THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN THE COLONIES:
1760-1780.

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts
by
Kathryn R. Aikin, A.B.

The Ohio State University
1955

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Approved by:

[Signature]
The Scotch-Irish in the Colonies:
1750 - 1790.

Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. By Way of Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Early Settlements</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Daily Life on the Frontier</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Educational and Religious Activities</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Military Pursuits</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Political Participation and Conclusion</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix

| A. Regulators' Petition                       | 67   |
| Bibliography                                  | 88   |

406163
Chapter One

By Way of Introduction

Now the thistle has been taking
To "a-wearin' of the green",
And around its prickly outline
A green halo may be seen.
For the thistle has lost sharpness
Since it grew on Erin's soil
Where our forebears for ten decades
Mtd spin, and weave, and toil.

A small young lady of eight years sat primly beside a stranger, on the train, attempting to explain her Scotch (and she paused for the hyphen) Irish ancestry. They glanced up; the train was passing some neglected farms which, the stranger said, belonged to the "slovenly Irish". The little girl doubted if she bore any relationship to that race. Were the Scotch-Irish a mixture of the two stocks?

To speak of the Scotch-Irish during the colonial period is really an anachronism. The term did not come into general use until the nineteenth century when the Protestants, whose forebears had come from northern Ireland, thought it was desirable to differentiate themselves from the hordes of Irish Catholic immigrants.

"It was first taken as a race-name by many individuals of a very large class in the United States, descendants of emigrants of Scottish blood from the north of Ireland. The name was not used by the first of these emigrants, neither was it applied to them by the people whom they met here."

---

Most authorities seem agreed in that, but what were they called? Martin I. J. Griffen emphatically insists that
"the national stock was everywhere at that time called 'Irish'. Simply that and nothing more. They so called themselves
and they were so called by others." While Hanna says,
"They usually called themselves 'Scotch', just as the des-
cendants of their former neighbors in Northern Ireland do
today; and as do some of their own descendants in this
country, who seemingly are averse to acknowledging any
connection with Ireland."[5]

"Although they came to this land from
Ireland, where their ancestors had a century
before planted themselves, yet they retained
unmixed the national Scotch character.
Nothing sooner offended them than to be
called Irish. Rev. James MacGregor, in
writing to Governor Sheas, said: 'We are
surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish
people when we so frequently ventured our
all for the British crown and liberties,
against the Irish Papists.'[4]

The earliest use of the word which Griffen found was
in 1757, when false information had been given the authori-
ties in England, and the source was discounted as probably
originating with "some Scotch-Irishmen". In 1763-64,
Nathaniel Grubb characterized this group before the Pennsyl-
vanian provincial legislature as "a pack of insignificant
Scotch-Irish, who, if they were all killed, could well

2 Griffen, W. I. J., "Early Irish Settlers", 40-44.
3 American Catholic Historical Researches, IV, 1908.
4 Hanna, op. cit., IV, 41.
5 Parker, E. L., History of Londonderry, New Hampshire,
68.
6 Griffen, op. cit., IV, 40.
enough be spared." Speaking of the murder of the Conestoga Indians in 1763, one colonial preacher said: "The Presbyterians...are enraged at their being charged in bulk with these facts, under the name of Scotch-Irish, and other ill-natured titles."

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, James I took over the land of the Ulster chiefs who had been in armed rebellion against England. In order to populate these northern Irish counties with less recalcitrant settlers, King James had the territory divided into two thousand acre plots, and smaller.

"Each Undertaker gave bond for four hundred pounds, or less [varying with the size of the lot], that within three years he would build a stone or brick house with a 'barn' [or] fortified enclosure....The Scotch and English Undertakers for great proportions were under obligation 'within three years to plant or place upon the said proportion 49 able men, aged 18 years or upward, born in England or inward parts of Scotland.'"  

The king saw that men of good social standing and wide influence were selected. For men, both in England and Scotland, of straitened means, Ulster served as the destination for the "Go-West" movement of that day. As there were already Scotch settlers in the counties of Down and Antrim, which were not included in the plan of the king, the movement of Scotch Lowlanders across the narrow channel of water was greatly facilitated. Just as the English who came were

6 Hanna, op. cit., 1, 26, quotes Grubb.
7 Hanna, op. cit., 1, 26.
9 Ibid., 79.
descendants of Angles, Saxons and Normans, so the Scotch Lowlanders were Norman and Saxon with a slight infusion of Danish blood...and were therefore of the same race as the English.¹⁰

These settlers, who were brought over by the Undertakers, prospered in their agricultural pursuits, especially in the cultivation of flax, introducing "the machine age" to Ireland by means of their spinning wheels and looms. Yet they did not mix with the natives of the section. One of the penal laws passed at that time distinctly forbade the marriage of the Scotch settler, or his children, with any of the native tribes or sects who continued living in Ulster after this northern invasion.¹¹ In the history of invasions it has become a truism that the conqueror is absorbed by the conquered, but this was not true in Ireland. The natives were Roman Catholics while the invaders were Presbyterian, the Irish were antagonistic to the English government while the Scotch owed their very presence to the patronage of the crown, and the Scotsmen lived withdrawn, having their own circles of friends and feeling superior to the native Celts. Dr. MacIntosh relates that as late as 1879 he heard an Ulster farmer speak menacingly to his son because he had gone to an entertainment at the home of a respectable Irish farmer: "We've ay haud coorse...

¹¹ MacIntosh, J. B., "The Scotch-Irish: Fact and Fable", Proceedings of the Ninth Scotch-Irish Congress, 1900, 162.
far frae sic dirt; ye young scapegrace, do ye think that ye are no better than the Red-shanks? We has aer soiled corses by touchin' the Wild Herish.\textsuperscript{12} *The Scotch people (in Ulster) are called Scotch-Irish from purely local, geographical reasons and not from any intermarriage.*\textsuperscript{13}

With weavin' and farming, the Scotch men and their families made their livelihood for the next hundred years. Gradually the exactions of absentee landlords became more obnoxious, the interference of the Established Church with Presbyterian practices became more insistent. Woodburn gives three principal causes for the movement from Ireland to America: commercial restrictions, exorbitant rents and religious persecutions. Many of the Presbyterian ministers and their people left, after the Restoration, to escape religious restrictions for "by an act of 1691 a Presbyterian minister in Ireland was liable to three months' imprisonment for delivering a sermon and to $100 in fines for celebrating the Lord's Supper."\textsuperscript{14} The commercial theory held at that time, that the mother country should be the recipient of all raw products and the distributor of all finished goods, worked a hardship on Ulster, where there was a thriving woolen and linen trade. Exclusion was completed by a law passed in 1699 which prohibited all Irish exportations of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 186.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Hanna, C. A., quotes Dr. John Hall in \textit{The Scotch-Irish}, 1, 181.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Woodburn, J. A., "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana", \textit{Indiana Historical Society Publications}, IV, 447.
\end{itemize}
manufactured wool. There were definite limits placed on the kinds of linen which might be exported.15

After the Revolution of 1668 there was an increase in the stream of Scotch Presbyterians pouring into Ireland, which they found particularly attractive because of the cheapness of the farms.16 This tempted the landlords to double or treble the rent as soon as the leases of former tenants had expired. Not only were tenant farmers forced to pay exorbitant rents, they were commanded to pay a tenth of their income for the support of the Established Church, of whose services they disapproved.17 The colonies in America offered relief from these intolerable conditions.

From 1716 on, the Ulstermen came in large numbers to America.

"So great were the numbers who sought refuge in this country that the civil magis-
trates 'deplored the hallucination' which seemed to have seized the inhabitants, and which led them in such multitudes to forsake their adopted land. In 1728, Archbishop Soulter wrote to the English Secretary of State, 'We have had for several years some agents from the colonies in America, and several masters of ships that have gone about the country and deluded the people with stories of great plenty and estates to be had for going for.... The humor has spread like a contagious distemper and the people will hardly hear anyone that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is that it affects only Protestants and reigns chiefly in the North!"18

15 Ford, op. cit., 186.
17 Ford, op. cit., 186.
18 Craighead, J. G., Scotch and Irish Seede in American Soil, 269, 276.
In regard to the later period, in which we are particularly interested, Hanna says,

"From 1771 to 1773, the whole emigration from Ulster is estimated at 30,000, of whom 10,000 were weavers. Arthur Young, who visited Ireland in 1776, in A Tour of Ireland, wrote of the causes which led to the emigration of the Ulster Scots from 1772 to 1774: 'The spirit of emigrating in Ireland appeared to be confined to two circumstances, the Presbyterian religion and the linen manufacture.... When the linen trade was low, the passenger trade was always high.'"

The renting of Lord Donegal's estate occurred at the same time (about 1722) that the linen business was suffering a temporary decline. But it was the linen trade rather than the high rental which gave the great stimulus to emigration. 19

Many hardships were endured by immigrants during the eighteenth century. The ships were small, crowded and unsanitary. The sailing vessels would often lie becalmed for many days while the passengers' water and food supplies failed. Emigration required initiative and courage, but, under a system of indenture such as then existed in the colonies, an ambitious boy or girl could be brought over even if he possessed no money. The captains of the vessels assumed the responsibility for transporting the healthy, young adventurers. At the ship's wharf these indentured servants were sold for a term of seven years to anyone who was willing to pay the price of their passage. 20

19 Hanna, op. cit., 621-622.
20 Unsigned article in American Catholic Historical Researches, XVIII, 99-108 (July, 1901).
number of *The Mercury* (Philadelphia) contained this state-
ment: "In June, 1737 the brig *Lawson*, Captain Benjamin
Lawes, arrived from Ireland. The captain advertised 'A
parcel of likely Servants of each sex who have had the small
pox.' 21 Advertisements appeared in the papers telling the
name of the ship, the captain, the number of able-bodied
young people for sale, and giving the promise that if they
should go off to the "King's service" (enter the army) the
purchaser's money should be returned to him. Robert Wither-
spoon, who emigrated in 1734, told of a leaking ship on a
stormy sea and a transatlantic voyage which required two and
a half months. One ship ran out of supplies and resorted
to cannibalism. One group of Ulstermen were captured by
pirates and allowed to proceed only when the captain's heart
was won by one of the lady passengers. 22 Soon the influx
of immigrants grew to such proportions that on December 17,
1748, Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Gordon, in a message to
the "Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of
Pennsylvania and the three Lower Counties" advocated immi-
gration legislation. Whereupon the Assembly placed a forty
shilling tax on aliens (Palatines and others) and half that
taxation on "Irish" servants. There was no satisfactory
manner of enforcing this law, as ships could be docked at
New Castle, Delaware, or Burlington, New Jersey. Conse-
quently the law was repealed after ten months of unsucces-

21 Quoted in the same article.
ful attempt at control. 23

Not until 1920 were the Irish and Scotch- or Ulster-Irish considered separately in the census reports of the United States. No satisfactory immigration statistics were collected until the post-Civil War period. It is generally recognized that the first census, taken in 1790, was only a partial enumeration. One "authority" gives one number, exaggerating according to his own national bias. Other writers quote him and the error is perpetuated. For example, Hanna estimates the number of this race south of New England as 388,000, assigning another 25,000 to New England. 24

But Adams believes Hanna is guilty of exaggeration when estimating the emigration from Ulster at 5,000 a year, for all the years from 1725 to 1768, then he errs in the opposite direction by taking A Century of Population Growth's figure of 44,000. 25 Recognizing the unsatisfactory nature of these previous "estimates", historians are glad that an unbiased, scientific survey has at length been made.

The committee of the American Council of Learned Societies, on linguistic and national stocks in the population of the United States, prepared this report under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and published it in the annual report for 1931. Two statisticians, two historians, and one linguist comprised the committee which

23 American Catholic Historical Researches, XVIII, 101.
24 Hanna, op. cit., I, 83, 84.
25 Adams, W. F., Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World, 89.
had been working since 1927 on this complex problem. One of their first discoveries was that A Century of Population Growth, which had been prepared for the government, contained many errors, and gave a disproportionate amount of the 1790 population to the English race, as all people not definitely belonging to any foreign stock were classed as English. These scholars used every method possible; for example, they say of the two so-called "historical" methods, that of specific settlement and county analysis, both are possessed of disadvantages. The former overlooks the effects of infiltration of individuals and small groups.

"The settlements with which the historian is concerned are not closed groups; migration went on all the time between these, and perhaps the greater part of it was the movement of individuals rather than of groups. Some left home; soldiers stayed where the march left them."26

Typical surnames were selected for each race and the national character of each settlement was analyzed by that means. For example, for the Scotch-Irish, the names selected were: Black, Blair, Boyd, Campbell, Craig, Cumming, Cunningham, Ferguson, Findlay, Gordon, M'Dougall, M'Innes, Maxwell, Moffat, Orr and Paton (one "t" or two). This may not sound scientific, but this method can be effectively used by trained genealogists and linguists. For example, every Miller is not hastily classified as English. If he

26 The committee of the American Council of Learned Societies presents their report in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1931, 139.
was living in a German community the chances are that he had simplified his Mueller, or changed his Scotch Miller to the more familiar spelling. The committee reached the conclusion that the Scotch-Irish contributed about 6.3% of the population of the United States in 1790.

"If all Irish had migrated to the United States at the same rate as these Scotch-Irish, 30% of its population would have been of Irish stock, showing that Scotch-Irish migration was at a much higher rate than Celtic-Irish."

Taking the figures of Dr. M. L. Hansen, an expert in the history of immigration, the total white population living in 1790 within the present limits of continental United States was about 3,287,000. If six per cent of these were Scotch-Irish, that element was represented by about 194,000 people, in 1790, or only half of Hanna's 386,000. Parker, in The History of Londonderry, New Hampshire, gives a list of 519 heads of families who were planning to migrate to New England. Yet hardly any of these bore the names specified by the committee as distinctive. The conclusion is that Ireland contained clusters of emigrants from almost every country of western Europe. The large number of characteristic Anglican names, in Ulster, suggest that English-Irish were about as numerous as Scotch-Irish. Griffen himself admits that there were very few

27 Ibid., 117.
28 Ibid., 109.
30 Annual Report of the American Historical Association (1951), 116, 257.
emigrants from southern Ireland, before the Revolution.

"Take the 14,000 Irish who came from 1727-1729, plus the number who must have come between 1730 and 1735, and then consider the fact that when St. Joseph's Catholic Chapel was opened in Philadelphia, in 1738, the whole congregation did not exceed forty persons (and the majority of these were Germans), and it can easily be seen that the 'Irish who came in such numbers as to arouse German antipathy were almost wholly Irish Presbyterians.'

What was the destination of these "Irish" Presbyterians? Did they locate in one colony, principally, or was their influence felt in all of them? 32


32 Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1891, 118, gives the estimated percentage of Irish stock, from Ulster, in the white population of 1790:

- Maine: 8.0
- New Hampshire: 4.6
- Vermont: 5.1
- Massachusetts: 2.6
- Rhode Island: 2.0
- Connecticut: 1.8
- New York: 8.1
- New Jersey: 6.3
- Pennsylvania: 11.0
- Delaware: 6.5
- Maryland: 5.8
- Virginia: 6.2
- North Carolina: 5.7
- South Carolina: 9.4
- Georgia: 11.5
- Kentucky and Tennessee: 7.0
Chapter Two

Early Settlements

A small stream of immigrants from Ulster trickled into the colonies before the eighteenth century. Very little data concerning their departure from Ireland is obtainable, but taking the earliest distinct mention of Scotch-Irish settlements as our safest guide, we find them in Maryland in 1680, in South Carolina in 1682, in Pennsylvania by 1708 and then a larger migration began to New England in 1718.¹

In Maryland some Scottish Presbyterians were settled on the east branch of the Elizabeth River by 1680. Many Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland were settled on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia in Wicomico, Dorchester, Somerset, Worcester and Accomac counties.² A letter from Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland, dated June 25, 1695, proves the residence of Scotch-Irish there at that date:

"In the two counties of Dorchester and Somerset, where the Scotch-Irish are most numerous, they clothe themselves by their linen and woolen manufactures and plant little tobacco, which, learning from one another, they leave off planting. Shipping, and the bringing in of all manner of English clothing

¹ Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 212. Hereafter all references to Ford will be denoted simply by the use of the author’s name.

² Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, II, 7. Hereafter this book will be referred to simply as Hanna, with volume indicated.
is to be encouraged, and if they be brought in at easy rates, the planter will live comfortably and will be induced to go on planting tobacco. 48

The proprietors of the Carolinas made generous offers to European immigrants, for malarial swampy lands had little attraction for settlers. Chalmers says: "Incited by these attentions, Ferguson not long after conducted thither an emigration from Ireland which instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants. 49 There are many instances of isolated Ulstermen landing in the colonies before 1700, but they were so rapidly absorbed by the English that they failed to leave a distinct racial impression.

Eastern Pennsylvania served as a comfortable vestibule for the Scotch-Irish who came to America, a place from which they spread to other areas of the interior. The swampy marshes found along the coast in the southern colonies did not extend to Pennsylvania, yet the Appalachian Mountains, which served somewhat as a closed back door to the savages, were far enough west to give them room for settlement. They seemed especially attracted to the region which was involved in the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Writing to the Penns in 1734, James Logan, Secretary of the Province, referred to them as "bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for colonists and they

3 Ford, 180.
4 Ford, 216; quotes Chalmers' Political Annals of South Carolina, 315.
had come accordingly. By the middle of the century the Scotch-Irish population was said to comprise one-fourth of the total of Pennsylvania.

From the "vestibule" of Chester County the Scotch-Irishmen moved up the broad hallay of the Susquehanna valley in a northeasterly direction, until it converged with the Cumberland "hall" which ran toward the southwest. One might say that topography rather than racial initiative foreordained the settlement of Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the valley of Virginia, by Ulstermen.

One reason that the Quakers allowed these newcomers to appropriate land, without the payment of rents, was the protection they furnished against the Indians. The immigrants were canny in selecting the disputed boundary territory for settlement as "no lands could honestly be sold till the dispute with Lord Baltimore was decided." When criticized for their acquisitiveness they replied that "it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread."

A letter written in 1725 by an Irish Quaker, to his sister in Ireland, described life in Pennsylvania during the early period:

6 Quoted by Ford, 264.
6 Hanna, II, 62, quotes from James Logan's letter of November 25, 1727.
7 Ibid., 63.
'There is not one of the family but what likes the country very well & w'd if we were in Ireland again come here. Directly it being the best country for working folk & tradesmen of any in the world. We have sowed about 200 acres of wheat & 7 acres of rye this season. We sowed but a bushel on an acre, 8 pecks is enough on new ground. All sorts of provisions are extraordinary plenty in Philadelphia market, where country people bring in their commodities. Their markets are on 4th day and 7th day [Wednesday and Saturday].... There are 2 faire yearly in Chester & Likewise in new castle, but they sell no cattle nor horses, no living Creatures, but altogether Merchant's Goods, as hats, Linen & woollen Cloth, handkerchiefs, knives, scissors, tapes & truds buckels, Ribands & all sorts of necessary fit for our wooden Country & here all young men and women that wants wives or husbands may be supplied.'

The frontier in Pennsylvania was pushed steadily westward by the Scotch, Irish and Germans. One hundred thousand had settled by 1726, without grant or purchase. The proprietors tried persuasion and the land officers tried force, but the squatters resisted every movement to eject them from their new homesteads.

Scattered references to the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania may be found in Egle's History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It seemed to have been the rule for the Ulstermen to hold the western "fringe" of the frontier, always moving westward after a few years of residence and

---


selling out to the Germans. In Blair county the entire Juniata Valley was held by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, but was later held by Lutherans.\footnote{Beil, A. K., "Blair County", Egle, W. H., History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 359. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Egle's Pennsylvania.} Juniata County's first settlers, mostly Scotch-Irish and German, came into the eastern portion soon after the purchase of 1764.\footnote{Beil, A. K., "Juniata County", Egle's Pennsylvania, 807.} The great influx of Germans and Ulstermen into Cumberland County increased the natural dislike which two unlike groups had for each other. So the agents in this district were instruct ed by their proprietors not to sell any more land to the "Irish", but to present the advantages of the North or Kittatinny Valley. Thus further disturbances were avoided.\footnote{Rupp, I. B., "Cumberland County", Egle's Pennsylvania, 615.} Lancaster County received numbers of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and German Palatines from 1710 on, the former settling chiefly along Chiques Creek. While the Germans elected one of their number to carry on negotiations with the proprietors, the Scotch-Irish were "outspoken and independent and could not brook the leadership of any one person.... They generally selected the highest ground, which at that time was covered with lighter timber than the bottoms and was more easily cleared." From Chiques Creek they spread to Swatara and Paxtang Creeks. They refused to pay quit-rents, so the proprietors refused to issue land...
patents. The settlers enforced squatter law summarily and considered themselves under no obligation to obey laws outside themselves. 13

In comparison to the religious and racial tolerance of Penn's colony, the bigotry and narrowness of New England stood out in sharp contrast. One is often reminded that the "heathen", so-called, look with amazement at our more than two hundred denominational sects. So, this generation notes with surprise the persecution which the Scotch-Irish suffered at the hands of the Puritans of New England. One of their most eminent divines, Cotton Mather, had done everything in his power to stimulate emigration from Ulster, for Puritans and Calvinists were alike opposed to the Established Church. They spoke the same language, and had many points in common, yet, the English Puritans became very intolerant of "Irish" ways.

The Scotch-Irish in Ulster sent Rev. Mr. Boyd, in the spring of 1718, to Governor Shute of Massachusetts to express their desire to settle in that province. Boyd was to prepare the way and make sure of a friendly reception. 14 Professor Perry says that this twenty-eight inch square of parchment contained 819 names, only four percent making "their mark", a remarkably high rate of literacy. 15

13 Evans, Samuel, "Lancaster County", Egle's Pennsylvania, 860.
14 Parker, E. L., The History of Londonderry, New Hampshire, 55. Hereafter this will be referred to as Parker, Londonderry.
Having received the desired encouragement, Boyd told his friends to convert their holdings into cash and take ship. They arrived in five ships during the summer of 1718. As these vessels were, and are, the Ulsterman's Mayflower, Bolton has searched the Boston News-Letters to ascertain their names. The first probably arrived July 28, from Londonderry, John Wilson, master, but the ship's name is not given. In the News-Letter of August 4-11, reference was made to the arrival of the second ship, "the brigantine, Robert, James Ferguson, master, 'from Glasgow and Belfast in Ireland' .... The third Scotch-Irish emigrant ship, the William, set sail from Coleraine, the heart of the district from which most of the early settlers came", arriving on August 4, too. The Mary Anne and the Dolphin docked from Ireland, but probably did not bring any Ulster Presbyterians. "On the first of September a fourth emigrant ship arrived, the Maccallum, James Law, master, from Londonderry."16 This carried twenty or more families who had been persuaded to stop in Boston after an arduous voyage.

The primitive means of transporting supplies meant that a large addition to a colonial city's population put a strain on the food supply. Because of the presence of the Scotch-Irish in Boston, wheat had nearly doubled by the spring of 1719; corn had risen forty percent. But the price of small fruits and vegetables seemed unaffected.17

16 Bolton, C. K., Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America, 133-141.
17 Ibid., 159.
Worcester then lay on the western frontier and the Bostonians were anxious to have the immigrants move out there as further protection against the savage.

"The newcomers probably outnumbered the population already there at Worcester, who are represented as occupying fifty-eight log houses... The newcomers soon came to be disliked and were treated with marked inhospitality."

Thinking that the term, Irish, connoted something unpleasant to the English colonists, they requested that they be called Scotch. But the basic cause of Puritan dissatisfaction was the Scotchmen's unwillingness to pay the Puritan ministers. They wanted a church of their own. Some, growing discontented with the domination of the English, removed to Pelham. Thirty-four families of these dissatisfied folk moved, in 1738, to Pelham, where they would not have to violate their principles. No fault could have been found with these pious and industrious Ulstermen except that they believed in "another way". Presbyterianism was almost unknown in New England at that time. "The prejudices of the Congregational communities in Worcester were so strong and bitter towards them that they were compelled to leave the place."

In 1740, the Presbyterians, out of their poverty, painfully gathered funds, purchased timbers and began the erection of a church of their own. Bolton says, "the

---

18 Hanna, II, 19.
19 Ibid., II, 21.
20 Parker, Londonderry, 36.
rougher element came together one night and destroyed the frame before much progress had been made.\textsuperscript{21} Hanna described the same incident as follows:

> The Puritan inhabitants, many of them persons of consideration, rectitude, and profession, gathered tumultuously in the night-time, leveled the structure with the ground, sawed the timbers, and burned or carried off the pieces.\textsuperscript{22}

Dispersion throughout New England was the result of such persecution. Pelham, Colerain, Warren, and Blandford in Massachusetts were offshoots. Many of the courageous adventurers moved to Vermont and New Hampshire. In fact, Worcester was the fountain head for New England distribution of Scotch-Irish blood.\textsuperscript{23}

Another group remained in Boston, and under the ministry of Rev. John Moorhead established the "Church of Presbyterian Strangers".

> Mr. Moorhead visited each family, whether in town or country, once or twice a year to talk with the parents and catechize the children and servants. At the close of each visit he knelt in prayer with the family.\textsuperscript{24}

In 1730 this congregation invited the other Presbyterians in the vicinity to form the presbytery of Boston.

This group which settled in Boston introduced the use of the foot-treadle spinning wheel. It created quite a sensation, for the Covenanter lassies held demonstrations out on Boston Common to teach their Puritan sisters the new art.

\textsuperscript{21} Bolton, \textit{op. cit.}, 161.
\textsuperscript{22} Hanna, II, 21.
\textsuperscript{23} Ford, \textit{ibid}.
\textsuperscript{24} Bolton, \textit{op. cit.}, 169.
Prizes were awarded the most proficient at the first anniversary celebration of its introduction. 26

The same year that the "five ships" came to Boston, 26 two of them transported Ulstermen to Casco Bay, on which Falmouth (new Portland) was located. As they arrived there so late in the season, many had to live on shipboard because they had not time to construct log houses. The next spring these unhappy emigrants looked for a more salubrious location.

Captain Robert Temple was greatly interested in the colonization of the Kennebec region and was instrumental in settling "several hundred families on the shores of the Kennebec River, in various locations, in 1719 and 1720." 27 Samuel Waldo brought twenty-seven Ulster families to his large tract of land between the St. George and Penobscot rivers. 28 Many of these Maine settlements were attacked by Indians and the inhabitants moved to other colonies.

As mentioned above, the Scotch-Irish spent a very cold winter in Falmouth, so the next spring sixteen families removed to Nutfield. They were under the impression that their new town was in Massachusetts territory, but by the judgment of the General Court they were declared to be in New Hampshire. 29 Their town was incorporated under the

26 See page 19.
27 Smyth, loc. cit., 165.
29 Bolton, op. cit., 248.
name Londonderry, "after the famous Ulster city in whose defense some of the settlers had taken part."

Within six months the sixteen families of settlers were augmented by the addition of fifty other families. These first families grouped their homes on either side of West-running Brook, taking a thirty rod frontage and extending back into the woods far enough to include sixty acres. This made proper street planning, at a later date, an impossibility. For protection against the savages, two stone garrisons were erected, but there was never an occasion for serious alarm, as the village was never attacked. There is a tradition that their immunity was based on Governor Vaudreuil's friendship for Pastor McGregor.

As soon as homes were constructed, a suitable house of worship was erected. On the Commons nearby a schoolhouse was built. Next came the saw mill and grist mill, and by 1728 Londonderry was paying one-fifteenth of the state tax.

The principal items of food for the pioneers were fish, bean-porridge, barley-broth and potatoes.

30 Ford, 228.
31 Smyth, loc. cit., 182.
33 When John Morrison was selecting his logs for his house near West-running Brook, his Scotch wife said, "Aveel, aveel, dear John, an' it maun be a lochhouse, do make it a log heather nor the lave" (than the rest). In A. L. Perry's "Scotch-Irish in New England", Proceedings of the Second Scotch-Irish Congress, 128.
34 Hanna, II, 18.
35 Parker, Londonderry, 48.
Fine linen was manufactured as soon as they could begin raising flax. Soon it became one of their most valued articles of produce. Twice each year fairs were held. These occurred in November and May from 1728 to 1839, and drew merchants from Boston, serving as a locus for barter such as all frontier settlements engage in. Later these fairs took on the nature of a street carnival and became such a nuisance to the Calvinists that they were abandoned. 37

L. H. Morrison, one of the Londonderry colonists, said,

"If at any time a man had hard thoughts of his neighbor, he did not whisper it about in private scandal, but the offender was the first to hear it; there was no secret underhand dealing, but their voices were always loud, their gait erect, their conduct open." 38

They were not particularly temperate, especially at gala times. Diversion was rare, and weddings, huskings, log-rollings and raisings were welcomed as fit occasions for frolic. These New England Ulstermen were not ardent prohibitionists, and were especially free with "the bottle" on these festive occasions. They delighted in wrestling matches and all contests testing their physical endurance.

It was the custom for these Presbyterians to sit in their cold, cheerless meeting-houses, without any fire, while the preacher exhorted them for two hours or more. In one congregation the suggested introduction of a stove

36 Parker, Londonderry, 40.
37 Perry, ASP, cit., 141.
aroused great opposition. The members divided into factions led by the wives of two deacons. When the "stove faction" won, the deacon's wife leading the other faction fainted because of "the heat". The victors were much amused, for the new stove had no fire in it. 39

Londonderry was the source of many settlements in New Hampshire which later became important towns. The counties of Rockingham, Hillsboro and Merrimack were all offshoots of this thriving Scotch-Irish settlement. 40

Orange County, New York, received some Scotch-Irish emigrants before 1720. During the next decade forty families settled in Orange and Ulster counties. New York invited the Highlanders to live on its frontier, and they played a much more important role than the Ulstermen. Rev. Samuel Dunlop, of northern Ireland, persuaded some Londonderry, New Hampshire, friends to accompany him to Cherry Valley. Here he established the first classical school west of the Hudson, in his home, in 1743. 41 In the early part of the eighteenth century few Scotch-Irish came to New York because Governor Cornbury treated all dissenters harshly. 42

There were scattered settlements of Scotch-Irish in New Jersey. Their existence is proved by the opening of Princeton College at Elizabethtown in 1747. 43 Ulstermen

39 Smith, loc. cit., 166.
40 Ford, 244.
41 Hanna, II, 66.
42 Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 268.
43 Ford, 482.
settled in Virginia and North Carolina, previous to 1760, but as most of their holdings lay on the frontier they can be more conveniently considered with the general southwestward movement "down the Valley".

The life of a South Carolina settler may be studied in Robert Witherspoon's Genealogy. He emigrated with his father's family in 1754.

*"We landed in Charleston three weeks before Christmas...after Christmas were put on an open boat, with tools and a year's provision [bounty given to immigrants by the colony to stimulate settlement]. They allowed each hand [each grown man] one axe, one broad hoe and one narrow hoe. Our provisions were Indian corn, rice, wheaten flour, beef, pork, rum and salt."*

In the dead of winter they suffered many hardships building dirt houses. They had to carry their beds, clothing, chests, provisions, tools and so forth from the river boats to their new "homes" on their backs. Until they learned how to make and follow blazed trails they were afraid of getting lost. They also lived in fear of massacre by the Indians, snake bites, wild beasts, and diseases such as fever and ague.44

In Georgia the Scotch Highlanders outshine the Ulster Scots, of whom we find no mention.

In the wide diffusion of this race we have found verification for Hanna's statement: "The Scotch-Irish alone were present in all the colonies in sufficient number to make their influence count."45

45 Hanna, II, 3.
Chapter Three

Daily Life on the Frontier

Edmund Burke, in his *Account of the European Settlements in America* (1767) says:

"The number of white people in Virginia is between sixty and seventy thousand and they are growing every day more numerous, by the migration of the Irish, who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more frugal and industrious Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote counties in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. These are chiefly Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called Scotch-Irish."*

This passage from the "vestibule of Pennsylvania" into the "Mallway" running southwest between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies was attended with much hardship. James Bryce says of these pioneers,

"Many of the most stalwart and daring men of whom this country holds memory were the original settlers of northern and western Pennsylvania, the fathers of the men who passed from Pennsylvania across the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee and southward into western Virginia and the Carolinas and Georgia. A great deal of the best blood, and a great deal of the finest intellect that has shown itself in the history of the southern United States is due to the men who sprang from that stock."*
In order to study the daily life of a people, it is necessary to become acquainted with their personal characteristics. Judging from their own records of their honesty, their courage, their patriotism and their independence, they were a race without flaws. So it is a relief to find that Bolton has recorded some of the less attractive qualities of the Scotch-Irish. They were unacquainted with the need for cleanliness in the culinary realm. When John Gamble traveled through Ulster in 1810, he was fed a roast egg, tasted with a long pin with which the housewife had been picking her teeth. His bread was spread dexterously with the hostess' thumb "after the custom of the people". An Ulster housewife seldom washed either the interior or exterior of a vessel. Arthur Lee described Pittsburgh of 1784 as inhabited by the Scotch and Irish, living in "paltry log-houses, as dirty as in the north of Ireland." They were noted for their lack of imagination. Ulster farmers of the nineteenth century were dissuaded, with difficulty, from pasturing sheep on the front lawn, by the feminine portion of the household. The jovial lecturers at Scotch-Irish banquets have asserted that the Scotch absorbed some Irish wit during their hundred years' sojourn in Ulster, yet there are many who retain the dourness and reserve of the Scotch. The typical Scotch-Irishman, today, is strict in the discipline of his family, and undemonstrative toward those he loves.

When considering the apparel of the Scotch-Irish frontiersman one must remember his necessity for adopting whatever came to hand. He dressed as he did because he was a frontiersman, not because of his European background. Rev. Joseph Doddridge, in his *Notes*, prepared for publication in 1824, tells of the frontiersmen's clothing. They wore a hunting shirt of linsey, coarse linen or dressed deerskins. This type of loose frock reached halfway to the knees, had long sleeves and lapped over in front a foot when belted. The belt was tied behind and held the scalping knife, tomahawk, and perhaps mittens and bullet bag. Home made breeches and leggings completed the outfit. Moccasins made of dressed deerskin were much to be preferred to shoes. These moccasins could be made in a few hours' time, and each evening they had to be mended. In winter they were stuffed with deers' hair or dry leaves for warmth, but nothing could make them moisture proof. The women usually went barefooted during the summer time. Their clothing was always exposed to the gaze of the neighbors, as it hung on the cabin walls.

Corn meal was made with the hominy block and pestle, or grater, or better yet, the hand mill. Every family made its own linsey (a woolen and linen mixture) and each mother was the tailor for her own family. Every family tanned its own leather and made its own shoes.4

Traveling on horseback and bringing their effects on pack horses, the Scotch-Irish began to emigrate to the valley of Virginia in 1738, and the tide steadily increased till the middle of the century. Most of the settlers came from Chester, Lancaster and other southern Pennsylvania counties, and settled in Augusta and Rockbridge counties. Most of them were masters of some trade, such as millers, wagon and cabinet makers, weavers and bricklayers. After the first settlers had occupied the Valley for about ten years, life became less strenuous. People had more leisure, more time to enjoy rare old Madeira, which they consumed in great quantities (but rarely to the point of drunkenness). They raised wheat, corn, rye, barley, oats and flax, and some cotton. Each year their cattle and horses were driven to southeastern Pennsylvania and sold. The horses often ran wild in the woods and were found with difficulty. By 1766, although much public land remained ungranted, the Valley was considered "settled country". Its inhabitants were selling their furs (wolf, fox, beaver, buffalo), butter, and cheese in Richmond by 1765. For Sunday clothes many of the women were wearing silks, velvets, satins and taffetas, while their everyday dresses were of gingham and calico. The men had their "good" suits made of black, blue, brown or scarlet broadcloth, but for daily use wore serge. One is tempted

7 *Ibid.*, 175-180
to believe that Kemper's description applied only to the wealthier inhabitants, for there were many migratory souls who came from Pennsylvania and moved eventually into Tennessee who never knew anything but calico and linsey.

A vivid picture of the daily life of these Valley folk may be obtained from the study of Augusta County court records. In 1745, all the Virginia territory lying west of the Blue Ridge Mountains was constructed into a county named Augusta, which included all of western Virginia and part of western Pennsylvania, including Pittsburgh. These court records tell something of the punishments used by the Scotch-Irish settlers. They contained references to a ducking stool, built in 1761, and a pillory and stocks which the sheriff was instructed to repair. But none of these forms of punishment was administered for larceny. For this misdemeanor the punishment ranged from ten to thirty-nine lashes. One was haled into court on such charges as "unnecessarily breaking the Sabbath day". Violet, a negro slave of Sampson Sawyers, was found guilty of burning her master's home and was sentenced to be hung at Staunton on March 4, at noon, then her head was to be severed from her body and stuck on a pole in a public place. This was not

8 Chalkley, Lyman, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia*, taken from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1746-1800.
9 ibid., August 28, 1761 (137), 46.
10 ibid., November 24, 1766 (417), 151.
11 ibid., December 11, 1760 (461), 88.
12 ibid., May 28, 1761 (568), 43.
13 ibid., February 18, 1760 (186), 212.
an isolated case of primitive punishment, for the slave Tom confessed to shooting John Harrison and was sentenced to be hung "by the neck, on Saturday, the nineteenth of this month, and his head be severed and affixed to a pole on the top of the hill that leads from the court house to Edward Tarr’s."  

There are many references to children who are "bound out" for a certain number of years. Anyone taking one of these children was responsible to the court for fair treatment, and for the provision of food, clothing and sometimes for special training. At the expiration of their "term" of service, the young man or woman would receive a suit of clothes and five or ten pounds sterling, as "freedom dues." The following are typical entries of indenture: "Edith Smith, a child of Nicholas Smith, to be bound out, he being an idle person without visible means."  

Francis Dunn, the son of Elinor Dunn, was to be bound to a weaver, Andrew Russell, to learn his trade, and reading, writing and cyphering [sic]. Elizabeth McMahon, orphan, was to be bound to Joseph Bell, who should give her a cow and a calf, a spinning wheel, and cloth to make two sheets over and above her freedom dues.

During and after the war many references were made to grants of corn and pork allowed the wives of soldiers engaged

14 Ibid., November 9, 1763 (324), 109-110.
16 Ibid., May 21, 1764 (324), 64.
16 Ibid., November 17, 1773 (321), 176.
17 Ibid., May 21, 1777 (196), 192.
in service. In 1785, "Alexander Martin was allowed a pension of eighteen pounds, being incapacitated from labor by wounds and injuries received in the public service."\textsuperscript{18}

A slightly different angle on Scotch-Irish life may be gained from a perusal of the diary of Colonel James Gordon, who emigrated to Virginia in 1738.\textsuperscript{19} The diarist stated that Presbyterians enjoyed a greater degree of comfort than other dissenting sects, for three of the eighteenth century Virginia governors were Scotchmen, and therefore familiar with the Presbyterian form of worship.\textsuperscript{20}

The hospitality of these people was amazing. Only three times in the four years were guests found an inconvenience, although the diary was filled with notices of daily guests. January 2, 1769, "We had no company, which is surprising." But the next day Gordon listed ten arrivals. Much of the intercourse between the families was carried on by water, but mention was made of sending Miss Floci to Mr. Camm's, by "chair."\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., October 18, 1786 (487), 443.
\textsuperscript{19} "Diary of Colonel James Gordon", published by a descendant in the Journal of American History, III (1906), 61. Editor's note: "The diary, written from 1768-1768, is preserved by Colonel Gordon's descendants. The diarist was one of those strong-minded gentlemen of Scotch-Irish blood, whose character has permeated the magnificent demesne that lies at the foothills of the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge. These observations of Colonel Gordon, from entries in his original diary, are a worthy contribution to the literature of his race."
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 85.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., entries for the first few days of January, 1768, 85.
Colonel Gordon's father-in-law, Colonel Conway, was a picturesque figure. In Conway's papers a spirited contest of the planters of the Rappahannock, with "a spightful tobacco inspector", was described. Fire and fists were used. Conway pacified the people by appealing to Governor Gooch on their behalf.22

One Sunday in July, 1769:

"Silla and Molly went to church. I read a sermon to the negroes. Went with my wife to White Chapel Church where we heard Mr. Cazz -- a very indifferent discourse, nothing scarce but external modes; much against Presbyterianism, so that I was much disappointed, for it was misspending the Lord's Day."23

Evidently Mr. Gordon did not have much respect for the preachers of the Established Church who could be seen at the races or cock fights, or drinking wine and playing cards, who ridiculed religious experience as fanatical.24 August 26, 1763, "This evening I had the comfort of receiving a letter from Rev. George Whitefield who landed this day at Urbana."25 Six days later Gordon bought a chair and horses, from Colonel Seiden, for forty-seven pounds and ten shillings. These he gave to Mr. Whitefield, who proposed to set off for Philadelphia the next day.26 The Presbyterian congregation of which Colonel Gordon was evidently a member procured a disciple of Whitefield, James Waddell, as

22 Ibid., 84.
23 Ibid., an entry on a Sunday in July, 1769, 86.
24 Ibid., 85.
25 Ibid., August 26, 1763, 87.
26 Ibid., September 2, 1763, 87.
their pastor. They purchased a glebe, and Colonel Selden presented his negro, Toby, for its cultivation. Three hundred pounds had been raised by lottery, during the previous year, for the construction of the meeting house. Waddell had such large audiences that Gordon found it necessary to donate timber for the construction of more seats.27

Colonel Gordon made little mention of his young daughters' daily occupations. But it is known that they could follow the court news in the two-leaved Gazette, a weekly, printed in Williamsburg, and could read the advertisements of the London millinery, but lately imported. Then, too, there were cloying verses of sentiment addressed to Myrtilla, Chloe or Pansy.

"Formal schooling was brief for the damsels of the eighteenth century. Marriages were early.... Girls worked at the embroidery frame, tinkled the spinet.... or played 'button' and forfeit games in the presence of their elders around the blazing log fire in the drawing room."28

Colonel Gordon denied himself the pleasure of viewing the races, but played ball on the lawn with his guests, watched the seine drawn in at Fyck's Creek, then dined on fish and oysters. In spite of being a Presbyterian elder he hired a Mr. Criewell, a licentiate for the ministry, to help him manufacture whiskey when prices were high.29

The frontier of North Carolina was peopled by the Scotch-Irish as early as 1750, especially the counties of

27 Ibid., 88.
28 Ibid., 88.
29 Ibid., 89.
Granville, Orange, Rowan and Mecklenburg. "So great was the proportion of this race in North Carolina before the Revolu-
tion that they may be said to have given direction to her history." The early records of Orange Presbytery have been lost, so it is not definitely known at what time the Presbyterians poured into that section between the Dan and the Catawba. Between 1740 and 1760, relatively strong settlements were established by the Scotch-Irish at various points along the Carolina frontier from the edge of Virginia to Florida. Emigrants naturally turned to the prairies stretching across Virginia and Carolina, which were covered with pea-vine grass and cane brakes. Here the settler could fatten his cattle and also secure an abundance of wild game. Many of those who came from the seacoast were Scotch. They did not absorb the Ulster spirit of defiance to the king, evidently, for most of them remained Tories throughout the Revolution.

Perhaps the best view of the ideas of the Scotch-Irish in North Carolina may be obtained from a study of the Reg-
ulator Movement, which had its beginning about 1765 and its disastrous conclusion in 1771. The Regulation cannot be called a revolution, for it was a protest against the manner of administering the government, rather than against the

31 Hanna, II, 22.
32 Hanna, II, 23.
laws. 35

The Scotch-Irish had moved from the north into North Carolina at a rapid rate. They settled just east of the Appalachians, in a region separated from the tidewater by many miles of uninhabited pine barrens. The coast dwellers and the frontiersmen had little in common, so it is not surprising that they disagreed over the manner of adminis-
tering governmental affairs. The Scotch-Irish were not willing to subject themselves to unfair taxation or dishonest officeholders. Their spirit of unrest was organized, and to the movement was given the name Regulation.

The grievances of the Regulators were dishonest sheriffs, extortionate fees, scarcity of currency and high taxes. They believed the sheriffs guilty of embezzlement of public funds. Governor Tryon, of North Carolina, admitted that about half the money taken by the sheriffs was misappropriated. 34 The people were suffering under an oligarchy, for the forces of central and local government were in the hands of a small officeholding class or political ring. Governor Tryon's chief henchmen were these sheriffs and militia officers, and he felt compelled to uphold them. 35

The frontiersmen needed leadership to help them crystal-
ize their dissatisfaction. This was found, to a measure,

33 Bassett, J. S., "Regulators of North Carolina", Annual Report of the American Historical Associa-
tion, (1894), 144.
34 Ibid., 150-152.
35 Ibid., 178.
in Herman Husband, a Quaker, who kept in touch with northern thought through his correspondence with Benjamin Franklin. Husband withdrew from the movement when the Regulators sought to use unpacific means, but the Loyalists held him largely responsible. The lack of leadership was disastrously demonstrated at the battle of Alamance.\textsuperscript{36} The leaders of the opposition were Tryon, the governor, and Colonel Fanning, head of the militia and evidently chief executive of Orange County, the home of the uprising.\textsuperscript{37}

There was unrest in Granville, Halifax, Mecklenburg and Anson counties as well as in Orange. In the spring of 1768, Governor Tryon led a force of about fifteen hundred men to Hillsboro to suppress the dissatisfaction which had been expressed in a remonstrance about unfair taxation. The forces of both sides dispersed and there was no bloodshed.\textsuperscript{37}

But the ill feeling between the governor and the hillmen continued, aggravated by the attack on the session of court made by the Regulators at Hillsboro on September 24, 1770.\textsuperscript{36} In December of that year, the assembly of the colony passed Johnston's bill for the suppression of riots.\textsuperscript{38} The next May under the power given him by this riot act Tryon marched against the Regulators. Tryon's thousand men lined up against the two thousand Regulators; half of the

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 165-167.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 169-179.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 190-192.
latter were unarmed. The Regulators did not understand that they were to disperse, nor did they know anything about fighting. After two hours of "fighting" the Regulators were all scattered. The Loyalists and the Regulators each had nine fatalities, but the latter had many more wounded. One rebel, James Few, was executed on the field, fourteen others were made prisoners. Six of these were hung, and six were pardoned and two acquitted. Thus the effort of the frontiersmen to gain redress for their grievances was effectively suppressed.

The movement of Scotch-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania and Virginia continued southward into South Carolina. Here the frontier settlements were separated from the coastal fringe by two hundred miles of territory inhabited only by red men, and this naturally stimulated a spirit of sectionalism. Eight or ten families from Pennsylvania constituted the white population of western South Carolina in 1766. But the signing of the treaty of 1763 by England and France freed the territory east of the Mississippi from the French menace and Ulster immigration was greatly stimulated.

South Carolina offered a bounty to each settler, said the state's earliest historian, and many "husbandmen, laborers and manufacturers" sailed from Ireland. It was soon

40 Ibid., 201-205. The petition of the Anson Regulators, as found in Appendix A, is typical of the demands voiced in the frontier counties.
41 Ramsay, David, History of South Carolina (1809), quoted by Hanna in The Scotch-Irish, II, 30.
discovered that the value of the bounty exceeded the cost of transportation and enterprising merchants sent over many poor Ulstermen, "cramping them in such numbers into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes were landed in such a starved and sickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charleston." Simultaneously, the people of the frontier were finding difficulty in securing "spots unoccupied equal to their expectations" in the northern provinces, so they moved south "driving their cattle, hogs and horses overland before them." One, two or three hundred acre plots were allotted them. 42 They located first at Waxhaws, in what later became Lancaster, over the cane lands of Abbeville and the accessible tracts lying toward the mountains. "These pioneers were mostly Scotch-Irish — a hardy band of frontiersmen who stood guard over the advancing civilization from the Carolinas to western New York." 43

These men, with their wives and children, started life anew on this southern frontier with a minimum of household goods, crude farming implements, some seeds and a few domestic animals. In a day or two a log cabin could be constructed, with the help of the neighbors. The logs were cut in the adjacent forest, roughly hewn and fitted into

place, while the jug of cider or whiskey added merriment to the occasion. This cabin consisted of a single room, with an earthen floor. The door often hung at an angle from its two sagging leather hinges. Instead of windows there were loopholes. Into the rear wall of the cabin was built a stone or clay chimney, so huge that it almost overbalanced the small cabin. The loft, under the roof, served as a sleeping room for the younger members of the family, accessible by a ladder or a series of wooden pegs.44

Shut in from the outside world by the mountains and the absence of navigable rivers, these people developed a strongly democratic society. If there existed any aristocratic feeling, it was due to a superiority of brawn, rather than of blood or wealth.

"Individualism ran riot until anarchy and confusion compelled the property owners to devise an emergency government whose preemptory methods of dealing with outlaws has ever since been known as lynch law."45

According to the dictionary, the term originated with Charles Lynch (1736-1796) of Virginia.46 A special term, "Scovilites", designated those who had fled from justice, settled on the frontier, and continued their lawless depredations.47 It required some time for information to seep down through the forests, to the eastern coast settlements,

45 Ibid., 278.
47 Ramsay, op. cit., quoted by Hanna, II, 30.
that the mounted bands who routed the robbers and enforced lynch law were the "respectable" farmers endeavoring to protect their lives and property.\textsuperscript{46}

At the same time new ship-loads of Scotch-Irishmen were being brought to the coastal towns. In a personal letter to the writer, Mary White enclosed a copy of the passenger receipt issued to James Wilson, her grandmother's grandfather:

\textquote{Received from Mr. James Wilson, Twenty Six Guineas in full for Six and a passage on board the ship Irish Volunteer, John Johnson, Master, to Charleston; each passenger to receive eight pounds biscuit or oatmeal, four pounds Beef and one pound Butter or Molasses per week; and two quarts Water per Day. Dated this 17th Day of October, 1768. Captain Johnson will let the above James Wilson have one quart of Water Extra. Signed: John Johnson.\footnote{49}}

John White, her paternal ancestor, who came from County Antrim, Ireland, to South Carolina, received a land grant from George III, in 1768. It was apparently issued and witnessed by the governor of the province and provided for the payment of a yearly rental and allowed the use of timber, lakes, mines and everything else found on the land. All white pine trees were reserved for the king, and one-tenth of the output of all gold and silver mines. The grant specified that the whole should revert to the crown if any part of the rent were not paid. This land remains in the possession of the family today.

\textsuperscript{48} Schaper, \textit{loc. cit.}, 279.
\textsuperscript{49} A personal letter from Miss Mary White, February 13, 1858.
The White family also possesses the original of the will of John Brown, made in 1766, in which he disposed of his silver shoe buckles, first and second best pairs, and his green breeches. The preamble to the will is long and very religious, but in the body of the will he disposed of his still and the vessels belonging to it:

The John White referred to above came to South Carolina on the Earl of Donagel, and there is a tradition that he was killed in a skirmish with the Cherokee Indians. His burial place remains unknown. 50

There were not many Scotch-Irish in Georgia before 1780, although the state was greatly influenced by them later. In December, 1768, Irish Protestants were given a tract of land where they built the town of Queensbury. 51 The girls were said to have dressed in striped and checked cotton cloth, of their own weaving, and their sweethearts wore sumac- and walnut-dyed stuff. Courting was done while riding to and from meeting on the Sabbath, or walking to the spring at intermission. 52

By the middle of the eighteenth century, many of the Scotch-Irish had turned their thoughts westward, to the "great meadows" watered by the rivers running toward the Mississippi. Monette relates that by 1762 the people from

50 Quotations from the same letter of Miss White's, February 13, 1835.
51 Jones, E. C., The History of Georgia, II, 120.
the James were crossing the ridges and descending the Greenbriar, New River and other tributaries of the Kenhawa. Others from Roanoke and North Carolina were advancing upon the sources of the Stanton, Dan, Yadkin, Catawba and Broad. Five years later, the settlers were advancing rapidly from the eastern portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. This was sufficient impetus to push the first settlers through the Cumberland Gap and into the valleys of Kentucky and Tennessee.63

Daniel Boone, that famous scout, was employed to blaze a trail from the settlements in southwestern Virginia into the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. As he had already hunted in this territory, he knew that the best road ran down the east side of the Cumberland Mountain, turning sharply northwest at its tip to go through Cumberland Gap. This came to be known as the Wilderness Road. *From Watauga to the new settlements appearing at Harrodsburg and Lexington, his trail was soon beaten by the feet of hundreds of immediate followers.*64

Toward this gap in the mountains, at Virginia's south-west and Tennessee's northeast corner, all trails led. There was a highway from Philadelphia, through Winchester, and Staunton, which intersected at Fort Chiswell with the

63 Chalkley, Lyman, *Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road.* The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXI, (1922), 184, quoting Monette.
64 Paxson, Frederick L., *History of the American Frontier,* 29.
road coming from Richmond. Other trails led up from the Carolinas. Many of these wayfarers were Scotch-Irish, threading old Indian war-paths or some narrow trace blazed by the hunters, with only a single pack horse, perhaps, carrying all their earthly possessions. "They became by the mere act of settlement large land owners." 

These settlers formed nuclei for permanent settlements; they did not leave their advance unguarded from the rear. By the cultivation of the soil, the establishment of churches and a distinctive civilization they kept up a degree of contact with the older communities. One small farm, in 1765, listed these improvements: eighteen acres of land, clear and well fenced, under corn and rye; ten acres of clear meadow, one hundred fruit trees, one hay house; one corn crib; a spring house; five head of horses and one breeding cow; one wagon and gears; one axe, one grubbing hoe and two plows.

Fort Loudoun, later known as Watauga, was established on the Tennessee River by Andrew Lewis in 1767. A year later a body of two hundred settlers moved there. As soon as the frontiersmen could spare time from the construction of their own buildings, they cut a road more than two

55 Chalkley, loc. cit., 188.
57 Chalkley, loc. cit., 166.
58 Ibid., 188.
59 Ibid., 189.
hundred miles long, from Campbell's Station, in east Tennessee, to Nashville, and sent properly officered squads to protect incoming settlers, en route.60

The daily life of these Scotch-Irish frontiersmen resembled that of any frontier community. There were few spinsteres, for in these communities where men predominated, women were at a premium. People married young and had large families, who were taught the stern necessity of outwitting the Indian, the forests and the many difficulties Nature set in their path. They lived in constant terror of Indian attack, often arising in the middle of the night to flee to the protecting fort, until the marauding Indians retired from their neighborhood. Many stories might be recounted of the bravery of these frontier women, who were the exemplification of hospitality, who remained in their frontier cabins, alone, while their husbands went east for provisions or invaded Indian territory.

Life in these frontier provinces followed the same general pattern, yet there was a slight distinction in the spirit of each colony. The Paxtang troubles illustrate the "esprit du corps" of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish. The Paxtang men enrolled themselves in several companies of "rangers", to provide a means of protection for themselves, as the eastern counties denied them any political rights or police power. "They were truly the terror of the Indians, swift on foot, excellent horsemen, good shots,

60 Kelly, D. C., loc. cit., 168.
skillful in pursuit or in escape, dextrous as scouts and expert in manoeuvring." In 1763, Indian atrocities had been increasing, although the Quakers of the East averred that the Conestoga Indians were friendly. Several Indian murderers had been traced to Conestoga, so the Paxtang Rangers descended upon the village intending to capture them. Dogs barked, strange Indians rushed out brandishing tomahawks, and in a short time all the warriors of that village were in the happy hunting ground. Unfortunately some of the villagers were absent, and when they returned the Quaker government placed them in the Lancaster workhouse for protection. Some of these were notorious scoundrels and dissatisfaction found expression on December 27, when twenty to fifty Rangers raidied the jail and killed the remaining Conestoga Indians. "No children were killed by the Paxtang boys, no acts of savage butchery were committed," said Egle in extenuation of their behavior, although a pacifist might be inclined to doubt the latter part of that statement.

Other Moravian Indians were protected at Philadelphia, and when the Rangers marched to that city to prevent their grievances, the city feared an attack. Matthew Smith and James Gibson dismissed the Rangers and went on into the city.

61 Egle, W. H., History of the Commonwealth of Pennsyl-
van ia, 108.
to present their petition. This petition was sustained by another bearing fifteen hundred signatures. Governor John Penn listened to Smith and Gibson, but their principal grievance, unfair representation in the government, was not relieved for many years. There was such a feeling of sympathy for the Rangers, along the frontier, that it was impossible to bring those responsible for the Indians' murder to trial. One portion of their request was granted -- a bounty was offered on scalps.

The attitude of the more conservative members of the province was expressed by Benjamin Franklin. He emphasized the fact that these Conestoga Indians had long been friends of the English, and were without defense when the Rangers attacked them. According to his account the three men, two

62 Grievances of the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen:
1. There should be equal representation, yet three Philadelphia counties have twenty-six representatives, and the five "back" counties have only ten.
2. Protest against the bill before the Assembly, providing that a person charged with killing an Indian in Lancaster county should be tried in one of the eastern counties.
3. Protest against the government's protection of Conestoga and Moravian Indians.
4. Demands that no Indian be permitted to live in the settled portion of the Province.
5. Those wounded in defense of frontier should be cared for at public expense.
6. Petition for public awards for Indian scalps.
7. Petition that there be no trade with the Indians until captives are given up.
8. Petition that no private subject be permitted to treat or carry on a correspondence with the enemies.
9. Petition that Fort Augusta garrison be of service in saving crops and attacking enemies and patrolling frontiers.
women and one young boy, who were killed on the fourteenth of December, were "scalped and otherwise horribly mangled. Their cabins were set on fire and most of them burnt down." Franklin regretted that the miscreants were not apprehended in accord with Governor Penn's proclamation. For on the twenty-seventh of December the Rangers rode into Lancaster where the remaining Conestoga Indians believed themselves safe, "inhumanly murdered men, women and little children in cold blood...mounted their horses, huszaed in triumph and rode off un molested."  

Rev. Samuel Wilson, of Princeton, began his first pastorate in 1787. He described the marriage ceremony for his pioneer parishioners in the following plain language: "The design of marriage is that fornication be avoided.... Our passions should be regulated by reason and religion. It is likewise intended for producing a legitimate offspring." Then he instructed the husband to be the head of his house and the wife to be obedient.

Throughout history there are scattered references to other Scotch-Irish settlements. Belfast, Maine, was founded by thirty-five Ulster proprietors in 1768. A few were found in Rhode Island and Connecticut, although New Hampshire held the majority of the New England Scotch-Irish.

In general, the Scotch-Irish might be said to have possessed the frontier from Maine to Georgia. Their mode of life varied in the various provinces in accordance with the length of settlement, the dangers involved and the amount of this world's goods which had been accumulated. Yet, despite external differences, Calvinistic Presbyterianism made them one at heart.
Chapter Four

Educational and Religious Activities

The church and the school should, by the very nature of their mission in life, go hand in hand. Yet history is full of instances of persecutions which have been suffered by scientific discoverers, at the hands of the church. And one cannot claim that the Presbyterian Church, dominated largely by the Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century, in her encouragement of education, was "following Truth's elusive star." Rather, the church established schools that the propagation of the Presbyterian creed might be accelerated. Yet their desire for an educated ministry should be commended. And it must be remembered that many of these small schools developed into great universities that are true to the one great purpose of all education.

John Knox was the reformer of Ulster as well as of Scotland. After Knox's return from Geneva, he started one of the greatest undertakings attempted by any man. He tried to place in every parish in Scotland two educated men, "a minister and a dominie -- church and school -- and that is what it is."1

William McKinley described the Scotch-Irishman as the

---

ideal educator and a natural theologian. From examining the list of the faculty members in almost any college or university, one can verify that statement.²

Andrew Carnegie, with his accustomed vigor, said:

"What, gentlemen, is the greatest glory of a state? The universal education of its people. In this Scotland stands preeminent. John Knox is immortal...because of his resolve that there should be established a public school in every parish in Scotland.... For the education of their children, the poorest Scotch family will suffer privation. They may starve, but rear their children in ignorance they will not!"³

What was true of the poverty in Ulster and Scotland was certainly true of the frontier in America. Often the frontiermen had to combine the work of the "minister and dominie"; the church and schoolhouse were built side by side, and the preacher (often the only college-trained man in the community) would labor all week in the schoolhouse and occupy the pulpit on Sabbath.⁴

Sometimes their schoolmasters accompanied the Scotch-Irish to America, for it was their desire to make immediate provision for a school. Even their servants could read the Bible.⁵ The low rate of illiteracy among those who migrated to New England has been noted.⁶ The synod of the Carolinas

² McKinley, Wm., "Address of Welcome" (as governor of Ohio at Springfield meeting). Proceedings of the Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress, (1895), 21.
³ Carnegie, Andrew, "The Scotch-American". After-Dinner Speeches, I, 121.
⁴ Hoyt, loc. cit., 9.
⁵ Craighead, J. G., Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil, 300. This work will be referred to as Craighead in this chapter.
⁶ See page 18.
"enjoined" upon all its presbyteries the establishment of grammar schools. Thus a large number of classical schools and academies were organized.7

The need for an educated ministry seemed to appeal to the Presbyterians more strongly than to the German sectarians, Methodists or Baptists. "The sending out of unlearned men to teach others, upon the supposition of their piety, in ordinary cases, seems to bring the ministry into contempt ...it is a most perverse practice," wrote Tennent.8

Most of the early colonial colleges had their courses based on Oxford and Cambridge, which, in turn, had followed the example of the medieval universities of the continent. Most of the work was done in Greek or in Latin, and for the theological student Hebrew was added. There was some logic taught, but very little natural science or mathematics.9

In Bucks County, one of the earliest Pennsylvania schools was established. William Tennent, who had come from Ireland about 1716, settled at Neshaminy, and opened a school in 1726. To encourage him, James Logan, secretary of the colony, gave fifty acres of land along Neshaminy Creek, and here a building about twenty feet square was constructed. It was contemptuously called a "college". Tennent was said to have been a great Latin scholar, although his

7 Craighead, op. cit., 300.
8 Tennent, Gilbert, as quoted by H. J. Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 416.
attainments in science were not outstanding.

It was a "one-man college", and its existence ceased with Tennent's death, yet, through its work his four sons were educated for the ministry, and many other illustrious ministers of the Presbyterian Church received their early training. He must have been a great inspiration for his students were later instrumental in founding Princeton, and many other smaller institutions.¹⁰

Three of these offshoots were Fagg's Manor, Nottingham Academy and Pequa School.¹¹ Samuel Blair, assisted by his brother John, established a school at Fagg's Manor, about 1740, where many other ministers were trained.¹²

Samuel Finley completed his studies at the Log College, after his arrival here from Ireland in 1734. In 1744 he opened a school at Nottingham, Maryland, to which students came from a great distance. Finley, later president of Princeton, taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English. Among his pupils at Nottingham were Governor Martin of North Carolina, and the blind James Waddell.¹³

Dr. Robert Smith opened a school at Pequa, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1750. Hebrew, Latin and Greek were taught, and upon the opening of Princeton the institu-

---

¹² Ford, 584,418.
¹³ Ford, 419, and Craighead, 306.
tion at Pequa continued to serve as a preparatory school. 14

The first school west of the mountains was opened by
Joseph Smith, at Upper Buffalo, Pennsylvania, in 1788.
Because there was no other building, Smith's kitchen was
used, and the ladies of the neighboring churches provided
clothes for the students. This later became Washington
College, but another Canonsburg school, Jefferson College,
was its rival in the territory, so the two were combined
into Washington and Jefferson College in 1865, now located
at Washington, Pennsylvania. 16

In a similar manner, those who went to the valley of
Virginia established schools. Robert Alexander, with the
help of "Scotch-Irish brawn, upraised a rude cabin of
oaken logs, and with fervent prayer, did set apart this
temple of the wilderness as the school for the training of
Scotch-Irish prophets." It was called Augusta Academy. Its
rechristening as Liberty Hall, in May, 1778, testifies to
the patriotic sentiments of its sponsors.

Something of the general method of procedure of these
schools may be gained by a study of the routine of Rev.
William Graham, who became Liberty Hall's director in 1778.

"It was his custom to devote one day in the week to hearing

14 Craighead, 306.
president in 1856, said that seventy graduates had
presided over colleges and universities, and one
hundred and seventy had been professors in institu-
tions higher than academies. Proceedings of the
Eighth Scotch-Irish Congress, (1886), 187.
the written discourses of his seven candidates (for the ministry), and to a free discussion of theological points. A new story-and-a-half building was erected. Its new equipment included a microscope, a telescope, a twelve-inch globe and a library of one hundred and eighty volumes! George Washington left a bequest to Liberty Hall, and that institution, in honor of its benefactor, changed its name from Liberty Hall Academy to Washington Academy. It is now Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia.16

In North Carolina the name of David Caldwell is honored, for his school, established in 1767 at Greensborough, was known as the Eton of the south. Queen's College, in Mecklenburg County, had its charter repealed because George III deemed it a Whig Presbyterian institution. After incorporation in 1777 as Liberty Hall, it was burned by Cornwallis, although Davidson College is considered its successor.17 The school of Samuel McCorkle at Thystira bore the appropriate name of Zion Parnassus, and not only fitted poor and pious young men for the ministry, without tuition, but had a department for school teachers.18

Those who migrated to Tennessee from Carolina and


18 Craighead, Scotch and Irish Seeds, 206.
Virginia carried this love for learning with them. Many of the young people were trained at home, learning that sub-
ordination and obedience was the unyielding law of the
(colonial) family. The schools started by almost every
pastor, as a necessary adjunct to his church, affected not
only the students enrolled, but had an elevating effect upon
the whole community.\textsuperscript{19} The first literary institution
established in the Mississippi Valley was started by Samuel
Doak. The volumes which made up this first college library
were brought from Philadelphia, over the mountains, in
sacks on pack-horses.\textsuperscript{20} The legislature of North Carolina
incorporated the institution as Martin Academy, in 1768.
Seven years later it was renamed Washington College. Doak
served as president until 1818, when he moved to Bethel and
started Tusculum Academy. The first four prominent educa-
tors of Tennessee, Doak, Craighead, Carrick and Balch, were
all members of the same Presbytery, and were all of Scotch-
Irish blood.\textsuperscript{21}

Another of these early institutions was Service Sem-
inary, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. It was the first
theological seminary west of the Alleghenies. It was estab-
lished by the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, in 1794,
in a rough two-story building, the second floor of which was

\textsuperscript{19} Kelly, D. C., "Scotch-Irish of Tennessee." Proceed-
ings of the First Scotch-Irish Congress, (1869),
144.

\textsuperscript{20} Craighead, Scotch and Irish Seeds, 209.

\textsuperscript{21} Phelan, James, History of Tennessee, 283-284.
used as the dormitory.  

In spite of the large number of academies and "colleges" the Presbyterians of the middle colonies felt the need for an institution, in their own vicinity, which could offer the regular collegiate standard of work. Such a college was begun in May, 1747, at Elizabethtown, and the next year bachelor degrees were granted to six.  

The standards of admission were quite high.

"None may be admitted but such as being examined by the President and tutors shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and to be so well acquainted with Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; and to give the grammatical connection of the words."  

Latin, Greek and mathematics were required each year of the course. The physical sciences consisted of philosophy (1) and astronomy. Logic and rhetoric were studied in the text and also practiced. Essays and declamations were required of all the students.

The college was removed to Princeton, where the first building, Nassau Hall, was completed in 1757. The college benefited by the patronage of Jonathan Belcher, the governor of the province of New Jersey. He aided Gilbert Tennent and

25 DeWitt, John, loc. cit., 392.
Samuel Davies when they went to England, Scotland and Ireland to secure financial aid. More than three thousand pounds were collected at a time when it was difficult to get money for any purpose.26

The presidency of John Witherspoon, from 1768 to 1794, was probably the most important of the early years. Perhaps his interest in politics led Princeton men to become active in all departments of the new government, and it is noteworthy that only a fourth of the graduates, during his incumbency, entered the ministry.27 James Madison's biographer, Gaillard Hunt, says that Madison did not enter William and Mary, in his own state, because at Princeton he had the advantage of broader surroundings, for every colony was represented among the students.28 But Charles Beard suggests that the rampant modernism at William and Mary was shocking the godly just at that period, so James Madison was sent away to Princeton where "the fountains of learning were undefiled."29 It has been contended that the practice of careful note-taking which Madison learned at Princeton made possible his clear record of the proceedings of the constitutional convention.

Princeton men founded schools from North Carolina to Ohio, and even one northern school, Brown University, in

27 Ibid., 438-441.
Rhode Island. 30 Another New England college was started by the Presbyterians at Dartmouth about 1770.31

The Scotch-Irish loved the church and the school above all other institutions. The two were inseparable; religion demanded a trained intellect and education required piety. The school was usually built near the church, the same man often serving in the capacity of both school master and pastor.32

Religion, as well as education, was considered indispens-able by the Ulstermen; in fact, the latter was the handmaid of the former. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterian's real purpose in life was well expressed in the first ques-
tion of the Westminster Shorter Catechism: "What is the chief end of man? Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him forever." The followers of Knox who moved from Scotland to Ulster, and eventually to America, carried with them the Calvinistic conception that the elect must be trained in holiness and this gave birth to the austere holiness of Scottish Presbyterianism.33 This belief affect-
ed every part of their lives, led them to send their sons into the ministry, pay the tithe, observe a morning and evening worship period in their own homes, be regular in

30 Ford, 466.
33 Sabbatharianism", Encyclopedia of Religion and Eth-
ics, VI, 748.
their attendance upon the sanctuary and scrupulous in their observance of the Sabbath. The Scotch Presbyterian even *demands of his neighbors a certain participation in the ordinances of religion.*

One of the first duties of a Christian, according to the Presbyterian's conception, was being at church on the Lord's day, which meant attending his own church and not being "led astray" by listening to the doctrines of another denomination. There were great distances to traverse, so there was no evening service, but the meeting continued from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, with a half-hour's intermission for luncheon. Many of the frontier provinces had not reached the stage that they were able to support a separate congregation, by 1790, so their pastors preached at the various homes, at intervals of six weeks or more. But every Sabbath the Bible and catechism were studied. The parents, children and servants had the questions and answers of the shorter and larger catechism memorized and usually could give the scriptural foundation of each. Committees, appointed by presbyteries, visited the various congregations and examined the efficiency and orthodoxy of the minister and elders. The pastor, in turn, assigned a portion of the congregation to one elder or more for in-

35 Woodburn, J. A., "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County," Indiana Historical Society Publica-
tions, IV, (1910), 482-488.
36 Craighead, Scotch and Irish Seeds, 283.
struction. Eight or ten families would assemble on an appointed day, each year, and each one present, beginning with the youngest, would show "his progress in his knowledge of this summary of Christian faith and duty". In their frontier cabins the morning and evening worship hour, consisting of the singing of a psalm, scripture reading and prayer, was devoutly observed. Any family omitting this exercise was subject to examination by pastor and session. The session also examined, in almost a judicial manner, any violator of the holiness of the Sabbath or those who deviated from the accepted standards of morality.

Twice a year the Lord's Supper was celebrated, preceded by three appropriate sermons on Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Often a neighboring pastor "assisted", and the people would come in such great numbers that the meetings had to be held out doors. The bread and wine were placed on long tables in the aisles. No one could partake unless he had a token. The mug of wine passed from hand to hand.

In strange contrast to all this Calvinistic piety, we find Perry's observation: "The ministers were accustomed, even in the pulpit, to quick and witty turns. This gift of enlivening humor, so common and so much cultivated among

38 The tokens were small pieces of lead or spelter, and usually bore the initial of the church. They were handed out at one of the preparatory services, which meant that everyone must attend the week-day meetings.
39 Craighead, Scotch and Irish Seeds, 283-284.
them, afforded a much needed relief to their isolated lives.  

There has been some dispute as to who was the first Presbyterian preacher in this country, William Traill or Francis Makemie. Ford gives the date of Traill's arrival in Maryland as 1682, and it is not certain that Makemie was here before 1684. However, Makemie may be regarded as "the pioneer Presbyterian missionary in the New World", because of the vigor with which he pursued the establishment of new churches. He led the fight against the exclusive power of the Established Church and set a precedent which Presbyterians have followed — belief in separation of church and state, and liberty of conscience. In 1707 Francis Makemie preached in New York City, at the home of William Jackson. Two days later he was arrested on the ground that he had preached without Governor Combury's permission. He was released on bail to appear for trial in June. The Congregationalists of New England joined the Presbyterians in their protest to London against Combury. At the trial, Makemie was defended by three able lawyers, made a personal defense, and was acquitted on the grounds that he had complied with the Toleration Act and had been

43 This clear statement of the rights of a Dissenting minister may be found in Appendix B, Hanna, II, 160-164.
within his rights as a Presbyterian minister. Nevertheless, Makenie had to stand the cost of the whole trial, which was over eighty-three pounds. 44

In 1736, John Caldwell suggested that a commission be sent to Governor Gooch of Virginia that toleration might be granted "the brethren" who were beginning to settle in "the remote parts of his government" (the Valley of Virginia). For certainly in the light of the protection that they would be to the colony, such a favor should be granted. 45 So the Philadelphia Synod sent a petition asking that "the liberty of their consciences be allowed them, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education." 46 The governor returned a favorable answer, and the Ulstermen poured into the Valley. It is the opinion of Charles Coale that the Presbyterians were the first denomination to erect places of worship and hold regular services, in the Valley. By 1773 they had penetrated to the southwest corner of Virginia, for in that year two congregations, Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring, sent a call to the Rev. Charles Cummings. The form of a call issued at that period is worthy of note:

"We, being in very destitute circumstances for the want of the ordinances of Christ's house statedly administered among us...our Sabbath too much profaned, or at least wasted in

44 Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, II, 74-76.
46 The text of the Synod's record, the petition and answer are found in Hanna, II, 47-48.
melancholy silence at home . . . invite and entreat you to undertake the office of pastor among us . . . We hereby promise to pay you the sum of ninety pounds yearly." 47

It was signed by one hundred and forty men, most of whom bore Scotch-Irish names. Cummings proved to be a good pastor if not a brilliant preacher. He was very insistent on attention in the congregation after the service started. He had the strange habit of taking a short walk alone before the service started. Then he would return, walk gravely through the crowd, mount the steps of the pulpit, deposit his rifle in a corner near him, lay off his shot-pouch, and commence the solemn service of the day. He preached two sermons, having a short intermission between them. His pronounced Whig sentiments probably led these people of the Holston to be the zealous patriots they were during the Revolution. 48

Ford says that the first permanent preacher was John Craig, who preached in the Irish Tract, in Virginia, in 1719. 49 But Kemper says that a Presbyterian church was opened at Opequon, in Frederick County, in 1726. 50

Perhaps the best conception of the difficult work of

49 Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 381.
these early preachers can be gleaned from their own journals and memoirs. John Cuthbertson rode on horseback more than sixty thousand miles during his forty years as a missionary in Pennsylvania. Entries in his diary run as follows:

August 16, "Rode forty miles to Paxton township."
August 19, "Kept session three hours. Tried three elders."
September 24, "Rode eighteen miles to Dan. McClelan's. Then disputed publicly with [Alexander] Craighed three hours."

Rev. Charles Beatty, a Log College product, visited the Presbyterians in central Pennsylvania in 1766. He reported:

August 19, 1766. "Rode four or five miles to a place in the wood, designed for building a house of worship, and preached to but a small auditory, notice of our preaching not having been sufficiently spread."
August 28. "Preached in the settlement of the Great Cave, to a considerable congregation. This place suffered severely in the late war. They propose to build a house of worship as soon as they are able, being at present in the same difficult circumstances with other places exposed on the frontiers to the barbarous enemy." 52

Philip V. Fithian kept his journal for his fiancee and was quite specific concerning the dangers involved in his trip lasting from June to August, 1776:

July 9. "The people are building a big meeting-house, up the valley, four miles from the river [Buffalo Crossroad]. There is here a very numerous society, and it is a growing, promising place. We had a good number today...there is no house, I must preach among the trees."
July 19. "I went after dinner over the river to Captain Hunter's... We drank with him one bowl of toddy."

52 Journal of C. C. Beatty, quoted by Hanna, II, 73-76.
July 24. "One of the elders gave me for yesterday's supply 150 lbs. 54.
July 25. "There were present about one hundred and forty [Bald Eagle Congregation]. I stood at the root of a great tree, the people sitting in the bushes and green grass around me."

August 13. "We were in the forenoon in a large barn; it was too small and we went out into a fine meadow under a high, western hill. . . . I think by appearance there were more people than I had ever seen at any place on the Susquehanna. . . . I am told the people of this valley are all united in religious matters; all Presbyterian, and all orthodox, new light, primitive Presbyterians, too; all except about eight sour, unbrotherly Seceders."

August 27, Shirley. "We held service in Mr. Powell's barn, a rainy, stormy day. . . . This settlement is broken with religious divisions. There is a Baptist society . . . and a Methodist society." 53

The first Presbyterian missionary in western Pennsylvania was David McClure. His Diary covers the autumn of 1772.

November 11. "Preached at the house of [Robert] Hanna, about thirty miles from Pittsburgh. . . . Some rigid Presbyterians in this settlement objected to me, because I did not belong to a Presbyterian, but was a New England Congregationalist."

November 16. "Preached in the house of Mrs. Campbell (were cordially welcomed by General Arthur St. Clair) . . . The settlements to which I have preached have invited me to tarry with them, which I have engaged to do, until May or June next. To encourage the business, they have drawn up subscriptions . . . The people are from almost all parts and generally Presbyterians."

December 17. "Attended a marriage, where the guests were all Virginians. It was a scene of wild and confused merriment. . . . The manners of the people of Virginia, who have removed into these parts, are different"

53 Fithian, F. V., Journal, as found in Hanna, II, 76-79.
from those of the Presbyterians and Germans."

December 15. "Rode a few miles to the house of a Mr. Thompson, an honest and pious Scotchman, who had been prejudiced against me on account of my not being, as he supposed, a true Presbyterian. Of the denomination of Congregationalists, the people here seem to have no knowledge. In their esteem all sects of Christians are erroneous who do not bear the name of Presbyterian." 54

Devotion to the cause was seemingly boundless. John McMillan was so interested in training young men for the ministry that he opened a school in his home and boarded and taught, without compensation, many preachers who later became famous. 55

One of the best descriptions of an old church is found in Egle's history of Pennsylvania. The old Derry church was built in 1729 of thick oak logs, covered with hemlock boards. The pews with their uncomfortable, perpendicular backs were of yellow pine, cherry and oak. Heavy hand-wrought nails held the hinges of the pew doors. The window panes had been imported from England. There were pegs in the wall, to support the frontiersmen's rifles during service. The communion service consisted of four mugs and platters of pewter. Near the church stood the pastor's study where the session met at stated intervals. The burial ground, enclosed with a neat stone wall, was near this

54 Diary of Rev. David McClure, quoted by Hanna, II, 61-66.
The form of the old Londonderry church was symbolic of the gradations of authority in the Presbyterian church. As one mounted the pulpit, one came first to the deacons' seat, six inches from the floor; next came the ruling elders' pew, ten or twelve inches higher than that, and back of that was the pulpit, two or three feet higher.  

The Presbyterian ministers of the eighteenth century made their influence felt in every aspect of frontier life. They sponsored education in all the provinces. They helped put down the unruly elements of early society and sometimes served as chaplain in the army. They encouraged and stimulated the patriotic fervor of the people. They insisted on the strict observance of the Sabbath day. Probably to the Presbyterians who settled in western Pennsylvania should go the credit for Pittsburgh's Sabbath observance record.  

By the time of the outbreak of the Revolution there were more than four hundred Presbyterian congregations scattered from Maine to Georgia, yet united by a General Assembly. The principle of representative government, based on democratic conceptions, was familiar to them. They did not have a hierarchy of bishops and archbishops, but believed

57 Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 243-244.  
59 Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, II, 8 (using his more conservative estimate).
in the parity of the clergy. Their smallest unit of government, above the congregation, was the presbytery. It sent representatives to the synod. The synods were united in a yearly meeting called the general assembly. It cannot be claimed that the framers of the new government consciously followed the Presbyterian form of government, yet the principles of democracy and representation doubtless affected them. For the six per cent of Scotch-Irish, in the colonies, were very good at vocalization of their beliefs and desires.
Chapter Five

Military Pursuits

One would not have to examine a multitude of historically annotated documents before stating that a Scotch-Irishman possessed a certain degree of natural pugnacity. His predisposition for fighting was not so pronounced as that of the real Irish Paddy, yet very few have imposed upon an Ulsterman without hearing immediate protest. Surely the record of Presbyterians in pacifist movements cannot measure up to that of the Quakers or the German sectarians.

In view of the primitive state of frontier society during the latter part of the eighteenth century, too much blame should not be placed on the Scotch-Irish for their "heartless butchery of the savages".

This stigma was not placed on the early settlers of New England, for some epidemic had killed many of the red men.¹ William Penn's peaceful measures have always been lauded, yet it must be admitted that the Quaker settlements which hugged the eastern shore had no necessity for coming into intimate contact with the Indian, as had the Scotch-Irish who pushed out to the frontier.

It was true that the pioneers ruined the supply of game, and the forest, which were necessary for the Indian's sustenance, that the white men cheated the red man out of

¹ Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 282.
his land without due recompense. But that story has been repeated on every frontier on which the "dominate race" has come into "culture" conflicts with an inferior race — Africa, Australia, East Indies. Furthermore, any group which puts a gun in the hands of all its members, and trains them to be expert shots, cannot expect them to refrain from using that instrument when aroused to anger.

Instances of Indian atrocities could be enumerated: youngsters burned alive;\(^2\) babies' brains beaten out;\(^3\) wagon loads of scalped corpses;\(^4\) women subjected to every conceivable torture, yet equally black entries could be made on the other side of the ledger.

Through the 1750's the settlers had huddled close to the protecting walls of some frontier fort, scurrying within at the first hint of attack, but they hated to have their crops burned by the Indians and so lose the fruit of a whole year's toil, so they would return to their little clearings, only to be exterminated by the savages without warning.

These dangers were particularly real along the Pennsylvania frontier. The Indians would come down the river valleys, wiping out the inhabitants, having been irritated by Braddock's defeat and incited by French fur-traders. The Assembly refused to appropriate money for a rapid and thorough attack on the Indians or for adequate frontier defense. All that the law makers did was to offer a bounty on Indian

\(^2\) Ford, op. cit., 286.
\(^3\) Ibid., 286.
\(^4\) Hanna, The Scotch Irish, I, 58.
scalps, a brutal and ineffective method of combating Indian outrages.

In the light of these facts, the censure placed upon the Scotch-Irish for their association of Paxtang rangers should not be so severe. They believed that the Conestoga Indians were furnishing ammunition for the hostile Indians. The publicity given the affair seems out of proportion to the number of Indians killed. In the attack on the Indian village only six were slain. When the Lancaster workhouse was stormed, three women, eight children and three men were killed. The younger, more rash element among the Rangers perpetrated the crime. "Public sentiment in the Scotch-Irish settlements strongly condemned the mob outbreak." Their own miseries made them believe in all sincerity that the only good Indian is a dead one; and that they themselves were the agents appointed of Providence to make all Indians good.

In the French and Indian war the frontiersmen of the Valley served under Washington when he suffered defeat at the Meadows; they served under Braddock and were instrumental in salvaging a remnant of that rash general's army. They frightened the Indians across the Ohio by their victory at Point Pleasant, in 1774. The Scotch-Irish of New Hampshire

5 Story is told above on pages 46-48.
6 Ford, op. cit., 310. Eggle says they were all men, see page 47.
7 Ibid., 310.
8 Hanna, op. cit., I, 61.
actively participated in the French and Indian War and the conquest of Canada in 1759. 10 Hugh Waddell, of North Carolina, figured prominently in this struggle. Of great height, and huge breadth of chest, Waddell came from northern Ireland because of the opportunity for military service. He was a great Indian fighter, serving under Innes in Virginia, building Fort Dobbs in 1756, aiding in the campaign against Duquesne in 1756. The next year he was put in command of the militia of three counties. Later he helped break the power of the Cherokees. In 1763, with Colonel John Ash, he raised the Cape Fear militia, seized the vessels bringing in stamps and prevented their distribution. 11

These are only scattered references, but they serve to show that the Scotch-Irish acted well their role as advance guard of the westward moving frontier. Every added mile which separated them from the British government made weaker any ties of allegiance to the Old World. Having fled from the political, economic and religious difficulties thrust upon them in Ulster, by England, they felt "no thrill of patriotism when they saw the flag of England waving above their heads. 12

Many reasons have been given for the active part which the Scotch-Irish played in the Revolution. Some contend that they possessed an innate love of independence; Craig-

10 Ford, op. cit., 244.
head attributed their role to a desire to maintain their religious liberty. Perhaps one can more honestly say that, in most of the engagements in which they participated, they fought because they were good marksmen and liked to fight; and their natural antipathy toward the aristocratic Tories of the seacoast led them to take the opposite side in any controversy.

It is difficult to imagine how anyone will be able to address a group of Scotch-Irish, on any patriotic subject, since he cannot, honestly, continue to quote Bancroft's oft-repeated statement that "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." Even if the authenticity of the May 31st resolutions passed at Mecklenburg, North Carolina, is accepted, one cannot say that they had great influence, as Jefferson and John Adams denied all knowledge of them. It is a thankless task -- the dissipation of the aura some state has placed around an historical myth -- yet W. H. Hoyt seems to have conclusively shown that there never was a real Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Since this controversy has aroused so much attention, Hoyt's findings may be briefly summarized here.

The mention of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, in 1818, in Congress, aroused that body to inquire into

14 Hoyt, W. H., The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, (1907), 10, 12.
the matter. The Mecklenburg district representative got the "copy" of the declaration from the son of John McKnitt Alexander, who had served as secretary to the committee which declared independence in 1775. The representatives from each militia company in Mecklenburg County had met in a midnight meeting, May 20, 1775, and declared themselves independent of Great Britain, in language very similar to that used by Jefferson in the later document. The similarity of language is especially notable in the second resolution:

"That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and Independent People, are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor."

Several men who had been present when the declaration was first read publicly, now quite infirm with age, testified to its authenticity. Then in 1829 Jefferson's letter discrediting the document was published. This led the North Carolina legislature to investigate the matter, but it affirmed the document's genuineness in 1830.

In 1833, another set of resolutions, dated May 31, 1775, were found in a newspaper of the time. They were less radical in content — "all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from the authority of King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these colonies, for the present, wholly suspended."

15 Ibid., 20.
Provisions were made for the carrying on of the government, and it was added:

"That these Resolves be in full force and virtue, until instructions from the Provincial Congress, regulating the jurisprudence of the province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great Britain, made its unqualified and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." [Italics are mine].

As Hoyt suggests, "in effect, Mecklenburg County declared independence subject to a contingent limitation." 17

By 1847 other copies of the resolutions of May 31 had been found in contemporary newspapers. In 1863, it was made known to the general public, for the first time, that the copy of the May 20th resolutions which John McKnitt Alexander had given to General Davie had been reconstructed by Alexander, from memory, after his records had been destroyed in a fire in 1800. 18 Thus Jefferson was cleared of the charge of plagiarism. The testimony of aged patriots is notably unreliable. The Cape-Fear Mercury, which could have cleared up the mystery conclusively, was "lost" from the British Public Record Office. 19 Perhaps the whole affair is of little consequence, for the Continental Congress of 1776 was not yet advanced enough in its thinking to make it worthwhile to have the resolutions presented. Bancroft's opinion will have to be reversed; "the voice" was not

16 Ibid., 28.
17 Ibid., 29.
18 This whole review covers pages 1-40 of Hoyt's able book.
19 Hoyt, op. cit., 50-51.
"public".

However, the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania must be credited with having given immediate support to the beleaguered Bostonians, for example, the Presbyterians of Western Pennsylvania, meeting at Hannastown, and the freemen of Cumberland County. And it must be remembered that Patrick Henry, who "gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution", according to Thomas Jefferson, was of Scotch descent. He led the Scotch-Irish of the upper counties against the conservative planter class in the vote on the Virginia Resolutions.

The testimony of Joseph Galloway concerning the activity of the Irish in the Revolution cannot be questioned. He was a Pennsylvanian, loyal in all activities of the colonies up to 1776, but as he could not go the length of actual rebellion, he went over to the English side. In March, 1779, he was questioned by Parliament concerning affairs in America:

Q. "When did you come over to the British army, and how long did you continue with it?"
A. "I came over to the royal army in the beginning of December, 1776, and continued with it until the evacuation of Philadelphia, on the 18th of June last (1776)."
Q. "At the beginning of the present rebellion... had the people, in general, independence in view?"
A. "I do not believe, from the best knowledge I have of the state of America at that time, that

22 Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America, 486-487.
one-fifth of the people had independence in view."

Q. "That part of the rebel army that enlisted in the service of Congress, were they chiefly composed of natives of America, or were the greatest part of them English, Scotch and Irish?"

A. "The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision -- There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America; about one-half Irish, the other fourth were English and Scotch." 23

One must remember, however, that enlistment in the army did not mean a long term of service, or rigorous training. Most of the frontiersmen were young husbands, who dreaded separation from their wives and youngsters, so it was often difficult to find recruits. These young men, when in the field, knew how to take deadly aim, how to conserve ammunition, how to hide behind trees and fight in true Indian style. But by the time they had learned to be proficient in any of the specialized lines of soldiering, they wanted to visit their homes. Desertions were numerous.

"What had to be done needed to be done quickly while the enthusiasm lasted, and needed to involve no specialized organization or training." 24

In an account of Dauphin County it was pointed out that the regular volunteers, the associators, and the minute men left the county in such numbers, for the battlefields of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, that the old

men, the women, and the lads of ten and twelve years did
the harvesting and planting, and took up arms after the
massacre of Wyoming to defend their home against the threat-
ened invasion of Indians and Tories.26

Western Pennsylvania played her part in the struggle,
too. Of course, there was no fear of an invasion by the
British from the East, but the English held Detroit and the
Illinois country, and in all that western territory was the
savage, often in the service of the English. It was a story
of daily murders by the savages, discouragements of all
kinds, for many of the garrisons were poorly supplied and
many of the expeditions failed.26

George Rogers Clark was a Scottish native of Albemarle
County, Virginia.27 To him, and to his soldiers, many of
whom were Scotch-Irish, collected in the valleys of Virginia
and Kentucky, goes the credit for conquering the North-
west.28

In the South the revolutionists' cause was hindered by
Scotch Tories. Some of these were Regulators who had taken
the oath of allegiance after the battle of Alamance. Not
only were they being true to their oath, but they refused to

26 Hamilton, A. B., "Dauphin County". W. H. Egle's
History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1853),
643.
26 Dalzell, John, "Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania."
Proceedings of the Second Scotch-Irish Congress,
(1890), 192.
27 Reid, Whitelaw, American and English Studies, II,
113.
28 Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, I, 60.
ally themselves with their traditional enemies — the dwellers on the coast.

In South Carolina, Marion, Pickens and Sumter harassed the Tories and Cornwallis' army. "Through the veins of these incomparable leaders and their brave troops Scotch-Irish blood coursed, and gave nerve to the arms which struck for liberty." Marion was of Huguenot and Scotch descent.

Two important events in the Revolutionary War were the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, in 1777, and the battle of King's Mountain, on the border between North and South Carolina, in 1780. After Burgoyne took Ticonderoga, the New Hampshire authorities became alarmed and asked John Stark, a native of Londonderry, to take charge of the state's defense. Stark's force was composed of volunteers and state militia; the only uniforms in the group were worn by the Green Mountain Rangers, and these uniforms consisted only of hunting frocks with green facings. The detachment of British was well entrenched on an eminence not far from Bennington, just beyond the border of New Hampshire, by August 18, 1777. Stark devised a feint which made the attack of the remainder of his force completely successful. The Ulstermen continued to harass Burgoyne's left flank on his way toward Saratoga.

After Burgoyne's defeat, the British lagged in the

prosecution of the war, but in 1780 Cornwallis attacked South Carolina. He sent Major Patrick Ferguson west, to rout out the frontier rebels. The Scotch-Irish settlements were threatened, so Colonels Sevier, Shelby, McDowell, and Campbell called a rendezvous of the militia at Watauga. This was the sort of warfare these border men excelled in, and they came from South Carolina and Virginia as well as Tennessee. Ferguson entrenched himself on King's Mountain in a place, as he said, "from which all the rebels outside of hell cannot drive us." The colonial forces had no great strategist to direct them. Each group fought with few directions, putting into practice what they had learned in Indian warfare. The invaders stormed the position of the eleven hundred British, and poured accurate fire into Ferguson's charging lines. The British losses were great, at length Ferguson fell, and the remainder surrendered on October 7, 1780. Craighead claims that all four leaders were Presbyterian; but only two were Ulster Presbyterians, for Sevier was of Huguenot blood, while Shelby was doubtless English.

31 Henry, loc. cit., 100; Paxson, op. cit., 40; Ford, op. cit., 507-510.
32 Craighead, Scotch-Irish Seeds in American Soil, 344.
Chapter Six

Political Participation and Conclusion

Not only were the Scotch-Irish excellent soldiers, they were good politicians as well. Perhaps one should say statesmen, as politician has an unpleasant Irish flavor suggestive of Tammany. The Scotch-Irish were democratic in spirit and allied themselves with the Jeffersonian party, after the establishment of the national government. These Ulster emigrants aroused the ire of the Federalists, who, in retaliation, passed the Naturalization Act in 1798. Harrison Gray Otis wrote to his wife that he feared the indiscriminate admission of Irish to the right of suffrage would soon end liberty and property. Uriah Tracy, another Federalist, wrote in August, 1800, after a journey through Pennsylvania, "I have seen many, very many, Irishmen (sic), and with a very few exceptions they are United Irishmen, Free Masons, and the most God-provoking Democrats on this side of Hell."

The Scotch-Irish were active in the Continental Congress, which drew up the Declaration of Independence. Of the fifty-six signers, Ford found five that had Ulster ancestry: Matthew Thornton, James Smith, George Taylor,

McKean and Rutledge. Tradition has it that the venerable John Witherspoon, for many years president of Princeton, led those who were hesitating about affixing their signatures to the Declaration, by saying that if he must die he would rather die in the cause of Liberty, and that he was willing to risk all his property, as well, in the cause. 3

Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, was the secretary of the First Continental Congress in 1774, and was influential in getting the colony of Pennsylvania to ally itself with the other colonies in the cause of independence. John Adams characterized him as "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia, the life of the cause of liberty." 4

A typical Scotch-Irish gentleman was Henry Knox. He served with honor throughout the Revolution, enjoying Washington's confidence to such an extent that he laid the plans for the siege at Yorktown. In regard to his arrangements Washington said, "the resources of his genius supplied the deficit of means." 5 He held the joint portfolio of war and navy in Washington's cabinet. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, was half Scotch. 6

It would be possible to make a long list of Ulster statesmen who served as governors and legislators during the

---

4 Ford, op. cit., 461-462.
5 Ibid., 462.
6 Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, 1, 139.
formative period of the republic, but these will suffice as examples. The first governors of New York and Delaware, George Clinton and John MacKINLEY, were Scotch-Irish. The war-time governors of Pennsylvania and South Carolina, Thomas McKean and John Rutledge, were of the same stock. 7

Ford denied that nationalities had anything to do with the constitutional convention of 1787, 8 yet many of the college-bred men, in fact half, were either of Scottish birth or training, the very men whose opinions would carry the most weight. The Scottish James Wilson often raised his voice during the convention, supporting direct popular suffrage and a single executive. He opposed too much state sovereignty, and tried to procure the direct election of senators. 9

By way of summary of the earlier chapters, the following facts should be kept in mind. The Scotch Presbyterians who had been planted in northern Ireland from approximately 1600 to 1700 began to emigrate to America in large numbers after 1700. Their migration was due primarily to economic rather than religious causes. By 1780 they constituted six per cent of the colonial population.

The earliest settlement was made in Maryland in 1660, but the chief influx occurred after the turn of the century. Pennsylvania, and New England were the two regions which seemed particularly attractive to the Scotch-Irish, yet they

7 Ibid., I, 28.
8 Ford, op. cit., 618.
9 Hanna, op. cit., I, 34.
were found in every colony by 1750.

The best picture of life in the colonies can be found in old court records, diaries and letters, from which may be reconstructed the hardships, the infrequent social gatherings, and something of the thirst for new land which drove the pioneers onward — to new frontiers.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians seem to have surpassed most other groups in their desire to establish schools, for they wished to have an educated ministry. The helpful influence exerted by these frontier preachers and missionaries seems to have justified their efforts.

The Whigs in America played a dominant part in the Indian wars and the Revolution. Opinions vary as to which battles were the decisive ones, but the battles of Bennington and King's Mountain were of great importance in gaining the goal of the colonists.

All immigrant groups have been proud of their racial heritage. Perhaps much of the story of the Scotch-Irish "fathers" in the years 1750 to 1790 may be summarized in the statement that "in the middle and southern states today, when a man is spoken of as being of Scotch-Irish stock, a compliment is implied as a matter of course in this simple statement of a fact."10

---

10 Editorial in the Spectator, LXIII, 869 (June 26, 1892).
Appendix A

"Regulators of North Carolina" — Professor John S. Bassett, of Trinity College, North Carolina, presents this petition of the Regulators, on page 166, of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1894.

1. In all elections the vote should be by ballot.
2. Taxation should be based on property and not per capita.
3. Paper money should be issued and loaned in the land.
4. Debts above forty shillings and under ten pounds should be sued for without lawyers and before a county justice and jury of six.
5. The chief justice should have no fees but a salary.
6. The assembly should inform the king that the governor and council were partial in land grants, giving the poor inferior land.
7. Reforms should be made in regard to quit rents.
8. Denominations asked for the right to conduct marriage ceremonies.
9. Benjamin Franklin, or some other well-known patriot, should be appointed agent of the colony in London.
Bibliography

I. Sources:

Franklin, Benjamin, the Complete Works of, edited by John Bingley; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1867, III (1758-1766).


Saunders, W. L., Colonial Records of North Carolina, V (1762-1769); W. Daniels, Raleigh, 1897.

II. Newspapers:

Spectator (London), June 26, 1792.

III. General Histories:


Phelan, James, History of Tennessee; Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston, 1889.

Reid, Whitelaw, American and English Studies, II, 102-151; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912.


IV. Special Monographs:

Adams, William Forbes, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1600 to the Famine; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.


Bolton, Charles Knowles, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America; Bacon and Brown, Boston, 1910.

Chalkley, Lyman, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County: 1746-1800, 3 volumes; Commonwealth Printing Company, Roselyn, (Virginia), 1912.


Parker, E. L., The History of Londonderry, New Hampshire; Perkins and Whipple, Boston, 1861.

Roberts, E. F., Ireland in America; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1851.

Y. Articles and Essays in Periodicals, Annals and Publications of Learned Societies:

American Catholic Historical Research, unsigned article, XVIII, 95-103, (1901); M. I. J. Griffin, Philadelphia.


Chalkley, Lyman, "Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road". The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXX, (1924), 162-208.


Commod, J. P., "Colonial Race Elements". Chautauquan, XXXVIII, 121 (October, 1908).


Griffin, M. I. J., "Early Irish Settlers Were Called Irish". American Catholic Historical Research, IV, n.s. 40-44 (1908).

Griffin, M. I. J., "Religion of Early Irish Immigrants to Pennsylvania". American Catholic Historical Research, VII, 170-172 (1911).


Hoyt, T. A., "What the Scotch-Irish Have Done for Education in the South". Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society, XI, 7-12 (1900).

Johnson, Jesse, "Early Theological Education West of the Alleghenies". Bibliotheca Sacra, LXXIV, 376-386 (October, 1927).


