant composition of the two parliaments, as well as, their use of committees. These committees became a prominent part of post-Revolution decision making. Four standing committees emerged within the Scottish Government, which all comprised of equal numbers from each estate. The key committees within the Irish Parliament became utilised exclusively by the House of Commons, whereas, both Houses used the smaller committees which dealt with various matters such as petitions, addresses and answers, as well as, drafting Heads of Bills. Moreover, more differences than similarities emerged between the Scottish and Irish Parliaments, however, whether these impacted Scots' decision to migrate to Ulster during the 1690s is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, acknowledging the parliamentary structures and workings is crucial in gaining a better understanding of these two regions.

In terms of religion, Scotland and Ireland had opposite religious affiliations in the 1690s, with Scotland being strongly Protestant, and Ireland being predominantly Catholic. Ulster provided the exception having strong similarities with the northern kingdom. After the Glorious Revolution, Scotland re-established Presbyterianism as the official religion of the country and overthrew Episcopacy. This resulted in ministers being removed from their parishes with numerous examples of persecution and no legal toleration until 1712. Although the maltreatment of Episcopalians sounds extreme, Presbyterians became targets throughout the 17th century, demonstrating a fierce rivalry and lack of trust between these two Protestant groups. Religious instability became commonplace within Scotland and the 1690s proved no exception; the north of Scotland being strongly Episcopalian meant slow Presbyterian progress into these regions. Episcopalians rejected the Presbyterian ideology of divine right

and denied the divine founding of the Presbyterian government. The General Assembly of Scotland became sought to 'educate' and 'christianise' the Highlands, doing so through the spread of bibles. Therefore, an ongoing battle between Presbyterians and Episcopalians resulted in Scottish religious instability. At the end of the 17th century, Ireland had a Catholic majority, ruled by a Protestant minority. Like Scotland, Ulster had become strongly Protestant with an intense rivalry between Presbyterians and Anglicans. The former threatened the latter due to their recent overthrowal of Episcopacy in Scotland, as well as, their numerical superiority and discipline. Paranoia regarding Presbyterians became rife throughout the 1690s, resulting in a major difference between religion in Scotland and Ulster - the Irish Penal Laws. This legislation curtailed Catholicism, ensuring Catholics remained harmless and powerless. The same animosities and fears began to extend to Presbyterians as their large numbers alarmed Anglicans. This resulted in the 1704 Penal Laws, which sought to curb Presbyterian power and influence. Although Scotland and Ireland adopted different religions; so, did Ulster with the rest of Ireland. Thus, Scottish migrants would have viewed Ulster as a Protestant heartland, not knowing the animosity that existed towards Presbyterians, thus, potentially fuelling migration to this region.

In chapter two, an in-depth examination of leases within three estate and family papers provided an insight into the impact of this migration on Ulster's rentals. It also examined whether famine solely encouraged this large-scale influx, as well as, analysing the occupations of migrants highlighted on the leases. Analysis of the surnames of the potential Scots listed on the leases within the County Down sample demonstrated a spike in rentals granted to probable Scots between the 1680s and 1690s, with a decline by the 1700s. The County Fermanagh rental sample offered similar findings, albeit a more dramatic increase between the 1680s and 1690s, followed by a decrease in the 1700s. The County Antrim sample provided the most surprising results as leases grew from the 1680s to 1690s, albeit not

as sharply as expected, possibly a result of Antrim being more subject to generational migration than the other two sample areas. Additionally, a rise in rentals also characterised the 1690s and 1700s, possibly explained by people starting to gravitate towards colonial North America in the 1700s, and using Antrim as a stepping stone on their journey. However, more work is required in this area. Consultation of contemporary sources unearthed several references to Ulster being 'overwhelmed' by Scots and their numerical dominance in the province; although exaggerated; these sources helped highlight the impact of the large influx of Scots to Ulster in the 1690s.

Moreover, famine is the main historiographical justification for the Scottish migration during this period, however, this chapter challenged this accepted belief. Extreme weather caused devastating harvest failures in Scotland, from which Ulster largely escaped unscathed. Examination of the three sample area leases helped determine whether famine solely prompted this large-scale migration, through analysing the number of leases granted before and after it struck Scotland. Therefore, harvest times had to first be established. The County Down sample results portrayed the same number of leases being issued before and after August 1695; thereby suggesting that other factors played a role in this migration. Similarly, the County Fermanagh findings point to more rentals being granted before August 1695. Lastly, the County Antrim sample illustrated more leases were given after August 1695, again suggesting famine as a factor.

Push and pull factors such as land, warfare and economic opportunities also played a role. The offer of longer lease lengths in Ulster compared to Scotland afforded more security for tenants. However, the 1690s provided the fewest number of long-term leases over the three decades examined. A possible explanation could be increased tenant competition as a result of the Scottish migration; thus, the appeal of lease lengths as a pull factor can be discounted. Nevertheless, Ulster landlords had a religious preference for Protestants tenants, especially

the English and Scots. Therefore, surnames could determine how many probable Scottish

tenants originated in the Lowlands. The results point to more than half which is a significant

finding as the Lowlands were predominantly Presbyterian, correlating with the Ulster

landlord's preferential tenant criteria. Furthermore, contemporaries described Ulster's lands

as fertile and rich but lacking people to come and improve their grounds, at a time when

Scottish landlords effectively prohibited improvement on their lands. Additionally,

Scotland's lack of food, compared with Ulster's fruitful harvests, provided both a strong push

and pull factor to Ulster during this period. Warfare also merits greater consideration.

Scotland's role in the Nine Years' War effectively decimated their trade through commercial

barriers and increased taxes. Ulster did not suffer the same restrictions as Scotland, as the

province played an outlying role in this conflict. Thus, Ulster's greater economic

opportunities, combined with Scots' entrepreneurial ambition meant migration over the North

Channel provided a ready solution to Scottish people's problems. Therefore, land, economic

opportunities and warfare must be considered, in conjunction with famine to determine the

migrants' motives in travelling to Ulster in such large numbers during the 1690s.

The occupations mentioned on the leases from the three sample areas from 1680-1709

point to an ascending order of gentry, yeomen, merchants and lower-skilled workers.

Analysed in isolation, the 1690s order alters to yeomen, gentry, merchants then lower-skilled

workers. All of these occupations correlate with the push and pull factors discussed in this

chapter. For example, the proliferation of yeomen listed on the leases for the 1690s points to

landowners leaving Scotland during this time and Ulster's favourable lands being a strong

pull factor. Furthermore, the Scottish gentry suffered economic decline in the period, which

explains why these higher social orders sought leases, rather than granting them. Merchants

proved successful within Ulster, however, in Scotland trading restrictions caused by the Nine

Years' War had blunted trading opportunities. The prominence of this occupation on leases

correlates with warfare and economic opportunities becoming significant push and pull factors in this migration. Finally, lower-skilled workers had few prospects within Scotland, therefore, economic opportunities in Ulster emerge as a pull factor.

Chapter three provided a more detailed analysis of the social class, regional origin and religious affiliation of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster. It has been determined that a variety of social classes travelled to Ulster during the 1690s. Although the previous chapter identified higher classes among the dominant leaseholders; this could also be explained through the easier acquisition of passes for the higher social strata. Nevertheless, the passes bear testimony to the 'type' of higher-class migrant; including medical professionals, skilled tradesmen, gentry and captains. Furthermore, the higher classes travelled before and after the famine period; supporting the previous chapter's contention that famine migrants did not predominate this migration, and bolsters the theory of a combination of push and pull factors. However, lower classes are widely ignored within the historiography, yet an examination of contemporary Privy Council proclamations highlight that the lower social strata regularly travelled to Ireland during this period. Aimed at the lower classes, these decrees reiterated the need for passes to travel to Ireland. Contemporary proclamations also called for a wider discussion about Scotland's vagrancy. Indeed, the problem of beggars and maintaining the poor resonates through the numerous parliamentary acts and contemporary sources illustrating the wider social poverty problem in Scotland at this time. Thus, the Privy Council proclamations provide crucial evidence that the lower-classes travelled to Ulster during this period, as well as, before and after the peak of the famine; thus, further challenging the 'famine victim' migrant theory.

Lower-class migrant profiles have also been established through a detailed examination of various contemporary sources, especially focusing on fugitives ranging from murderers to moral transgressors. Several violent and dangerous individuals appear in the contemporary

records and provided some insight into some lower-class migrant profiles, and an understanding of how the Privy Council aimed its proclamations at the lower social strata. Although other 'lawful' lower-class migrants travelled to Ulster, a lack of evidence and interest characterised the contemporary sources. The plethora of evidence for the 1680s, combined with the 1690s Privy Council proclamations and some other sources for the 1690s and 1700s, allowed assumptions to be made regarding the continuation of criminals over the North Channel in the 1690s. Successful cooperation between Scottish and Ulster officials helped facilitate the detention and return of criminals to Scotland. However, such cases involved violent criminals, with many others evading punishment for serious, yet non-aggressive offences such as non-payment of rent, missed court appearances, failed debt repayments, fraud and rival business disputes. These cases helped convey the lesser 'type' of criminal and provided another aspect to the lower-class fugitive migrant profile. Religion also played a significant role in creating fugitive migrants such as 'scandalous' and 'immoral' people fleeing to Ireland to avoid church punishment. Therefore, the contemporary sources, although limited for creating a 'lawful' lower-class migrant profile, allowed fresh perspectives to be constructed regarding the criminal element.

In addition, the accepted historiographical position that 1690s migrants originated from south-west Scotland has also been challenged. Although migrants inevitably came from the south-western region of Scotland, there is solid evidence that they travelled from elsewhere in Scotland, including the east, the central belt, the Highlands and the Borders. The south-west migrant origin narrative has stemmed from migrants using south-west Scotland as an embarkation point due to its geographical proximity to Ulster. Surprisingly, the Highlands, the most adversely famine-affected area of Scotland has been overlooked. However, more work is required within the Highland archives to support this theory. Thus, there is an

abundance of evidence to demonstrate migrants from throughout Scotland, and not solely originating from the south-west.

The religious affiliation of Scottish migrants also came under scrutiny. There is a strong historiographical emphasis on Presbyterian migrants and their influence on Ulster. However, little consideration has been given to Episcopalians as a migrant group which this chapter has sought to rectify. Episcopalian migrants, mainly ministers, have been examined with the want of their services in Ulster highlighted due to the abundance of vacant parishes, at a time when the Established Church sought to strengthen its position against Presbyterianism. Strong connections existed between Episcopalians in Scotland and Ulster, which encouraged these Scottish ministers to answer Ulster's call. The success of these initiatives is conveyed through the increase of Anglican ministers by the 1700s, with the churches and congregations being deemed in good order. Additionally, numerous references survive in the contemporary record of Scottish Episcopalian ministers migrating to Ulster throughout the 1690s. This neglected emigrant faction needs to be recognised in this early modern Scottish migration to Ulster.

Chapter four recognised the need to acknowledge return migration from Scotland to Ulster in the 1690s. People invariably migrate due to crisis or opportunity; nevertheless, the Williamite Wars in Ireland presented both a crisis and an opportunity. It is perceived that poor people fled the warfare in Ulster and came to Scotland for safety. However, several of these migrants wanted to return to protect the Irish Protestant cause; in addition, the Jacobites wished to go back to Ulster and fight for King James VII and II. Thus, while the Williamite Wars pushed them to migrate away from the crisis, it also presented these migrants with an opportunity to return. The Scottish Privy Council records also provided evidence for waiving the special licence needed for Irish people to return to their homeland. The English Parliament also encouraged Irish emigrants to return home, assuring them of Ulster's safety. Women and children constituted a substantial, vulnerable group of migrants from Ulster to

Scotland during the Williamite Wars. In addition, the Scottish Privy Council and kirk sessions often paid for people to return to Ireland as this would help lessen the financial charitable burden on Scotland. However, some women asked to return without persuasion from authorities. Therefore, return migrants from Scotland to Ulster, combined with the military and socio-economic motives, must be acknowledged when assessing the Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s, due to their strong presence within the contemporary sources.

Ministers comprised another sub-section within the return migration category which merits further scrutiny. Strong ecclesiastical connections existed between Scotland and Ulster; a consequence of Ulster ministers coming to Scotland for their university education. Thus, religious networks occurred naturally between the two regions with their proximity and ministerial training. Little consideration has hitherto been given to Presbyterian ministers who fled to Scotland during the Williamite Wars; however, this chapter sought to examine this traffic. Moreover, ministers and their families got assistance to help with their return to Ulster in the aftermath of the conflict. Several ministers did return; although it cannot be determined whether financial inducements swayed their decision to go back. Nevertheless, numerous ministers did not naturally return to Ulster after the conclusion of the Williamite Wars, prompting several parishes to request their services again. Consequently, the lack of returning ministers provoked action from the General Synod of Ulster and several Ulster Presbyteries who issued a collective statement asking them to come back. These institutions warned that if ministers did not return, they would be viewed as scandalous persons. A continuation of returning ministers from Scotland back to Ulster occurred throughout the 1690s into the early 1700s. Therefore, ministerial return migration must be analysed when considering the Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s as they are an important sub-section of return migrants during this period.

An exploration into the constant traffic of several ministers over the North Channel between 1690s Scotland and Ulster uncovered the reasoning behind their continual journeys and questioned whether their movements encouraged migration. An examination of several clergymen's itineraries demonstrates the steady transfer of these ministers over the Irish Sea, including Samuel Hallyday senior, John Harvy, Alexander McCracken and John McBride. After combining notes from several contemporary records, this chapter charts their journeys back and forth from Scotland to Ulster from the late 1680s to the early 1700s. These records also mentioned the apparent reasoning behind the so-called 'maritime motorway', as Alexander McCracken supposedly brought instructions over from Scotland. Therefore, this continual traffic most likely occurred, due to the movement of information, as well as, business ventures. The importance of the 'ministerial maritime motorway' between Scotland and Ulster throughout this period, in terms of movement of people, congregations and information, needs to be examined to fully understand the Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s. Return migration is another under-acknowledged aspect of this topic.

In chapter five, the economic and political impact of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster has been acknowledged. Scotland and Ulster had strong trading connections with evidence of commercial routes from Derry to Greenock and Glasgow. Solid Scottish commercial networks and their strong relationship with Ulster meant these links could be transferred to the north of Ireland, which seems to have happened. Scotland also used Ulster to circumvent English navigation laws imposed upon them; therefore, trading from Ulster benefitted both parties as Scottish merchants could continue their commercial enterprises with Ulster's trade subsequently boosted. Irish officials also advertised Ireland as a great trading base, with Scots seemingly proceeding with this endorsement as they 'possessed' the north of Ireland's trade during this period. Additionally, the success of Lurgan's trade and Ulster's linen manufactories can be accredited to Scottish migrants in the 1690s. Their industrious attitudes

would also correlate with the entrepreneurial ambition of Scots argued in chapter two. However, some Anglicans felt side-lined with their trade stagnated due to the commercial dominance of Presbyterians. Moreover, Scottish migrants retained close ties with their homeland with evidence of bonds, land transactions and will gifting commencing between people in Scotland and Ulster. However, no consideration had been given to the economic impact of Scottish families migrating their relatives to use as agents for the family business, which this chapter addressed. The Agnews of Lochnaw and the Maxwells of Pollok, both dispatched relations to the northern province to manage the Irish side of the family business affairs, with continual correspondence updating family back in Scotland of the transactions or problems they encountered.

The political influence of the 1690s Scottish Presbyterian migrants on Ulster has been discussed to some extent; although no in-depth examination regarding their local and national political impact has been conducted. Scots began to infiltrate into the northern corporations after the 'Glorious Revolution'; few dissenters held high office before 1688. Presbyterian growth within public offices greatly dismayed Anglicans, who argued for their exclusion. Dissenters took control of Belfast and Derry's corporations and became freemen of Carrickfergus. Evidence of displeasure concerning Presbyterian power is apparent in County Cavan, as some gentlemen stated they would never accept another dissenter into a high office role. Thus, Anglicans expressed alarm at the swift progression of Presbyterians into positions of power. After the 'Glorious Revolution', they ignored the selection process for corporation members; which facilitated the subsequent Presbyterian dominance. Anglicans introduced the Sacramental Test in 1704 to curtail dissenters' power, as every person in a public office role would need to receive the communion of the Church of Ireland. Despite this, dissenters remained influential to some degree. Nevertheless, Presbyterians vehemently opposed the Sacramental Test and felt punished rather than rewarded for their efforts to protect the Irish

Protestant interest during the 'Glorious Revolution'. Therefore, Presbyterian dominance of local government meant they also impacted Irish politics at a national level too. The example of Arthur Upton's voting record highlights the extent to which he found himself on the losing side of the votes, and goes a long way to explain the subsequent 'disruptive' reputation that dissenters gained within the Irish Government. Therefore, 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster had a strong economic and political impact on the north of Ireland in a variety of ways during this period.

Lastly, chapter six addressed the reaction, rhetoric and reception of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster. Anti-Presbyterian rhetoric thrived in the contemporary pamphlets, and the negative reactions have been extensively highlighted in the historiography. A comparison has been made between modern-day and 1690s migrant experiences, which highlighted the similarities and created a relatable association. Migrant communities had established links with their new home, correlating with the age-old connections between Scotland and Ulster. Modern-day migrant communities have experienced some of the same prejudice as they progressed up the 'economic ladder', as evidenced by recent surveys conducted in Scotland and Northern Ireland which mentioned references to migrants taking jobs. These hostile attitudes created barriers for the immigrant communities as demonstrated by modern-day Northern Irish migrants who faced obstacles to establishing their businesses. These impediments are also in 17th century Ulster when the prevention of Presbyterian gatherings created hostility. Another similarity was the need for acceptance by the Ulster populace to establish a good living environment. Northern Irish migrant communities experienced some of the same intolerant, racial insults which had been deployed against Scottish migrants over 300 years earlier. Therefore, there are similarities between modern-day and early modern migrant experiences.

Disease and demonology metaphors proliferate in anti-Presbyterian tracts, arguably

allowing ordinary people to relate to the perceived danger of Presbyterianism. Disease and

demons provoked fear in people during this period, thus, it is hardly surprising that writers

and commentators deployed these analogies. Language such as 'plague', 'contagion',

'poysoning' and 'tumours' appeared frequently within the contemporary pamphlets.

Numerous other references obsess the relationship between Presbyterians and the devil.

Another offensive correlation emerged when Anglicans classified Presbyterians and

Catholics as the same category of 'enemy'. This insulting and humiliating analogy to

'subordinate' Catholics infuriated Presbyterians. Dissenters also claimed that they suffered

greater persecution than Catholics, however, Anglicans vehemently denied this allegation

stating that Presbyterians merely deployed this argument to weaken the Established Church.

Thus, resentment between Presbyterians and Anglicans is evident from the contemporary

pamphlets consulted and convey the level of hostility that Scottish migrants may have faced

on their arrival to Ulster during this period.

Furthermore, the rhetoric used for anti-Presbyterian and anti-Catholic writings has not

been compared in the current historiography. However, this chapter identified similar

language in anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian pamphlets from the late 1600s and early

1700s. The metaphors easily communicated the author's feelings to a wider audience. Anti-

Presbyterian and anti-Catholic pamphlets also criticised the teachings of each religion, as

they argued that their priests/preachers lacked sufficient education to teach their

congregations. Complaints across the decade centred on the supposed superiority complex of

Catholics and Presbyterians, and both attracted, the same disparaging language such as

'erroneous', 'evil' and 'dishonest'. Although the pamphlets used different methods, both

succeeded in the disapproving perception of Catholics and dissenters. Another similarity in

the negative writings towards both faiths centred on a shared disdain for their sacraments

deemed null and void. The known extreme hatred of Catholics during this period combined with the same rhetoric being used for Presbyterians highlights the level of hostility that Presbyterians faced at this time.

The paranoia surrounding the arrival of the Scottish migrants stirred the animosity and fear directed at them. Negative perceptions of the Scots as 'barbarous' and 'cold-blooded' existed within 17th century Ulster. These cultural associations fed into Anglican and Tory paranoia with the mass influx of the 1690s. These communities viewed Presbyterians as dangerous, which only supplemented existing prejudices against the Scots. Examples of an unwelcome reception are conveyed through Ulstermen telling Scots to 'get out' and wanting them off their estates. Several instances of troublesome Scottish ministers gave the impression of an influx of disorderly clergymen coming from Scotland and causing chaos in Ulster. Unruly behaviour by some Scottish ministers provided an insight into the potential reasoning behind the Ulster populace disliking the new arrivals. The behaviour of a minority tarnished the reputation of a majority. There are also references to migrant Scotsmen as 'strangers', thereby associated with negative stereotypes such as 'alien' or 'outsider'. Therefore, the overall reception of Scottish migrants to Ulster seemed overwhelmingly negative and mirrored the anti-Presbyterian rhetoric.

However, elements of a positive welcome also emerged, and have been largely overlooked in the historiography. The 'stranger' terminology was also used more positively within the 1692 legislation encouraging Protestant strangers to Ireland which included Scots. The warm welcome of Scottish ministers is expressed through the enticement methods and high levels of benefits offered for their services, pointing to an enthusiasm for Scottish ministers to preach in Ulster. It was not just presbyteries and the General Synod that proposed these allowances; the Irish Government also offered pensions to these migrant ministers. As expected, these enticements and benefits faced criticism from Anglican elites, who argued

that the money could be spent elsewhere. Testimonials also shed light on the religious experience of Scottish ministers in Ulster. Ulster Presbyterians followed in their Scottish neighbours' footsteps by focusing on a godly society, and the need for well-educated and trained ministers to lead their congregations. That all ministerial testimonials were not accepted, points to a rigorous selection process, which in turn highlights the discipline and structure of the Presbyterian Church. Naturally, this causes much unease among the Anglican community. Thus, both positive and negative experiences characterised the Scottish clerical migration to Ulster during this period, however, an overwhelmingly negative response predominated the contemporary sources.

Although this thesis has re-examined this much-neglected topic, thereby uncovering fresh perspectives and challenging existing beliefs, there are still aspects that require greater examination. The closure of archives for several months due to the COVID-19 pandemic limited the repositories consulted. Furthermore. this project would benefit from further research within the Highland and Borders archives, to potentially strengthen the regional origin aspect of this study. In addition, a greater analysis of the impact of continual ministerial traffic across the North Channel and the extent this encouraged congregational migrations would be advantageous to this topic. Initially, this thesis proposed to examine the onward Scottish migration from Ulster to colonial North America; however, as the research progressed it became apparent that the American aspect probably required its own study. Thus, an in-depth examination of the onward Scottish migration to colonial North America in the 18th century would be an extremely beneficial addition to this topic. Therefore, this thesis has established new areas of consideration for this topic; however, there are still aspects that require further examination to create a completely holistic view of this migration.

Scottish migration to Ulster in the 1690s left a significant mark on Ulster's society, culture and history. The similarities and differences of both regions' societies, economies, politics

and religion encouraged Scottish migration to Ulster. Thus, an in-depth analysis of Ulster's rentals given to potential Scottish migrants helped uncover the extent of this migration on lease holdings, as well as, the push and pull factors that stimulated this migration. These leases also gave an insight into the social status of the potential Scottish migrants; thereby fuelling a detailed examination of the 1690s Scottish migrants' demographic concerning social status, regional origin and religious affiliation. Analysis of return migration also uncovered the extent that the Williamite Wars encouraged migration to Scotland during this period and the subsequent return flow back to Ulster. Ministerial migration and the facilitation of the North Channel as a 'maritime motorway' proved crucial in unearthing a new potential migrant pool of this migration. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the economic and political impact of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster enabled this study to convey the reasoning behind Anglican disdain towards Scots and Presbyterians, as they felt overwhelmed with the numerical strength of Scots, who progressed in commerce, as well as local politics, and subsequently impacting national politics. Anglican elites' alarmist response is conveyed through the negative reaction, rhetoric and reception. The comparison to modern-day migrant communities helped establish a relatable connection towards the experiences of the 1690s Scottish migrants to Ulster. Thus, it is hoped that this thesis has contributed to an important, yet much-neglected aspect of Scottish and Irish history.

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### Manuscript Materials

### Northern Ireland

Armagh Robinson Library, Armagh

P001498149.1-3, Dopping Papers

P002475761, Correspondence of Bishop of Derry, William King, 1715-1716

Linen Hall Library, Belfast

Joy MS 7

Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast

Dundonald Parish Session Book, 1678-1716

Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

CR4/12B/1, Templepatrick Session Book, 1646-1743

D1639/1, Biographical Memoirs of the Archdale Family, Fermanagh

D1759/1A/2, Copy of the Presbytery of Antrim Minutes, 1671-1691

D1759/1E/2, Copy of Presbytery of Laggan, Cos. Londonderry & Donegal, Minute Book, 1679-1695

D1759/2A/13, Copy of the Route Presbytery Minutes, 1701-1705

D1759/2A/6, Notes on Ulster, the Scottish Settlers & Presbyterianism, c.1600

D1759/2B/2, Templepatrick Session Book containing Accounts of Public Collections & their Distribution, 1688-1699

D1939, Earl of Erne Papers

D2977, Earl of Antrim Papers

D552, Nugent Papers

DIO/4/10/3/1-3, Armagh Convocation Records

MIC1/147A/1, Records of Clones Parish Church, Co. Monaghan

MIC1/24/1, Records of the Parish of Shankill, Lurgan, Co. Down

MIC1/4/1, Records of Christ Church Cathedral, Lisburn – Vestry Book, 1675-1793

MIC15A/54, Irish Civil Miscellaneous Correspondence

MIC16/1A-1B, Friends Society, Records of Ulster Province/Quarterly Meetings, 1674-1693 & 1694-1717

MIC16/24, Friends Society, Records of the Lurgan Monthly Meeting, 1675-1710

MIC1P/37/4, Carnmoney Presbyterian Church Session Minutes, 1686-1748

MIC69/3, Bishop Nicholson's Diary, 1683-1702

T3793/1/3/19, Tobias Pullein Pamphlet, 1697

## Scotland

### The Mitchell Library, Glasgow

CH2/173, Barony Kirk Session Book, Glasgow, 1680-1727

T-PM109, 113 & 115, Records of the Maxwells of Pollok

TSK11, Records of Stirling of Keir & Cadder

### National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh

B34/10/1, Records of Inverkeithing (Fife) Council Minutes, 1689-1745

CH2/122, Edinburgh Canongate Kirk Sessions, 1564-1970

CH2/195, Inverkeithing Kirk Sessions, 1688-1987

CH2/1255, Galashiels Kirk Session Minutes, 1670-1999

CH2/420, Peebles Kirk Session Minutes, 1657-1978

CH2/448, St. Nicholas Kirk Session Minutes, Aberdeen, 1562-1940

CH2/751, Ayr Kirk Session Minutes, 1603-1945

CH2/938, Stranraer Kirk Session Minutes, 1695-1872

CH8/194, Protest by James Greenshields, Minister from Armagh, incarcerated in Edinburgh Tolbooth, 1709

CH12/12/363, Letter from William King to Arthur Miller, 1704

E89/14, Papers relating to William Fullerton, Postmaster at Portpatrick, 1690-1691

GD1/189/16, Bond by William Montgomery, Co. Down to Thomas Inglis, Merchant in Edinburgh, 1689

GD1/891/1-3, Diary of George Home of Kimmerghame, 1694-1702

GD10, Papers of the Murray Family of Broughton, Wigtownshire & Cally, Kirkcudbright, 1410-1978

GD16/40/18, Newsletter containing information from Vienna about the Turks & news from Ireland, 1691

GD18/4019, Letters to Sir John Clerk from Hugh Kilpatrick, Ireland, on religious matters, 1701-1704

GD22, Papers of the Cunninghame Graham Family of Ardoch, Dunbartonshire, 1400-1892

GD30/2213, Travel Pass for Ireland by Thomas Sharp to Hugh Aitken, 1702

GD109/2614, Travel Pass for Ireland by Marquis of Tweeddale to Lord Bargennie, 1696

GD154, Papers of the Agnew Family of Lochnaw, Wigtownshire, 1421-1981

GD157/1641, A Collection of Printed Papers, 1654-1709

GD159/880, Travel Pass for Ireland by James Boyle to Peter Wallace & James Scott, 1685

GD180, Papers of the Cathcart Family of Greenock & Knockdolian, 1513-1918

GD406, Papers of the Douglas Hamilton Family, 1563-1712

PC4/2, Privy Council Minute Book, 1696-1699

RH14, Proclamations & Other Public Announcements, 1599-1750

RH15, Miscellaneous Papers, 1502-1907

### National Library of Scotland

Wod.Fol.XXV-CV, The Wodrow Collection

## Republic of Ireland

### National Library of Ireland, Dublin

C667, JP2140, LOP41(7), P53, 54(12), 58, 371, 374(14), Thorpe 12(38), Pamphlets

LOP 1912A-E, Newspapers

MS 36,582, Gardiner Papers

MS 38,624, Wicklow Papers

MS 41,575, Letters & Papers of Reverend William Smyth

MS 41,580, Smythe of Barbavilla Papers

MS 48,879, Headfort Papers (Additional), 1600-1980

### Trinity College, Dublin

MSS TCD IE 750, 1489, 1492 & 1995-2008, The Lyons Collection, William King Papers

## England

### The Bodleian Library

MS Clarendon 88

## Printed Materials

Anderson, John, *A Defence of the Church-Government, Faith, Worship & Spirit of the Presbyterians* (Glasgow, 1714)

Anon., *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitl'd a Vindication of Marriage as Solemnized by Presbyterians in the North of Ireland* (Dublin, 1704)

*- An Apology for the Failures Charg'd on Reverend Mr. George Walker's Printed Account of the Late Siege of Derry* (London, 1689)

*- The Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry or Presbyterian Ordination, An Irregular and Unjustifiable Practice* (London, 1717)

*- The Case of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland Truly Represented* (London, 1707)

*- An Impartial View and Censure of the Mistakes Propagated for the Ordaining Power of Presbyters; in a Late Book Entituled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity & Worship* (London, 1717)

Boyse, Joseph, *A Clear Account of the Ancient Episcopacy* (London, 1712)

*- Remarks on a Pamphlet Publish'd by William Tisdall* (London, 1716)

*- The Difference between Mr E---- & the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of D---- Truly Represented* (Dublin, 1702)

*- The Sin & Danger of Quenching the Spirit* (London, 1691)

*- Two Sermons Preach't on a Day of Fasting & Humiliation* (Dublin, 1695)

Curate, Jacob, *The Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence, or the Foolishness of their Teaching* (London, 1692)

Defoe, Daniel, *The Paralel, or Persecution of Protestants. The Shortest Way to Prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland* (Dublin, 1705)

Elder, John, *Reasons for Moderation in the Present Debates among Presbyterians in the North of Ireland* (Belfast, 1725)

Fletcher, Andrew, *Selected Discourses and Speeches: A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias; Two Discourses concerning the Affairs of Scotland; Speeches by a Member of the Parliament; A Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Government,* (Edinburgh, 1698)

*- The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher* (London, 1737)

*- Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1698)

French, Matthew, *A Collection of Mr. J. Boyse's Several Scurrilous & Abusive Reflections on the Civil 7 Ecclesiastical Government* (Dublin, 1709)

Gentleman belonging to the Bishop of Londonderry, *An Exact & True Relation of the Present Posture of Affairs in Ireland* (London, 1689)

King, William, *A Vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell, from the False, Scandalous and Malicious Aspersions Cast Upon Him in a Late Infamous Pamphlet, Entitled the Modern Fanatick* (London, 1711)

Kirkpatrick, James, *An Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain & Ireland* (London, 1713)

MacKenzie, John, *Dr. Walker's Invisible Champion Foyl'd* (London, 1690)

McBride, John, *A Sample of Jet Black Pre----tic Calumny* (Glasgow, 1713)

- *A Vindication of Marriage as Solemnized by Presbyterians in Ireland* (1702)

Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Seven General Synods of the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland* (Belfast, 1727)

Rule, Gilbert, *A Defence of the Vindication of the Church of Scotland, in Answer to an Apology of the Clergy of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1694)

Sherlock, William, The New Danger of Presbytery, or, the Claims and Practices of Some in the Lower House of Convocation, Very Dangerous to the Constitution of An Episcopal and Metropolitical Church (London, 1703)

Shields, Alexander, *A Hind Let Loose* (Edinburgh, 1687)

Shirley, John, *The True Impartial History & Wars of the Kingdom of Ireland* (London, 1692)

Sibbald, Robert, *Provision for the Poor in Time of Dearth & Scarcity* (Edinburgh, 1699)

Steuart, Walker, *Collections & Observations Methodiz'd; Concerning the Worship, Discipline & Government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1773)

Swift, Jonathan, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burden to their Parents or Country* (Dublin, 1729)

Tisdall, William, *A Sample of True-Blew Presbyterian Loyalty, in all Changes & Turns of the Government* (Dublin, 1709)

- *A Seasonable Enquiry into that Most Dangerous Political Principle of the Kirk in Power* (Dublin, 1715)

- *The Case of the Sacramental Test* (Dublin, 1715)

- *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland with Respect to Both Church & State* (Dublin, 1712)

- *The Nature & Tendency of Popular Phrases in General* (Dublin, 1715)

Walker, George, *A True Account of the Present State of Ireland; Giving A Full Relation of the New Establishment* (London, 1689)

- *The Protestant's Crums of Comfort* (London, 1700)

- *The Substance of a Sermon being an Incouragement for Protestants* (London, 1689)

**Later Publications**

Adair, Patrick, 'A True Narrative of the Rise & Progress of the Presbyterian Government in the north of Ireland', in Robert Armstrong, Andrew R. Holmes, R. Scott Spurlock & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *Presbyterian History in Ireland. Two Seventeenth-Century Narratives. Patrick Adair & Andrew Stewart* (Belfast, 2016)

Bulloch, J. M., *The Strange Adventures of the Reverend James Gordon, Sensualist, Spy, Strategist & Soothsayer* (Buckie, 1911)

Hume Brown, P (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume VI – AD 1678-1680* (Edinburgh, 1914)

Hume Brown, P (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume VII – AD 1681-1682* (Edinburgh, 1915)

Hume Brown, P (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume VIII – AD 1683-1684* (Glasgow, 1915)

Innes, Cosmo, *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis. Records of the University of Glasgow, from its Foundations till 1727 – Vol. 3* (Glasgow, 1854)

*Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. Volume 2* (Dublin, 1796)

Lane-Poole, Stanley (ed.), *Letters & Journals of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1888)

McConnell, James (ed.), *FASTI of the Irish Presbyterian Church – Part 3 (1661-1690), Part 4 & 5 (1690-1720)* (Belfast, 1951)

Melville, William Leslie, *Leven & Melville Papers. Letters & State Papers Chiefly Addressed to George Earl of Melville Secretary of State of Scotland 1689-1691* (Edinburgh, 1843)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume IX – AD 1684* (Edinburgh, 1924)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume X – AD 1684-1685* (Edinburgh, 1927)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XI – AD 1685-1686* (Edinburgh, 1929)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XII – AD 1686* (Edinburgh, 1930)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XIII – AD 1686-1689* (Edinburgh, 1932)

Paton, Henry (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XIV – AD 1689* (Edinburgh, 1933)

Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster from 1691 to 1820, Vol. 1, 1691* (Belfast, 1890)

Scottish Record Office, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XVI – AD 1691* (Edinburgh, 1970)

*Statutes Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland, Vol. 2* (Dublin, 1794)

Whyte Melville Balfour-Melville, Evan (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland – Third Series – Volume XV – AD 1690* (Edinburgh, 1967)

Williams, Harold (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift. Volume 1: 1690-1713* (Oxford, 1963)

**Electronic**

Community Relations Council ([www.community-relations.org](www.community-relations.org)) (23 June 2021).

Dictionary of Irish Biography ([https://dib.cambridge.org/](https://dib.cambridge.org/)) (23 June 2021).

Early English Books Online ([https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/](https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/)) (23 June 2021).

Edinburgh University - Laureation & Degrees Album, 1587-1809 ([http://archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/](http://archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/)) (23 June 2021).

Gale - State Papers Online ([https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online](https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online)) (23 June 2021).

Glasgow University - Records of Graduates from 1451-1914 ([https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/](https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/)) (23 June 2021).

Internet Archive ([https://archive.org/](https://archive.org/)) (23 June 2021).

Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online ([https://tannerritchie.com/shibboleth/memso/](https://tannerritchie.com/shibboleth/memso/)) (23 June 2021).

Northern Ireland Assembly ([www.niassembly.gov.uk](www.niassembly.gov.uk)) (23 June 2021).

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography ([https://www.oxforddnb.com/](https://www.oxforddnb.com/)) (23 June 2021).

Queen's University Belfast – Irish Legislation Database ([https://www.qub.ac.uk/ild/](https://www.qub.ac.uk/ild/)) (23 June 2021).

Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707 ([https://www.rps.ac.uk/](https://www.rps.ac.uk/)) (23 June 2021).

The National Archives – Currency Converter, 1270-2017 ([https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result)) (23 June 2021).

The National Records of Scotland – Scotland's People ([https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/](https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/)) (23 June 2021).

## <u>Secondary Sources</u>

### Books

Agnew, Jean, *Belfast Merchant Families in the 17ᵗʰ Century* (Dublin, 1996)

Almond, Philip C., *The Devil: A New Biography* (London, 2014)

Armstrong, Robert & Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006)

Armstrong, Robert, Holmes, Andrew R., Scott Spurlock, Robert & Walsh, Patrick (eds.), *Presbyterian History in Ireland. Two Seventeenth-Century Narratives. Patrick Adair & Andrew Stewart* (Belfast, 2016)

Armstrong, Robert, *Protestant War: The 'British' of Ireland & the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005)

Aston, Nigel & Bankhurst, Benjamin (eds.), *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent & the Hanoverian Succession, 1714-1760* (Oxford, 2019)

Bardon, Jonathan, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin, 2011)

Barkley Woodburn, James, *The Ulster Scot: His History & Religion* (London, 1914)

Barnard, Toby, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (London, 2003)

- *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets & Profiteers 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008)

- *Irish Protestant Ascents & Descents, 1641-1770* (Dublin, 2004)

- *Making the Grand Figure: Lives & Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004)

- *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641-1760* (Basingstoke, 2004)

Barry, Terry (ed.), *A History of Settlement in Ireland* (Oxon, 2000)

Bartlett, Thomas & Hayton, David W. (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979)

Bartlett, Thomas, *Ireland: A History* (Cambridge, 2010)

- *The Fall & Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992)

Beckett, J. C., *Protestant Dissent in Ireland 1687-1780* (London, 1948)

- *The Cavalier Duke* (Belfast, 1990)

- *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London, 2008)

Bergin, John, Hayton, David W. & Kelly, James (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke, c.2010)

Bergin, John, Magennis, Eoin, Ní Mhunghaile, Lesa & Walsh, Patrick (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin, 2011)

Black, George F., *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning & History* (New York, 1974)

Boran, Elizabethanne & Gribben, Crawford (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland & Scotland, 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2006)

Bowie, Karin, *Scottish Public Opinion & the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Braddick, Michael J. & Smith, David L. (eds.), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain & Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011)

Brady, Ciaran & Ohlmeyer, Jane H. (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (New York, 2004)

Brewer, John, *The Sinews of Power. War, Money & the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989)

Brooke, Peter, *Ulster Presbyterianism. The Historical Perspective 1610-1970* (Dublin, 1987)

Brown, Keith M. & MacDonald, Alan R. (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament. Volume 3. Parliament in Context, 1235-1707* (Edinburgh, 2010)

Brown, Keith M., *Kingdom or Province? Scotland & the Regal Union, 1603-1715* (Basingstoke, 1992)

Brown, Michael, McGrath, Charles I. & Power, Thomas P. (eds.), *Converts & Conversion in Ireland, 1650-1850* (Dublin, 2005)

Brown, Michael, *The Irish Enlightenment* (London, 2016)

Bueltmann, Tanja & MacRaild, Donald R., *The English Diaspora in North America. Migration, Ethnicity & Association, 1730s-1950s* (Manchester, 2017)

Bueltmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew & Morton, Graeme, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh, 2013)

Canny, Nicholas (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2010)

Carr, Rosalind, *Gender & Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014)

Charlesworth, Lorie, *Welfare's Forgotten Past. A Socio-Legal History of the Poor Law* (Oxon, 2010)

Childs, John, *The Nine Years' War & the British Army 1688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991)

- *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688-91* (London, 2007)

Claydon, Tony & McBride, Ian (eds.), *Protestantism & National Identity. Britain & Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998)

Codd, Daniel J., *Crimes & Criminals of 17th Century Britain* (Yorkshire, 2018)

Collins, Kevin, *The Cultural Conquest of Ireland* (Dublin, 1990)

Connolly, S. J., Houston, R. A. & Morris, R. J. (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development. Ireland & Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995)

Connolly, S. J., *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008)

- *Religion, Law & Power. The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992)

Cullen, Karen J., *Famine in Scotland – The 'Ill Years' of the 1690s* (Edinburgh, 2010)

Cullen, Louis M. & Smout, T. C. (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Cullen, Louis M., *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1987)

- *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968)

- *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981)

Cunningham, John, Cantor, David & Waddington, Keir (eds.), *Early Modern Ireland & the World of Medicine: Practitioners, Collectors & Contexts* (Manchester, 2019)

D'Arcy, Frank, *Wild Geese & Travelling Scholars* (Dublin, 2001)

Daly, Mary & Dickson, David (eds.), *Language Change & Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990)

Darcy, Eamon, Margey, Annaleigh & Murphy, Elaine (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Darcy, Eamon, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 & the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Suffolk, 2013)

Davidson, Neil, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution 1692-1746* (London, 2003)

Day, Angelique & McWilliams, Patrick (eds.), *Ordinance Survey Memoirs of Ireland. Parishes of Co. Fermanagh 1834-5. Volume 4* (Belfast, 1990)

De Krey, Gary S., *Restoration & Revolution in Britain: Political Culture in the Era of Charles II & the Glorious Revolution* (Hampshire, 2007)

Delaney, Enda & MacRaild, Donald M. (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007)

Dennehy, Coleman A., *The Irish Parliament, 1613-89. The Evolution of a Colonial Institution* (Manchester, 2019)

*-Restoration Ireland. Always Settling & Never Settled* (London, 2008)

Devine, T. M. & McCarthy, Angela (eds.), *New Scots. Scotland's Immigration Communities since 1945* (Edinburgh, 2018)

Devine, T. M. & Wormald, Jenny (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)

Devine, T. M., *Scotland's Empire. The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London, 2003)

Dickson, David, *Arctic Ireland. The Extraordinary Story of the Great Frost & Forgotten Famine of 1740-41* (Belfast, 1997)

*- The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (New Haven, 2021)

*- New Foundations Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin, 2000)

Dorward, David, *Scottish Surnames* (Edinburgh, 2003)

Dow, F. D., *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979)

Dowling, Martin W., *Tenant Right & Agrarian Society in Ulster 1600-1870* (Dublin, 1999)

Elmer, Peter, *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting & Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016)

Fagan, Brian, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300-1850* (New York, 2000)

Fauske, Christopher J. (ed.), *Archbishop William King & the Anglican Irish Context, 1688-1729* (Dublin, 2003)

Ferguson, William, *Scotland. 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968)

*- Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Fitzgerald, Patrick & Lambkin, Brian, *Migration in Irish History 1607-2007* (Basingstoke, 2008)

Flinn, Michael, *Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977)

Ford, A., McGuire, J. & Milne, K. (eds.), *As by Law Established. The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995)

Foster, R. F. (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989)

Fry, Michael, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001)

Galloway, Bruce, *The Union of England & Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986)

Garnham, Neal, *The Courts, Crime & the Criminal Law in Ireland 1692-1760* (Dublin, 1996)

Gavin, Robert, Kelly, William P. & O'Reilly, Dolores, *Atlantic Gateway. The Port & City of Londonderry since 1700* (Dublin, 2009)

Gibson, A. & Smout, T. C., *Prices, Food & Wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995)

Gill, Conrad, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford, 1925)

Gillespie, Raymond G. (ed.), *Settlement & Survival on an Ulster Estate. The Brownlow Leasebook 1667-1711* (Belfast, 1988)

*- Devoted People. Belief & Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997)

*- Early Belfast. The Origins & Growth of an Ulster Town to 1750* (Belfast, 2007)

*- Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Making Ireland Modern* (Dublin, c.2006)

Godwin James, Francis, *Ireland in the Empire 1688-1770: A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution* (Massachusetts, 1973)

Goodare, Julian, *State & Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999)

Grell, Ole Peter, Cunningham, Andrew & Jütte, Robert (eds.), *Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th Century Northern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002)

Griffin, Patrick, *The People with no name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish & the Creation of a British Atlantic World 1689-1764* (Oxfordshire, 2001)

Hall, Michael, *Ulster's Scottish Connection* (Newtownabbey, 1993)

Harper, Marjory (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2003)

Harris, Tim, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy 1685-1720* (London, 2006)

Harrower-Gray, Annie, *Scotland's Hidden Harlots & Heroines: Women's Role in Scottish Society from 1690-1969* (South Yorkshire, 2014)

Haydon, Colin, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80. A Political & Social Study* (Manchester, 1993)

Hayton, David W., *Ireland after the Glorious Revolution* (Belfast, 1976)

- *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742. Politics, Politicians & Parties* (Suffolk, 2004)

Hempton, David, *Religion & Political Culture in Britain & Ireland. From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996)

Herlihy, Kevin (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1997)

Hill Burton, John, *History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection* (London, 1853)

Hofstra, Warren R. (ed.), *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (Knoxville, 2012)

Holmes, Andrew R., *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief & Practice 1770-1840* (Oxford, 2006)

Holmes, Geoffrey, *The Making of a Great Power. Late Stuart & Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (London, 1993)

Hoppit, Julian (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations & Identities in Britain & Ireland, 1660-1850* (Manchester, 2003)

Horwitz, Henry, *Parliament, Policy & Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977)

Houston, R. A. & Whyte, I. D. (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989)

Houston, R. A., *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1994)

Hunter, R. J., *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh & Cavan 1608-41* (Belfast, 2012)

Johnstone, Nathan, *The Devil & Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006)

Johnston-Liik, Edith Mary, *MPs in Dublin. Companion to History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800* (Ulster, 2006)

Jones, Clyve (ed.), *A Short History of Parliament* (Woodbridge, 2009)

Kelly, James & Clark, Fiona (eds.), *Ireland & Medicine in the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries* (Surrey, 2010)

Kelly, James & Mac Murchaidh, Ciarán (eds.), *Irish & English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic & Cultural Frontier, 1600-1900* (Dublin, 2012)

Kelly, James, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' & the Irish Crowd* (Dublin, 2017)

Kelly, William & Young, John R. (eds.), *Scotland & the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland* (Dublin, 2009)

*- Ulster & Scotland 1600-2000. History, Language & Identity* (Dublin, 2004)

Kennedy, Liam & Ollerenshaw, Philip (eds.), *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013)

Kidd, Colin, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge, 1993)

Kilday, Anne-Marie, *Crime in Scotland 1660-1960: The Violent North?* (London, 2018)

Kilroy, Phil, *Protestant Dissent & Controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994)

Knights, Mark, *The Devil in Disguise. Deception, Delusion & Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011)

Leneman, Leah & Mitchison, Rosalind, *Sin in the City: Sexuality & Social Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998)

Lenihan, Pádraig (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001)

*- Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow, 2008)

Levack, Brian P., *New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic & Demonology: Witchcraft in the British Isles & New England* (New York, 2001)

Levene, Mark & Roberts, Penny (eds.), *The Massacre in History* (New York, 1999)

Lynch, Michael, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991)

Macinnes, Allan I., *Union & Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007)

MacLean, Colin & Veitch, Kenneth (eds.), *Scottish Life & Society. Volume 12. Religion* (Edinburgh, 2006)

Maguire, W. A. (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

Manning, Patrick, *Migration in World History* (London, 2013)

McBride, Ian, *Eighteenth Century Ireland. The Isles of Slaves* (Dublin, 2009)

McDermott, Philip, *Migrant Languages in the Public Space. A Case Study from Northern Ireland* (Berlin, 2011)

McKay, Collins, *The Duke of Queensberry & the Union of Scotland & England* (New York, 2008)

McKenny, Kevin, *The Laggan Army in Ireland, 1640-1685. The Landed Interests, Political Ideologies & Military Campaigns of the North-West Ulster Settlers* (Dublin, 2005)

McNally, Patrick, *Parties, Patriots & Undertakers* (Dublin, 1997)

Miller, John, *The Glorious Revolution: Second Edition* (Oxon, 2014)

Miller, Kerby A., *Emigrants & Exiles. Ireland & the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985)

- *Ireland & Irish America. Culture, Class & Transatlantic Migration* (Dublin, 2008)

Mingay, G. E., *The Gentry. The Rise & Fall of a Ruling Class* (New York, 1976)

Mitchison, Rosalind (ed.), *Twilight before Night or Darkness before Dawn? Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991)

Moody, T. W. & Vaughan, W. E. (eds.), *A New History of Ireland. Volume IX. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 1986)

Morley, Vincent, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork, 2017)

Murdoch, Steve & Grosjean, Alexia, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005)

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn & Ó Siochrú, Michaél (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn, *Ireland & the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766. A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2004)

Ó Siochrú, Michaél & Ohlmeyer, Jane (eds.), *Ireland: 1641. Contexts & Reactions* (Manchester, 2013)

O'Dowd, Mary, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (Harlow, 2005)

O'Sullivan, Patrick (ed.), *Patterns of Migration* (London, 1992)

Ohlmeyer, Jane (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

Oldridge, Darren, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Stroud, 2000)

Parrish, David, *Jacobitism & Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World, 1688-1727* (Suffolk, 2017)

Perceval-Maxwell, M., *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion on 1641* (Canada, 1994)

Pincus, Steve, *1688. The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, 2009)

Pooley, Colin G. & Whyte, Ian D. (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants & Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991)

Raffe, Alasdair, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Woodbridge, 2012)

- *Scotland in Revolution, 1685-1690* (Edinburgh, 2018)

Riley, P. W. J., *King William & the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979)

Robinson, Philip, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin, 1984)

Roebuck, Peter (ed.), *Plantation to Partition* (Belfast, 1981)

Roulston, William J., *Researching Scots-Irish Ancestors: The Essential Genealogical Guide to Early Modern Ulster, 1600-1800* (Belfast, 2005)

Russell, Conrad (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973)

Ryan, Salvador & Tait, Clodagh (eds.), *Religion & Politics in Urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750. Essays in Honour of Colm Lennon* (Dublin, 2016)

Sackmann, Rosemarie, Peters, Bernhard & Faist, Thomas (eds.), *Identity & Integration. Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2003)

Scott, Brendan & Hunter, R. J., *The Ulster Port Books 1612-15* (Belfast, 2012)

Seaton Reid, James, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Volume 1* (Belfast, 1867)

Shukman, Ann, *Bishops & Covenanters: The Church in Scotland, 1688-91* (Edinburgh, 2012)

Simms, J. G., *War & Politics in Ireland 1649-1730* (London, 1986)

Sloan, Geoffrey R., *The Geopolitics of Anglo-Irish Relations in the 20$^{th}$ Century* (London, 1997)

Smith, David L., *A History of the Modern British Isles 1603-1707* (Oxford, 1998)

Smout, T. C., *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London, 1998)

- *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963)

Smyth, Jim, *The Making of the United Kingdom 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001)

Smyth, William J., *Map-Making, Landscapes & Memory. A Geography of Colonial & Early Modern Ireland c.1530-1750* (Indiana, 2006)

Sneddon, Andrew, *Possessed by the Devil: The Witches of Islandmagee, Ireland's only mass Witch-hunt* (Dublin, 2013)

- *Witchcraft & Magic in Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2015)

- *Witchcraft & Whigs. The Life of Bishop Francis Hutchinson, 1660-1739* (Manchester, 2008)

Southcombe, George & Tapsell, Grant, *Restoration Politics, Religion & Culture. Britain & Ireland, 1660-1714* (London, 2010)

Stephen, Jeffrey, *Defending the Revolution: The Church of Scotland, 1689-1716* (Farnham, 2013)

-*Scottish Presbyterians & the Act of Union 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007)

Stevenson, David (ed.), *Union, Revolution & Religion in 17$^{th}$-Century Scotland* (Aldershot, 1997)

- *Scottish Covenanters & Irish Confederates. Scotch-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981)

Straub, Kristina, *Domestic Affairs. Intimacy, Eroticism & Violence between Servants & Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Maryland, 2009)

Szechi, Daniel, *The Jacobites. Britain & Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994)

Tyler Blethen, H. & Wood, Curtis W. (eds.), *Ulster & North America. Transatlantic Perspective on the Scotch-Irish* (Alabama, 1997)

Urwick, William, *The Early History of Trinity College Dublin 1591-1660* (London, 1892)

Vann, Barry Aron, *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land. The Birth & Geotheological Imagings of a Transatlantic People 1603-1703* (South Carolina, 2008)

Wall, Maureen, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk, 1976)

Whan, Robert, *The Presbyterians of Ulster, 1680-1730* (Woodbridge, 2013)

Whatley, Christopher A., *The Scots & the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006)

Whyte, Ian D., *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition, c.1500-c.1760* (Hampshire, 1997)

- *Agriculture & Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979)

Wilson, David A. & Spencer, Mark G. (eds.), *Ulster Presbyterians in the Atlantic World. Religion, Politics & Identity* (Dublin, 2006)

## Chapters in Edited Collections

Adair, Charlene, 'The Trial of Lord Maguire & 'Print Culture'', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Allan, David, 'Protestantism, Presbyterianism & National Identity in 18th Century', in Tony Claydon & Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism & National Identity. Britain & Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998)

Armitage, David, 'The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture', in John Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire* (Cambridge, 1995)

Armstrong, Robert, 'Adair, Stewart & Presbyterian Ulster', in Robert Armstrong, Andrew R. Holmes, R. Scott Spurlock & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *Presbyterian History in Ireland. Two Seventeenth-Century Narratives. Patrick Adair & Andrew Stewart* (Belfast, 2016)

- 'Of Stories & Sermons: Nationality & Spirituality in Presbyterian Ulster in the Later 17th Century', in Robert Armstrong & Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006)

Bailey, Craig, 'Metropole & Colony: Irish Networks & Patronage in the Eighteenth-Century Empire', in Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007)

Bankhurst, Benjamin, 'The Politics of Dissenting Demography in Ireland, 1690-1735', in Nigel Aston & Benjamin Bankhurst (eds.), *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent & the Hanoverian Succession, 1714-1760* (Oxford, 2019)

- ''Scum of Earth, & Refuse of Mankind': The Negative Reputation of Irish Presbyterians on the Colonial American Frontier', in Marti D. Lee & Ed Madden (eds.), *Irish Studies: Geographies & Genders* (Cambridge, 2009)

Barber, Sarah, 'Settlement, Transplantation & Expulsion: A Comparative Study of the Placement of Peoples', in Ciaran Brady & Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (New York, 2004)

Barnard, Toby, 'Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland, 1660-1704', in Elizabethanne Boran & Crawford Gribben (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland & Scotland, 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2006)

- 'Protestantism, Ethnicity & Irish Identities, 1660-1760', in Tony Claydon & Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism & National Identity. Britain & Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998)

Bartlett, Thomas, 'Army & Society in 18th Century Ireland', in W. A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

- 'Politics & Society, 1600-1800', in Liam Kennedy & Philip Ollenrenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013)

Bonino, Stefano, 'The Migration & Settlement of Pakistanis & Indians', in T. M. Devine & Angela McCarthy (eds.), *New Scots. Scotland's Immigration Communities since 1945* (Edinburgh, 2018)

Bowböck, Rainer, 'Public Culture in Societies of Immigration', in Rosemarie Sackmann, Bernhard Peters & Thomas Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration. Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2003)

Bowie, Karin, 'New Perspectives on Pre-Union Scotland', in T. M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)

Breen, Colin, 'Randal MacDonnell & Early Seventeenth-Century Settlement in North-East Ulster, 1603-30', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Micheál Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

Brown, Keith M., 'Scottish Identity in the Seventeenth Century', in Brendan Bradshaw & Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness & Identity. The Making of Britain, 1707* (Cambridge, 1998)

Burgess, Glenn, 'Religion & Civil Society: The Place of the English Revolution in the Development of Political Thought', in Michael J. Braddick & David L. Smith (eds.), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain & Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011)

Campbell, R. H., 'The Scottish Improvers & the Course of Agrarian Change in the 18th Century', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Canny, Nicholas, 'Early Modern Ireland, c.1500-1700', in R. F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989)

Chambers, Liam, 'Medicine & Miracles in the Late Seventeenth Century: Bernard Connor's *Evangelium Medici* (1697)', in James Kelly & Fiona Clark (eds.), *Ireland & Medicine in the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries* (Surrey, 2010)

Clarke, Aidan, 'The '1641 Massacres'', in Micheál Ó Siochrú & Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641. Contexts & Reactions* (Manchester, 2013)

- 'The 1641 Depositions', in Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library. Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986)

Claydon, Tony, ''British' History in the Post-Revolutionary World 1690-1715', in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History Founding a Modern State 1603-1715* (New York, 1999)

Connolly, S. J., 'The Penal Laws', in W. A. McGuire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

- 'Ulster Presbyterians: Religion, Culture & Politics, 1660-1850', in H. Tyler Blethen & Curtis W. Wood (eds.), *Ulster & North America. Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Alabama, 1997)

Crawford, W. H., 'Change in Ulster in the Late 18th Century', in Thomas Bartlett & David W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979)

- 'The Influence of the Landlord in 18th Century Ulster', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Cullen, Karen J., 'The Famine of the 1690s & its Aftermath. Survival & Recovery of the Family', in E. Ewan & J. Nugent (eds.), *Finding Family in Medieval & Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot, 2008)

Cullen, Louis M. & Smout, T. C., 'Economic Growth in Scotland & Ireland', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Cullen, Louis M., 'Merchant Communities Overseas, the Navigation Acts & Irish & Scottish Responses', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

- 'Patrons, Teachers & Literacy in Irish: 1700-1850', in Mary Daly & David Dickson (eds.), *Language Change & Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990)

- 'Scotland & Ireland, 1600-1800: Their Role in the Evolution of British Society', in R. A. Houston & I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989)

- 'The Irish Diaspora of the 17th & 18th Centuries', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2010)

Cunningham, Bernadette & Gillespie, Raymond, 'Cultural Frontiers & the Circulation of Manuscripts in Ireland, 1625-1725', in James Kelly & Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (eds.), *Irish & English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic & Cultural Frontier, 1600-1900* (Dublin, 2012)

Cunningham, John, '1641 & the Shaping of Cromwellian Ireland', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

- 'Sickness, Disease & Medical Practitioners in 1640s Ireland', in John Cunningham, David Cantor & Keir Waddington (eds.), *Early Modern Ireland & the World of Medicine: Practitioners, Collectors & Contexts* (Manchester, 2019)

Darcy, Eamon, 'The Social Order of the 1641 Rebellion', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Delaney, Enda & MacRaild, Donald M., 'Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750. An Introduction', in Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007)

Dennehy, Coleman A., 'The Restoration Irish Parliament, 1661-6', in Coleman A. Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling & Never Settled* (New York, 2016)

Dickson, David, 'Middlemen', in Thomas Bartlett & David W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979)

Doyle, David Noel, 'Scots Irish or Scotch-Irish', in J. J. Lee & Marion R. Casey (eds.), *Making the Irish American. History & Heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York, 2006)

Fitzgerald, Patrick, ''Black '97': Reconsidering Scottish Migration to Ireland in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century & the Scotch-Irish in America', in William Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster & Scotland 1600-2000. History, Language & Identity* (Dublin, 2004)

- ''Come Back, Paddy Reilly'. Aspects of Irish Return Migration, 1600-1845', in Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005)

- 'The 17<sup>th</sup> Century Connection', in T. M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)

- ''Like Crickets to the Crevice of a Brew-house'. Poor Irish Migrants in England, 1560-1640', in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of Migration* (London, 1992)

Ford, Alan, 'The Origins of Irish Dissent', in Kevin Herilhy (ed.), *The Religion of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1996)

Foster, R. F., 'Ascendancy & Union', in R. F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989)

Fox, Christopher, 'Introduction', in Christopher Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003)

Garnham, Neal, 'Defending the Kingdom & Preserving the Constitution: Irish Militia Legislation 1692-1793', in John Bergin, David Hayton & James Kelly (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke, c. 2010)

Gibbs, G. C., 'The European Origins of the Glorious Revolution', in W. A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Economic Life, 1550-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

- 'Religion & Politics in a Provincial Town: Belfast, 1660-1720', in Salvador Ryan & Clodagh Tait (eds.), *Religion & Politics in Urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750. Essays in Honour of Colm Lennon* (Dublin, 2016)

- 'Scotland & Ulster: A Presbyterian Perspective, 1603-1700', in William Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Scotland & the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland* (Dublin, 2009)

- 'Success & Failure in the Ulster Plantation', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Micheál Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

- 'The Early Modern Economy, 1600-1780', in Liam Kennedy & Philip Ollerenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013)

- 'War & the Irish Town: The Early Modern Experience', in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001)

Gleeson, David T. & Buttimer, Brendan J., ''We are Irish Everywhere': Irish Immigrant Networks in Charleston, South Carolina & Savannah, Georgia', in Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007)

Goodare, Julian, 'Scotland's Parliament in its British Context, 1603-1707', in H. T. Dickinson & M. Lynch (eds.), *The Challenge to Westminster: Sovereignty, Devolution & Independence* (East Lothian, 2000)

Greaves, Richard L., ''That's No Good Religion that Disturbs Government': The Church of Ireland & the Nonconformist Challenge, 1660-88', in A. Ford, J. McGuire & K. Milne (eds.), *As By Law Established. The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995)

- 'Conformity & Security in Scotland & Ireland, 1660-85', in Elizabethanne Boran & Crawford Gribben (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland & Scotland, 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2006)

Grell, Ole Peter & Cunningham, Andrew, 'Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th & 19th Century Northern Europe', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham & Robert Jütte (eds.), *Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th Century Northern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002)

Harper, Marjory, 'Introduction', in Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005)

Harris, Tim, 'Politics, Religion & Community in Later Stuart Ireland', in Robert Armstrong & Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006)

- 'Restoration Ireland – Themes & Problems', in Coleman A. Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland. Always Settling & Never Settled* (London, 2008)

Hayton, David W. & Kelly, James, 'Introduction: The Irish Parliament in European Context: A Representative Institution in a Composite State', in James Kelly, David W. Hayton & John Bergin (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800*

Hayton, David W., 'Exclusion, Conformity & Parliamentary Representation: The Impact of the Sacramental Test on Irish Dissenting Politics', in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1997)

- 'Parliament & the Established Church: Reform & Reaction', in John Bergin, David Hayton & James Kelly (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke, c. 2010)

- 'Patriots & Legislators: Irishmen & their Parliaments, c.1689-c.1740', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations & Identities in Britain & Ireland, 1660-1850* (Manchester, 2003)

- 'The Beginnings of the 'Undertaker System'', in Thomas Bartlett & David W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979)

- 'The Emergence of a Protestant Society, 1691-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

Hill, Jacqueline R., 'Dublin Corporations, Protestant Dissent & Politics, 1660-1800', in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800* (Dublin, 1997)

Holmes, Richard, 'James Arbuckle & the Molesworth Circle: A Whig Critique of Irish Penal Laws', in John Bergin, Eoin Magennis, Lesa Ní Mhunghaile & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin, 2011)

Horsburgh, David, 'The Political Identity of the Scots-Speaking Community in Scotland & Ulster, 1545-1760', in William Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster & Scotland 1600-2000. History, Language & Identity* (Dublin, 2004)

Houston, R. A., 'The Economy of Edinburgh 1694-1763: The Evidence of the Common Good', in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston & R. J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development. Ireland & Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995)

Hunter, R. J., 'The Bible & the Bawn: An Ulster Planter Inventorised', in Ciaran Brady & Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (New York, 2004)

Jones, Inga, ''Holy War'? Religion, Ethnicity & Massacre during the Irish Rebellion', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Kelly, James, 'Irish Protestants & the Irish Language in the 18th Century', in James Kelly & Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (eds.), *Irish & English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic & Cultural Frontier, 1600-1900* (Dublin, 2012)

- 'Sustaining a Confessional State: The Irish Parliament & Catholicism', in John Bergin, David Hayton & James Kelly (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke, c. 2010)

- 'The Historiography of the Penal Laws', in John Bergin, Eoin Magennis, Lesa Ní Mhunghaile & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin, 2011)

Kelly, Patrick, 'Conquest versus Consent as the Basis of the English Title to Ireland in William Molyneux's Case of Ireland', in Ciaran Brady & Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (New York, 2004)

Kennedy, Liam, Miller, Kerby A. & Gurrin, Brian, 'People & Population Change, 1600-1914', in Liam Kennedy & Philip Ollenrenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600. Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013)

Kidd, Colin, 'Protestantism, Constitutionalism & British Identity under the Later Stuarts', in Brendan Bradshaw & Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness & Identity. The Making of Britain, 1707* (Cambridge, 1998)

Kirkham, Graeme, 'Literacy in North-West Ulster 1680-1860', in Mary Daly & David Dickson (eds.), *Language Change & Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990)

- 'Ulster Emigration to North America, 1680-1720', in H. Tyler Blethen & Curtis W. Wood (eds.), *Ulster & North America. Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Alabama, 1997)

Knox, Andrea, ''Women of the Wild Geese': Irish Women, Exile & Identity in Spain, 1750-1775', in Enda Delaney & Donald M. MacRaild (eds.), *Irish Migration, Networks & Ethnic Identities since 1750* (Oxon, 2007)

Lenihan, Pádraig, 'Introduction', in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001)

Ludlow, Francis & Crampsie, Arlene, 'Environmental History of Ireland, 1550-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

Lynch, Michael, 'Continuity & Change in Urban Society, 1500-1700', in R. A. Houston & I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989)

Lyons, Mary Ann, 'Concepts of Citizenship in Ireland during an Era of Revolutions, 1688-1798', in Steven G. Ellis (ed.), *Enfranchising Ireland? Identity, Citizenship & State* (Dublin, 2018)

Macafee, W & Morgan, V., 'Population in Ulster, 1660-1760', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to Partition* (Belfast, 1981)

Macinnes, Allan I., 'Slaughter under Trust: Clan Massacres & British State Formation', in Mark Levene & Penny Roberts (eds.), *The Massacre in History* (New York, 1999)

MacIntosh, Gillian H. & Tanner, Roland J., 'Balancing Acts: The Crown & the Parliament', in Keith M. Brown & Alan R. MacDonald (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament. Volume 3. Parliament in Context, 1235-1707* (Edinburgh, 2010)

MacLeod, Nikki, ''Rogues, Villaines & Base Trulls: Constructing the 'Other' in the 1641 Depositions', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

MacRaild, Donald M. & Smith, Malcolm, 'Migration & Emigration, 1600-1945', in Liam Kennedy & Philip Ollenrenshaw (eds.), *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy & Society* (Oxford, 2013)

Maguire, W. A., 'The Land Settlement', in W. A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

Mann, Alastair J., 'House Rules: Parliamentary Procedure', in Keith M. Brown & Alan R. MacDonald (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament. Volume 3. Parliament in Context, 1235-1707* (Edinburgh, 2010)

Margey, Annaleigh, '1641 & the Ulster Plantation Towns', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

McBride, Ian, ''The Common Name of Irishman': Protestantism & Patriotism in 18th Century Ireland', in Tony Claydon & Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism & National Identity. Britain & Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998)

- 'Ulster Presbyterians & the Confessional State, c.1688-1733', in D. G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall & V. Geoghegan (eds.), *Political Discourse in Seventeenth & Eighteenth Century Ireland* (London, 2001)

McCracken, J. L., 'The Social Structure & Social Life', in T. W. Moody & W. E. Vaughan (eds.), *A New History of Ireland. Volume IV. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 1986)

McGrath, Bríd, 'Mount Taragh's Triumph: Commitment & Organisation in the Early Stages of the 1641 Rebellion in Meath', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

McGrath, Charles I., 'Politics, 1692-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

- 'The Parliament of Ireland to 1800', in Clyve Jones (ed.), *A Short History of Parliament* (Woodbridge, 2009)

- 'The Provisions for Conversion in the Penal Laws, 1695-1750', in Michael Brown, Charles I. McGrath & Thomas P. Power (eds.), *Converts & Conversion in Ireland, 1650-1850* (Dublin, 2005)

McGuire, James I., 'The Irish Parliament of 1692', in Thomas Bartlett & David W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal Era & Golden Age. Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979)

- 'James II & Ireland, 1685-90', in W. A. McGuire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

McGurk, John, 'Wild Geese. The Irish in European Armies (16th-18th centuries)', in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of Migration* (London, 1992)

McNally, Patrick, 'William King, Patriotism & the 'National Question'', in Christopher J. Fauske (ed.), *Archbishop William King & the Anglican Irish Context, 1688-1729* (Dublin, 2003)

Miller, David W., 'Religious Commotions in the Scottish Diaspora: A Transatlantic Perspective on 'Evangelicalism' in a Mainline Denomination', in David A. Wilson & Mark G. Spencer (eds.), *Ulster Presbyterians in the Atlantic World. Religion, Politics & Identity* (Dublin, 2006)

- 'Searching for a New World: The Background & Baggage of Scots-Irish Immigrants', in Warren R. Hofstra (ed.), *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (Knoxville, 2012)

Miller, John, 'The Glorious Revolution', in W. A. McGuire (ed.), *Kings in Conflict. The Revolutionary War in Ireland & its Aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990)

Mitchison, Rosalind, 'Poor Relief & Health Care in 19th Century Scotland', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham & Robert Jütte (eds.), *Health Care & Poor Relief in 18th Century Northern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002)

- 'Twilight before Night or Darkness before Dawn? Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland', in David Stevenson (ed.), *Union, Revolution & Religion in 17th-Century Scotland* (Aldershot, 1997)

Morrill, John, 'The Causes of the Popery Laws: Paradoxes & Inevitabilities', in John Bergin, Eoin Magennis, Lesa Ní Mhunghaile & Patrick Walsh (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin, 2011)

Murdoch, Steve & Mijers, Esther, 'Migrant Destinations, 1500-1750', in T. M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)

Murphy, Elaine, 'Siege of Duncannon Fort in 1641 & 1642', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Neyts, Ciska, 'Mapping the Outbreak of the Rebellion: Robberies in County Cavan (October 1641)', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn & Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Introduction. The Plantation of Ulster: Ideas & Ideologies', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Micheál Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, 'Imagining Political Representation in 17th Century Ireland', in Robert Armstrong & Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006)

O'Dowd, Mary, 'Men, Women, Children & the Family, 1550-1730', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

O'Regan, Philip, 'William King as Bishop & Parliamentarian, 1691-7', in Christopher J. Fauske (ed.), *Archbishop William King & the Anglican Irish Context, 1688-1729* (Dublin, 2003)

O'Reilly, William, 'Ireland in the Atlantic World: Migration & Cultural Transfer', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2. 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018)

Oakleaf, David, 'Politics & History', in Christopher Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003)

Ohlmeyer, Jane & Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Introduction – 1641: Fresh Contexts & Perspectives', in Micheál Ó Siochrú & Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641. Contexts & Reactions* (Manchester, 2013)

Peters, Bernhard, 'Collective Identity, Cultural Difference & the Developmental Trajectories of Immigrant Groups', in Rosemarie Sackmann, Bernhard Peters & Thomas Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration. Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2003)

Piętka-Nykaza, Emilia, 'Polish Diaspora or Polish Migrant Communities? Polish Migrants in Scotland, 1945-2015', in T. M. Devine & Angela McCarthy (eds.), *New Scots. Scotland's Immigration Communities since 1945* (Edinburgh, 2018)

Pocock, J. G. A., 'The Atlantic Archipelago & the War of the Three Kingdoms', in Brendan Bradshaw & John Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707. State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hampshire, 1996)

Pooley, Colin G. & Whyte, Ian D., 'Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration & Social Change', in Colin G. Pooley & Ian D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants & Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991)

Raffe, Alasdair, 'Scotland Restored & Reshaped: Politics & Religion', in T. M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)

Rayner, Laura, 'The Tribulations of Everyday Government in Williamite Scotland', in S. Adams & J. Goodare (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions* (Woodbridge, 2014)

Robinson, Andrew, 'Owen Connolly, Hugh Og MacMahon & the 1641 Rebellion', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey & Elaine Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions & the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012)

Russell, Conrad, 'Introduction', in Conrad Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973)

Sackmann, Rosemarie, 'Introduction: Collective Identities & Social Integration', in Rosemarie Sackmann, Bernhard Peters & Thomas Faist (eds.), *Identity & Integration. Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2003)

Sefton, Henry R., 'Presbyterianism', in Colin MacLean & Kenneth Veitch (eds.), *Scottish Life & Society, Volume 12. Religion* (Edinburgh, 2006)

Simms, J. G., 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714', in T. W. Moody & W. E. Vaughan (eds.), *A New History of Ireland. Volume IV. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 1986)

Smout, T. C., 'Famine & Famine-Relief in Scotland', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Smout, T. C., Landsman, N. C. & Devine, T. M., 'Scottish Emigration in the 17th & 18th Centuries', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2010)

Smyth, William J., 'Ireland a Colony: Settlement Implications of the Revolution in Military-Administrative, Urban & Ecclesiastical Structures, c.1550 to c.1730', in Terry Barry (ed.), *A History of Settlement in Ireland* (Oxon, 2000)

Sneddon, Andrew, 'Legislating for Economic Development: Irish Fisheries as a Case Study in the Limitations of 'Improvement'', James Kelly, David W. Hayton & John Bergin (eds.), *The Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland & Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke, 2010)

Stevenson, David, 'The Century of the Three Kingdoms', in Jenny Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991)

Szechi, Daniel, 'The Hanoverians & Scotland', in Mark Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest & Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991)

Tyson, R. E., 'Contrasting Regimes: Population Growth in Ireland & Scotland during the 18th Century', in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston & R. J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development. Ireland & Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995)

Walsh, Marcus, 'Swift & Religion', in Christopher Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003)

Walter, John, 'Performative Violence & the Politics of Violence in the 1641 Depositions', in Micheál Ó Siochrú & Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641. Contexts & Reactions* (Manchester, 2013)

Whatley, Christopher, A., 'The Crisis of the Regal Union 1690-1707', in B. Harris & A. R. MacDonald (eds.), *Scotland: The Making & Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100-1707. Volume 2. Early Modern Scotland, c.1500-1707* (Dundee, 2007)

Whelan, Bernadette, 'Women & Warfare, 1641-1691', in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001)

Whyte, Ian D., 'Migration in Early-Modern Scotland & England: A Comparative Perspective', in Colin G. Pooley & Ian D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants & Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991)

- 'Ministers & Society in Scotland 1560-c.1800', in Colin MacLean & Kenneth Veitch (eds.), *Scottish Life & Society, Volume 12. Religion* (Edinburgh, 2006)

- 'Population Mobility in Early Modern Scotland', in R. A. Houston & I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989)

- 'Scottish & Irish Urbanisations in the 17th & 18th Centuries: A Comparative Perspective', in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston & R. J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity & Economic Development. Ireland & Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995)

Withington, Phil, 'Plantation & Civil Society', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Micheál Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

Wokeck, Marianne S., 'Searching for Land: The Role of New Castle, Delaware, 1720s-1770s', in Warren R. Hofstra (ed.), *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (Knoxville, 2012)

Woodward, Donald, 'A Comparative Study of the Irish & Scottish Livestock Trades in the 17th Century', in Louis M. Cullen & T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic & Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

Wormald, Jenny, 'The 'British' Crown, the Earls & the Plantation of Ulster', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha & Micheál Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology & Practice* (Manchester, 2012)

- 'Reformed & Godly Scotland?', in T. M. Devine & J. Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2014)

Wyman, Mark, 'Emigrants Returning: The Evolution of a Tradition', in Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005)

Young, John R., 'Invasions: Scotland & Ireland 1641-1691', in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest & Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001)

- 'Scotland & Ulster in the 17th Century: The Movement of Peoples over the North Channel', in William Kelly & John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster & Scotland 1600-2000. History, Language & Identity* (Dublin, 2004)

-'The Scottish Response to the Siege of Londonderry, 1689-90', in William Kelly (ed.), *The Sieges of Derry* (Dublin, 2001)

**Articles**

Aguirre, B. E., Saenz, Rogelio & Hwang, Sean-Shong, 'Discrimination & the Assimilation & Ethnic Competition Perspectives', *Social Science Quarterly,* 70(3), (1989), pp. 594-606

Arkins, T., 'The Penal Laws & Irish Land', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* 1(3), (1912), pp. 514-523

Armstrong, Robert, 'Ireland's Puritan Revolution? The Emergence of Ulster Presbyterianism Reconsidered', *English Historical Review,* 121(493), (2006), pp. 1048-1074

Baugh, Daniel A., 'Great Britain's Blue Water Policy, 1689-1815', *The International History Review,* 10(1), (1988), pp. 33-58

- 'Parliament, Naval Spending & the Public: Contrasting Financial Legacies of Two Exhausting Wars, 1689-1713', *Histoire & Mesure,* 30(2), (2015), pp. 23-49

Beckett, J. C., 'William King's Administration of the Diocese of Derry, 1691-1703', *Irish Historical Studies,* 4(14), (1944), pp. 164-180

- 'The Government & the Church of Ireland under William III & Anne', *Irish Historical Studies,* 2(7), (1941), pp. 280-302

Bell, Kathryn, Jarman, Neil & Lefebvre, Thomas, 'Migrant Workers in Northern Ireland', *Institute for Conflict Research,* (2004), pp. 1-129

Bond, Ross, 'Belonging & Becoming: National Identity & Exclusion', *Sociology,* 40(4), (2006), pp. 609-626

Carpenter, Andrew, 'William King & the Threats to the Church of Ireland during the Reign of James II', *Irish Historical Studies,* 18(69), (1972), pp. 22-28

Connolly, Sean J., 'Jacobites, Whiteboys & Republicans: Varieties of Disaffection in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 18, (2003), pp. 63-79

Cope, Joseph, 'The Experience of Survival during the 1641 Irish Rebellion', *The Historical Journal,* 46(2), (2003), pp. 295-316

Cullen, Karen J., Whatley, Christopher A. & Young, Mary, 'King William's Ill Years: New Evidence on the Impact of Scarcity & Harvest Failure during the 1690s in Tayside', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 85(2), (2006), pp. 250-276

Darragh, James, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland since the year 1680', *The Innes Review,* 4(1), (1953), pp. 49-59

Devine, T. M., 'Making the Caledonian Connection: The Development of Irish & Scottish Studies', *Radharc,* 3, (2002), pp. 3-15

Dodgshon, Robert A., 'The Little Ice Age in the Scottish Highlands & Islands: Documenting its Human Impact', *Scottish Geographical Journal,* 121(4), (2008), pp. 321-337

Donnelly, Colm J., 'Masshouses & Meetinghouses: The Archaeology of the Penal Laws in Early Modern Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 8(2), (2004), pp. 119-132

Dudley Edwards, R. & Moody, T. W., 'The History of Poynings' Law: Part 1, 1494-1615', *Irish Historical Studies,* 2(8), (1941), pp. 415-424

Dustmann, Christian & Weiss, Yoram, 'Return Migration: Theory & Empirical Evidence from the UK', *British Journal of Industrial Relations,* 45(2), (2007), pp. 236-256

Eaton, Martin, 'Portuguese Migrant Worker Experiences in Northern Ireland's Market Town Economy', *Portuguese Studies,* 26(1), (2010), pp. 10-26

Elliott, J. H., 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present,* 137, (1992), pp. 48-71

Evans, E. E., 'The Personality of Ulster', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 51, (1970), pp. 1-20

Farrell, Gerard, 'Class Divisions & the 'Mere Irish' of Colonial Ulster', *Journal of Postgraduate Research*, 8, (2014), pp. 73-91

Ferguson, James, 'The Expedition of 1690 to the Western Isles' *The Celtic Review,* 4(15), (1908), pp. 220-237.

Frace, Ryan K., 'Religious Toleration in the Wake of Revolution: Scotland on the Eve of Enlightenment (1699-1710s)', *The Journal of the Historical Association,* 93(311), (2008), pp. 355-375

Goodare, Julian, 'The Estates in the Scottish Parliament, 1286-1707', *Parliamentary History,* 15(1), (1996), pp. 11-32

- 'The Scottish Parliament & its Early Modern 'Rivals'', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 24(1), (2004), pp. 147-172

Griffin, Patrick, 'Defining the Limits of Britishness: The 'New' British History & the Meaning of the Revolution Settlement in Ireland for Ulster's Presbyterians', *Journal of British Studies,* 39(3), (2000), pp. 263-287

Guskin, Phyllis J., 'The Context of Witchcraft: The Case of Jane Wenham (1712)', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 15(1), (1981), pp. 48-71

Halliday, James, 'The Club & the Revolution in Scotland 1689-90', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 45(140), (1966), pp. 143-159

Holland, Karen A., 'Disputed Heroes: Early Accounts of the Siege of Londonderry', *New Hibernica Review,* 18(2), (2014), pp. 21-41

Holmes, Geoffrey, 'The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd & the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Past & Present,* 72, (1976), pp. 55-85

Johnston, Don, 'The Flurry Valley: Landlords & Society, 1659-1841', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological & History Society,* 26(1), (2005), pp. 5-26

Kelly, James, 'Coping with Crisis: The Response to the Famine of 1740-41', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 27, (2012), pp. 99-122

 - ''Disappointing the Boundless Ambition of France: Irish Protestants & the Fear of Invasion', *Studia Hibernica,* 37, (2011), pp. 27-105

Kelly, Patrick, 'The Irish Woollen Export Prohibition Act of 1699: Kearney re-visited', *Irish Economic & Social History,* 7, (1980), pp. 22-44

Kennedy, Allan, 'Crime & Punishment in Early Modern Scotland: The Secular Courts of Restoration Argyllshire, 1660-1688', *International Review of Scottish Studies,* 41, (2016), pp. 1-36

Koppel, Bruce, 'Toward Sociogenic Migration Theory', *The International Migration Review,* 10(2), (1976), pp. 233-248

Levack, Brian P., 'The Prosecution of Sexual Crimes in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 89(228), (2010), pp. 172-193

Mann, Alastair J., 'A Brief History of an Ancient Institution. The Scottish Parliament', *Scottish Parliamentary Review,* 1(1), (2013), pp. 1-50

- 'Inglorious Revolution: Administrative Muddle & Constitutional Change in the Scottish Parliament of William & Mary', *Parliamentary History,* 22, (2003), pp. 121-144

Macdonald, Gillian Sarah, 'Black-boxes, Flying Packets, & Espionage: The Information Trade & Scottish Governance, 1689-91', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 40(3), (2020), pp. 269-289

McAreavey, Ruth, 'The Experiences of Recent Migrants to Northern Ireland: Towards a Sense of Belonging?', *Shared Space: A Research Journal on Peace, Conflict & Community Relations in Northern Ireland,* (c.2013), pp. 71-85

McCormick, Leanne, '"No Sense of Wrongdoing": Abortion in Belfast 1917-1967', *Journal of Social History,* 49(1), (2015), pp. 125-148

McGrath, Charles I., 'Government, Parliament & the Constitution: The Reinterpretation of Poynings' Law, 1692-1714', *Irish Historical Studies,* 35(138), (2006), pp. 160-172

McJimsey, Robert D., 'A Country Divided? English Politics & the Nine Years' War', *Albion. A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 23(1), (1991), pp. 61-74

Mitchison, Rosalind, 'The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', *Past & Present,* 63, (1974), pp. 58-93

Morgan, Kenneth, 'Scottish Mercantile Networks in the Early Modern Atlantic', *International Journal of Maritime History,* 23(2), (2011), pp. 263-266

Morley, Vincent, 'The Continuity of Disaffection in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 22, (2007), pp. 189-205

Munn, C. W., 'The Emergence of Central Banking in Ireland: The Bank of Ireland 1814-1850', *Irish Economic & Social History,* 10(1), (1983), pp. 19-32

Ó Buachalla, Breandán, 'Irish Jacobite Poetry', *The Irish Review,* 12 (1992), pp. 40-49

O hAnnracháin, Eoghan, 'Who were the Wild Geese?', *Etudes Irlandaises,* 25(1), (2000), pp. 105-123

Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653', *Past & Present,* 195(1), (2007), pp. 55-86.

Ohlmeyer, Jane, 'Seventeenth-Century Ireland & the New British & Atlantic Histories', *The American Historical Review,* 104(2), (1999), pp. 446-462

Patrick, Derek J. & Whatley, Christopher A., 'Persistence, Principle & Patriotism in the Making of the Union of 1707: The Revolution, Scottish Parliament & Squadrone Volante', *The Journal of the Historical Association,* 92(306), (2007), pp. 162-186

Pettigrew, William A., 'Constitutional Change in England & the Diffusion of Regulatory Initiative, 1660-1714', *History,* 99(338), (2014), pp. 839-863

Quillian, Lincoln, 'New Approaches to Understanding Racial Prejudice & Discrimination', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 32, (2006), pp. 299-328

Raffe, Alasdair, 'Presbyterians & Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660-1715', *The English Historical Review,* 125(514), (2010), pp. 570-598

- 'Propaganda, Religious Controversy & the Williamite Revolution in Scotland', *Dutch Crossing. Journal of Low Countries Studies,* 29(1), (2005), pp. 21-42

- 'Presbyterianism, Secularization & Scottish Politics after the Revolution of 1688-1690', *The Historical Journal,* 53(2), (2010), pp. 317-337

Refaussé, Raymond, 'Gone but not Forgotten – the Church of Ireland Graveyards of the City of Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record,* 68(1), (2015), pp. 84-96

Richardson, Joseph, 'William King (1650-1729): 'Church Tory & State Whig'?', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* 15, (2000), pp. 54-76

Rose, Craig, 'Providence, Protestant Union & Godly Reformation in the 1690s', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 3, (1993), pp. 151-169

Russell, Raymond, 'Migration in Northern Ireland: A Demographic Perspective', *Northern Ireland Assembly – Research & Information Service Research Paper,* 71(11), (2011), pp. 1-35

Ryder, Michael, 'The Bank of Ireland, 1721: Land Credit & Dependency', *The Historical Journal,* 25(3), (1982), pp. 557-582

Sherry, John, 'Scottish Presbyterian Networks in Ulster & the Irish House of Commons, 1692-1714', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 33(2), (2013), pp. 120-139

- '"Weaklynges" Sucking at England: Reassessing the Scottish Plantation of Ulster', *International Review of Scottish Studies,* 35, (2010), pp. 37-64

Simms, J. G., 'The Making of a Penal Law, 1703-4', *Irish Historical Studies,* 12(46), (1960), pp. 105-118

- 'Irish Catholics & the Parliamentary Franchise, 1692-1728', *Irish Historical Studies,* 12(45), (1960), pp. 28-37

- 'The Williamite War in South Ulster', *Clogher Record,* 10(1), (1979), pp. 155-162

Smith, Malcolm T. & MacRaild, Donald M., 'Paddy & Biddy No More: An Evolutionary Analysis of the Decline in Irish Catholic Forenames among Descendants of 19th Century Irish Migrants to Britain', *Annals of Human Biology,* 36(5), (2009), pp. 595-608

Smout, T. C., 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 47 (143), (1968), pp. 53-71

Smyth, Jim, ''Like Amphibious Animals': Irish Protestants, Ancient Britons, 1691-1707', *The Historical Journal,* 36(4), (1993), pp. 785-797

Storrs, Christopher, 'Disaster at Darien (1698-1700)? The Persistence of Spanish Imperial Power on the Eve of the Demise of the Spanish Hapsburgs', *European History Quarterly,* 29(1), (1999), pp. 5-38

Tyson, Robert E., 'The Population of Aberdeenshire 1695-1755: A New Approach', *Northern Scotland,* 6(1), (2015), pp. 113-131

Vann, Barry, 'Presbyterian Social Ties & Mobility in the Irish Sea Culture Area, 1610-1690', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 18(3), (2005), pp. 227-254

Young, John R., 'The Scottish Covenanters & the Drive for a Godly Society, 1639-1651', *Recherches Anglaises et Nord-Americaines,* 40, (2007), pp. 25-36

- 'The Scottish Parliament & the Politics of Empire: Parliament & the Darien Project, 1695-1707', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation,* 27(1), (2007), pp. 175-190