THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA.¹

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

A TRIBUTE is due from the Puritan to the Scotch-Irishman,² and it is becoming in this Society, which has its headquarters in the heart of New England, to render that tribute.

The story of the Scotsmen who swarmed across the narrow body of water which separates Scotland from Ireland, in the seventeenth century, and who came to America in the eighteenth century, in large numbers, is of perennial interest. For hundreds of years before the beginning of the seventeenth century the Scot had been going forth continually over Europe in search of adventure and gain. As a rule, says one who knows him well, "he turned his steps where fighting was to be had, and the pay for killing was reasonably good."³ The English wars had made his countrymen poor, but they had also made them a nation of soldiers.

Remember the "Scotch Archers" and the "Scotch Guardsmen" of France, and the delightful story of Quentin Durward, by Sir Walter Scott. Call to mind the "Scots Brigade," which dealt such hard blows in the contest in Holland with the splendid Spanish infantry which Parma and Spinola led, and recall the pikemen of the great Gustavus. The Scots were in the vanguard of many a

⁸ Harrison, John. The Scot in Ulster, p. 1.

¹For acknowledgments regarding the sources of information contained in this paper, not made in footnotes, read the Bibliographical note at its end.

² The Scotch-Irish, as I understand the meaning of the term, are Scotchmen who emigrated to Ireland and such descendants of these emigrants as had not through intermarriage with the Irish proper, or others, lost their Scotch characteristics. Both emigrants and their descendants, if they remained long in Ireland, experienced certain changes, apart from those which are brought about by mixture of blood, through the influence of new surroundings.

European host. Their activity showed itself in trade also. "In the Hanse towns and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean every busy centre and trading town knows the canny Scot."¹

The adventurous spirit of the Scotsman had hitherto shown itself in war and in trade; it is now to show itself in Our interest to-day is in the colonies which colonization. Scotchmen established in the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and in the great emigration from those colonies to America in the eighteenth century. Large tracts of land in Ulster had been laid waste, and James the First of England formed plans for peopling them with colonies of Englishmen and Scotchmen. Hugh Montgomery, the laird of Braidstane, afterwards Lord Montgomery of the Ards, and James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Clandeboye (a title now borne by his descendant, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, formerly Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India, who as an Irish baron is Lord Dufferin and Clandeboye), led colonies into the northern portion of County Down in 1606. About the same time plantations, which afterwards became peculiarly Scottish, were made in Antrim. Then followed what is known as the "Great plantation," in 1610. Read Scott's Fortunes of Nigel, it has been said, and "you see the poverty of the old land north of the Tweed, and the neediness of the flock of supplicants who followed James to London." That neediness and the poverty of their land led Scotsmen to Ireland, also.

"The plantations in County Down and County Antrim, thorough as they were as far as they went, were limited in scope, in comparison with the 'Great plantation in Ulster' for which James I.'s reign will be forever remembered in Ireland."²

Early in the seventeenth century "all northern Ireland,

¹J. S. MacIntosh in The Making of the Ulsterman, Second Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 89.

²Harrison, p. 34. 3

[April,

-Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Fermanagh,-passed at one fell swoop into the hands of the crown."1 These lands James proceeded to people with Englishmen and Scotchmen, as he had before planted Scottish and English colonies in Down and Antrim. Sir William Petty states, "that a very large emigration had taken place from Scotland after Cromwell settled the country in 1652."2 "He takes the total population" of Ireland in 1672 "at 1,100,000, and calculates that 800,000 were Irish, 200,000 English, and 100,000 Scots. Of course the English were scattered all over Ireland, the Scots concentrated in Ulster."³ Lecky says that "for some years after the Revolution," meaning, of course, the English Revolution of 1688, "a steady stream of Scotch Presbyterians had poured into the country, attracted by the cheapness of the farms and by the new openings for trade."⁴ The end of the seventeenth century probably saw the last of the large emigration of Scots into Ulster.

The quiet of the Scotch immigrants was disturbed by various events during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. War disturbed their quiet. The Irish rebellion of 1641 caused them much suffering. It "dragged its slow length along" for years, and "until Cromwell crossed in 1650, and in one dreadful campaign established the rule of the English Parliament."⁵ The Revolution of 1688 was long and bloody, in Ireland. The sufferings of the Protestants in the north of Ireland who supported William the Third and opposed James the Second are well known,

¹Harrison, p. 36.

² *lbid.*, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 84. See, too, Petty, Sir William. Political Survey of ⁹ Ireland in 1672, pp. 9, 18, 20 (as quoted by Harrison).

⁴Lecky, W. E. H. Hist. of England in the 18th Century, Vol. II., p. 400. Amer. ed., p. 436. "In 1715 Archbishop Synge" (Synge's Letters, British Museum Add. MSS., 6, 117, p. 50) "estimated at not less than 50,000 the number of Scotch families who had settled in Ulster since the Revolution."—Lecky, p. 401. Am. ed., p. 436.

⁵Harrison, p. 79.

and Macaulay has rendered immortal the brave deeds of the defenders of Londonderry.¹

4.5.5.9

The Scotch immigrants suffered from repression of trade and commerce. True, William III. encouraged the manufacture of linen and induced colonies of Huguenots who were driven out of France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to settle in northeast Ireland. "The first blow struck" in the repression of industries, "was an Act which forbade the exportation of cattle from Ireland to England;² the second, when by the fifteenth of Charles II., Ireland, which up to this time in commercial matters had been held as part of England, was brought under the Navigation Acts, and her ships treated as if belonging to foreigners."³

It was in the reign of William III. that the woollen manufacture in Ireland was suppressed in the interest of the English manufacturer, and legislation which brought about this suppression was followed by "Acts forbidding the Irish to export their wool to any country save England the English manufacturers desiring to get the wool of the sister kingdom at their own price."⁴

The Scotch immigrants in Ireland were mostly Presbyterians. Under the mild ecclesiastical rule of Archbishop Usher they prospered. Later they were persecuted, and in 1704 the obnoxious Test Act was imposed by Queen Anne.

Throughout their stay in Ireland the Scotch immigrants, while they have intermarried with the Huguenots and Puritan English to a certain extent, have not intermarried with the Celtic Irish and have preserved their Scotch characteristics.⁵

5" Most of the great evils of Irish politics during the last two centuries have arisen from the fact that its different classes and creeds have never been really blended into one nation, that the repulsion of race or of religion has been stronger than the attraction of a common nationality, and that the full energies

¹ Macaulay's History of England, Chap. XII.

²Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. III., p. 44S.

³Harrison, p. 85. See, also, Macpherson's History of Commerce, Vol. III., p. 621, referred to by Harrison.

⁴ Ibid., p. 88. Lecky, v. 2, pp. 210 and 211. Am. ed., pp. 229 and 230.

It is easy to see, after the recital of facts just given, why the Scotch settlers in Ulster became discontented, and large numbers of them emigrated to America in the eighteenth century. In addition to their sufferings from the repression of trade and commerce and from religious disabilities, agriculture was in a miserable condition, and at times when land leases expired, the settlers could only renew them by paying a largely increased rent.¹ The emigration to America was very striking. Some of the Scottish settlers went before 1700, and very early in the eighteenth century, but the great bulk of the emigrants came to this country at two distinct periods of time: the first, from 1718 to the middle of the century; the second, from 1771 to 1773; although there was a gentle current westward between these two In consequence of the famine of 1740 and 1741, it eras. is stated that for "several years afterwards, 12,000 emigrants annually left Ulster for the American plantations"; while from 1771 to 1773, "the whole emigration from Ulster is estimated at 30,000, of whom 10,000 are weavers."² August 4, 1718, there arrived in Boston five small ships

1" At the time of the Revolution, when great portions of the country lay waste and when the whole framework of society was shattered, much Irish land had been let on lease at very low rents to English, and especially to Scotch Protestants. About 1717 and 1718 these leases began to fall in. Rents were usually doubled, and often trebled . . . For nearly three-quarters of a century the drain of this energetic Protestant population continued."—Lecky, Vol. 2, p. 260. Amer. ed., pp. 283, 284.

² Harrison, pp. 90, 91. Reid, James. History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Ch. XXVI. Lecky, v. 2, p. 201. Am. ed., pp. 284 and 285. (Lecky refers to Killen's Ecclesiastical History, II., 261, 262.)

36

[April,

and intellect of the country have in consequence seldom or never been enlisted in a common cause."—Lecky, Vol. II., p. 405. Am. ed., pp. 440 and 441. Travellers tell us that to-day in sections of Ulster the population is Scotch and not Irish. Honorable Leonard A. Morrison of Canobie Lake, N. H., writes me, May S, 1895, as follows: "I am one of Scotch-Irish blood and my ancestor came with Rev. McGregor of Londonderry" (N. H.), "and neither they nor any of their descendants were willing to be called 'merely Irish.' I have twice visited the parish of Aghadowey, Co. Londonderry, from which they came, in Ireland, and all that locality is filled, not with 'Irish' but with Scotch-Irish, and this is pure Scotch blood to-day, after more than 200 years." Mr. Morrison is the author of a history of the Scotch-Irish town of Windham, N. H., and of several other valuable and interesting books, most of them largely genealogical.

containing probably about seven hundred and fifty emigrants from the north of Ireland.¹ These were nearly all Scotch-Irish. Their arrival was not unexpected, for, before coming, they had sent over a messenger to Governor Shute and been encouraged to come. A portion of the emigrants had resolved to unite in forming a settlement, and to place themselves under the pastoral care of Rev. James MacGregor, a Presbyterian minister who came over with them. Sixteen or twenty families from among these, embarked in a brigantine and sailed east in search of a suitable site for a town, the remainder going for the present to Andover and Dracut. The party in the brigantine explored a considerable portion of the coast of Maine and, as cold weather came on, concluded to winter in Casco Bay at Falmouth, now Port-They had a hard winter there and when spring came land. determined, with some exceptions, to seek a place of settlement with a milder and otherwise more agreeable climate. They sailed west, entered the Merrimack River and came to Haverhill. Here they heard of the town of Nutfield, now Londonderry, New Hampshire. Having examined the place, they determined to settle there. Here they were joined by the members of their party who had gone temporarily into the country, including Rev. Mr. MacGregor, and laid the foundations of a prosperous town. Londonderry. grew rapidly, Scotch-Irishmen already in this country flocking to it, and emigrants of that race coming from the north of Ireland to New England generally choosing it as their place of settlement.

Another portion of the emigrants who came to Boston in 1718 went to Worcester, Massachusetts, to live. Professor Arthur L. Perry, of Williamstown, whose father was born in Worcester and whose family is one of the old families of the place, himself a descendant of one of the Scotch-Irish settlers in Worcester and an interested student of the quali-

¹ Perry, Arthur L. The Scotch-Irish in New England. In Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 109.

[April,

ties and career of that portion of the early inhabitants of the town, estimates that more than 200 Scotch-Irish people¹ went to Worcester in 1718; they probably outnumbering the population already there, who are represented as occupying fifty-eight log houses.²

At the time when these inhabitants went to Worcester, the people of that place were making a third attempt at settlement, they having been dispersed twice before by the Indians; and the town was not organized until It appears by the town records that some September, 1722. of the officers chosen in the earliest town meetings were That element of the population was not Scotch-Irishmen. popular, however, and although the government of the Province was glad to have this addition to the number of the inhabitants of a frontier town exposed to the depredations of Indians, and although the older occupants of the place may have looked with favor at first upon the coming of the Scotch-Irish, the newcomers soon came to be disliked and were treated with marked inhospitality. They were of a different race; there was an especial prejudice against the Irish which worked to their disadvantage, although they were in reality, most of them, Scotchmen, who had merely lived in Ireland. The habits of the foreigners were different from those of the older inhabitants. They differed also in the form of their religion, and although staunch Protestants the Congregationalists, who made up the earlier settiers, were not ready to tolerate the Presbyterianism of the newcomers.

The Scotch-Irish were treated so inhospitably in Worcester that, while a considerable number of them remained there, the larger portion went away, some to Coleraine, many to Pelham;³ and, after the destruction of the church they were building, many others to Western (now Warren),

¹Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 111, comp. with p. 110.

² Lincoln's History of Worcester, p. 46 (which gives the Proprietary Records as its authority).

⁸ See, particularly for Pelham, Holland, J. G. History of Western Massachusetts.

Blandford and other towns where they could live more comfortably and enjoy a larger liberty. They introduced the potato, so generally known in this vicinity as the Irish potato, into Worcester¹ as well as into Andover, Massachusetts, and other towns and parts of the country where they settled. They are said to have made spinning fashionable in Boston.

Dr. Matthew Thornton, the distinguished New Hampshire statesman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was brought to this country by his father when only two or three years old. He received an "academical"² education in Worcester and after studying medicine settled down in Londonderry, New Hampshire, to practise his profession.³ 'At the second annual town meeting in Worcester, held in March, 1724, James McClellan, the great-great-great Scotch-Irish grandfather of General George B. McClellan, was chosen a constable. Honorable George T. Bigelow, a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, through his grandmother, the wife of Colonel Timothy Bigelow, a revolutionary soldier of local reputation, was descended from one of the members of the Scotch-Irish colony in Worcester. Professor Perry has also announced the discovery that the great botanist

² Parker's History of Londonderry, p. 248.

8 Ibid., pp. 247, 248.

¹According to tradition, the potato was introduced into Worcester by one of a few families of Celtic-Irish who accompanied the Scotch-Irish when they went to Worcester. Although the potato is indigenous in the southern portion of America and was carried from this continent to Europe in the 16th century, little or nothing seems to have been known about it in New England when the band of Scotch-Irish came to Boston in 1718. Some interesting stories are told by Lincoln in his History of Worcester (p. 49), and by Parker in his History of Londonderry, N. H. (p. 49), about the fears of early settlers of Worcester Massachusetts, that the potato was poisonous; and about ignorance of the character oft he vegetable, shown by settlers in Andover in their cooking the balls of the plant instead of the tubers. See, also, Lewis's History of Lynn, Massachusetts, "Annals," year 1718. The potato does not seem to have been generally used in Ireland until many years after 1718. Naturally the common potato, having been introduced by emigrants from Ireland, came to be quite generally denominated the Irish potato, to distinguish it from the sweet potato. That name is used to a considerable extent to-day.

Asa Gray was a great-great-grandson of the first Scotch-Irish Matthew Gray of Worcester.

There are in Worcester to-day two old houses which are believed to have been built and occupied by the early Scotch-Irish residents, Andrew McFarland and Robert Blair.

It is an interesting fact that Abraham Blair and William Caldwell, of Worcester, and several of the inhabitants of Londonderry, N. H., as survivors of the brave men who defended Londonderry, Ireland, in 1689, were, with their heirs, freed from taxation, by Act of Parliament, in British Provinces, and occupied what were here known until the Revolution as "exempt farms."

As has been related, a few of the Scotch-Irish emigrants who came to Boston in the vessels which arrived August 4, 1718, settled in Maine, a large portion went to Londonderry, N. H., and two hundred or so to Worcester. A considerable number, however, remained in Boston, and, uniting with those of their countrymen of their own faith already there, formed the religious society which was known as the Presbyterian Church in Long Lane-afterwards Federal That Church became Congregational in 1786, and, Street. on April 4, 1787, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the founder and one of its officers until his death, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was installed as its pastor. This is the same society which later had William Ellery Channing for its minister, and the successor to which is the Unitarian body which worships in the stone New England meetinghouse on Arlington Street.

In 1719 and 1720 several hundred families of Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland were landed on the shores of the Kennebec River in Maine in accordance with arrangements made by an Irish gentleman, Robert Temple.¹ They

¹ Honorable Edward L. Pierce calls my attention to Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, Vol. 2, p. 540, where it is stated that our "Captain Robert Temple came over in 1717 with a number of Scotch-Irish emigrants."

were soon dispersed by Indians and a large portion of the settlers went to Pennsylvania, and considerable numbers to Londonderry and other places. Some remained in Maine, however. This immigration is of particular interest to members of this Society, for its conductor, Robert Temple, was the ancestor of our second president, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and his son, Robert Charles Winthrop, who has for so long a time taken a marked interest in our proceedings and whose loss is fresh in our memories to-day.

From 1629 to 1632 Colonel Dunbar was governor of Sagadahoc, a tract of land lying between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers. He was a Scotch-Irishman, and made some of his countrymen large owners of land in the territory under him. They in turn introduced, in the course of two or three years, one hundred and fifty families into the territory. These were mostly Scotch-Irish, and came partly from older settlements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and partly from Ireland. Numerous descendants of the settlers are to be found to-day in the territory which Dunbar governed, and others are scattered over the whole State of Maine.

Samuel Waldo, a member of a family well known in Boston and Worcester, was probably the last person to introduce a colony of the Scotch-Irish people into Maine prior to the Revolution. He owned large tracts of land between the Penobscot and St. George rivers. His first settlers, who went upon his lands in 1735, were Scotch-Irish, some recent immigrants, some who had been in the country since 1718. Their posterity are excellent citizens. Some of the persons wrecked in the "Grand Design" from the north of Ireland, on Mt. Desert, settled on Waldo's lands. In 1753, Samuel Waldo formed in Scotland a company of sixty adults and a number of children to settle on his possessions.

Our lamented Scotch-Irish associate, Governor Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N. H., in the address which he made

[April,

at the 150th anniversary of the settlement of old Nutfield (Londonderry), June 10, 1869, calls attention to the fact of "the prodigious increase in numbers which the descendants of the early Londonderry stock have attained, in the four or five generations which have passed away since the colony, of such slender proportions, was formed." "It is estimated," he said, "by persons best qualified to pronounce upon the subject, that the aggregate, in every section, would now fall little short of 50,000 souls."¹

Certain it is that a large portion of the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine, and a considerable portion of those in Massachusetts, as well as many persons in Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut have had Scotch-Irish ancestors. When this people has settled in some part of our country it has sent out colonies. Parker, the historian of Londonderry, says that "during the period of twentyfive years preceding the Revolution, ten distinct settlements were made by emigrants from Londonderry, all of which have become towns of influence and importance in the State."²

In the first third of the seventeenth century Sir William Alexander, a favorite of James the First, tried to found a new Scotland in America. The only existing memorial of that attempt is the name of Nova Scotia.³ A more successful effort was made after the forced evacuation of the French from that province in 1755. About the year 1760, a party of Scotch-Irishmen, many of them from Londonderry, N. H., started a permanent settlement at Truro. Among the settlers from Londonderry were several Archibalds, members of a family which has held a distinguished place in the public life of Nova Scotia.⁴ Among the pio-

¹The Londonderry Celebration, p. 16.

² Parker, Edward L. The History of Londonderry, p. 99.

⁸ For an account of the work done in America under the auspices of Sir William Alexander, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, for the year 1892, Vol. X., Section 2, pp. 79-107. ⁴ Parker's Londonderry, p. 200.

neers was Captain William Blair also, a son of Colonel Robert Blair, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and grandson of Colonel Robert Blair, one of the defenders of Londonderry, Ireland.¹ Other Scotch-Irish settlers followed, and their descendants became numerous, and peopled neighboring towns.

West & do

October 9, 1761, Colonel Alexander McNutt, an agent of the British government, arrived in Halifax with more than 300 settlers from the north of Ireland. In the following spring some of these went to Londonderry, Onslow, and September 15, 1773, the "Hector," the first emi-Truro.² grant ship from Scotland to come to Nova Scotia, arrived in the harbor of Pictou. The pioneers who came in that vessel formed the beginning of a stream of emigrants from Scotland which flowed over the county of Pictou, the eastern portions of the province, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, portions of New Brunswick and even the upper provinces.³ A large portion of these emigrants, however, came from the Highlands of Scotland, and, although they formed a valuable part of the population of Nova Scotia and other provinces, were of a somewhat different blood from the Lowland Scotch and their matured countrymen, the Scotch-Irish.

A very considerable portion of the people of Canada are of the Scotch-Irish race. There are in every province, it is said, centres almost entirely settled by people of that extraction. That is the case with Colchester County in Nova Scotia, in which Truro, of which I have spoken, is situated. It is so with Simcoe County in Ontario. Rev. Stuart Acheson, who was a settled pastor in the last named county for ten years, states that in his "First Essa Church"⁴ all the families but one were Scotch-Irish. New Brunswick

¹ Miller, Thomas. Historical and Genealogical Record of the first settlers of Colchester County, etc., p. 167.

² Miller, p. 15.

4 3d Scotch-Irish Cong., p. 210.

⁸ Patterson, George. History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia, p. 82.

[April,

has her share of this race. It should be added, that the Counties in the Dominion of Canada in which this people have lived have been leaders in civilization.

There is an incident in Canadian history in which two distinguished Scotch-Irishmen figured conspicuously. Sir Guy Carleton, whom we remember in the United States as the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army at the close of the Revolution, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec in 1767, and while holding that office earned for himself the title of Saviour of Canada. He was born at Strabane, in the County of Tyrone, in Ireland. Richard Montgomery, his companion in arms at the siege of Quebec when it was taken by Wolfe, was born not more than seven miles away, at Conroy.¹ These two Scotch-Irishmen, fel-

¹This statement and several particulars of the incidents in the lives of Carleton and Montgomery given immediately after were taken from a paper entitled The Scotch-Irish in Canada, by Rev. Stuart Acheson, M.A., of Toronto, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., pp. 195-212. John Armstrong, the writer of the life of Richard Montgomery in The Library of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks, states that Richard and his two brothers were sons of Thomas Montgomery of Conroy House. The father does not seem to have owned that place, however; it came to his son Alexander from his cousin. (See Burke's Landed Gentry [1886], Vol. 11., The late Mr. Henry Manners Chichester states in the article p. 1288.) "Montgomery, Richard," in Dictionary of National Biography, that the latter was born at Swords, near Feltrim, Co. Dublin. One cannot help wondering whether Mr. Acheson, if he has not merely followed Armstrong or some other biographer, has not confounded Richard Montgomery with his elder brother Alexander. The suspicion arises readily because cruel acts said to have been performed in Canada by Alexander Montgomery were ascribed to Richard (see Montcalm and Wolfe, by Francis Parkman, Vol. II., p. 261). Of course it is not impossible that the statement of Mr. Acheson, although it may not be strictly true, leaves a correct impression, for Richard Montgomery may have spent considerable portions of his younger days with his brother at Conroy. For Richard Montgomery see, as above, Montgomery of Beaulieu, Burke's Landed Gentry (1886), Vol. II., p. 1288. See, also, "Ancestry of General Richard Montgomery," by Thomas H. Montgomery, in the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record" (July, 1871), where, it is stated, his relationship to the ancestral Scottish family is traced. For Guy Carleton, see Burke's Peerage, under Lord Dorchester. It is very difficult to be perfectly accurate, with information now readily accessible, in respect to statements regarding the Scotch-Irish, and it is evident that men who came from the north of Ireland, or descendants from such persons, have been not infrequently claimed as of Scotch extraction, without sufficient investigation,

low-soldiers at first, became formidable focs later. In the latter part of the year 1775, General Montgomery, as is well known, led an army of the disaffected colonies into Canada. Guy Carleton was in command of the Canadian forces which opposed him. They were both brave and able men. Montgomery had the advantage at first; he took Montreal and other places, and succeeded in placing his army between Carleton's troops and Quebec. The latter general's position seemed desperate. But he was equal to the occasion. You have often heard the story of his action at this juncture of affairs. Disguised as a French Canadian peasant or as a fisherman, with a faithful aide-de-camp also disguised, he got into a little boat to go down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. He reached Three Rivers, and found it full of the enemy. He and his companion stayed long enough in the place to take some refreshments and then, unrecognized, continued their journey. Finally they overhauled two schooners flying the British flag, were taken aboard and carried to Quebec. Montgomery united with Benedict Arnold, who had made a futile attempt to take the citadel of Quebec, at Pointe aux Trembles and, together, they proceeded to make another attempt to take Quebec. They reached the Plains of Abraham, and demanded its surrender. Carleton declined to surrender. After battering the walls of the citadel for a short time ineffectually. Montgomery determined to storm the town. You recall the

and when they had but little Scotch blood. Many of the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland were of Huguenot, Welsh, English, and other extractions. I have taken reasonable pains to be accurate, but cannot hope that I have been perfectly so. Two things are evident, however, namely, that very large numbers of emigrants from Ireland of Scotch blood came to this country in the 18th century, and that they exerted a great influence here for good, particularly in the Southern Middle and Southern Atlantic States. It may also be added, without disparagement of the good qualities of men of other extractions, that the powerful and beneficent influence which, they exerted was largely the result of peculiarly Scottish characteristics. It is also not improbable that many persons without Scotch blood in their veins came from being trained in childhood and boyhood in Scotch communities, to have what we recognize as Scotch characteristics.

[April,

failure of the attempt, and the tragic end of Montgomery. As he and his men came under the fire of the enemy its cannon greeted them with a destructive discharge, and the brave general and many of his men were laid low in death.¹ After the battle Carleton sought out, amid the winter snow, the body of his fellow-countryman and neighbor, and, paying the tribute of one Scotch-Irishman to another Scotch-Irishman, had it buried with military honors.

In 1682, William Penn interested a number of prominent Scotchmen in a scheme for colonizing the eastern section of New Jersey. "These Scotchmen," says Douglas Campbell, "sent over a number of settlers who have largely given character to this sturdy little State, not the least of their achievements being the building-up, if not the nominal founding, of Princeton College, which has contributed so largely to the scholarship of America."²

While considerable numbers of the Scotch-Irish emigrated to New England in the great exodus from Ireland during the fifty or sixty years prior to the American Revolution, the great body of those coming here entered the continent by way of Philadelphia. Penn's Colony was more hospitable to immigrants of faiths differing from the prevalent belief of its inhabitants, than were most of the New England provinces.

Then, too, the Scotch-Irish emigrants were mostly farmers, and did not find New England so favorable from an agricultural point of view as some of the middle and southern colonies.

Immigrants came in such numbers to Philadelphia as to frighten James Logan, the Scotch-Irish³ Quaker Governor

³ Professor George Macloskie in Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., p. 97.

¹ Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., p. 202. (Paper by Stuart Acheson.) The writer would seem to have been mistaken in supposing that Montgomery was killed by shot fired from the guns of Fort Diamond on the summit of the citadel.

² Baird, Rev. Robert, Religion in the United States of America, p. 154, as referred to by Campbell, Vol. II., p. 484.

of Pennsylvania from 1699 to 1749. He complains in 1725 that "it looks as if Ireland were to send all her inhabitants hither; if they will continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province."¹ The bold stream of settlers who came to Philadelphia, flowed westward and occupied considerable portions of the province of Pennsylvania.

11.11.11 CA 19.5

It is said of Pittsburg that it is Scotch-Irish in "substantial origin, in complexion and history,—Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living and the records of the dead."²

It is estimated that at the time of the Revolution onethird of the population of Pennsylvania was Scotch-Irish.

A large portion of the emigrants who came from the north of Ireland to Philadelphia, went south. This was especially the case after Braddock's defeat in 1755, made the Indians bold and aggressive in the west.

A very large portion of the people in the South Atlantic States are of Scotch-Irish extraction.

During many years of the eighteenth century a stream of emigrants flowed south, through Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and across the Savannah river, into Georgia. Their movements were parallel with the lines of the Blue Ridge.

In Maryland they settled, mainly, in the narrow slip of land in the western part of the State, although they were to be found scattered through all portions of the province.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and the earlier years of the eighteenth centuries there were many Scotch-Irish residents in Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge mountains; some were even settled west of that range. In 1738 began a movement which completely filled the valley

¹ Macloskie, in First Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 95. Professor Macloskie speaks of Logan as a Scotch-Irish Quaker who was "a native of County Armagh, Ireland."

² The Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania. John Dalzell, in Second Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 175.

American Antiquarian Society. [April,

west of the Blue Ridge, from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, with men of that race, excepting the lower portion, which was occupied by Germans.

In the year 1736, Henry McCullock, from the province of Ulster, obtained a grant of 64,000 acres in the present County of Duplin, North Carolina, and introduced upon it between three and four thousand of his Scotch-Irish countrymen from the north of Ireland.

Besides the large number of emigrants of this nationality who came, through Virginia from Pennsylvania, into North Carolina, many ships filled with Scotch-Irish passengers from the north of Ireland came into Charleston and other southern ports, and the emigrants moving north met those coming south from Pennsylvania and settled with them in North Carolina and other southern States.

Our associate, William Wirt Henry, in speaking of the Scotch-Irish, says: "So great was the population of the race in North Carolina before the Revolution, that they may be said to have given direction to her history. With their advent, began the educational history of the State."

Dr. David Ramsay, an ardent patriot in Revolutionary times, like the New Hampshire physician, Matthew Thornton, wrote much, as is well known, about the history of South Carolina. He says, as quoted by Henry, in speaking of pre-revolutionary times, that "scarce a ship sailed from any of 'the ports of Ireland' for Charleston, that was not crowded with men, women, and children." He speaks, too, of a thousand emigrants who came in a single year from Pennsylvania and Virginia, driving their horses, cattle and hogs before them and who were assigned places in the western woods of the province. These, says They were distinguished by Henry, were Scotch-Irish. economy and industry, and the portion of the province occupied by them soon became its most populous part.

¹ The Scotch-Irish of the South, by William Wirt Henry, in First Scotch-Irish Congress, pp. 123, 124.

Ramsay says, that to this element in the population, "South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers and schoolmasters were from North Britain."¹

The early settlers of South Carolina were largely Huguenots; the province seems to have been generously peopled, too, by the Scotch-Irish, a race which was connected by a religious tie to the Huguenots, both being warm Calvinists.

The prosperity of Georgia has been largely owing to Scotch-Irish settlers and their descendants.

The pioneers of Kentucky were mainly from Virginia and North Carolina, and its population is largely Scotch-Irish in its ancestry. The first settlers of Tennessee crossed over the mountains from North Carolina and with subsequent emigrants made that State one of those, a very large portion of whose people are of the same race. Mississippi and Alabama, Florida, Arkansas and Missouri, were settled at first by emigrants from adjacent States and have all of them, naturally, a considerable Scotch-Irish element in their population.

Texas was conquered by a Scotch-Irishman, General Sam Houston,² and has many families of Scotch-Irish ancestry within its borders. There are many representatives of this race in other States, such as Ohio, Iowa, Minnesota and California. The race has been prolific and, being of a hardy, brave and adventurous spirit, has gone everywhere throughout the country.

The story of Cherry Valley, a little town in New York that was settled by Scotch-Irishmen in 1741, is very interesting, but I have no time to tell it.³

¹ Ramsay as quoted by Henry, First Cong. of the Scotch-Irish, p. 125.

²" His" (Houston's) "ancestors on his father's and mother's side are traced back to the Highlands of Scotland." They emigrated to the north of Ireland. "Here they remained until the siege of Derry, in which they were engaged, when they emigrated to Pennsylvania."—D. C. Kelley in Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 145.

⁸ From this town came the ancestors of the late Douglas Campbell, a descendant of one of the defenders of Londonderry, Ireland, whose recently $\frac{4}{4}$

The Scotch-Irish settlers who came to this country repaired, for the most part, to the frontiers of the colonies. This is true of those who went to the Middle and South Atlantic States, where they were found mainly in their western portions. It was true, also, of such as came to Maine, to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and to Worcester, Massachusetts. The result was that it was in very large measure people of this nationality who were engaged in the Indian struggles which preceded the Revolution.

We find men of this race actively engaged in the Old French war, which began in 1744, and in the later contest between Great Britain and France on this continent, upon the renewal of hostilities in 1756. Thus, soldiers from Londonderry served under Pepperell in the expedition During the later attempt upon against Cape Breton. Crown Point, three companies of hardy men, who had adroitness in traversing woods, were selected from the New Hampshire regiment to act as rangers. Many of the men selected were from the Scotch-Irish town of Londonderry, and the three captains, Robert Rogers, John Stark, and William Stark, had all been residents of the same place. The two latter were brothers and sons of an early Scotch-Irish inhabitant of the town.¹ Rogers, a brave and skilful officer, was soon made Major, and his body of rangers performed active and efficient service. A company of soldiers from Londonderry aided in the reduction of Canada in the campaign when Quebec was taken by Wolfe.

In the Colonial wars which preceded the Revolution, it is stated that the soldiers of Virginia were principally drawn

published work, The Puritan in England, Holland and America, has attracted considerable attention. The last chapter of his volumes is an interesting summary of much that has become known about the Scotch-Irish in the United States.—See Campbell, Vol. II., p. 432, note. American Ancestry. (J. Munsell's Sons.) Vol. 8, 1893, p. 156.

¹ Parker (p. 239) says that Archibald Stark, the father of William and John Stark, was, like many of the early emigrants to Londonderry, N. H., $\frac{1}{2}$ " a native of Scotland, and emigrated while young to Londonderry in Ireland."

50

[April,

from the Scotch-Irish settlements in the valley west of the Blue Ridge and in the Piedmont Counties. Previous to the encounter at Lexington, three British soldiers deserted from the army in Boston and found their way to Londonderry. Their hiding place was disclosed and a detachment of soldiers was sent from Boston to arrest them. They were taken prisoners, but had not gone far before a company of young men, which had been hurriedly raised in Londonderry, by Captain James Aiken, caught up with their captors and demanded and secured their release. The rescued men afterwards lived unmolested in Londonderry.¹ As soon as the news of the battle of Lexington reached New Hampshire, 1200 troops immediately repaired to Cambridge and Charlestown. Among these was a large company from Londonderry, commanded by George Reed, who upon the organization of the troops at Cambridge was made a Colonel. The New Hampshire Convention held at Exeter, April 25, 1775, formed the troops of that State then near Boston, into two regiments under the command of Colonels Reed and Stark, natives of Londonderry.

At the first call of Congress for soldiers to defend Boston, Daniel Morgan, of Scotch-Irish blood,² immediately raised a company of riflemen among his people in the lower valley of Virginia, and by a forced march of six hundred miles reached the beleaguered town in three weeks.

The back or upper counties of Virginia were Scotch-Irish. Their representatives got control of the House of Burgesses, and it was by their votes, and under the leadership of the young Scotchman,³ Patrick Henry, that were passed, in opposition to the combined efforts of the old

¹ Parker, p. 104.

² W. W. Henry, in Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., p. 118.

³ William Wirt Henry writes in the article "Henry, Patrick," in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, of Patrick Henry: "His father, John Henry, was a Scotchman, son of Alexander Henry and Jean Robertson, a cousin of the historian William Robertson and of the mother of Lord Brougham."

[April,

leaders of the province, those resolutions denying the validity of the Stamp Act, which roused the continent.¹

While it cannot be allowed that the Scotch-Irish people of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, passed resolutions May 20, 1775, declaring their independence of Great Britain, it is certain that on the 31st of that month they uttered patriotic sentiments fully abreast of the time.²

The men of this race showed these sentiments everywhere throughout the Colonies. Four months before the passage of the resolutions in Mecklenburg County, the freeholders of Fincastle County, Virginia, presented an address to the Continental Congress in which they declared, that if an attempt were made to dragoon them out of the privileges to which they were entitled as subjects of Great Britain and to reduce them to slavery, they were "deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power on earth but at the expense of" their "lives."³

It was seventeen days before the Declaration of Independence that eighty-three able-bodied men of the Scotch-Irish town of Peterborough, N. H., signed this resolution :

"We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the risk of our lives and fortune, with ARMS, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the united Colonies."⁴

It has been suggested that even after the Declaration of Independence had been adopted by Congress, it would not have been signed and promulgated but for the action of John Witherspoon, one of the delegates from New Jersey, the President of Princeton College, a Scotch Presbyterian

⁴ Parker, p. 186.

¹ Henry in First Scotch-Irish Cong., p. 118.

²Narrative and Critical History of America, Ed. by Justin Winsor, v. 6, pp. 256, 257, note.

³ Professor Henry Alexander White, in Scotch-Irish in America, Second Cong., p. 232.

clergyman and a descendant of John Knox. Seeing how the other representatives held back, he rose in his place, you remember, and declaring that as his gray head must soon bow to the fate of all, he preferred that it should go by the axe of the executioner rather than that the cause of independence should not prevail.¹

Several Scotchmen and Scotch-Irishmen signed the Declaration. Professor Macloskie, a Scotch-Irish professor in Princeton College, states that the "Declaration of Independence as we have it to-day is in the handwriting of a Scotch-Irishman, Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress; was first printed by Captain Thomas Dunlap, another Scotch-Irishman, who published the first daily newspaper in America; a third Scotch-Irishman, Captain John Nixon, of Philadelphia, first read it to the people."²

The Scotch-Irish came to this country full of bitter feeling towards the government of Great Britain. They had been oppressed by that government and they believed that it had wickedly broken faith with them. They hated, too, the hierarchy of the Church of England. Presbyterians as they were, they had been oppressed by that hierarchy. They sympathized, also, with the Puritans of New England, who regarded the presence here of bishops and other ecclesiastics of the Church of England as the presence of the emissaries of a foreign power that was trying to reduce them to subjection.

It was largely through Scotch-Irish influence and support that religious liberty was established in Virginia and elsewhere throughout this country. These showed themselves when, in 1776, Patrick Henry, a Scotchman, as before

¹This anecdote appears in a number of places. (See, e.g., Craighead's Scotch and Irish Seeds, etc., p. 334.) It may be found with the particular turn given to it here in The Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., pp. 182, 183, in an address by Colonel A. K. M'Clure, of Philadelphia.

² Professor George Macloskie, Princeton College, to whom Campbell declares himself indebted for the information given. See Campbell, Vol. II., p. 487 (note). See, also, The Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, p. 95.

[April,

stated, led in the movement which secured the insertion in the famous Bill of Rights of Virginia of the declaration that one of the inalienable rights of man is his right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

It was through the pressure of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians that Jefferson, in the next session of the assembly, was prompted to write, and by their votes that he secured the passage of, the act for the establishment of religious liberty, which has done so much to effect the divorce of Church and State in Virginia and throughout the Union.

In contemplating the wide-reaching results of the example set here in America, Mr. William Wirt Henry is led to add to a statement similar to the one just made, "Thus there was completed by the Scotch-Irish in Virginia, in 1776, the Reformation commenced by Luther two hundred and fifty years before."¹

The Scotch-Irish, as you would imply from what I have said before, entered into the contest of the Revolution, not only to uphold civil and religious liberty, but also with a zeal inspired by an ardent desire to pay off old scores.² The Scotch-Irish served in great numbers in the Continental army and in the militia of the several States during the Revolution, and the achievements of their officers and men were often brilliant. When the British landed at Charlestown "the two New Hampshire regiments were ordered to join the forces on Breed's Hill. A part were detached to throw up a work on Bunker Hill, and the remainder under" the Colonels born in Londonderry, "Stark and Reed, joined the Connecticut forces under General Putnam, and the regiment of Colonel Prescott, at

¹ Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., p. 123.

² Froude says: "But throughout the revolted colonies, and; therefore, probably in the first to begin the struggle, all evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish whom the bishops and Lord Donegal and Company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster." –The English in Ireland in the 18th Century, by J. A. Froude, Vol. II., p. 141 (English ed.).

the rail-fence. 'This was the very point of the British attack, the key of the American position.'"¹

Again, it was John Stark who hurriedly gathered together 1,400 well-trained militia from New Hampshire and Vermont, and instead of making Molly Stark a widow, beat the detachment of troops which Burgoyne had sent to Bennington, giving the Americans the much needed inspiration of a victory. In less than two months followed the battle of Saratoga, October 7, 1777. Burgoyne was conducting an armed reconnoissance and much fighting ensued. The right of the British line was commanded by the brave Scotchman. General Simon Fraser. On the left of the American troops was the equally brave Scotch-Irish Colonel Morgan, with his regiment of sharpshooters. The Scotch-Irish in America were generally fine marksmen.² Seeing that an officer on an iron gray charger was active in the fight and . that wherever he went he turned the tide of battle, Morgan, calling to some of the best men in his regiment, pointed to the officer, and said, "Bring him down." At the crack of a faithful rifle the gallant British officer reeled in his saddle and fell. That officer was Simon Fraser, the idol of Burgoyne's army.³ Burgoyne was now in straits, and failing to receive hoped-for aid from Sir Henry Clinton, surrendered his army on the 17th of the month.

A distinguished member of this Society⁴ has labored hard, during the last few years, in forcible and eloquent speech, to secure for the pioneer settler of the Northwestern Territory, General Rufus Putman, of Rutland, Massachusetts,

1895.7

⁸ William Wirt Henry in First Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 119. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, Vol. I., p. 62.

4 Hon. George F. Hoar.

¹ Parker, p. 106.

² Parker quotes from an unnamed writer the following words as written about the troops under Colonels Stark and Reed at Bunker Hill: "Almost every soldier equalled William Tell as a marksman, and could aim his weapon at an opposer with as keen a relish. Those from the frontiers had gained this address against the savages and beasts of the forests."—Parker's History of Londonderry, p. 106.

[April,

due recognition of what he regards as his great merits as an officer in the Revolutionary army, and his inestimable services in giving a proper tone to the settlements in the northwest. It is interesting to mention in connection with this fact another fact, namely, that the Northwestern Territory, then claimed by Virginia, was taken possession of in 1778, in an ever memorable campaign, by the great soldier, Colonel George Rogers Clark, of Scotch descent,¹ and two hundred brave men of the Scotch-Irish race whom he had collected for his secret expedition, in Augusta County, Virginia, and in Kentucky, at the command of the Scotch governor, Patrick Henry.

It would be a pleasant task to speak at length of the exploits, during the Revolution, of officers and men from the Middle and Southern States, of Scotch-Irish extraction, for a majority of the troops who served on the American side, from Pennsylvania and the States south of it, seem to have been of that nationality. I can only mention, however, the battle of King's Mountain, which was fought by a body of troops composed of Huguenots and of Scotch-Irish volunteers. This battle took place the 7th of October, 1780, just three years after the memorable engagement at Saratoga, and, like the earlier contest, was a turning point in the affairs of the Americans. That battle was the forerunner of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and stood in causal relations to it, just as the battle of Saratoga resulted in the capture of the army of Burgoyne.

¹ Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, writes to the author of this paper, as follows:---

"According to all family traditions, John Clark, great-grandfather of George Rogers Clark, came to Virginia in 1630, from the southwest part of Scotland. According to one tradition, a few years later, he visited friends in Maryland, and married there 'a red-haired Scotch woman.' George Rogers Clark himself, had 'sandy' hair; another tradition has it, that the woman was a Dane. Their one son, William John, died early, leaving two sons, John(²) and Jonathan. Jonathan was a bachelor, and left his estate to his brother's son, John(³). One of William John's daughters married a Scotch settler, McCloud, and their daughter married John Rogers, father of the Ann Rogers who married John Clark(⁴), her cousin, and thus she became the mother of George Rogers Clark. So George Rogers Clark had Scotch ancestry on both sides of the house."

Besides the officers already mentioned, the Scotch-Irish contributed to the Continental army during the Revolution such men as General Henry Knox of Massachusetts,¹ General George Clinton of New York,² and, as claimed on apparently good grounds, Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland, who changed the fortunes of the day at the battle of Cowpens, Colonel William Campbell of Virginia, who won the battle of King's Mountain, and General Andrew Pickens of South Carolina.³

"After the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the various States proceeded to form their independent governments. Then the Scotch-Irish gave to New York her first governor, George Clinton, who filled the position for seven terms, of three years each, and died during his second term of office as Vice-President of the United

² American Ancestry, Vol. VI., 1891, p. 52.

⁸General Anthony Wayne, the brave hero of Stony Point, is commonly spoken of as a Scotch-Irishman. His father was born in Wicklow County, Ireland. There was a tradition in the family that the Waynes were of Welsh origin. They may have intermarried with persons of Scotch blood, however. (See American Ancestry, Vol. IV., p. 75.) General John Sullivan of Maine and New Hampshire, older brother of Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts, is sometimes claimed as a Scotch-Irishman. He certainly was Irish, but I do not find that he was Scotch also. In Craighead's Scotch and Irish Sceds in American Soil, Rev. Dr. Smith is quoted as saying that General Morgan, the hero of Cowpens, and General Pickens, who made the arrangements for that battle, were "both Presbyterian elders," and that "nearly all under their command were Presbyterians." (p. 342.) Dr. Smith is also quoted as saying, that " in the battle of King's Mountain, Colonel Campbell" and several other high officers were Presbyterian elders, and that "the body of their troops were collected from Presbyterian settlements." (p. 342.) General Wayne is mentioned as a Presbyterian. (p. 340.) Of course there were many Presbyterians not of Scotch or Scotch-Irish blood, but men of those races who emigrated to America and their families were for the most part of that denomination. The picturesque Kentuckian, Daniel Boone, is often spoken of as a Scotch-Irishman. It is well known that the late Lyman C. Draper had unusual facilities for finding out the truth in regard to the Boones. Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites writes me from Madison, Wisconsin, as follows: " Daniel Boone's father was of pure English stock, from Devonshire; his mother, Sarah Morgan, was a Welsh Quaker. Draper's notes clearly indicate that he discarded the Scotch-Irish theory regarding Sarah."

¹See Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, etc., by Francis S. Drake, Boston, 1873, pp. 8, 9.

[April,

States. To Delaware they gave her first governor, John MacKinney. To Pennsylvania they gave her war governor, Thomas McKean, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. To New Jersey Scotland gave her war governor, William Livingston, and to Virginia, Patrick Henry, not only her great war governor" but her civil leader.¹

"It is a noteworthy fact in American history," writes Douglas Campbell, "that of the four members of Washington's cabinet, Knox, of Massachusetts, the only New Englander, was a Scotch-Irishman; Alexander Hamilton of New York was a Scotch-Frenchman; Thomas Jefferson was of Welsh descent; and the fourth, Edmund Randolph, claimed among his ancestors the Scotch Earls of Murray. New York also furnished the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay, who was a descendant of French Huguenots; while the second Chief Justice, John Rutledge, was Scotch-Irish, as were also Wilson and Iredell, two of the four original associate justices; a third, Blair, being of Scotch origin. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, was, like Jefferson, of Welsh descent."²

After the formation of the United States government we find men of the Scotch-Irish race winning honors in war as they had done in the Revolution, and in the earlier contests between France and Great Britain, and with the North American Indians.

At first, the United States had only a nominal army. In the spring of 1792 the number of troops was increased to 5,000, a legionary organization was adopted, and Anthony Wayne was appointed Major-General. With this army General Wayne took the field against the Miami Indians, and overthrew them at the battle of Maumee Rapids on August 20, 1794.

You all remember the stirring picture of the Battle of

¹ Campbell, Vol. II., p. 487.

2 Ibid., p. 481, note.

No. 19 St. Sectors and

Lake Erie in the Capitol at Washington. Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, taking his younger brother Alexander with him and calling to four sailors to row him to the Niagara, is represented, with the flag of his vessel wrapped around his arm, as he passed from the disabled Lawrence in a small boat to the ship next in size to the ruined flag-ship. Going out from Put-in-Bay the 10th of September, 1813, with his whole squadron, he met the British fleet in a memorable naval contest. Himself a young man of twentyeight years of age he was opposed to one of Nelson's Himself a Scotch-Irishman, his opponent, Capveterans. tain Robert H. Barclay, was a Scotchman. The engagement was hot, but at three o'clock in the afternoon the gallant Perry saw the British flag hauled down. For the first time since she had created a navy, Great Britain lost an entire squadron. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," is the familiar line in which Perry announced his victory, in a despatch to General William Henry Harrison. Commodore Perry's mother was Sarah Wallace Alexander, a Scotch woman from the north of Ireland.¹ She became the mother of five sons, all of whom were officers in the Two daughters married Captain United States Navy. George W. Rogers and Dr. William Butler of the U.S. Navy. Dr. Butler was the father of Senator Matthew Calbraith Butler, of South Carolina. After the victory at Lake Erie, some farmers in Rhode Island, you remember, declared, such was the estimation in which they held this woman, that it was "Mrs. Perry's victory."²

The furious battle at the Horse Shoe of the Tallapoosa

² Our Naval Heroes, by D. C. Kelley, in Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress, pp. 114-116. See Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, Ch. 25.

¹Christopher Raymond Perry, the father of Oliver Hazard Perry, met his future wife when confined as a prisoner of war at Newry, Ireland. She was a granddaughter of "James Wallace, an officer in the Scotch army and a signer of the Solemn League and Covenant" who "fled in 1660 with others, from County Ayr to the north of Ireland."—Our Naval Herces, by D. C. Kelley, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fifth Congress, p. 115. See, also, "Ancestry of thirty-three Rhode Islanders," &c., by John Osborne Austin, under Perry.

[April,

River with the Creek Indians, March 27, 1814, brought to the front General Sam Houston, a man of the Scotch-Irish race of whom the country has heard much. Major-General Andrew Jackson, another distinguished Scotch-Irishman,¹ commanded in that battle. Jackson's father, also named Andrew, came from Carrickfergus, on the north coast of Ireland, in 1765. This battle was a signal victory, and soon after a treaty of peace was signed by which the hostile Creeks lost the greater part of their territory. It is unnecessary to speak of General Jackson's success at New Orleans in January of the following year.

It must be stated, however, that General James Miller, who won universal admiration by his gallant attack upon a battery at Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, was Scotch-Irish, a native of Peterborough and out of the loins of Londonderry.² It is he who was subsequently Collector of Customs at Salem for more than twenty years, and of whom Hawthorne speaks so enthusiastically, calling him "New England's most distinguished soldier."³

Zachary Taylor, the popular hero of the Mexican war, is generally reckoned as having been of Scotch-Irish extraction; of that race, too, of course, was Matthew Calbraith Perry, the brother of the victor of the battle of Lake Erie, who ably assisted Scott as a naval commander at Vera

²See in History of the town of Peterborough, N. H., by Albert Smith, "Genealogy and history of Peterborough families," p. 147. In the sketch of General Miller in Smith's history is a letter to his wife Ruth, written from Fort Erie, July 28, 1814, three days after the battle of Lundy's Lane.

8 "The Custom House," introductory to the Scarlet Letter.

¹ Among other places see Andrew Jackson, by D. C. Kelley, in Scotch-Irish in America, Third Congress, p. 182. Andrew Jackson as a Public Man, by William Graham Sumner (American Statesmen Series), Boston: 1882. James Parton in his life of Andrew Jackson says (pp. 47 and 48, vol. 1): "I may as well remark here as anywhere, that the features and shape of head of General Jackson, which ten thousand sign-boards have made familiar to the people of the United States, are common in North Carolina and Tennessee. In the course of a two months' tour in those States among the people of Scotch-Irish descent, I saw more than twenty well-marked specimens of the long, slender Jacksonian head, with the bushy, bristling hair, and the well known features."

Cruz, and who afterwards organized and conducted with marked success the well known expedition to Japan.

Officers and men of the Scotch-Irish race served in large numbers on both sides in the late Civil War, but I cannot stop to mention even the names of the most distinguished.

Mr. Campbell says "of the twenty-three Presidents of the United States, the Scotch-Irish have contributed six— Jackson, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Johnson, Arthur; the Scotch three—Monroe, Grant, Hayes; the Welsh one— Jefferson; and the Hollanders one—Van Buren. Garfield's ancestors on his father's side came from England, but the family line is traced back into Wales; his mother was a French Huguenot. Cleveland's mother was Irish; Benjamin Harrison's mother was Scotch."¹ "The pedigrees of Madison and Lincoln are doubtful."²

Six of the early settlers of the Scotch-Irish town of Londonderry, or their descendants, writes Parker, "have filled the gubernatorial chair of New Hampshire, namely, Matthew Thornton, who was President of the Provincial Congress, in 1775, Jeremiah Smith, 'Samuel Bell, John Bell, Samuel Dinsmore, and Samuel Dinsmore, Jr."³

To these names must be added at least one more, namely, that of our late associate, Governor and United States Senator, Charles Henry Bell, of Exeter, who was the third chief magistrate of New Hampshire, bearing the surname of the ancestor of the three, John Bell of Londonderry, N. H. Our late associate John James Bell, grandson of Governor Samuel Bell and son of Judge Samuel D. Bell, and Hon. Luther V. Bell, formerly Superintendent of the McLean Asylum, Somerville, Massachusetts, were also descendants of John Bell of Londonderry.

¹Campbell, Vol. 2, p. 493, note.

² Ibid. The writer of this paper has not studied the pedigrees of the presidents, but gives the statement made regarding the above as that of an investigator who, while not by any means free from mistakes, is pretty careful in respect to assertions. The same remark should be made regarding some of the other pedigrees contained in other extracts from Mr. Campbell's History.

⁸ Parker, p. 208.

[April,

The Rev. Dr. Joseph MacKean, first President of Bowdoin College, was a native of Londonderry.¹

The venerable Rev. Dr. John H. Morison, of Boston, is of Scotch-Irish extraction and is descended from the father of the first male child born in Londonderry. It is of him that the story is told that after he had delivered an election sermon before the New Hampshire legislature, and it had been moved to print a certain number of copies of the discourse, a member rose and said that he would move that additional copies be printed if the brogue of the preacher could be reproduced.

Horace Greeley, according to Whitelaw Reid, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry on both sides of his house.²

John Caldwell Calhoun, the great Southern statesman, like his sturdy opponent, President Jackson, was of the Scotch-Irish race,³ so were the great inventors, Robert Fulton,⁴ Cyrus H. McCormick,⁵ and Samuel Finley Breese

³ John C. Calhoun was the grandson of James Calhoun, who is said to have emigrated from Donegal, Ireland, in 1733 (John C. Calhoun, by Dr. H. von Holst, p. S.) John C. Calhoun was the son of Patrick Calhoun, whom James Parton, in his Famous Americans of Recent Times speaks of (pp. 117, 118) as a Scotch. Irishman, who, with Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson, other Scotch-Irishmen, illustrates well the "North of Ireland" character. Patrick Calhoun was a Presbyterian like his father (J. Randolph Tucker, in article "Calhoun, John Caldwell" in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography). In 1770, Patrick Calhoun (von Holst, p. 8,) married Martha Caldwell, who, says John S. Jenkins in his Life of John Caldwell Calhoun (p. 21), was a daughter of a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who, according to Tucker, was an emigrant from Ireland.

4 "Robert Fulton was born in Little Britain, Lancaster Co., Pa., 1765. He was of respectable though not wealthy family. His father and mother were of Scotch-Irish blood. Their families were supposed to be a part of the great emigration from Ireland in 1730-31. The Fulton family were probably among the early settlers of the town of Lancaster, as the father of Robert Fulton was one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church of that place."—The Inventors of the Scotch-Irish race; by J. H. Bryson, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 175.

⁵ Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, p. 101, Fourth Congress, p. 185.

¹ His father, John MacKean, was born April 13, 1715, at Ballymoney, in the County of Antrim, Ireland, and was about four years of age when *his* father emigrated to this country. Parker, p. 224.

² See "Greeley, Horace," written by Whitelaw Reid, in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.

Morse. The last named was the son of our late associate Rev. Jedidiah Morse, and the great-grandson of Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, a Scotch-Irish President of Princeton¹ College. The celebrated surgeon, Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, was Scotch-Irish on both sides of his family.² Joseph Henry was of Scotch descent.³ Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, is a native of Scotland.⁴ In Canada the distinguished statesman Robert Baldwin and a large portion of his associates in securing the establishment of the Dominion of Canada are stated to have been of Scotch-Irish blood.⁵

The versatile Sir Francis Hincks is said to have been of the same blood.⁶

It is interesting to know that our associate James Bryce, the sympathetic and painstaking writer of the American Commonwealth, is a grandson of a Presbyterian minister of the north of Ireland and a Scotch-Irishman.⁷

⁹ "Both the father and mother of Joseph Henry came from the southwest of Scotland, where the old family name was Hendrie. * * * the traditions of the family on both sides and the lion on the coat of arms point back to Irish ancestry of the highest rank; * * * he had a Scotch-Irish wife."—Professor G. Macloskie in "Joseph Henry" in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fifth Congress, p. 100.

⁴ The mother of Thomas A. Edison, who was Miss Elliott, is of Scotch-Irish blood, says Dr. Bryson.—The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 188.

⁵ The Scotch-Irish in Canada by Stuart Acheson, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Third Congress, pp. 203 and 204. Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the father of Robert Baldwin, took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh. He came to this country from a place near Cork, Ireland. Robert Baldwin was born in Toronto in 1804.— Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography by George McLean Rose.

⁶The Scotch-Irish in Canada by S. Acheson, just referred to, p. 206. Sir Francis Hincks was born in Cork, Ireland, son of Thomas Dix Hincks, a Presbyterian minister. The latter was born in Dublin and married Anne-Boult of Chester. He was a son of Edward Hincks (m. Dix) who moved from Chester.—See Dictionary of National Biography, Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography and Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography just mentioned.

⁷ Rev. James Bryce (1767-1857) went from Scotland, where he was born, to Ireland, and settled in 1805, as minister of the anti-burgher church in Killaig, Co. Londonderry. His son, James Bryce (1806-1877), was born in

¹ The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 178.

² Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, by Dr. J. Howe Adams, Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 202.

[April,

The Scotch-Irish emigrants to this country were, generally speaking, men of splendid bodies and perfect digestion. They were men, too, of marked mental characteristics, which have impressed themselves on their posterity. They were plain, industrious and frugal in their lives. It has been said, such was their thrift, that Poor Richard himself could have given them "no new lessons against wastefulness and prodigality."¹

But they had good intellectual powers and strong wills. They were notable for practical sagacity and common sense, and for tenacity of purpose. Conscious of their merits they were self-reliant and always ready to assert themselves, to defend their own rights and those of their neighbors, and courageously push forward. Plain in speech, they were not infrequently frank to the point of rudeness. With energy and firmness, while often hard, they were affectionate towards persons who conciliated them, hospitable and faithful. Their sedateness was qualified by their wit and humor.

The Scotch-Irish were led to come to this country, not only by the desire to better their material condition and to escape persecution, but by a spirit of daring.

As we have seen they took up their abode on our frontiers and defended us from the depredations of Indians, and did a large portion of the fighting required in our wars. They were ardent promoters of civil and religious liberty. As was to be expected, these Scotch Calvinists breathed the spirit of John Knox and contended fervently that the final regulation of political action belongs to the people.

For many years, also, they had been fighting for religious

Killaig (near Coleraine). In 1846, appointed to the High School, Glasgow. See Dictionary of National Biography, to which the information contained in the article on the Bryces was furnished by the family. James Bryce, the writer of the American Commonwealth, the son and grandson of the persons just mentioned, was born in Belfast, Ireland, May 10th, 1838. His mother was (or is) Margaret, eldest daughter of James Young, Esquire, of Abbeyville, Co. Antrim.—See Men and Women of the Time, Thirteenth edition, 1891. ¹ Governor Bell in "Londonderry Celebration," etc., pp. 23, 24.

liberty in Scotland and Ireland, and, taught by ecclesiastical and governmental oppression, had become the warmest adherents of religious liberty. The Scotch-Irish were a devout and religious people, and constant and carnest Bible readers. In many a home in this land they reproduced the beautiful picture of domestic piety which has been painted by the genius of the immortal Scottish poet, Burns, in the Cotter's Saturday Night.

The Scotch-Irish, however, were never content with a sentimental piety, but sought always with tremendous earnestness, to place religion on a basis of knowledge and thought. They were men, too, of high moral principle and marked integrity. Another characteristic which never failed to appear among settlements of this people, was a mighty zeal for education. They were never content with the lower grades of common schools, but demanded, everywhere, classical high schools, and later, colleges and universities. Look at the schools which they established in Londonderry¹ and other New Hampshire towns. In the little town of Cherry Valley, in New York, they opened the first classical school in the central and western portions. of that great State.² They seem to have furnished the principal schoolmasters of all the provinces south of New -York, prior to the Revolution, and it is noteworthy that a large portion of the leaders in that great movement in the lower Middle, and Southern States, received their education under men of this race.³ From them they undoubtedly caught an ardent love of liberty and an increased glow of patriotism.

Religion, virtue, and knowledge were three passions of the Scotch-Irish. With them piety was never divorced

² Ibid., pp. 195, 196.

⁸ What the Scotch-Irish have done for Education, by G. Macloskie, in Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, pp. 90-101.—Campbell, Vol. II., p. 486, with the references to authorities cited.

¹ Parker, pp. 82, 83, 119 et seq., 128.—Bell in "Londonderry Celebration," etc., p. 32.

American Antiquarian Society. [April,

from education, and religion, as stated before, was based upon an intellectual foundation and what they believed to be a basis of knowledge.

I began this paper by saying that the Puritan owed a tribute to the Scotch-Irishman. There is much in common between them, but I have not time to dwell upon the resemblances in their characters and careers. They agreed in their views of religious truth and duty, and in their zeal and firmness in resisting civil and ecclesiastical domination. They were fellow sufferers for conscience' sake.

It has been claimed, and here I conclude, that the Scotch-Irish in this country while eager to enjoy religious liberty for themselves, have been ready to grant it to others, and that in this respect they showed a better spirit than the Puritans.

Was not the difference caused by time, however?.

The Scotch-Irish came here a hundred years later than the Puritans. Meanwhile the religious world had gone ahead and generally exercised a larger toleration.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The Scotch-Irish in America. Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress, at Columbia, Tenn., May 8-11, 1889. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1889.

- Proceedings and Addresses of the Second Congress, at Pittsburg, Pa., May 29 to June 1, 1890. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1890.

- Proceedings and Addresses of the Third Congress, at Louisville, Ky., May 14 to 17, 1891. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Barber & Smith, Agents.
- Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourth Congress, at Atlanta, Ga., April 28 to May 1, 1892. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Barber & Smith, Agents.
- Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifth Congress, at Springfield, Ohio, May 11 to 14, 1893. Nashville, Tenn.: Barber & Smith, Agents.
- Proceedings and Addresses of the Sixth Congress, at Des Moines, Iowa, June 7 to 10, 1894. Nashville, Tenn.: Barber & Smith, Agents.

These volumes of proceedings contain many papers of great value, and relate to the history of the Scotch-Irish race before coming to America and in this country.

In preparing the Report of the Council, I have made especial use of "The Scotch-Irish of the South," a paper in the first volume, by William Wirt Henry, and considerable use of "The Making of the Ulsterman," by J. S. MacIntosh; "The Scotch-Irish of New England," by Arthur L. Perry, in the second volume; "The Scotch-Irish in Canada," by Stuart Acheson, in the third; "The Inventors of the Scotch-Irish race," by John H. Bryson, in the fourth; and "Our Naval Heroes," by D. C. Kelly, in the fifth volume.

Professor Arthur L. Perry's paper, read at the Second Congress, has been printed in pamphlet form. (Boston: printed by J. S. Cushing & Co.) As printed in the proceedings, portions of this paper were cut out and their places indicated by stars. These are given at length in the reprint.

Campbell, Douglas. "The Puritan in Holland, England and America." 2 v. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.

The matter regarding the Scotch-Irish is to be found in the last chapter of the second volume. That chapter, besides embodying much other material, gives a very good summary of a large portion of the information brought out in the first three Congresses of the Scotch-Irish, correcting in some cases statements made in papers read in those meetings. I have been much indebted to Mr. Campbell's chapter, but think that it needs careful revision.

For a history of the Scotch-Irish before coming to America, see -

Fronde, James Anthony. "The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Cent-, ury." 3 v. London, 1874.

[April,

Lecky, W. E. H. "A History of England in the Eighteenth Century." 8|v. New York, 1878-1890. London, 1878-1890.

Harrison, John. "The Scot in Ulster." Edinburgh and London, 1888.

The work of Mr. Harrison is a little volume which contains a valuable epitome of the history of the Scotch-Irish in Ulster, from the beginning of the Seventeenth Century to the present time. It is founded upon the best authorities, which appear to have been carefully consulted. I have made free use of Mr. Harrison's statements in preparing the earlier portions of my paper.

The more important works referred to by Mr. Harrison are the following :-Calendar of State Papers. Ireland, 1603.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. 8.

The Montgomery Manuscripts. Belfast, 1869.

The Hamilton Manuscripts. Belfast, 1867.

State Papers of James VI. (Abbottsford Club.)

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vols. 1630 to 1662. Rushworth, John. Historical Collections, 1618 to 1648.

Fraser's Magazine, for article on Ulster and its people. July-Dec., 1876 Reid, James. History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Thomson's Acts of Scottish Parliament.

Benn, George. History of Belfast.

Knox, Alexander. History of the County of Down. Dublin, 1875. Hill, George. The Macdonnels of Antrim. Hill, George. The Plantation in Ulster.

Gardiner's Fall of the Monarchy of Charles 1., chaps. 15 and 16. Balfour's Annals of Scotland.

Memorials of the troubles in Scotland. (Spalding Club.).

Turner, Sir James. Memoirs of his own life and time.

Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.

Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.

Petty, Sir William. Political Survey of Ireland. London, 1719.

Leland's History of Ireland.

Macpherson's History of Commerce.

Macaulay's History of England, Chapter 12 (Defence of Londonderry). Walker's True account of the Siege of Londonderry. London, 1689. Articles in the Ulster Journal of Archeology.

Young, Arthur. A Tour in Ireland, made in the years 1776-777-78.

Other works on this period of Scotch-Irish history which may be examined with advantage are -

Plowden, Francis. Historical Review of the state of Ireland. Phila., 1805-6. 5 v. 8°.

Futhey, J. Smith. Historical discourse delivered on the 150th anniversary of the Octorara church, Chester Co., Pa.

Long extracts from this address are given in Smith's "History of Peterborough," to be found later on in this list.

In regard to the history of the Scotch-Irish in New England, besides the paper of Professor Perry, it is desirable to refer to the following works : -

MAINE.-Willis, William. The Scotch-Irish immigration to Maine, and Presbyterianism in New England (Article I. in Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. VI., Portland).

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—State Papers of New Hampshire,—particularly "Towns," Vol. 14, and "Muster Rolls," Vol. 2.

- -Parker, Edward L. The History of Londonderry, comprising the towns of Derry and Londonderry, N. H. Boston : Perkins & Whipple, 1851.
 - I have made large use of the history of Parker and the paper of Willis in preparing this paper.
- -Smith, Albert. History of the town of Peterborough, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, etc. Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1876.
- -Morrison, Leonard A. The History of Windham, N. H. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883.
- -Belknap, Jeremy. History of New Hampshire.
- -The Londonderry Celebration, Exercises on the 150th anniversary of the settlement of Old Nutfield, June 10, 1869. Compiled by Robert C. Mack. Manchester: Published by John B. Clarke, 1870.
- -Stark, Caleb. Memoir and official correspondence of General J. Stark, etc. Concord, 1860.
- -Addresses at the dedication of the monument erected to the memory of Matthew Thornton, at Merrimack, N. H., September 29, 1892. Published by authority of the State. Concord, N. H.: The Republican Press Association, 1894.
- VERMONT.—Thompson, Zadoc. History of Vermont, national, civil and statistical, in three parts.

Look in the Gazetteer of Vermont, which is part three of this work, under such headings as "Londonderry," "Landgrove," etc.

- -McKeen's History of Bradford, Vermont.
- MASSACHUSETTS. Worcester.—Records of the Proprietors of Worcester, Massachusetts. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. In Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. III. Worcester, Mass.: Published by the Society, 1881.
 - -Early records of the town of Worcester, 1722-1821. In Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vols. 2, 4, 8, 10, Part 1 of 11.
 - The Worcester Society of Antiquity will continue the publication of the records of the town.

-Deeds at Registry of Deeds.

- Worcester County was formed July 10, 1731. Deeds recorded before that date can be consulted at the Registry of Deeds in Middlesex County, at Cambridge, as Worcester belonged to Middlesex County before Worcester County was formed.
- -The records of births and deaths in Worcester.
- -Worcester births, marriages and deaths. Compiled by Franklin P. Rice. Part I-Births. Worcester. Mass.: The Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1894. In Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. XII., . Worcester, Mass.: Published by the Society, 1894.
- -Inscriptions from the old Burial Grounds in Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1727 to 1859, with biographical and historical notes. In Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. I.
- -Lincoln, William. History of Worcester. Worcester: Moses D. Phillips & Co., 1837.

--- with additions by Charles Hersey, 1862.

-- Wall, Caleb A. Reminiscences of Worcester. Worcester, Mass.: Printed by Tyler & Seagrave, 1877.

-Holland, Josiah Gilbert. History of Western Massachusetts, 2 v. Springfield: Published by Samuel Bowles & Co., 1855.

[April,

-Waldo Family.-New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XVIII., 176, 177.

- - Bridgman, Thomas. Inscriptions on monuments in King's Chapel Burial Ground. Boston, 1853. pp. 292, 293.

- - Family Memorials by Edward E. Salisbury (p. 21) 1885. Privately printed.

-The Scotch-Irish in New England (George H. Smyth). In The Magazine of American History, vol. 9, p. 153.

--Scotch-Irish in New England (W. Willis). In New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 12; 231.

CANADA.—Miller, Thomas. Historical and genealogical record of the first settlers of Colchester County down to the present time. Halifax, Nova Scotia: A. & W. MacKinlay, 1873.

--Patterson, George. A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877.

Proud, Robert. History of Pennsylvania, 1681-1742. Philadelphia: 1797-98. 2 v. 8°.

Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania. In New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 16; 360.

Ramsay, David. History of South Carolina, 1670–1808. Charleston, 1809. 2 v. 8°.

-History of the American Revolution. Philadelphia, 1789. 2 v. 8°.

-History of the Revolution in South Carolina. Trenton, 1785. 2 v. 8°.

Baird, Robert. Religion in the United States of America. Glasgow and London, 1844.

Craighead, J. G. Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1878.

Scotch-Irish (J. C. Linehan). In Granite Monthly, vol. 11.

Scotch-Irish. Granite Monthly, vol. 12.

Scotch-Irish in America (G. H. Smyth). In Magazine of American History, 4; 161.

McCulloch, Hugh. Men and measures of half a century. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, under the words "Matthew Thornton," "Asa Gray," etc. Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.