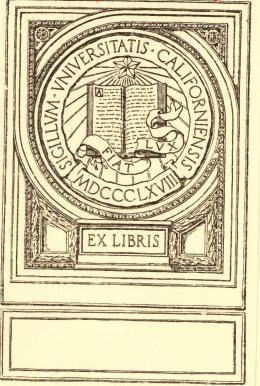
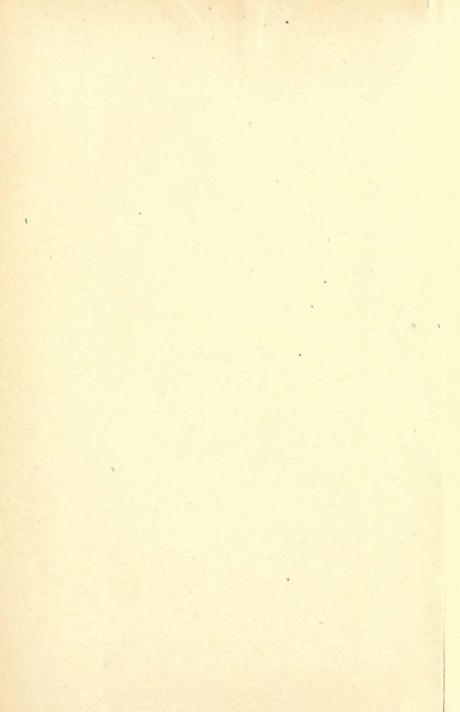


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SCOTCH IRISH PIONEERS

IN ULSTER AND AMERICA

BY

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

AUTHOR OF "THE PRIVATE SOLDIER UNDER WASHINGTON," ETC.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN BY ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON



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PREFACE

THE following pages attempt for the first time a systematic treatment of the beginning of a migration of settlers of Scotch and English descent from the north of Ireland to the New World. Parker, Perry, Green, Hanna and other writers have collected much of general history and tradition; and they have so pictured the Scotch traits developed under Irish skies, that Scotch Irish blood, once a reproach, is now cause for pride. But the conditions in Ireland before the migration, the voyage across the ocean, the emigrants as they appeared to early observers — these phases of the story have now for the first time been treated in detail, drawing upon hitherto unexplored sources. If a large part of our American population traces back to Ulster, the early religious, political and economic life of the valleys of the Foyle and the Bann should interest many, for many, whether they are aware of it or not, are descended from the Scotch Irish. Clergymen and statesmen have from generation to generation extolled the rugged virtues of these pioneers, and a closer study of their lives will, it is hoped, deepen the hold which they already have upon our affections.

There has been a constant temptation to include in this study some account of emigrants from the west of Scotland; they had very much in common with their Ulster friends and kinsmen. But however desirable a wide scope may be, it has been my purpose here to include only those who were influenced by the peculiar environment of a life upon Irish soil.

I am grateful to many for assistance: To the trustees of the Boston Public Library for the use of many books relating to Ireland, a few of them purchased at my suggestion; to the Hon. James Phinney Baxter for his personal helpfulness as well as for access to his unrivaled manuscript material relating to Maine; to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle of the Massachusetts Historical Society; to Mr. Edmund M. Barton and Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society; to Mr. William P. Greenlaw of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; to Dr. Bernard C. Steiner of the Maryland Historical Society. and to Mr. Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. I am under great obligation, also, to Dr. Hugh S. Morrison, coroner of Coleraine and Aghadowey, Ireland; to the Rev. Crawford Hillis of Tanvally Fort, County Down; to Mr. W. T. Pike of Brighton, England, publisher of an elaborate work on Belfast and the Province of Ulster; to the editor of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology"; and to others who are mentioned in connection with each chapter.

C. K. B.

Pound Hill Place, Shirley.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. IRELAND AND NEW ENGLAND BEFORE 1714 .	1
II. IRELAND'S RELATION TO MARYLAND, PENNSYL-	
VANIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA BEFORE 1718 .	21
III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ULSTER, 1714-1718	37
IV. POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN ULSTER, 1714–1718	60
V. THE REV. WILLIAM HOMES AND THE REV. THOMAS CRAIGHEAD	79
VI. ULSTER AND THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTRY IN	10.1
1718	91
VII. AGHADOWEY AND THE SESSION BOOK	119
VIII. THE ARRIVAL OF "FIVE SHIPS" IN AUGUST, 1718	130
IX. THE WINTER OF 1718-1719 IN BOSTON .	154
X. THE YEARS 1718 AND 1719 IN WORCESTER; AND IN THE SETTLEMENTS AT RUTLAND, PELHAM	
AND PALMER	177
XI. THE WINTER OF 1718-1719 IN DRACUT, AND DOVER, AND IN CASCO BAY	196
XII. THE YEARS 1718 AND 1719 AT MERRYMEETING	100
BAY	215

CHAPTER	PAGE
XIII. NUTFIELD AND LONDONDERRY, 1719-1720 .	239
XIV. THE SCOTCH IRISH IN DONEGAL, DERRY, AND NESHAMINY, PENNSYLVANIA, AFTER 1718 .	266
XV. THE SCOTCH IRISH IN CHARLESTON AND WILLIAMSBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA, AFTER 1718 .	285
XVI. THE CHARACTER OF THE SCOTCH IRISH	296
INDEX	379
APPENDICES	
I. Ships from Ireland Arriving in New England, 1714–1720	317
II. The Petition to Governor Shute in 1718 .	324
III. Andrew McFadden's Transplanting to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in 1718	331
IV. (A) Members of the Charitable Irish Society in Boston	333
(B) Names of Fathers on the Presbyterian Baptismal Records in Boston, 1730–1736 .	334
V. List of Existing Vital Records of Towns in Ulster, begun before 1755	337
VI. Home Towns of Ulster Families, 1691-1718 .	339_

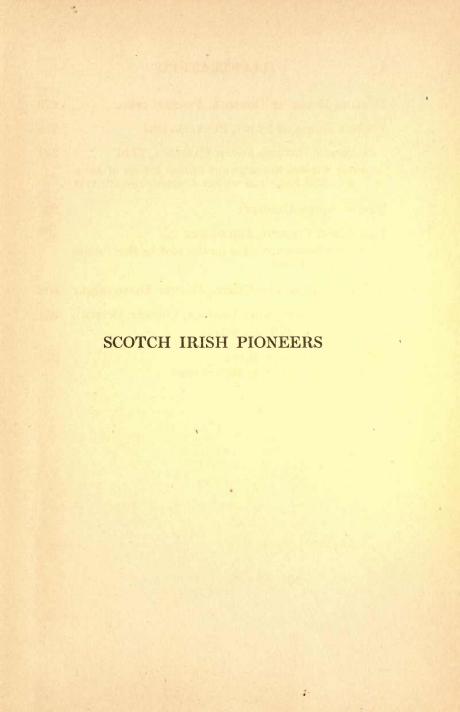
ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
LONDONDERRY, ON THE RIVER FOYLE . Frontisp	piece
Redrawn from an Engraving made in 1793, by W. and J. Walker	
RUINS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH BUILT IN	
IRELAND, AT BALLYCARRY, COUNTY ANTRIM	3
BANGOR CASTLE, COUNTY DOWN	7
Near the Home of the Rev. Robert Blair	
THE REV. COTTON MATHER	16
Drawn by Sarah, wife of the Rev. John Moorhead, probably after Peter Pelham	
RAMELTON, ON LOUGH SWILLY, COUNTY DONEGAL .	23
Early Home of the Rev. Francis Makemie of Maryland and Virginia	
OLD HOUSE AT SNOW HILL, MARYLAND	26
Map of Maryland and Delaware	33
ROAD MAP OF THE BANN VALLEY	39
THE SALMON LEAP, NEAR COLERAINE AND SOMERSET With Ruins of Mount Sandall Fort on the Bank	53
MEETING HOUSE AT DUNGANNON, COUNTY DONEGAL	
Built before 1725	62
Redrawn from a View in the Ulster Journal of Archæ-	

	PAGE
THE TOWN OF ANTRIM ON THE RIVER BRAID	73
Where the Rev. John Abernethy Lived	
Holy Hill House, Strabane, County Tyrone . Standing when the Rev. William Homes was a Minister in Strabane. Set on Fire when Derry was Be-	80
sieged	
DONEGAL, COUNTY DONEGAL	86
Home Town of the Rev. Thomas Craighead of Freetown, Massachusetts, Delaware, etc.	
Coleraine, on the Bann	97
The Ship "William" Sailed from Coleraine in 1718. Drawing by John Huybers	
Map of the Province of Ulster	103
Wall and Iron Gates enclosing the Site of the Rev. James McGregor's Meeting House .	120
THE VILLAGE ROAD EAST OF McGregor'S MEETING HOUSE, IN WHAT IS NOW CALLED ARDREAGH .	123
RESIDENCE OF DR. HUGH S. MORRISON AT AGHADOWEY	128
LIZARD MANOR, AGHADOWEY, RESIDENCE OF CHARLES	
E. S. Stronge, Esq., J. P., D. L	129
GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S MILL AT NEW LONDON	137
SOUTH VIEW OF BELFAST IN 1789, FROM Mr. JOY'S PAPER MILL	147
The Brigantine "Robert" Sailed from this Port in 1718	
An 18th Century Brigantine	150
Redrawn from Price's View of Boston	

ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
	PAGE
Map of Boston in 1722. Drawn by Captain John Bonner	161
THE REV. JOHN MOOREHEAD, "MINISTER OF A CHURCH	
of Presbyterian Strangers in Boston," 1730	167
Peter Pelham's Portrait, redrawn by John Huybers	
Map of Massachusetts and New Hampshire	178
ANCIENT HOUSE IN WORCESTER, ONCE OWNED BY ALEX-	
ANDER McConkey	189
Map of Casco Bay	204
Home built by Bryce McLellan at Falmouth in 1731	211
The Oldest House in Portland.	
"Brunswick Town"	216
MEETING HOUSE AND SESSION HOUSE AT LONDONDERRY,	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	245
ANCIENT BALLYMONEY, COUNTY ANTRIM	253
Reconstructed from a Plan and Descriptions in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, N. S., Vol. 3, Page 151	
ABRAHAM HOLMES' LETTER FROM THE CHURCH AT	
AGHADOWEY, COUNTY LONDONDERRY, 1719 .	259
BEARDIVILLE, A HOUSE IN BALLYWILLAN, COUNTY AN-	
TRIM	265
Standing when the Griffins of Spencer and the Temple- tons of Londonderry Lived at Ballywillan	

	PAGE
MEETING HOUSE AT DONEGAL, PENNSYLVANIA	273
MEETING HOUSE AT DERRY, PENNSYLVANIA	276
CHARLESTON HARBOR, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1740 From Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. The Name was written Charlestown until 1783	289
Map of South Carolina	293
THE PARISH CHURCH, AGHADOWEY	297
A RUINED CHURCH IN KILREA, COUNTY LONDONDERRY	302
CONAGHER'S FARM, NEAR DERVOCK, COUNTY ANTRIM . Home of the McKinley Family	311
On the Aghadowey River	313



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SCOTCH IRISH PIONEERS

I

IRELAND AND NEW ENGLAND BEFORE 1714

On the map of Ireland the province of Ulster gathers into a circle nearly a quarter of the territory of the island. Its southerly bound runs from Donegal Bay on the west to Carlingford Bay on the east. In the centre of Ulster lies County Tyrone, with the counties of Donegal, Londonderry, and Antrim along its northern borders to fend the sea. This is the heart of the Scotch Irish country. South of County Tyrone are Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Armagh, counties not so closely associated with early Protestant migration. South of Monaghan, bordering the Roman Catholic province of Leinster, is Cavan, and to the east, touching Armagh, lies County Down whose shores are less than a dozen miles from Ayrshire in Scotland.

Donegal and Tyrone are drained by the Finn and the Mourne, two rivers which unite at Strabane to form the Foyle. The Foyle flows northward across Londonderry to the sea. From Lough Neagh on the eastern border of Tyrone the Bann flows north also to the sea, separating the counties of Londonderry and Antrim. The source-lands of the Foyle and the Bann had supported a Scotch population for several generations before the year 1718; of this population and its interest in America the following pages give some account.

The temperature of Ulster is milder than that of New England, and even warmer than will be found in northern England. Snow rarely lies on the ground over a month in the winter. The gaunt, gloomy mountains and the barren moorlands give some parts of the country a forbidding aspect. There are fine streams which leap down the steeps and gurgle through the rocky foot-hills, sweeping gracefully and sleepily across the moors and meadows toward the sea.

In the days of the early eighteenth century mills for lumber and grain were dotted over this country, and everywhere in Northern Ireland were the patches of green grass upon which the flax was spread to bleach in the sun.

The villages comprised usually little more than a few houses along a winding country road, with a lane here and there to tie a wayward hut to the mother flock. The better houses were built with thick walls of stone, sometimes with projecting buttresses and old-fashioned turrets. Their windows were leaded, and over the door a carved stone gave the birth-date of the house. Upon this stone was

lavished all the art of which the dwelling could boast.1

Of the houses at Omagh an English traveller says: "A number of the houses were thatched; being repaired at different periods, as necessity required, the roofs often presented a grotesque appearance, and were decked in all the colours of the year; the fresh straw of autumn on the part lately done, and



RUINS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH BUILT IN IRELAND AT BALLYCARRY, COUNTY ANTRIM

the green verdure of spring in the plentiful crop of weeds which grew on the more ancient."2

Of the people themselves much will be said from time to time in these pages. The Irish or Celts were everywhere, although less numerous than in the Southern provinces. They were largely Roman Catholics and therefore at the time legally deprived of the powers and privileges that the humblest la-

¹ Gamble's Sketches of History, Politics and Manners in Dublin and the North of Ireland in 1810, New Edition, 1826, pp. 284-286.

² Ibid, p. 251.

borer today expects as a matter of right. In the more remote regions the Irish were scarcely above the condition of savages, living upon game and abandoning agriculture to the conquering race.

The Scotch, invited by the King to inhabit confiscated Irish lands, were in almost every village, as their Presbyterian chapels bore witness. But during the century of their occupation of Ulster their thrift and energy had battled with but moderate success against the ravages of war and the burden of hostile laws.

The third element in the population was the ruling class. This class was largely English, supplemented by Scotch and Irish landowners, nearly all of whom through self-interest or conviction upheld the Established Church, and by virtue of this allegiance had access to the magistracy and the army.

Such a population offered endless opportunity for friction and discontent. And yet had there been an eighteenth century Lord Cromer to do for Ireland what the present administrator has done for Egypt, one may feel certain that the Irish question of today would never have existed.

The Scotch Irish who came from Ireland to America are criticised for their personal habits as much as they are praised for their more vital good qualities. That these defects persisted in Ulster is confirmed by a generous and kindly English traveller, John Gamble, who in 1810 saw them in their homes.

Stopping at a roadside cottage one day for dinner he decided that he would ask for eggs, as safer than some other foods of unknown composition. The good woman who presided over the home, roasted an egg or two in ashes before her blazing fire. When he asked if they were done "she took a long pin with which she had been picking her teeth and thrusting it into the side of the egg:—"Ah! weel-a-wot, surr," proceeded she, presenting it to him: "it's as weel done an egg as ony in Christendom." Bread, with butter dexterously spread with the thumb, after the custom of the people, completed the meal. Mr. Gamble then continues:

"A few years ago the Presbyterians in the Country parts of this Kingdom were not much cleaner than their Scottish ancestors. The inside of a vessel was seldom washed and the outside still seldomer."

Confirmation of this view comes from Arthur Lee, who visited Pittsburg in 1784. He describes the town as inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, living "in paltry log-houses, and as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland."

But there were characteristics of these Scotch Irish husbandmen more racial and permanent than mere habits of cleanliness. Gamble was a shrewd

¹ Gamble, p. 262.

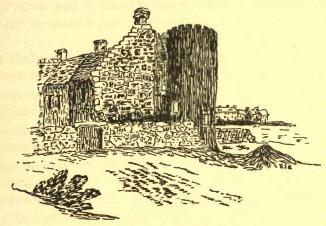
² Life of Arthur Lee, 1829, Vol. 2, p. 385. My attention has been called to Lee and other writers by Mrs. Ruth D. Coolidge.

observer of these: "It is astonishing," he says, "how little idea Presbyterians have of pastoral beauty; the Catholic has ten times more fancy—but a Presbyterian minds only the main chance. If he builds a cottage, it is a prison in miniature; if he has a lawn, it is only grass; the fence of his grounds is a stone wall, seldom a hedge. . . . A Presbyterian has a sluggish imagination: it may be awakened by the gloomy or terrific, but seldom revels in the beautiful."

These were the people whom we call Scotch Irish. a term which was in use as early as the seventeenth century. They came to America, not as discoverers, but as the pioneers of their race; they defended the frontiers against Indians, and their numbers in the South so much augmented the forces in the Revolutionary army that they may fairly be said to have saved Washington from defeat. To these people the British Colonies in America were not unknown. Intercourse between Ireland and New England has gone on with little interruption from very early days. During the first century after the settlement of Boston, non-conformist ministers of Ireland and New England were in close touch; members of the Mather family were as familiar with the streets of Dublin as they were with the three green hills in the Bay colony's chief town; and more than one early attempt was made to transplant Ulster set-

¹Gamble, p. 348.

tlers. Another century witnessed a steady migration of the Protestant inhabitants of Ulster, until by estimation a third of the population had crossed the Atlantic. During the last fifty years central and southern Ireland have sent so many Roman Catholic emigrants that our American cities one and all feel the power of their numbers. The Atlantic States are



BANGOR CASTLE, COUNTY DOWN
The Rev. Robert Blair preached at Bangor

today a New Ireland, influenced in the rural districts by those of Scotch Irish descent, and governed in the cities by the Celtic Irish.

In 1636 a desire to emigrate took firm hold upon the people in the towns near Belfast. Their leaders were four able men: the Rev. Robert Blair of Bangor, county Down; the Rev. James Hamilton who preached at Ballywalter, a little village a few miles east of Belfast; the Rev. John McLellan of the neighboring town of Newtownards; and the Rev. John Livingston who had been deposed from the church at Killinchy in the diocese of Down.

These earnest clergymen, living within the radius of a few miles of Bangor, became more and more dissatisfied with the Established Church and its order of service. Blair was their leader, a man of "majestic, awful, yet amiable countenance," who gradually drew into his circle the clergymen of eight or nine adjoining parishes. He was suspended from his charge, and by the varying authorities reinstated and twice deposed for non-conformity, and finally his followers suffered a like fate. They found it difficult to preach in Ireland, and asked Livingston, a very eloquent speaker, to visit Boston in company with William Wallace, to obtain favorable terms from the Governor living there for a settlement in New England.

Mr. Wallace delayed so long to bid farewell to his family that the two agents lost the desired ships then sailing from London. Meeting Mr. John Humphrey they agreed to go in his ship, and so were unable to accept Mr. Bellingham's later offer of passage in a larger ship. At Dorchester, England, they tarried to listen to the Rev. John White, a promoter of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay; at last setting sail they encountered head winds and

were forced to put in at Plymouth. There Wallace fell ill, and they decided to abandon the voyage. Livingston never became an emigrant, but his son Robert settled later upon the Hudson, and the soil of Livingston manor nurtured a race of American statesmen and soldiers.

Persecution still continued in Ireland, and a kindly invitation from the Governor and Council in New England determined the leaders to order a ship to be built for them near Belfast, of about one hundred and fifty tons burden. Full of hope they named her the "Eagle Wing," from that beautiful passage in Exodus where the Lord said to Moses: "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine."

One cannot but wonder, recalling the little settlement at Boston, what would have been the effect of the arrival of four or five very able Presbyterian ministers at that time. Blair and Livingston, McLellan and Hamilton were men of education, property, and family. Hamilton's uncle, Lord Clandeboye, had befriended them; McLellan and Livingston were by ties of marriage or descent closely allied with the Scottish aristocracy. Blair was a prince among leaders, and rose to be mod-

erator of the General Assembly in Scotland; in 1648 he represented it in an endeavor to have Cromwell

impose Presbyterianism upon England.

The "Eagle Wing" set sail September 9, 1636, from Lough Fergus, but was soon compelled to put in at Lough Ryan in Scotland to stop dangerous leaks; she then turned her prow westward. Tempestuous weather during the three or four hundred leagues which the ship covered weakened and at last crushed the rudder, "brake much of our gallionhead, our fore-cross-tree, and tare our fore-sail; five or six of our chainplaitts made up; ane great beam under the gunner-roome door brake; seas came in over the round-house, and brake ane plank or two in the deck, and wett all them that were between decks." Thus Livingston tells of those trying days when men worked incessantly at the pumps, and repaired the damage from wave and wind as rapidly as they could find opportunity. Meanwhile their leader Blair lay ill in the cabin; some of the company of one hundred and forty passengers died, and a baby came into that storm-tossed world of water. When the captain, who did not dare to face another hurricane off the New England coast, turned the little ship toward Ireland the courageous Blair fell in a swoon, unable to think of failure after so much distress. Through it all Blair's infant son, who had been ill at departure, lived and even grew stronger, so that, in the quaint language of the chronicle, "it pleesed the only wise God to twist in this small ply in Mr. Blair's rod.'"

The early appearance of Scotch names in America is due largely to the wars between England and Scotland. Many prisoners taken at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester were sold into service in the colonies. These men worked out their terms of servitude at the Lynn iron works and elsewhere, and founded honorable families whose Scotch names appear upon our early records. No account exists of the Scotch prisoners that were sent to New England in Cromwell's time: at York in 1650 were the Maxwells, McIntires, Junkinses and Grants. The Mackclothlans,2 later known as the Claffins, gave a governor to Massachusetts and distinguished merchants to New York city. In Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland" reference is made to attempts to strengthen the Protestant population of Catholic Ireland by offering inducements to New England families to migrate. These efforts of 1651, 1655 and 1656 led to the transplanting of many Yankee families to Limerick and Garristown, where their descendants perhaps still reside.

During Charles the Second's time the harshness of the laws in Scotland as well as in Ireland led to

¹Autobiographies of Blair and Livingston, published by the Wodrow Society; also Dictionary of National Biography.

² New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 1, p. 377. See also the Claffin Genealogy.

many plans for removal to America. Hugh Campbell, a Boston merchant, obtained permission from the Bay colony in February, 1679–80, to transport settlers from Scotland and establish them in the Nepmug country¹ in the vicinity of Springfield.

None of these Scotchmen, however, can properly be associated with Ulster, and their interest in America is not germain to our subject.

What object the captain of the ship George of Londonderry had in his voyage to Boston in 1675 we now have no means of knowing. The records of the Court of Assistants 2 show that the mariners of the ship appealed to the authorities for payment of wages. The names of the members of the crew were Philip Owen, Charles Frost, John Bell, Arthur Richards and William Maxfeild.

The next effort to establish a colony originated in Ireland. Wait Winthrop in Boston wrote to his brother Fitz-John of Connecticut December 29, 1684, that a gentleman had lately come over, "a man of some interest there," and was looking out for a plantation for about one hundred families. Winthrop talked with him of Quinnebaug and was told that an abundance of people would come over if they could be assured that they could have liberty of con-

¹ Massachusetts Bay Colony Records, Vol. 5, p. 264.

² Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 41.

³ Plainfield, about twenty-nine miles north east of New London, in Connecticut.

science, their views being "much of the same stamp" as those in New England. We know that conditions in a large part of Ireland were distressing; this was especially true in the counties of Derry and Donegal, where many ministers of the presbytery of Lagan resolved to emigrate to America. But the fever for migration that was rising subsided upon the death of Charles II, February 6, 1685; no movement to New England took place, although a few settlements were made in Maryland, Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, where ships engaged in the tobacco trade found their ports of destination.

With the coming of James II to power, Roman Catholic influence began to be felt, and the Protestant population of Ireland was sure to suffer. In 1686 and 1687 high offices in the church and army were given to Papists, and an effort was made to bring English universities under Catholic rule. The Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and an influential member of the Roman Catholic party at Court, at once "purged" the army in Ireland of its Protestant officers. But perceiving an opportunity to show loyalty to King James by sending to England three thousand men to aid him in his encounter with William, Prince of Orange, "it pleased God to so Infatuate the Councils of my Lord

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series V, Vol. 8, p. 450.

² See the next chapter.

Tyrconnel," as Walker, historian of the siege, puts it, that he sent out of Ireland the Catholic regiment quartered at Derry. Tyrconnel soon saw his error in withdrawing this force from Derry, and dispatched the Earl of Antrim to the north. When the news of Antrim's approach reached the city there was great indecision; but caution soon gave way before hotter blood, the bridge was drawn up and the gates were locked. Thus began the defence of Derry, April 20, 1689. Incident at once crowded upon incident; sally and assault, plot and treachery. vacillation and courage gave to each day a new sensation, until Colonel Lundy, commander of the besieged forces, having advocated a secret withdrawal of officers and gentlemen, leaving the citizens of Derry to the mercy of the enemy, was forced to flee in disguise with a pack on his back. Then in truth began the famous days of waiting and fighting, under the leadership of a militant clergyman, the Rev. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore in County Tyrone. To add to the distress of the besieged their enemies drove thousands of women and children from the neighboring towns under the walls of Derry where they had to be rescued and fed by a garrison already short of stores. Then came the days when horse flesh was served to the soldiers, while dogs "fatned by eating the bodies of the slain Irish" sold by the quarter for five shillings and six pence, and cats brought four shillings and six pence each.

On the 30th of July, in the time of their direct extremity, two ships ladened with provisions came up the Lough, broke the boom and reached the town amid hysterical tears and thanksgiving. They had but one pint of meal for each man and nine lean horses left for food.

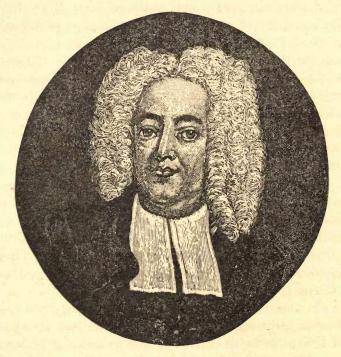
King William relieved the Presbyterians of some of their burdens by obtaining through his influence the Toleration Act (May 24, 1689). The waste lands soon began to respond to the plow, and thrifty settlers from the Scottish lowlands and Lancashire came over the water to aid those that had survived the war.

Under Queen Anne (1702–1714) the Presbyterians in Ireland again lost almost every advantage that had been gained, and became by the Test Act of 1704 virtually outlaws. Their marriages were declared invalid, and their chapels were closed. They could not maintain schools nor hold office above that of a petty constable.

The commercial acts of 1698, restricting the Irish woolen industry and encouraging the manufacture of linen, brought ultimate improvement in Ireland because lands formerly devoted to grazing could now be devoted in part to tillage; but for some years immediately following the passage of the acts there was great industrial depression. Distress due to the lack of work, together with the want of religious freedom and political opportunity, excited the sym-

pathy of non-conformists beyond the bounds of Ireland.

During these years the Rev. Cotton Mather was in



The Revid Der Cotton Mather.

close touch with religious and political affairs in Scotland and Ireland. His father was a Master of Arts of Trinity College, Dublin, and his two uncles, Nathaniel and Samuel, were well known in Dublin as preachers. To the University of Glasgow the Rev. Cotton Mather sent books and pamphlets from time to time, and had received there the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1710. He was therefore interested both in Ireland and in Scotland. Moreover he was a far seeing patriot of broad views and sympathies, to whom New England owes much. He was the leading clergyman in a colony where his religion was the foremost force in education, in society, and in official life.

On the 20th of September, 1706, Mather records: "I write letters unto diverse persons of Honour both in Scotland and in England; to procure Settlements of Good Scotch Colonies, to the Northward of us. This may be a thing of great consequence." It was Mather's plan to settle hardy families on the frontiers in Maine and New Hampshire to protect the towns and churches of Massachusetts from the French and Indians. In his Memorial of the Present deplorable state of New England he suggests that a Scotch colony might be of good service in getting possession of Nova Scotia.²

With the death of Queen Anne in 1714 and the accession of George I the period of ferment in Irish

¹ MS. in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series V, Vol. 6, p. 41*.

emigration may be said to begin. In that year two clergymen set out for New England, and their residence in America probably had more to do with the great migration of 1718 than we can as vet demonstrate. They were the Rev. William Homes of Strabane in County Tyrone who settled on Martha's Vineyard, and the Rev. Thomas Craighead, his brother-in-law, of the town of Donegal, who lived for some years in Freetown, a village about ten miles east of Fall River. There was, however, no immediate migration resulting from their arrival in New England. A few passengers had arrived in the year 1716 in the "Truth and Daylight," the "Mary Ann," and the "Globe"; but in 1717 when piracy was rife along the New England coast the records, as communicated by Governor Shute to the Lords of Trade, show that only fourteen male servants or apprentices arrived from Dublin, in August, 1717, and nine from Belfast in September of that year. None arrived at Boston from January to June 29th of the year 1718, although Captain Gibbs brought a few persons from Dublin to Marblehead in May. In less than two years from the arrival of the Rev. William Boyd in July, 1718, five or six hundred men, women and children had come over to settle.2

But before considering the careers and influence

¹ See Appendix 1.

² Maine Historical Society Collections, Baxter Mss., Vol. X, p. 106.

of Homes and Craighead, the economic and religious condition of Ulster at this time should be made clear. Dean Swift, in speaking of tyrannical landlords, wrote in 1720, "Whoever travels this country [Ireland] and observes the face of nature, or the faces, and habits, and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed." And he explains that the landlords by "screwing and racking" their tenants had reduced the people to a worse condition than the peasants in France or the vassals in Germany and Poland. The property owners were pressed by debt incurred often in London or on the Continent. They felt forced to exact the last penny from their tenants, and too often turned a thrifty Scotch Protestant farmer from the land he had by incessant toil brought into good condition so that the land might go to two or more Catholic families who, while living together in poverty, could by their united efforts pay a greater return. The Irish were not fond of the plow and the land suffered under their hands.² Sir Thomas Phillips told King Charles I that the native Irish would give increasing rents rather than move; therefore the landlord could hope to reap only half the profit from English and Scotch farmers that might come from the Irish.3

¹ Proposal for a Universal use of Manufactures.

² Hill's Plantation in Ulster, p. 590.

³ Dublin University Magazine, 1833, p. 474.

As late as 1790 Lord Chancellor Clare again repeated the explanation: "The great misfortune of Ireland, and particularly [of] the lower classes of its inhabitants is, that at the expiration of every lease, the farm is put up to auction, and without considering whether it is a Protestant or a Papist—whether he is industrious or indolent—whether he is solvent or a beggar, the highest bidder is declared the tenant by the law agent of the estate, I must say to the disgrace of the landlord, and most frequently much in his advantage."

These were the conditions in Ulster which turned the eyes of the intelligent Protestant farmer toward the American colonies. The desire to emigrate had deeper and more immediate sources than a century of intercourse and sympathy between Ireland and America.

¹Dublin University Magazine, May, 1833, p. 480. A very interesting account of the confusion and friction resulting from the occupation of the land by several tenants, each sharing the good and the poor plots of land, will be found in Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's Ireland, Vol. 3, p. 261.

IRELAND'S RELATION TO MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1718

The early annals of the Presbyterian church in the colonies south of New England are closely linked with the name of the Rev. Francis Makemie of Ramelton on Lough Swilly, County Donegal, who was licensed by the Presbytery of Lagan in 1681, and came to America soon after. Makemie covered the Atlantic coast colonies in his ministrations, devoting much of his time, however, to Maryland. Before 1690 there were three and perhaps four congregations in Somerset County, which then included Worcester County, Maryland, with their meetinghouses at Snow Hill (1684), Manokin, Wicomico, and Rehoboth. These places lie south of the present southern boundary of Delaware. It may be said that although two ministers, Doughty and Hill, were early Presbyterian preachers on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay these settlements on the east

¹The sheriff of Somerset reported that the dissenters "hath a house in Snow Hill, one on the road going up along the seaside, one at Manokin, about thirty feet long—plain country buildings all of them." See Mrs. Mary M. North's "An Historic Church" (1904).

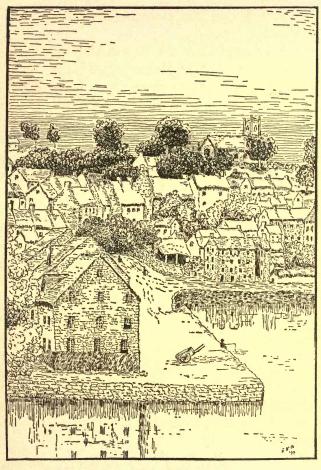
side formed the first stronghold of their faith in the South.

Another member of the Lagan Presbytery in Ireland, and a friend of Makemie, was the Rev. William Traill, a Glasgow graduate, who suffered imprisonment for his convictions, and upon his release came to Maryland in 1682. He probably founded the church at or near Rehoboth in Somerset County, where he had influential friends, including Colonel William Stevens, John White, John Shipway and others.¹

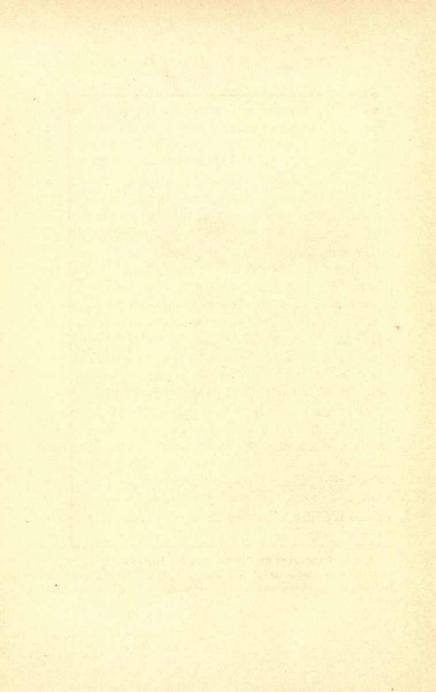
A few months earlier, perhaps in 1681, came the Rev. Thomas Wilson to found a church at Manokin, a settlement now called Princess Anne. It is supposed that Wilson was the minister of the same name who had been at Killybegs, County Donegal. Among his friends were John Galbraith, Archibald Erskine, and David Brown. Possibly also Abraham Gale of Somerset County in 1684 should be counted as a neighbor and friend. Gale's wife Sarah and their sons James and John, sailing from Dublin to Virginia, fell in with a designing rascal who sold their services for a term of years to pay the sum required for their passage, although Gale himself stood ready to pay it.²

¹Rev. J. W. McIlvain in Johns Hopkins University Studies, notes supplementary, 1890, No. 3, p. 19.

Maryland Archives, Vol. 17, p. 352.



RAMELTON, ON LOUGH SWILLY, IRELAND
Home of the Rev. Francis Makemie



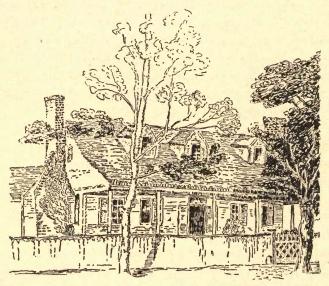
Another of Wilson's neighbors was John Wallis, Senior, "of Ireland and Monokin River, Somerset County," who was living in 1685 with his wife Jane, his nephew John Wallis, Junior, and his kinsmen Matthew and James Wallis. Other settlers from Ireland were there. Edward Randolph, writing to the Commissioners of Customs from James City, June 27, 1692, adds to our knowledge of the Scotch Irish in Somerset County in the following reference to the new governor of Maryland:

"I hear he has continued Majr King to bee ye Navall Officer in Somerset Coty on ye eastern shore, a place pestred wth Scotch & Irish. About 200 families have within ye 2 years arrived from Ireland & setled in yt Coty besides some hundred of family's there before. They have set up a linnen Manufacture, Encouraged thereto by Co¹¹ Brown, a Scotchman, one of ye Councill & by Majr King & other principall persons upon ye place, who support ye Interlopers & buy up all their Loading upon their first arrivall, & govern ye whole trade on ye Eastern shore, so yt whereas 7 or 8 good ships from Engld did yearly trade & load ye Tobbo of yt Coty I find yt in these 3 years last past there has not been above 5 ships trading legally in all those Rivers, & nigh 30 Sayle of Scotch Irish & New Engld men." 2

¹ Maryland Calendar of Wills, Jane Baldwin, editor, Vol. 1.

In Edward Randolph (Prince Society), Vol. 7, p. 364, to which Mr. Albert Matthews directed my attention.

A third Presbyterian minister in this region was the Rev. Samuel Davis, possibly also from Ireland, who is said to have been pastor of the "famous and



OLD HOUSE IN SNOW HILL, MARYLAND

venerable" church at Snow Hill from an early date until 1698. He afterward settled at Hoarkill, now Lewes, in Delaware. The Rev. Mr. Makemie married a lady of wealth in 1690 and settled in Accomac

¹ Rev. William Hill, in his History of American Presbyterianism (Washington City, 1839) pp. 162-163, doubts a Scotch origin for all of the seven members of the first presbytery. Mackemie, Hampton and McNish, he agrees, were Irish.

County, Virginia, a few miles south of Snow Hill. Whether he or Davis was regularly in charge at Snow Hill cannot now be determined. The Makemie Memorial Presbyterian Church perpetuates the memory of his ministry.

Along the western shore of Chesapeake Bay Colonel Ninian Beall was the leading Presbyterian layman. Through his influence a church existed at Patuxent in 1704, and the members included several prominent Fifeshire families of the present Prince George County.

Makemie's successor was the Rev. John Henry, who came from Ireland in 1709, having been licensed by Armagh Presbytery in 1708. Although Makemie was the chief Presbyterian minister of the early pioneers there were several others in the colonies at about this period. They are little more than names to us, but they did faithful service, going from plantation to plantation along the rivers, preaching in the open air or in houses, where no church existed, and living as traders when bread could not be earned by the work of the ministry. The Rev. Josias Mackie came to Elizabeth River, Virginia—the lands about Norfolk-from St. Johnstown, County Donegal, a town destined to try the soul of New England's Scotch Irish leader, Boyd, half a century later when he had returned to Ulster. The Rev. John Hampton, probably "master John of Burt," whose school days were brightened by money from the Presbytery of Lagan, settled at Snow Hill, and the Rev. George McNish, Scotch or Irish, officiated at Manokin and Wicomico. Others were the Rev. Hugh Conn of our present Bladensburg, Maryland, the Rev. Robert Orr of Maidenhead, New Jersey, the Rev. John Thomson of Lewes, and the Rev. Samuel Gelston who went down after a sojourn in New England to preach at Opequon in Virginia.

A question arises in considering the history of these early churches of Maryland and Virginia;—Were the Scotch Irish a real factor here before the year 1718, the date of the great migration to New England? In Maryland Presbyterianism was of the mild English type, and we find Presbyterians joining with Episcopalians in an appeal for an Established Church as a protection against the spread of Roman Catholicism. The same type of Presbyterianism prevailed in Philadelphia during the ministry of the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, a Yankee in the Quaker city. It is probable therefore that very few communicants, aside from the ministers, had ever lived in Ireland.

While few Presbyterians came from Ireland before 1718, the Quaker migration certainly began as early as 1682. The failure of this Quaker migration to influence the coming of Scotch Irish settlers is curiously illustrated by a table in Mr. Myers's invaluable book on the Irish Quakers in Pennsylvania. We learn there that of the one hundred and sixty-

five families that came during the thirty-five years from 1682 to 1717 only one left a home in County Antrim, and none came from Londonderry or Tyrone, the Scotch Irish counties; whatever Scotch Irish migration from Ulster existed before 1718 was not influenced by the Quakers' example.

In the next thirty-two years, 1718 to 1750, a period covering the great Scotch Irish migration from Ulster, two hundred and sixty-five Quaker adults or families came to Pennsylvania. Of these there were one hundred and thirty-five from Ulster, or just one half. They came largely from the meetings at Antrim, Ballinderry, Ballinacree and Lisburn, in county Antrim, the heart of the Scotch Irish country, and from Ballyhagan, Grange, and Lurgan, county Armagh. This tide, however, did not really set in until after the Scotch Irish had begun their removal, or until 1729, when in one year twenty-nine left Ireland as against seventeen in the preceding nine years. Evidently the sudden increase in the Ulster Quaker migration was due to the economic disturbances of the years 1728 and 1729, discussed so fully in Archbishop Boulter's letters.2 It follows. therefore, that the Scotch migration of 1718 from Ulster was in no manner influenced by the migration of Quakers. That Quakers and Presbyterians had family ties may be inferred, however, from the fact

¹ Twenty-seven came from Armagh and Cavan.

² See Chapter III.

that James Logan, the Quaker, William Penn's friend, and Secretary of Pennsylvania, was a cousin of the Rev. William Tennent, who came to America from Ireland and settled at East Chester, New York in 1718.¹ Tennent became one of the great leaders in the Presbyterian church.

The passengers who arrived at Philadelphia from Ireland earlier than 1718 were for the most part Quakers or Celtic Irish. We have few contemporary references to the arrival of Scotch Irish companies of settlers, until the American Weekly Mercury of October 27, 1720, mentions a brigantine from Londonderry with ninety passengers on board. These were probably Presbyterians. The Presbyterian influence in the colonies was never strong until the migration from Ulster began. Mr. J. S. Futhey in his history of Upper Octorara Church bears testimony to this, and Mr. W. D. Mackey in his history of the church at White Clay Creek is another witness. Moreover, the Scotch Irish type of Maryland Presbyterianism was just coming into prominence when the Rev. Thomas Craighead went from Freetown in Massachusetts to become the first pastor at White Clay Creek in 1724.2

The next port on the coast which is associated with Scotch Irish immigrants at an early date is Charles-

¹ Webster's Presbyterian Church, p. 365.

² See Alfred Nevin's Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1888, Chapter 2, for a good summary of the early history.

ton. About the year 1683, if we may rely upon tradition, several emigrants, influenced by Sir Richard Kyrle, a Protestant Irishman of some note, and led by a man named Ferguson, landed there, although little is known of them. One tangible fact, indeed, we have in the presence at Charleston in 1692 of Richard Newton whose brother Marmaduke Newton still remained at Carrickfergus in old Ireland.

The first Presbyterian church in Charleston was organized about 1685, with communicants largely if not entirely from Scotland and New England. It enjoyed a prosperous history for half a century. The Rev. Archibald Stobo of the original or "White Meeting House" became a famous Charleston preacher. He and his wife had come ashore in 1699 from the ship "Rising Sun," which then lay off the bar under jury masts, he having received an invitation to preach. A hurricane approaching unexpectedly, the ship and all her company, except Mr. and Mrs. Stobo and the longboat's crew, were lost. The people were on their way to Scotland from the unfortunate colony at Darien.

The Rev. Mr. Stobo was an ardent missionary, and his efforts to widen the borders of his church by the creation of new congregations and the erec-

Governor of South Carolina in 1684.

² Charlestown Year Book, 1883, p. 380.

² South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 8, p. 204.

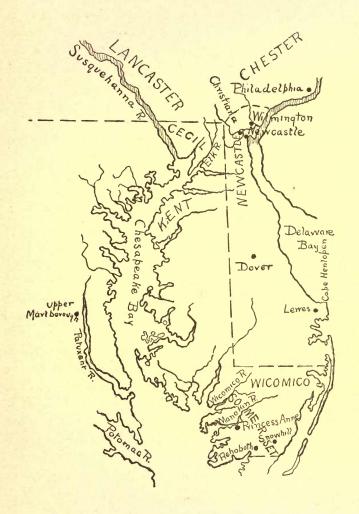
⁴ Charleston Year Book, 1882, p. 397.

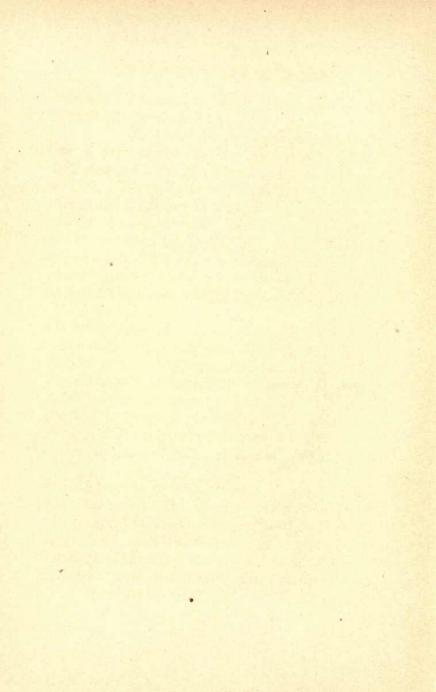
tion of new places for worship were successful. A letter from South Carolina published in 1710 speaks of five "British Presbyterian" ministers then in the colony. These preachers heralded the faith which was in another generation to make itself felt in South Carolina, when the real migration from Ireland should begin.

The following incident is worthy of record here. A certain Mr. John Jarvie had been ordained by the Presbytery of Belfast instead of by that of Down as had been decreed by the Synod. An explanation of the irregularity was given by Mr. Robert Wilson, merchant, of Belfast: "That there was a ship in the Logh of Belfast bound for South Carolina; that the seamen and passengers amount to the number of 70; that it was earnestly desir'd that they may have a Chaplain on board, and if ordain'd, so much the better for the voyage, and also for the person to be ordain'd and the country whither they are bound—therefor desir'd, seeing Mr. Jarvie inclines to sail in the ship, that he may be ordain'd before he go, and that it may be done as soon as possible, because the ship will soon be clear to sail." It is possible that these passengers were from Glasgow, since nearly all ships from that port called at Belfast on the voyage to America. Whether Scotch or Scotch Irish we cannot decide, but they sailed

¹ Hodge's Presbyterian Church, Vol. 1, p. 85.

² Records General Synod at Belfast June 15, 1714, p. 336.





from an Irish port with one of Ireland's Presbyterian ministers on board, and arrived at Charleston, probably in the summer of the year 1714.

Evidently there were a few Scotch Irish in and near Charleston, and on the rich lands between Philadelphia and Wilmington, at an early date. In New York also they held a place, and in the Presbyterian churches on Long Island. But in no case did the migrations before 1718 have great influence. They were, it is true, responses to a spirit of discontent and unrest in Ulster, but low rates of transportation on account of trade in tobacco had their force as well.

Such were the conditions at the opening of the year 1718. Yet we shall see that in less than a decade after Boyd and McGregor had set foot in New England, the ports of Philadelphia, Newcastle and Charleston were swarming with the Scotch Irish. James Logan of Pennsylvania reported in 1727 the arrival of eight or nine emigrant ships that autumn, and in 1729 six vessels in a single week came into port.

Before the year 1718 the growth of Scotch Irish influence and numbers cannot safely be measured by the spread of Presbyterianism, yet its early ecclesiastical history is of contributive value. In the year 1704 or 1705 the ministers who gathered in Philadelphia to ordain and install the Rev. Jedediah

Andrews of Boston agreed to form a General Presbytery. These men were:

Francis Makemie, Rehoboth.
Nathaniel Taylor, Upper Marlborough.
John Wilson, Newcastle.
George McNish, Manokin.
John Hampton, Snow Hill.
Samuel Davis, Lewes.
Jedediah Andrews, Philadelphia.

Although the Scotch Irish have their full share in this list of ministers, the people who listened to their sermons were very largely of Scotch and English ancestry; and in the next decade their growing families and the arrival of their friends from abroad so increased the number of Presbyterians that in 1717 the General Presbytery became a Synod with four presbyteries, Philadelphia, Newcastle, Snow Hill, and Long Island, and twenty-nine ministers. Twenty years later the number of ministers had trebled, for the great tide of migration which was identified with New England in 1718 soon turned toward Philadelphia.

¹ See Hodge's Presbyterian Church, 1839, pp. 93-97.

² Proceedings Presbytery of Baltimore, 1876.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ULSTER, 1714–1718

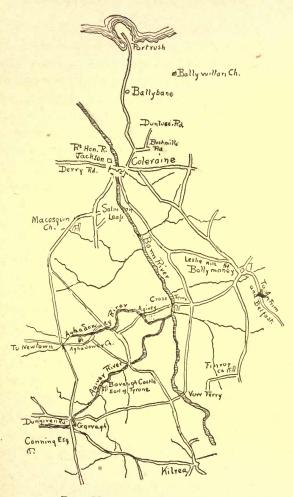
To understand the conditions in Ulster in 1718 it will be necessary to know the Irish Society, or as it was called legally The Society of the Governor and Assistants of London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, in the Kingdom of Ireland. This Society held sway over the present county of Londonderry, between the rivers Foyle and Bann, leasing or subletting its valuable rights and privileges to local officials. The territory about Coleraine thus came by lease into the hands of the Jackson family. Ambitious to acquire both property and power, they were often at odds with the authorities in London, and were driven by these conditions to hold their territory at excessive rates imposed by the none too friendly London directors. In the year 1713 complaint was made that Mr. William Jackson had three uncles who with himself and two tenants were aldermen, so that six out of the twelve aldermen of Coleraine obeyed his orders. Five of the twenty-four burgesses, or members of the lower house, were his tenants, and Mr. Jackson desired to fill a vacancy with another tenant of his, living ten miles away at

Kilrea; this tenant was moreover brother of a burgess, and both were sons of Alderman Adams. Thirteen members of the Common Council (which included Aldermen and Burgesses) called upon the mayor for a judicial investigation of the matter, but the mayor, who was a relative of Jackson's, refused to accede to their request although it was made according to the law. This was but the beginning of discord in the Bann valley. In 1728 the Society expressed dissatisfaction with the Jackson family, which had opposed the political interest of the Society, and had through control of the Corporation of Coleraine usurped the power to grant lands.

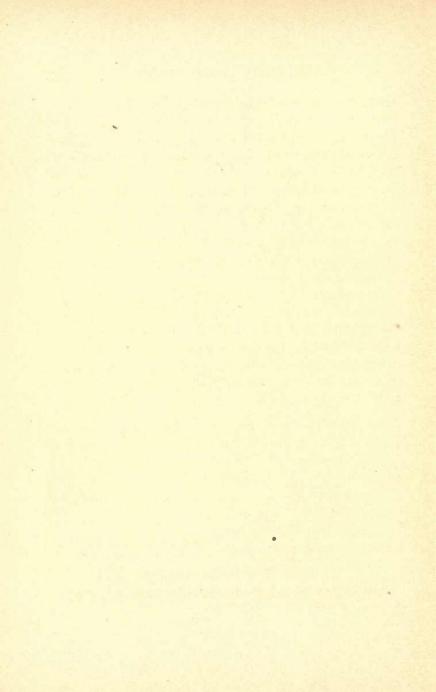
The long arm which reached out from London had no sooner quieted Coleraine, than Derry (the early name for Londonderry) was in trouble for disregarding its by-laws. These controversies probably had little influence upon the lot of the humbler tenant except along the Bann where the Jackson sway was felt. It was "commonly reported" that the Hon. Richard Jackson was forced to raise the rents of his tenants in order to meet his obligations; and that these tenants, who lived upon lands within the jurisdiction of the Clothworkers Company near Coleraine, began agitation for the first great Scotch-Irish emigration to America.

The larger part of the lands in Ulster had es-

¹ Narrative of a Journey to the North of Ireland in the year 1802, by Robert Slade, Esq., Secretary to the Irish Society.



ROAD MAP OF THE BANN VALLEY
From Kilrea to Coleraine via Garvagh and Macosquin Twelve Miles



cheated to the crown early in the reign of James I, as confiscated property of Irish noblemen in rebellion. In order to plant a Protestant colony in Ulster the Lords of Council placed these lands in the hands of wealthy adventurers. That part now known as County Londonderry came under the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London, and by its officers it was divided between twelve of the chief London companies or guilds who came forward as "undertakers" or promoters of the project. The Irish Society was incorporated to have a general control of Derry and Coleraine, and of lands not granted to the twelve companies. It aided churches and schools, protected the settlers, and defended the rights of those who had invested in the enterprise. The twelve chief companies and their lands were noticed in the report of a journey of inspection made by Robert Slade in 1802.1 They were:

Ironmongers, about Garvagh. Including more or less of the parishes of Aghadowey, Agivey, Macosquin, Desertoghill, Errigal.

Clothworkers, about Coleraine.

From the Atlantic S. E. along the Bann to Killowen; included Down Hill.

Drapers, about Moneymore.

Grocers, about Muff. Bounded N. by Lough Foyle; S. by Burntollet river.

¹ Early tenants are mentioned in the notes to Pynnar's Survey, reprinted in Hill's Plantation in Ulster.

Goldsmiths, near Londonderry. Bounded N. and W. by lough and river Foyle; S. by Tyrone.

Vintners, Ballaghy, west of Lough Beg.

Merchant Tailors, about Somerset, near Salmon Leap. Included most of Macosquin.

Mercers, near Kilrea.

Fishmongers, about Walworth, near Lough Foyle. "Alias Ballykelly."

Skinners, "Alias Dungiven."

Haberdashers, about Newtown Limavady, and Ballycastle.

Salters, about Magherafelt.

The charter granted by King James in 1615 was in the reign of Charles I annulled in the Court of Star Chamber, so that the Society and the twelve companies and their subordinate companies, all lost their powers. This decree was rescinded under Cromwell; and a new charter was granted by Charles II in 1662, whereby Derry became known legally as Londonderry. It was at this time that the control of Londonderry and Coleraine, with the fisheries, woods, ferryage, and the right of patronage of the churches, was vested in the Governor and Assistants of the Irish Society and not in the several companies.¹

This system went far toward established Protestant power in Ulster. Indeed if the Presbyterians in

¹ W. C. Hazlitt's Livery Companies of London, p. 28.

Ulster had been treated with consideration and wisdom by the leaders of the Irish Established Church, and with tact by the government in London, they would have had less inclination to brave the ocean to inhabit the frontiers of the colonies in America. It is evident that the economic changes in Mr. Jackson's territory along the Bann cannot alone explain the emigration fever which prevailed on the banks of the Foyle. The controlling influences were more wide spread and more vital in the lives of the people. They were to some extent economic, but they were still more political and religious. A Scot might starve in Ireland as peaceably as he was likely to do in a strange land beyond the sea, but to be thwarted in his views of right and of heaven stirred him to action.

The six years between 1714 and 1719 were notable in Ireland for their insufficient rainfall.¹ So long a period of injury to crops proved more and more discouraging, not only to those settlers who depended upon agriculture, but also to the weavers of flax who found the cost of food very high. In 1716 the sheep were stricken with a destructive disease known as rot, and severe frosts over Europe further crippled the supply of food. During the spring and summer of 1718 "a slow confluent small-pox" raged over Ulster in a malignant form; while the next three years brought fevers in the winter months.

¹ Rutty's "Weather and Seasons."

These misfortunes affected the Scotch farmer in Ulster just as they did the native Irish in Leinster or in Munster. The following note on Ireland in 1716 is from Archbishop King's papers, and it has the ring of Dean Swift. It shows, moreover, that in Ireland the farmer had to contend with difficulties that were less marked in England and Scotland.

"The common Irish are laborious people, and if we set aside the holydays their religion injoins, they work as hard and as long as any in England. I confess not with the same success, for they have neither the assistance to labour nor the encouragement workmen have in England, their poverty will not furnish them with convenient tools, and so the same quantitie of work costs them p'haps twice the labour with which it is p'form'd in England; there are many accidental differences that increase their labour on them, as, for example, England is already enclos'd, and if a farmer have a mind to keep a field for medow, grazing, or plowing, it costs him no more but the shutting his gate, but the Irishman must fence his whole field every year or leave it in common, and the like saving of labour happens in the plow utensils in building houses and p'viding fireing. Neither hath the Irishman that encouragement

[&]quot;All persons born in Ireland are called and treated as Irishmen although their fathers and grandfathers were born in England."—Swift to Earl of Peterborough, 1726, quoted in A great archbishop of Dublin, William King (1906), p. 283.

to labour as there is in England, he has no markett for his manufactories, if he build a good house or inclose his grounds, to be sure he must raise his rent or turn out at the end of a short lease. These and many other considerations make the Irishman's case very pitifull, and ought, as seems to me, to move compassion rather than anger or a severe condemnation. Upon the whole I do not see how Ireland can on the p'sent foot pay greater taxes than it does without starving the inhabitants and leaving them entirely without meat or clothes. They have already given their bread, their flesh, their butter, their shoes, their stockings, their beds, their house furniture and houses to pay their landlords and taxes. I cannot see how any more can be got from them, except we take away their potatoes and butter milk, or flay them and sell their skins."1

The people suffered also from the devotion of the great landlords to grazing, due to the profit to be obtained from contraband trade in wool, and from the sale of salted meat. Farm buildings gradually disappeared or fell into decay and the herder with his dog wandered over the desolate fields. Leases forbade the use of the plow, and grain had to be imported because Ireland did not supply enough to satisfy the demand even at high prices. Archbishop Boulter who, with King, and that other brilliant

¹From (Great Britain) Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, second report, London, 1874, pp. 256-257.

churchman, Dean Swift, strove incessantly for legislation to make Ireland prosper, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1727 that more tillage must be demanded of the landowner. The Irish House of Commons had tried in 1716 and again in 1719 to interest the England Parliament in a bill of this nature. Boulter writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury in February, 1727:—

"There is part of another bill which will go over, that is of great consequence to this kingdom; the title of the act is, I think, an act to prevent frauds, &c. in buying corn, &c. and to encourage tillage.

"It is the latter part of this bill about tillage that is of great moment here. The bill does not encourage tillage by allowing any premium to the exporters of corn, but barely obliges every person occupying 100 acres or more (meadows, parks, bogs, &c. excepted) to till five acres out of every 100; and so in proportion for every greater quantity of land they occupy. And to make the law have some force, it sets the tenant at liberty to do this, notwithstanding any clause in his lease to the contrary. We have taken care to provide in the bill, that the tenant shall not be able to burnbeat any ground in virtue of this act; and since he is tyed up from that, and from ploughing meadows, &c. the people skilled in husbandry say, he cannot hurt the land though he should go round the 100 acres in 20 years.

"I find my Lord Trevor objected to a bill we sent

from council that this was a breaking of private contracts, and invading property: but I think that nothing, since the lessor receives no damage by it, and the publick is very much benefitted; and this is no more than what is done every session in *England*, where rivers are made navigable or commons inclosed; and in many road bills.

"I shall now acquaint your Grace with the great want we are in of this bill: our present tillage falls very short of answering the demands of this nation, which occasions our importing corn from England and other places; and whilst our poor have bread to eat, we do not complain of this; but by tilling so little, if our crop fails, or yields indifferently, our poor have not money to buy bread. This was the case in 1725 and last year, and without a prodigious crop, will be more so this year. When I went my visitation last year, barley in some inland places, sold for 6 s. a bushel to make bread of; and oatmeal (which is the bread of the north) sold for twice or thrice the usual price; and we met all the roads full of whole families that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their neighbors had nothing to relieve them with. And as the winter subsistance of the poor is chiefly potatoes, this scarcity drove the poor to begin with their potatoes before they were full grown, so that they have lost half the benefit of them, and have spent their stock about two months sooner than usual; and oatmeal is at this distance from harvest, in many parts of this kingdom three times the customary price; so that this summer must be more fatal to us than the last; when I fear many hundreds perished by famine.

"Now the occasion of this evil is, that many persons have hired large tracts of land, on to 3 or 4000 acres, and have stocked them with cattle, and have no other inhabitants on their land than so many cottiers as are necessary to look after their sheep and black cattle; so that in some of the finest counties, in many places there is neither house nor corn field to be seen in 10 or 15 miles travelling: and daily in some counties, many gentlemen (as their leases fall into their hands) tye up their tenants from tillage: and this is one of the main causes why so many venture to go into foreign service at the hazard of their lives, if taken, because they can get no land to till at home. And if some stop be not put to this evil, we must daily decrease in the numbers of our people.

"But we hope if this tillage bill takes place, to keep our youth at home, to employ our poor, and not be in danger of a famine among the poor upon any little miscarriage in our harvest. And I hope these are things of greater consequence than the breaking through a lease, so far as concerns ploughing five acres in a hundred."

After a potato famine from which many hun-

¹Letters by Hugh Boulter to several Ministers of State, Oxford, 1769, Vol. 1, pp. 220-223.

dreds of the peasants died of starvation the English Council at last consented, avowedly for the benefit of the poor, to cancel the prohibitory clause in leases so that a small part of each farm should be plowed.¹

Two industries in the counties of Antrim and Londonderry changed the character of the misfortunes of the settlers there, although it cannot be said that they warded off trouble. The Scotch in Ulster should have been prosperous even in years when other provinces of Ireland starved. But the industries of Ireland were crushed out at the behest of English merchants by laws favorable to home products.

The farms in Ulster were small, each having its field of potatoes. The soil was enriched by manure and lime, and after the crop of potatoes had been gathered the flax was sown, perhaps a bushel of seed by a family.² Each farm had also its bleaching green where the flax fibres were whitened in the sun, the drying season lasting for more than half the year.

All that has to do with the flax plant must be of interest to lovers of Ulster. When the seed had produced the graceful fields of flax, the women of the household kept down the weeds until the pretty blue petals had opened and had in turn given way to ripening seed-pods. The plants then were pulled or "plucked" in small handfuls and "bogged." "And

¹ I George II, Chapter 10.

² Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland, August, 1776.

why do you bog it, Larry?" asked Mrs. Hall, who was familiar with flax culture from childhood.

"Is it why we bog it, dear?—Why then, you see, we must all pass through the waters of tribulation to be purified, and so must the flax—the bad you see, and the good, in that small plant is glued together, and the water melts the glue, so that they divide—and that's the sense of it, dear!"

The plants were held in water by heavy stones in running water if the fibres were to be good in color, although the processes of decay went on more rapidly in stagnant water. Sometimes they were laid out in the fields until a season's grass had grown up about and through them. In due time they were gathered and dried in the open air or over a fire. The coarse brown stalks were then slowly drawn over an upright post or chair-back and beaten inch by inch, this being the "scutching" process. The stalks in the next process were cleaned and split by rude combs of varying coarseness, and known as hackles. The task was tiresome and dirty, so that an itinerant workman usually did this part of the labor, going from cabin to cabin with his store of Dublin news and neighborhood gossip. The rough fibres were then subjected to many scaldings and dryings, until the bleaching greens began at last to appear white with the harvest of flax.

A century ago the hand loom produced finer linen yarn than any that came from the mill. In 1815 Cath-

erine Woods of Dunmore near Ballynahinch, a girl of fifteen, spun yarn which gave 2,520,000 yards to the avoirdupois pound of flax, requiring but 17 pounds, 6 ounces, 3½ drams of flax to go entirely around the earth.

This industry of spinning and weaving was carried to America by many thousands of emigrants during half a century which preceded the Revolutionary war. It brought fame and comforts to the Scotch Irish towns both north and south.2 After young Jerry Smith of Peterborough in New Hampshire, the future congressman, had acquired a little book learning he chided his mother one day for her unfamiliarity with the rudiments of grammar. Mrs. Smith who had borne ten children in twelve years, besides cooking and mending, digging sixteen bushels of potatoes in a day, and earning money by spinning to educate her boys, replied somewhat warmly: "But wha taught you langage? It was my wheel; and when ye'll hae spun as many lang threeds to teach me grammar as I hae to teach you, I'll talk better grammar!"3

The catching of salmon in the waters of the Bann

¹Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's Ireland, new edition, Vol. 3, pp. 85-91.

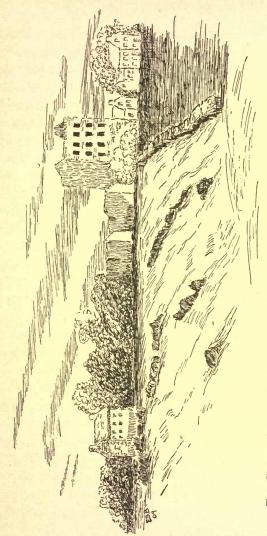
²Archibald Thompson of Abington and Bridgewater is said to have made the first spinning foot-wheel of New England manufacture—a statement difficult of proof. He died in 1776 at the age of eighty-five.

^{*}Morison's Life of Judge Smith, p. 5.

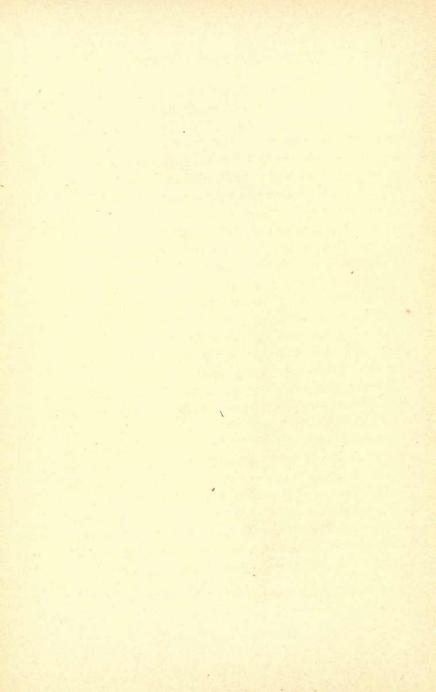
and the Foyle was a great Ulster industry, and the early settlers of Londonderry in New Hampshire must have known its every detail, for many of them had lived near the "Salmon Leap" on the Bann. About the middle of August the salmon spawned in all the streams that are tributary to the Bann and the Foyle. As soon as they could swim they went down to the sea. In January, when they began to return to fresh water, their weight often exceeded ten pounds. A year later their weight had doubled and they were ready for the market. It was natural that the Nutfield settlers should ask the American Indians where they could go for the catching of fish. This was an important occupation: but the linen manufacture was more wide spread, and many of the Scotch Irish who made their wills in America styled themselves "weavers." The industry succeeded the woolen manufacture which had been ruined in 1698 by an English law that forbade export of woolens from Ireland except to England and Wales.1

The linen industry had one unfortunate circumstance peculiar to all manufacture. Depending to a large extent upon foreign markets for its success, it had years of great prosperity followed by others of ruinous inactivity, and the causes of these fluctuations, whether economic or political, lay wholly outside Ireland and beyond her control. When a period of depression was concurrent with the expiration of

¹⁰ and 11 William III, Chapter 10 (English).



THE SALMON LEAP, NEAR COLERAINE AND SOMERSET, WITH RUINS OF MOUNT SANDALL FORT ON THE BANK



many leases, as once happened on Lord Donegal's Antrim estates, the people emigrated in great numbers to America. Arthur Young has an instructive paragraph on this point: "It is the misfortune of all manufacture worked for a foreign market to be upon an insecure footing; periods of declension will come, and when in consequence of them great numbers of people are out of employment, the best circumstance is their enlisting in the army or navy; and it is the common result; but unfortunately the manufacture in Ireland, is not confined, as it ought to be, to towns, but spreads into all cabins of the country. Being half farmers, half manufacturers, they have too much property in cattle, &c., to enlist when idle; if they convert it into cash it will enable them to pay their passage to America, an alternative always chosen in preference to the military life."

It has often been said that the landlords in Ireland were always too much embarrassed financially to retain a Protestant tenantry. The highest bidder was usually an Irishman. Loving Ireland he did not wish to emigrate, and felt compelled to get the lease, even if the price was beyond his power to pay. He would share a single Scotch or English farmer's land with six or seven of his countrymen, all ekeing out a miserable existence; and when the unsuccessful Protestant bidder was far away clearing the New England field for planting, his Irish successors were

¹ Pinkerton's Voyages, London, 1809, Vol. 3, p. 869.

ready to abandon the land they had obtained at an impossible rental.¹ Never over a third and often not over a fifth of the profit went to the tiller of the soil,² and the slightest misfortune reduced the profit to the laborer below the point of subsistence. Archbishop King in a letter to Archbishop Wake, June 2, 1719, sums up the matter from the point of view of a churchman who loved Ireland.

"Some would insinuate that this is in some measure due to the uneasiness dissenters have in the matter of religion, but this is plainly a mistake; for dissenters were never more easy as to that matter than they have been since the Revolution, & are at present: & yet they never thought of leaving the kingdom, till oppressed by excessive [rents?] & other temporal hardships: nor do only dissenters leave us, but proportionately of all sorts, except The truth of the case is this: after the Revolution, most of the kingdom was waste, & abundance of the people destroyed by the war: the landlords therefore were glad to get tenants at any rate, & set their lands at very easy rents; this invited abundance of people to come over here, especially from Scotland, & they have lived here very happily ever since; but now their leases are expired, & they obliged not only to give what was paid before the Revolution, but in most places double & in many

¹ Sir L. Parsons in 1793. Also Archbishop King's Life, p. 301.

² Boulter's Letters, Vol. 1, p. 292.

places treble, so that it is impossible for people to live or subsist on their farms."

Add to these conditions a scarcity of small coin whereby the money required to pay the humble spinner for his yarn or the farmer for his produce cost the merchant over one and a half per cent; and the attempts in England to cripple the linen industry,3 and we are not surprised that the desire to emigrate passed over the land like a fever. Letters like the following show that Archbishop King, at the very outset of the great migration, was doing his best by eloquent appeal to awaken the English conscience. He wrote February 6, 1717-18 to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I find likewise that your Parliament is destroying the little Trade that is left These & other Discouragements are driving away the few Protestants that are amongst us; insomuch that last year some Thousands of Families are gone to the West Indies. No Papists stir except young men that go abroad to be trained to arms. with Intention to return with the Pretender. The Papists being already five or six to one, & a breeding People, you may imagine in what conditions we are like to be. I may farther observe that the Papists being made incapable to purchase Lands, have turn'd themselves to Trade, & already engrossed almost all the Trade of the Kingdom."4

¹ King's Life, p. 301.

² Boulter to Newcastle, 1728; Letters, Vol. 1, p. 252.

³ King to Archbishop of Canterbury, January 18, 1722-23,

King's Life, p. 207.

Trade between the British Isles and the American colonies went very largely to the Delaware and Chesapeake Bay. Tobacco-laden ships sailed for Dublin, Liverpool, Belfast or Glasgow; returning to America with trifling cargoes of dress-goods, farm tools, and similar necessities, they gladly added to their revenues by transporting an occasional settler. There were few large parties of emigrants; if we except those who went to Williamsburg in South Carolina, few came to the South through concerted action until toward the middle of the eighteenth century. Few were led by ministers, but when they had settled along the banks of Christiana Creek, the Octorara, or the Neshaminy, they accepted ministers who had come to serve English Presbyterians, or they sent to Ireland for others.

The relations between New England and Ireland, on the other hand, were almost entirely intellectual and religious. There was no intercourse in trade to stimulate colonization. The migration of 1718 was so thoroughly a deliberate undertaking, clearly conceived and organized, that an agent was sent out to prepare the way. Ships were chartered for the voyage and their holds were filled with the household goods of the Bann Valley emigrants. It was this initiative in 1718 which led to an active but short-lived passenger trade between Irish ports and Boston. In this enterprise the Rev. William Homes's son, Captain Robert Homes, played a considerable

part. The next year the more favorable conditions for settlement south and west of Philadelphia began to turn a large part of the traffic away from New England to Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas. This passenger traffic grew so rapidly that merchandise which had been of primary importance in Ulster's trade with the South ceased to be vital to the success of a voyage across the ocean.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN ULSTER, 1714–1718

We now turn to the political oppression which was another cause for discontent in northern Ireland. In the early days of the London settlement and the succeeding Scotch migration when linen took the place of woolen, the new settlers felt that superiority which men who have a strong government behind them are wont to feel. They were independent, and even contemptuous of "the mere Irish." Under Cromwell they grew in strength until there were about eighty churches represented in the presbytery. With the return of Charles II, religious and political restrictions began to be felt. In Ulster sixty-one ministers were ejected from their churches, and curates were appointed to conduct Episcopal services; uniformity in church worship again became a dogma of the State.

It must not be assumed that the disabilities under which Presbyterians in Ireland labored were peculiar to the time or place. It was held by many to be for the best interest of the State that people should worship God in the accustomed way; and in Queen Elizabeth's time¹ all persons had been commanded to attend church on Sundays and holy days where the Book of Common Prayer was used. This was no more tyrannical than the policy of the non-conforming assembly in Scotland, which was to induce Cromwell to make the Presbyterian religion paramount in England,2 nor more exacting than the aim of the Presbyterians in Ireland who, as soon as they felt their strength, asked to have the army under Presbyterian influences only. The same strong spirit prevailed in early orthodox New England; and the present large but empty churches there, with ample but idle horsesheds, testify to a more effective and perhaps more wholesome spiritual and social life in country towns of old under the despotism of Cotton Mather and his immediate successors.

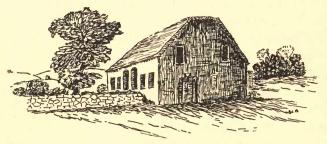
Roman Catholic supremacy in Ireland under James II came to an end with the arrival of William and Mary in 1688. In 1691 Parliament decreed³ that the statute of Queen Elizabeth's time relating to uniformity of church services should not apply to Ireland, thus permitting attendance at non-conformist chapels. After January 1, 1691–2, all candidates for civil, military and ecclesiastical offices were to take oaths of allegiance to the royal family, and

¹² Elizabeth 2, Section 3; also 35 Elizabeth 1.

² See life of the Rev. Robert Blair, in Dictionary of National Biography.

^{8 3} William and Mary, Chapter 2. (English Statutes.)

to make declarations against transubstantiation in the mass, and adoration of the Virgin Mary, provisions intended to bar Roman Catholics from office. Dissenters now had liberty to worship in their own chapels, and were not compelled to partake of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Established church in order to hold office. But they still had disabilities which could be made to bear heavily



PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSE AT DUNGANNON, COUNTY TYRONE
Built Before the Year 1725

upon them; indeed if the magistrate chose, they suffered more than the Roman Catholics. The Synod which met at Antrim in 1698 declared its grievances to be an inability in many places to bury the dead until the Established service had been read, the requirement that school-masters partake of the Lord's Supper according to the customary rites, and the pressure to serve as church-wardens. In 1699 the Synod being asked for advice as to marriages decided that ministers had better continue to

perform the ceremony "in an orderly way," as of old. In 1710 the Synod decided that it might be wise in some places to leave the performance of the ceremony to the Episcopal clergy. In the second year of Queen Anne's reign (1703) a penal statute was carried by the help of the Bishops,1 and they obtained in return for their support the introduction of a clause compelling in Ireland the sacramental test for office holders. This Irish Test Act seems to have been used unscrupulously as a weapon to place the Presbyterians on a level of disability with the Roman Catholics. Their ministers were almost everywhere turned out of their pulpits or threatened with legal proceedings. Dissenters were debarred from teaching schools and the legality of their marriages was denied. In 1716 Samuel Smith, Jr., and John Kyle of Belfast were called upon to defend their marriages in court. These were test cases, followed however by others. The Synod determined to stand by the defendants with the church's funds, but threats from prominent supporters of the denomination to withhold contributions in the future if the course were persisted in, caused the Synod to abandon the attempt to uphold its claims in this way.

The Regium Donum, an annual government gift to non-conformist clergy in Ireland, in recognition of the Protestant defence of Ulster in 1688, was suspended. In short the hardships inflicted under this

¹C. G. Walpole's History of the Knigdom of Ireland, p. 359.

law of Queen Anne from 1703 to 1719 had much to do with the migration to New England.

The Government found it impossible to pass a more moderate act to quiet discontent until vacancies in the ranks of the bishops could be filled by more tolerant men, and the Toleration Act of 1719 was the first measure of relief that could be obtained. The oath still required loyalty to a King when excommunicated by the Pope; and the customary provisions to disfranchise Roman Catholics, namely: a declaration that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that the adoration of the Virgin Mary and other saints, and Sacrifice of the Mass are superstitious and idolatrous. There were exemptions for dissenters who did not favor baptism in infancy, and for Quakers, and there was no requirement to attend the Lord's Supper; but the thirteenth article of the act shut out all from its benefits who did not believe in the Trinity. This article struck a blow at Presbyterian Antrim which was just then divided over the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and weakened the nonconformist strength, although the act was considered by Archbishop King "such a wide Toleration as . . . is not precedented in the whole Earth." King George pressed the measure vigorously and the clergy which had been transplanted

¹6 George I, Chapter 5,

from England helped to pass it through the Irish

parliament.

This concession did little to allay the fever for migration to America, which by 1728 aroused the fears of Archbishop Boulter of Armagh, and occasioned a series of letters, chiefly of defence against the charge that excessive tythes rather than rents caused the exodus. Extracts from these letters follow, but it should be recalled that their author was not so much in sympathy with Ireland as was Archbishop King of Dublin.¹

Archbishop Boulter, writing to Lord Carteret from Dublin, March 8, 1728, says: "I do not doubt but some persons in the North may have been oppressed by the farmers of tythes. But I have at every visitation I have held had as great complaints from the clergy of the hardships put upon them by the people, in coming at their just dues, as the people can make of being any ways oppressed by the clergy or their tythe farmers, and I believe with as much reason.

"As to the expensiveness of the Spiritual courts which they complain of, that will be very much avoided by the act passed last sessions for the more easy recovery of the tythes of small value. And

¹Relief from many of the penalties of Queen Anne's act came in 1737 (11 George II, Chapter 10), when Presbyterian marriages were declared legal, and in 1755, when dissenters were permitted to hold commissions in the militia.

indeed the gentlemen have, ever since I came hither, been putting it into the heads of their tenants, that it was not their rents, but the paying of the tythes that made them find it hard to live on their farms. And it is easy to see that this was a notion that would readily take with Scotch presbyterians." In a letter to the Bishop of London¹ the Archbishop contends that if the rent is doubled that implies that the value of the tythe is doubled; so the archbishop throws the responsibility on the landlord. The growth of the country after the wars of 1688 undoubtedly warranted somewhat higher rents. continues: "It is not the tythe but the increased rent that undoes the farmer. And indeed in this country, where I fear the tenant hardly ever has more than one third of the profits he makes of his farm for his share and too often but a fourth or perhaps a fifth part, as the tenant's share is charged with the tythe, his case is no doubt hard, but it is plain from what side the hardship arises. When they find they have 7 or 8 £ to pay, they run away: for the greatest part of the occupiers of the land here are so poor, that an extraordinary stroke of 8 or 10 £ [judgment] falling on them, is certain ruin to them."

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written from Dublin March 13, 1728, Boulter shows what efforts were made to better the conditions of the moment,

¹ Boulter's Letters, Vol. 1, pp. 291-293, 297.

but he could scarcely have expected to upbuild the commercial well-being of Ireland, whatever influence he might have had, without the enactment of new laws relating to religious and political equality of dissenter and Episcopalian. He writes:

"The humour of going to America still continues, and the scarcity of provisions certainly makes many quit us: there are now seven ships at Belfast that are carrying off about 1000 passengers thither: and if we knew how to stop them, as most of them can neither get victuals nor work at home, it would be cruel to do it:

"We have sent for 2400 quarters of rye from Coningsbery; when they arrive which will probably be about the middle of May, we hope the price of things will fall considerably in the north, and we suppose they will mend pretty much when our supplies arrive from Munster."

The Established Church in Ireland was fortunate in having several leaders during this period who were able administrators, and conscious of their duty toward Ireland. Archbishops King and Boulter showed by their correspondence a lively sense of the deplorable condition of the people, both spiritually and as to their worldly estate. They also strove to bring the clergy to a higher plane. In 1714 King remonstrated with Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, for his long years of absence from Ireland, on the ground that his conduct justified the reproach

of Mr. Boyse, the famous Presbyterian, that his bishopric was "only a pompous sinecure." King himself gives some explanation of this unfortunate habit of the clergy when he says that there was little learning in Ireland and one could do no more than eat, drink and sleep.²

The archbishop felt handicapped in trying to rival the Presbyterian influence in the North by the practice of the rector who lived abroad, leaving his parish work to be done by a poorly paid curate. He writes:

"The people of the North have a peculiar aversion to curates, & call them hirelings; the difference in point of success amongst them is visible, between a grave resident minister that lives amongst his people, & spends part of what he receives from them in the place, & a poor curate that is not able to keep himself from contempt. . . . The people of the North do not grudge their tithes to the clergy, though they pay more than all the other provinces, because their landlords or the clergy must have them; the first must spend them in London or Dublin, whereas the clergy spend them on the place. . . . But if the clergy live in Dublin, 'tis as good for the people landlords had the tithes. . . . In short, the world begins to look on us as a parcel of men that have invented a trade for our easy and convenient living."3

¹ A great archbishop of Dublin, William King (1906), p. 249.

² King, p. 227,

^{*} King to the Bishop of Clogher, 1704.

In behalf of the clergy it must be said that they were more devoted than the landlords, and a fourth or fifth of the resident justices were taken from the clerical ranks because no other men of education and standing were to be found in those communities, if we except the Presbyterian ministers who were barred by law from holding the office.

Archbishop King was so devoted to Ireland that Boulter was chosen with a view to counteracting his influence. King was no less devoted to his church. He went from town to town in his "parish visitation," exhorting his clergy to hold conferences with dissenters to bring them to conformity, making addresses to the public which "seemed to flow from the occasion, rather than by design," and obtaining results which seemed to him encouraging.

King, in his struggle with the Scotch in Ulster, wrote a very able book which caused a bitter controversy for a generation, covering the period before the migration of 1718. The book bore the title "A discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God," and attempted to prove that the Presbyterians, who prided themselves on their devotion to Scripture, worshipped in direct opposition to its mandates, and rarely read it in their meetings. When the book appeared in print they were, as he said, "irate and excited almost to fury." The Rev. Joseph Boyse of Dublin, a grandson of Matthew

¹ King, p. 35.

Boyse who lived for a time at Rowley in New England, and the Rev. Robert Craighead, whose son migrated to New England and Pennsylvania, replied at great length. King had charged the Presbyterians with failure to attend public worship regularly. with neglect of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and with being contented with scant instruction in Christian principles. Boyse, as the ablest of several defenders of the dissenters, made the best attempt to refute these charges. The dissenters felt the weakness of their Bible training, but so many ministers had been admitted to preach with insufficient education that it was difficult to raise the requirements. The proposition to have candidates for the ministry study the Psalter in Hebrew came before the Synod year after year and failed to pass. Finally Hebrew was deemed necessary, and in 1709 and 1710 the Synods voted that the Rev. Fulk White of Braid be paid £10 a year for teaching Hebrew. Candidates for the ministry were urged, also, to study the New Testament in the original Greek.

Archbishop King by the publication of his book started a discussion which undoubtedly awakened the minds of the people, and must have done good. He said, "Our people, who before almost in silence endured the scoffings and continual disputations of the dissenters, their ears deafened with frequent arguments, and scornful attacks; neither in meetings, drinking parties, nor feasts, could they any-

where rest, but conquered and helpless, remained silent; now reviving as with new spirits, and in their turn attacking the adversaries."

It must be granted that the Established church, even with its endowments, had a difficult field for its labor. The Roman Catholics dominated the lower provinces, and in Ulster the Scotch Presbyterians outnumbered the English Episcopalians, while together the Protestants scarcely exceeded the Roman Catholic population. The "estated gentlemen" largely belonged to the Established church, and it was feared that their dissenting tenants, if granted privileges, would transfer their loyalty from landlord to dissenting minister. While the dominant class did not have the courage to be generous, it is not unfair to assume also that the Presbyterians were at times strangers to conciliation.

In an address which came before the House of Lords at Dublin in 1711, relating to the "disturbance of the peace" at Drogheda by two Presbyterians who wished to gather a church, the following charges are made:

1. Dissenters have refused to take apprentices that will not covenant to go to their meetings.

2. When in a majority in Corporations they excluded all not of their persuasion.

3. They oblige those of their Communion married by our Liturgy to do publick Penance.

¹ King, p. 38, Quædam.

- 4. Episcopal order hath been stiled Anti-Scriptural; our worship called superstitious & idolatrous.
- 5. Ministers openly and violently assaulted. Although Episcopalians have endeavored, by gentle Usage, to melt them down into a more soft and complying temper.

6. They seek to enlarge their borders by misapplying that Bounty of £1200 a year, extended to

them for charitable purposes:—

to the propagation of schism,

to maintain agents,

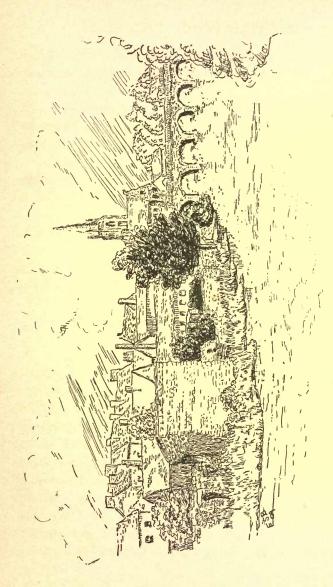
to support lawsuits against the church,

to form seminaries to the poisoning of the principles of our youth,

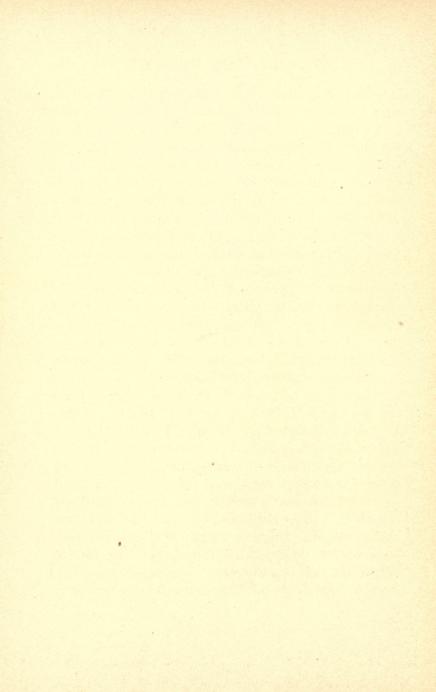
to set up synods and judicatories.

The most unfortunate result, however, of a contentious spirit among Irish Presbyterians appeared when shades of belief became through violent debates among themselves the source of irreconcilable feuds, to be maintained with Scotch stubbornness.

Presbyterianism, which should have been strong in Ulster, was by virtue of its Scotch origin deprived of its united force through the great theological schism of the time: in other words, through the ascendancy of what we should now call Unitarianism, or the growing disinclination of ministers to subscribe to the Westminster Confession.



THE TOWN OF ANTRIM, ON THE RIVER BAIRD HOME of the Rev. John Abernethy



The master mind of this time in Scottish theology was Professor Simson, who began his instruction in Divinity at Glasgow a century after the death of the Dutch theologian Arminius, that is in 1708. His liberal views were espoused by Professor Hamilton at Edinburgh, and by a leader in Ulster thought, the Rev. John Abernethy of Antrim in Ireland. Abernethy, a friend of Simson, founded the Belfast Society which rapidly gained prominence as the supporter of ministers in Ireland who would not subscribe to the Westminster Confession. In 1707 a minister in the Synod of Aberdeen had been suspended for asserting that virtue was more natural to man than vice. The opposition of Arminius to the doctrine that God had selected his chosen few for the Kingdom of Heaven, leaving by predestination the unfortunate and sinful majority of mankind to an eternity in hell, became the basis of the liberal movement under Simson and the younger clergy of western Scotland and Ulster. In their platform were many beliefs that have since then influenced all creeds: that man is naturally able through his own powers to seek saving grace; that corruption which overcame the soul's purity was due to the body inherited from Adam; that the wish for happiness should inspire Christian living; that effective punishment for sin must be eternal, but that infants would be saved, and even the heathen would be judged according to their opportunity for light.

And, most important of all, the elect would, it was hoped, outnumber the damned.

With these liberalizing theories went a change in preaching. Dogma became less important than conduct, and the younger ministers turned to ethics and morality for their themes, drifting away from the homely exhortation to worship and follow Christ. The "non-subscribers" to the Westminster Confession were joined to the Presbytery of Antrim, and then in 1726 were made independent. In 1736, after vears of bitter discord, the Assembly ruled that ministers insist on supernatural revelation, that they base their sermons on Gospel subjects and "let their hearers know that they must first be grafted into Christ as their root before their fruit can be savoury unto God." County Antrim was a theological battle-ground during these opening years of the eighteenth century when the doctrinal articles were by many abandoned.

The theological disputes of the time left their impress upon the emigrants to America. To them religion was a vital subject, for constant thought and frequent discussion. In New England this earnest discussion grew into a spirit of discord which weakened the Presbyterian influence there. At the South the Presbyterians were of a milder temper, possibly because their greater numbers gave them less provocation to religious contention; possibly

¹ See Mathieson's Scotland and the Union, p. 224.

also because the milder English Presbyterianism had taken root early, and made itself felt even when the Scotch Irish had overrun the country.

Their devotion to self-government made them the pioneers in the movement for political independence. Referring to the Mecklenburg declaration a North Carolinian once said: "Och, aye, Tam Polk declared independence lang before anybody else!" This Colonel "Tam" or Thomas was the great uncle of President Polk. He was a leader among the Scotch Irish of North Carolina, and the opening paragraph of the "Declaration" which he read from the steps of the Court-house in Charlotte on a May afternoon in 1775 exhibits the courage of the race from Ireland. These are the opening words which he read:

"Resolved, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country—to America—and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

As the reading continued, and Colonel Polk's voice declared for a dissolution of the political bonds with the mother country, "that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington," there was breathless silence followed by loud and long cheers. The Polks from Donegal were doing their part in America.

The Scotch Irish puzzled the traveller. Crèvecœur¹ speaks of the varying ability and thrift shown by the settlers. He adds: "One would think on so small an island an Irishman must be an Irishman, yet it is not so; they are different in their aptitude to, and in their love of labour."

If the Scotch Irish differed from the Irish they were not more like the Germans. The fundamental reason was a racial one, although the Scotch Irish selected slaty lands along the river banks where the soil is less productive than the lime-stone formations chosen by the Germans.² If we study the biographical dictionary, however, to compare Scotch Irish civic achievement with German participation in public life, we shall find the slaty field obstructed by stumps a more productive nursery of statesmen than the well-cleared field of loam that delighted the German heart.

¹ Letters from an American Farmer, N. Y. 1904, p. 83.

² Faust's German element, 1909, Vol. 1, p. 132. See also B. Rush's Essays, 1798, pp. 224, 228.

REV. WILLIAM HOMES AND REV. THOMAS CRAIGHEAD

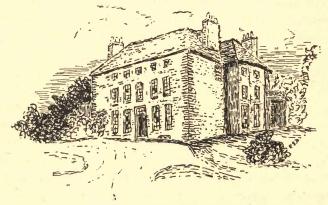
The migration from the vicinity of Londonderry and from northern Tyrone to New England was much influenced by two Presbyterian ministers who had emigrated from Ireland a short time before, and were in sympathy with the Rev. Cotton Mather in his desire for the settlement of Protestant families from Ulster.

William Homes, the first of these ministers, was born in the north of Ireland in 1663, of a family which had been of consequence there for several generations. There was a Thomas Homes at Strabane, County Tyrone, in 1619; and at the time of which we write another Rev. William Homes, living at Urney, a few miles south of Strabane, was so well known that our William was called "the meek" to distinguish him.

He had a happy combination of gentleness and ability which made his career in the ministry less eventful than that of the second minister referred to above, the Rev. Thomas Craighead. The boy

¹ William Homes, Junior, of Urney was ordained in 1696, and was probably a cousin.

Homes was carefully educated, and about 1686 he came over to Martha's Vineyard where he obtained a position to teach school. His teaching was acceptable, and he was urged to remain there, but a desire to preach led him in July, 1691, to return to Ireland. He was reported from Lagan meeting in 1692 as "on trial in order to ordination," and having gone through his second trials he was ordained December 21, 1692, as pastor of a church at Strabane



HOLY HILL HOUSE, STRABANE, COUNTY TYRONE Standing when the Rev. William Homes preached at Strabane

in the Presbytery of Convoy. Strabane was at the time a small village whose chief importance lay in its situation at the point where the Mourne and the Finn join to form the river Foyle. In the centre of the town there was a neat but plain market house, and farther down the road were two good gentlemen's country houses, facing each other. In this town he was to begin his labors.

Mr. Homes received his degree of Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh in 1693. Craighead had preceded him in 1691, and the names of several others of note later in America appeared on the college rolls soon after. From a copy of Mr. Homes's diary, preserved by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, many facts in regard to his family may be gleaned. William's father came from Donaghmore, county Donegal, a village a mile or more west of Castlefinn, and an hour's drive south west of Lifford on the road to Donegal and Ballyshannon. In the family lot there William's brother John, who was killed by lightning in 1692 in the parish of Raphoe, was buried; this John left five children, Margaret, John, Jolnot (?), Jane and Rebecca. Mary Ann, a sister of William, died in 1705. William married September 26, 1693, Katherine, daughter of the Rev. Robert Craighead, a venerable and distinguished minister of Londonderry.1

¹ Their children as far as known were:

ROBERT, born July 23, 1694, at Stragolan, County Fermanagh, several miles south of Omagh. He came to New England, and married Mary Franklin of Boston, April 3, 1716. She was a sister of Benjamin Franklin, the scientist and statesman. Robert was engaged for years as captain of a ship in transporting emigrants to America.

MARGARET, born February 28, 1695-96, at Strabane; married,

The Rev. William Homes and his brother-in-law the Rev. Thomas Craighead, with their families, arrived in Boston the first week in October, 1714, from Londonderry, on the ship "Thomas and Jane" of which Mr. William Wilson was then master. Homes brought four written testimonials, from the elders and overseers of his congregation at Strabane, from the Presbytery of Convoy, from the Synod, and from eight presbyterian ministers at Dublin, including the Rev. Joseph Boyse, a famous preacher and writer. The first testimonial was printed in the Boston Gazette for August 26, 1746; of this issue no copy is known to exist.

March 1, 1715-16, at Chilmark [Colonel] John Allen. She died April 26, 1778.

WILLIAM, born —; died February 18, 1699-1700.

Katherine, born March 20, 1698-99; baptized by the Rev. Thomas Craighead at Strabane; married, May 30 (?), 1721, at Chilmark, Captain Samuel Smith.

John, born July 30, 1700; baptized at Strabane by the Rev. Samuel Haliday of Ardstraw; died October 14, 1732, at Chilmark.

Jane, born August 30, 1701; baptized at Strabane by the Rev. William Homes of Urney; married, July 1, 1725, Sylvanus Allen of Chilmark; died December 17, 1763, at Chilmark.

Agnes, born May 31, 1704; baptized by the Rev. Mr. Homes of Urney; married, December 14, 1725, Joshua Allen.

ELIZABETH, born September 15, 1705; married by the Rev. Mr. Prince, February 5, 1729-30, to James Hutchinson.

HANNAH, born January 31, 1708-09.

MARGERY, born January 23, 1710-11; married, June 11, 1734, Benjamin Daggett.

See also a memoir of Mrs. Sarah Tappan.

The testimonial from Convoy was printed as part of the preface written by Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince for Homes's "The Good Government of Christian Families Recommended," a memorial volume issued in 1747. It was signed by Francis Laird at Donaghmore July 12, 1714.

It will be seen that Homes came well recommended. He was of gentle spirit, although something of a leader, having served in Ireland as moderator of the general Synod of 1708 which met at Belfast with fifty-four ministers and forty ruling elders present. He was a student of administration. His work, entitled "Proposals of Some Things to be done in our administring Ecclesiastical Government" (Boston, 1732) favored a council or presbytery of churches to check the friction which became evident on several occasions among New England ministers and people. The Rev. John White of Gloucester replied two years later in "New England's Lamentations," contending that, excepting ruling elders and the "third way of communion," the Congregationalists and Presbyterians stood on common ground. White held that no church in the whole consociation of churches would be so stubborn as to "sustain the dreadful sentence of noncommunion." Nevertheless he felt secure in Congregational polity after reading the fifth chapter

¹Laird was succeeded there in 1744 by the Rev. Benjamin Homes.

of first Corinthians, where "the Brethren" are admonished to come together and subject their sinning members to discipline.

Samuel Sewall welcomed Mr. Homes upon his arrival, and showed him many marks of respect. In his diary on October 5, 1714, Sewall wrote: "I wait on the Lieut. Gov^r, visit Mr. William Homes, Mr. Thomas Craighead, Ministers, in order to know what was best to be done as to the ship's coming up. Carried them a Bushel Turnips, cost me 5^s and a Cabbage cost half a Crown. Dined at the Castle, L^t Gov^r also invited Mr. Homes." On December 2d he records a gift of "an angel" (ten shillings) to Mr. Homes and Mr. Craighead, and in correspondence later he showed his good will.

The pulpit at Chilmark in Martha's Vineyard being vacant, Homes returned to the scene of his youthful labors. There he remained, faithful and honored, until his death June 27, 1746, in his eighty-fourth year. Mrs. Homes died April 10, 1754, in her eighty-second year. Thus were lost to the upbuilding of Ireland two worthy characters.

Parker says¹ that a young man named Homes, son of a Presbyterian clergyman, first brought reports to the people in Ireland of opportunities in New England. This was probably Captain Robert Homes, son of the Rev. William Homes; he had an unusual opportunity for intercourse with his

¹ History of Londonderry, p. 34.

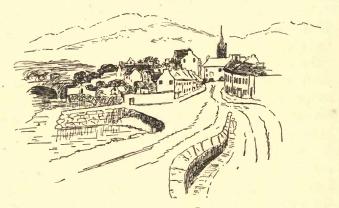
father's former parishioners through his voyages to Ireland. In 1717 two men with names later significant in the Worcester and Falmouth settlements, called to see the minister at Chilmark; they were John McClellan and James Jameson. Three weeks later (November 24th) Mr. Homes writes in his diary: "This day I received several letters, one from Doctor Cotton Mather, one from severall gentlemen proprietors of lands at or near to Casco Bay, and one from son Robert."

The above quotation points strongly to a conference held at Boston in November between Captain Robert Homes, recently from Ireland and interested in transporting Scotch Irish families, the Rev. Cotton Mather, eager to see the frontiers defended by a God-fearing, hardy people, and the third party to the conference, the men who were attempting to plant settlements along the Kennebec. They must have talked over the project for a great migration (they all had written to the minister at Chilmark), and undoubtedly Captain Robert Homes sent over letters and plans to friends at Strabane, Donaghmore, Donegal and Londonderry. Perhaps no one in Boston had so many relatives among the clergy in Ulster, and as a sea-captain he had a still further interest in the migration. Robert himself sailed for Ireland April 13, 1718, and returned "full of passengers" about the middle of October.

The Rev. Mr. Homes in his diary describes his

journey to Boston on this great occasion. He lodged with his son and preached twice, from Philemon i. 21, for the Rev. Cotton Mather at the North meeting house, and from Proverbs xii. 26 for the Rev. John Webb at the New North; neither text seems to have had any special significance.

The Rev. William Homes had two prominent



DONEGAL, COUNTY DONEGAL Home of the Rev. Thomas Craighead

brothers-in-law, Robert and Thomas Craighead. The Rev. Robert Craighead studied divinity at Edinburgh and Leyden and had a conspicuous career at Dublin from 1709 until 1738, when he died. In 1719, when the Presbyterian church in Ireland was in prolonged debate over the deity of Christ and subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, he served as moderator of the Ulster Synod. The Rev.

Thomas Craighead was educated in Scotland, but later entered upon his trials for the ministry as a probationer in the Presbytery of Strabane in 1698. He settled at Donegal. Here he remained until he removed with his brother-in-law Homes to America in 1714, being succeeded by the Rev. John Homes, who enjoyed a long pastorate at Donegal.

The Rev. Thomas Craighead had the unhappy gift of discord and he led a somewhat stormy life, although he was a fearless and a useful minister. For some time all went well at Freetown. Mr. Craighead, when he settled there, had agreed to subsist on voluntary contributions from his flock. Probably his manner did not attract, and the support became gradually reduced until he was obliged to petition the General Court for a grant of money. They allowed ten pounds in June, 1718, for half a year's services. This was probably not the first grant of the kind to Mr. Craighead. In 1719 he brought his plight to the notice of the Justices of the Peace

¹ By his wife, Margaret, Mr. Craighead had:

THOMAS, born in 1702; married Margaret, daughter of George Brown, merchant of Londonderry, Ireland. A farmer at White Clay Creek, Delaware.

ANDREW, died unmarried.

ALEXANDER, died in March, 1766; an eloquent minister who lived in Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina.

John, of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

JANE, married, October 23, 1725, the Rev. Adam Boyd, pastor of a church at the forks of the Brandywine. Their son edited the Cape Fear Mercury.

for Bristol County, and at a Court of General Sessions of the Peace the town was ordered to lav a rate for his support. Many refused to comply and were thrown into jail. A petition to the General Court asking to have the men liberated, the rate declared annulled and Craighead's election as minister at Freetown void, was granted June 19, 1719. The unfortunate minister then petitioned for relief, having for four and a half years preached at Freetown, three of these years without pay, and being then deeply in debt. In December he was granted twenty pounds.1 Among his enemies John Hathaway, a kinsman, was a conspicuous figure, and to him Cotton Mather addressed a stirring letter, as a last effort to restore peace. It was written July 21, 1719:

"21 d V m 1719

"You cannot be insensable that the minister whom ye glorious Lord hath graciously sent among you is a man of Excellent Spirit, and a great Blessing to your plantation. Mr. Craighead is a man of Singular piety and Humility & meekness, & patience & self denial and industry in the work of God. All that are acquainted with him, have a precious esteem of him. And if he should be driven from you, it would be such a Damage [to] you, such a Ruine to your plantation, as ought not without Horror to be thought upon.

¹ Province Laws 1719-20, Chapters 43, 110.

"But, we are given to understand, from some who are the spectators of what is done among you, That Mr. Hathway's Coming unto a good, friendly & Christian Frame towards Mr. Craighead would much Contribute unto his Comfortable Countenance Among you. We do therefore, Exceedingly importune you, to put away Evil Differences towards that faithful Servant of God. and Come unto such a frame, as, if you now felt the last Pangs of Death upon you (which Cannot be put off) you would chuse to dy withal.

"It will be not a little for your own Reputation with Godly & Worthy Men, that your disaffection for that Valuable man were laid aside And if once you come to sit lovingly together, the more you know him the more will you Love him."

Craighead soon left Freetown, and in the spring of the year 1723 moved his family southward into "the Jerseys," as President Stiles of Yale makes record. He joined Newcastle presbytery January 28, 1724, and on the 22nd of the next month was installed minister of the church at White Clay Creek in Delaware. There Mr. Craighead preached eloquently for seven years, enjoying frequent revivals and building new churches through his zeal. In 1733 he moved to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and joined Donegal presbytery September 3rd. He was pastor of the church at Pequea from October 31, 1733, to September, 1736. Changing his resi-

dence once more he settled at Hopewell in 1738, and preached until he died while pronouncing a benediction, in April, 1739; his last church was within the bounds of the present town of Newville, a few miles west of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. While serving in these pastorates he was known as "Father" Craighead, and attained a wide reputation, rising soon to be moderator of the Synod.

Craighead came of a distinguished family, and is the ancestor of many ministers in the southern states. Having relatives in Londonderry and Dublin he was able by correspondence to stir the spirit of migration. He stands as a link between New England and the colonies south of the Hudson. Many of the Scotch Irish went from the Kennebec settlements to happier surroundings in Pennsylvania. They left brothers and cousins throughout Massachusetts and New York. Their ties of sympathy, faith and blood, helped to bind the colonies together in 1775. Tidings of the fight at Lexington stirred North and South Carolina profoundly for there were kinships along the entire coast.

ULSTER AND THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTRY IN 1718

In the early years of the Colonies, that is, before 1718, an occasional party of emigrants went out from Ireland in the ships which sailed to southern ports for tobacco and cotton. Through them the Carolinas became in a few years familiar to the people of Ulster. New England on the other hand received scarcely any immigration before 1718, and there was very little intercourse, unless we except that of a theological and literary nature which existed between leaders of thought in Dublin and Boston. This was perhaps the chief reason which led to the appointment of an agent by the Bann Valley colonists.

This agent, the Rev. William Boyd, was ordained at Macosquin in January, 1709–10. The Rev. Thomas Boyd, probably his father, was an Episcopal clergyman at the neighboring town of Aghadowey, and although deposed in 1661 for non-conformity, continued to preach there until his death in 1699, holding services also at Macosquin for the last ten years that he lived.

When the Rev. William Boyd had fulfilled his

mission in Boston and was ready to return to Macosquin, he preached a "return" sermon at the weekly lecture on the 19th of March, 1718-19. It was printed in 1719 with the title "God's way the Best way" (Jeremiah vi. 16). The introduction by the Rev. Increase Mather tells in rather quaint language so much of interest relating to Mr. Boyd and his mission to New England that it is given in part just as he wrote it: "It was not before the last Summer that he Arrived among us. He had his Education in the University of Edinburgh in Scotland; and there commenc'd Master of Arts: and afterwards Read Divinity in the Famous Colledge and University in Glasgow under the care of Mr. Widrow, then Professor of Divinity there. been Ordained a Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of a Church at Macasky in Ireland. Many in that Kingdom having had thoughts of a remove to this part of the World, have considered him as a Person suitably qualify'd to take a Voyage hither, and to make Enquiry what Encouragement or otherwise, they might expect in case they should engage in so weighty and hazardous an Undertaking, as that of Transporting themselves & Families over so vast an Ocean. The issue of this Affair has a great dependence on the Conduct of this Worthy Author. The

¹Among the Fasti are William Boyd, 1709, and Adam Boyd, 1711. References to the Boyds may be found in Miss Leavitt's The Blair Family (1900).

Lord direct him in it. Since his being in New-England (as well as afore that) by the Exemplary holiness of his Conversation, and the Eminency of his Ministerial Gifts, he has obtained a good Report amongst all Good Men. . . .

"It is justly observed in the Sermon Emitted herewith, that Antiquity alone, is not a sufficient Justification of any Practice; Altho' Truth is more Ancient than Error."

Cotton Mather with his unfailing kindness sent Mr. Boyd away with a generous letter of commendation:

"Boston, N. E.

20 d ii m 1719

"It is hereby Certified on Behalf of ye Reverend Mr. William Boyd That which he has Commenced among us, he has, as far as we Could know or learn Adorned Ye Doctrines of God of Saviour, with unblemished Conversation, and improved ye Character given him in ye recomendations which he brought hither from Ireland with him. And that his public Labours in ye ministry of the Gospel, have been Desired and Accepted among the people of God in this Country: with whom he now leaves a very Good Name, & Reputation, At his Departure from us.

"Having furnished this Or worthy Brother with Such a Testimony, we earnestly Comend him to ye Conduct & Blessing of or glorious Lord, in ye Voyage that is now before him."

¹American Antiquarian Society Manuscripts,

Before further reference is made to Mr. Boyd's subsequent career and the lives of his contemporaries, something must be said of the Presbyterian church in Ulster, its organization, its work and its ministry, for the ministers were closely allied with the first plan to form a Scotch Irish colony in America. The General Synod of the Presbyterian church in Ulster was held usually in June of each year. The Synod of 1717 is especially interesting for its long and important sessions, in which Boyd, McGregor. Cornwall and others who were interested in America took part. Nine presbyteries were represented. Down, Belfast, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, Coleraine, Derry, Convoy, and Monaghan; one hundred churches sent their ministers and in most instances also a ruling elder. The aged David Cargill had come with the Rev. Mr. McGregor from Aghadowey; they were both appointed by the Synod members of the Committee "on funds." Matthew Clark and James Woodside were absent: Clark was excused, but Mr. Woodside did not have so good a reason for absence and was not excused.

The records of the Synod show among other activities an increasing interest in the Irish language, some ministers being able to read and others to preach in Irish. The Synod of Argyle also expressed a desire to aid Ulster in the conversion of the Irish, and there is mention of a Celtic catechism, ready to be printed. Of still greater importance, if Mr.

McGregor was already thinking and speaking of removal to America, was his appointment to travel about the counties of Londonderry, Antrim and Tyrone on a mission to convert the Celtic Irish.

The Synod declined after much discussion to transfer the Rev. Robert Craighead, brother of the minister soon to be in Massachusetts, from Dublin to Londonderry. Many other cases of ministerial transfers were discussed, including the Rev. Mr. Cornwall's request to be relieved of his work at Augher (near Clogher) on account of ill-health, the distance of his house from the church, and the inability of the congregation to meet expenses.²

A young man who wished to enter the ministry was examined by the Presbytery of Antrim which now reported to the Synod "that he hath neither a natural capacity nor learning any way equal to the work of the Ministry," and was advised to lay aside his purpose.

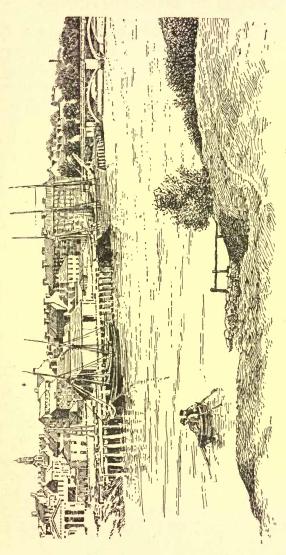
There are also in the records many discussions of charities, assignments to preach, admonitions to thoughtless or possibly sinful brothers. Taking them all in all, the records of the Ulster Synod are

¹A second opportunity for the spread of the "fever" for emigration was offered by the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Cornwall to preach in August before the new Presbytery of Augher, erected from parts of the counties of Monaghan and Tyrone. The next year four young men were presented by this Presbytery for their "second trials," and it was announced that they were "designed for America."

orderly, concise, and sane—a monument to a century and more of religious work in Ireland. They convince the reader that a man privileged to take part in the meetings of his congregation, of his presbytery, or of the General Synod had an opportunity to fit himself for self-government. Indeed, the committee work and the exercise in speaking which these assemblies offered prepared the leading Presbyterian laymen in Ulster to participate in county and town affairs in America on equal terms with their neighbors. The Scotch Irish, from minister to laborer, were bred in an atmosphere of self-reliance, and they carried this force with them to the New World.

The emigrants of the year 1718 came largely from the Bann Valley. The Valley's chief town, Coleraine, still gloried in its buildings of the Elizabethan period, grouped along a good road leading to the square (now called the Diamond), and onward to the bridge across the Bann water. John Barrow, atraveller of a later date, writes:

"Standing on this bridge, the spectator has a fine view of the Bann on both sides of it; that to the northward embraces, among a number of decent-looking villas or farm-houses, a very pretty mansion and grounds on the left bank, close to the sub-urb, called, from the owner I imagine, Jackson Hall; and the view in the contrary direction, or up the river, exhibits many neat villas, well planted with



COLERAINE, FROM THE WEST SHORE OF THE RIVER BANN Drawn by John Huybers



wood. Among them a parkish-looking place, on the left bank, caught my attention, and I walked along a good road, not merely to get a nearer view of it, but also to take a look at the salmon-leap, which I knew to be about the spot. This place is named Somerset. . . . The little cottages belonging to the weavers, are, like those of Antrim, built of stone, and have a neat appearance; but there is this distinctive character which makes them differ from an English cottage,—that they are all open to the road in front, and want that little paled-off garden enclosure, so common to our meanest cottages.'1

The Presbyterian ministers of this region in 1718 were the Rev. William Boyd at Macosquin, a village three miles out of Coleraine on the road to Aghadowey; the Rev. James McGregor at Aghadowey; and a short distance south the Rev. James Woodside at Garvagh; all on the west side of the Bann.

Riding from Coleraine
(Famed for lovely Kitty)
Came a cockney bound
Unto Derry City;

Weary was his soul, Shivering and sad he Bumped along the road Leads to Limayaddy.

¹ Barrow's Tour Round Ireland, p. 88. Thackeray in "The Irish Sketch Book" speaks of Coleraine "with a number of cabin suburbs belonging to it, lying picturesquely grouped on the Bann River." Farther on occurs his poem, "Peg of Limavaddy," beginning:

Farther south, near the Bann, the Rev. Matthew Clark, a survivor of the siege of Londonderry and a military man, preached at Kilrea; and the Rev. John Stirling was at Ballykelly, county Londonderry, a dozen miles west of Coleraine. At Coleraine was the Rev. Robert Higinbotham, famous in his day for his futile attempt to change his mind after having honored Mrs. Martha Woods with the offer of his hand; and about six miles south of Coleraine at Ballymoney, just across the river from Aghadowey, was the Rev. Robert McBride. Eight or ten miles north east of Coleraine at Billy or Bushmills was the Rev. John Porter, said by contemporaries to have been a "sprightly orator," and four miles to the south west of Bushmills the Rev. Henry Neill was at Ballyrashane.

At Londonderry no one at the moment held the pulpit of the Rev. Robert Craighead, who died August 22, 1711. At Donegal, a few miles west of Lifford and Strabane, was the Rev. John Homes, and at Donaghmore the Rev. Benjamin Homes. In County Tyrone the Rev. Samuel Haliday, father of the famous Dr. Haliday, was six miles south of Strabane at Ardstraw; the Rev. William Cornwall was twenty miles farther south at Clogher; he was thinking of America, and no doubt in communication with the Homes family. At Kilmore, county Down, was the Rev. Thomas Elder, and at Magherally the Rev. Samuel Young.

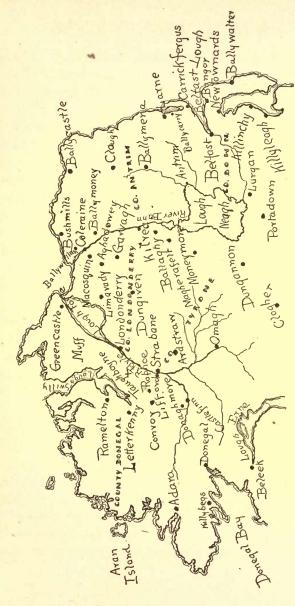
All these ministers are known to have had some interest in or sympathy with a proposal for migration to New England; but when Boyd was about to sail for Massachusetts Bay and a petition for lands for Scotch Irish settlers was prepared for him to present to Governor Shute, only four ministers, Higinbotham, Porter, Neill, and Elder, added their signatures, and not one who signed came over to New England to live.

The petition is headed by the Rev. James Teatte, probably the James Tate who served at Killeshandra, near the town of Cavan, from 1705 to 1729. If he had any ties with the Coleraine presbytery to which most of the clerical signers belonged we have now no means of discovering them.

Of the other clerical signers of this petition a few words only are necessary. Thomas Cobham was ordained at Clough, a village south of Ballymoney in county Antrim, in March, and only a few days before the petition was drawn up. Robert Neilson, an aged minister, whose trembling hand wrote a signature which Mr. Parker in his "Londonderry" very naturally printed "Houston," held no parish although long identified with Kilraughts in the Presbytery of Route (later the Presbytery of Coleraine). William Leech was the minister of Ballymena, county Antrim, 1698–1738, although the historians Killen and Hanna speak of the minister there as Thomas Leech. Robert Higinbotham of Coleraine,

John Porter of Bushmills and Henry Neill of Ballyrashane were all members of the Presbytery of Coleraine. The next signer, Thomas Elder, was from County Down, although he may have lived at one time in the Coleraine presbytery, since one of the same name accompanied the Rev. Mr. Neill to the Synod of 1716. James Thomson was to become minister at Ballywillan, near Coleraine, in a few weeks. Alexander Dunlop, a signer, was not a minister in Ulster, nor were two other clerical signers of the petition to Shute, Archibald McCook and Samuel Wilson, of whom nothing is known in the Presbyterian annals of Ulster. Dunlop, McCook and Wilson were Masters of Arts; all the others were Ministers of the Word of God, signing themselves V[erbi] D[ei] M[inister]. The more one studies the list the more one is puzzled by its composition. It appears to have been prepared in some haste by ministers in the Bann Valley; possibly at a presbytery gathering which Tate, Leech, and Elder had attended.

The names of the other signers are also for the most part well written and still easily to be read. They have not as familiar a sound as one might expect, but if we recognize in one column Randall Alexander, in another Andrew McFadden, and in a third Matthew Slarrow, we may assume that most of the names were gathered in the Bann Valley towns. All the names doubtless looked impressive to Governor



PART OF THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER



Shute, even if upon us the significance of many of them is lost. And perhaps both the Governor and Cotton Mather were no wiser than we are.

The petition to Governor Shute was engrossed on a sheet of parchment twenty-eight inches square, and is now deposited with the New Hampshire Historical Society, at Concord, where it may be seen.¹

The ministers who accompanied the first colonists in 1718 were worthy men, but their departure from Ulster did not deprive the Presbyterian Church of any of its real leaders.

The Rev. William Boyd upon his return to Macosquin continued his work there until 1725, when Monreagh in County Donegal called him. This parish, on the west bank of the Foyle between Londonderry and Lifford, promised to build a meeting house and to secure to him £40 per annum. He was installed April 25, 1725, and died there in service May 2, 1772, leaving children. He last attended a synod in 1762, when he was probably in feeble health. His career was a troubled one, on account of a rival minister who built a church at St. Johnstown within his jurisdiction, and alienated many of his people. The General Synod took his part steadily, but was finally forced to recognize the new organization.

Monreagh was in Boyd's time also called Taboin or Taughboyne. The McClintocks were prominent Presbyterians in Taughboyne, and William McClin-

¹ See Appendix II.

tock, father of the Rev. Samuel of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, may have been of this race.

The Rev. James McGregor or McGregore followed the Rev. Thomas Boyd at Aghadowey, a small Londonderry village whose name means "Duffy's field." He was ordained there June 25, 1701, came to Boston August 4, 1718, and died at the American Londonderry of a fever after a short illness March 5, 1729. A widow and seven, it is said, of their ten children survived him. The widow, Mary Ann McGregor, was married January 9, 1733, by the Rev. John Moorhead of Boston, to Mr. McGregor's Londonderry successor, the Rev. Matthew Clark, a vigorous and picturesque preacher.

Little is known of McGregor's education and early life; his name does not appear on the membership rolls of the universities, but he was a man of good abilities. He came possibly from the Scotch highlands, for his knowledge of Celtic enabled him to take a leading part in the movement to draw into the Presbyterian Church those of highland and Irish descent. It was found that both peoples could read

¹ Boston News-Letter, March 27, 1729. I have discovered very little about Mr. McGregor's children. Mr. Otls G. Hammond kindly searched the deeds and found mention of a daughter Jane, wife of Alexander Clark of Portsmouth, physician; a daughter Margaret, wife of Alexander Caldwell of Portsmouth, shop-keeper; and sons David of Londonderry, clerk or minister; James of Londonderry, yeoman; and Alexander of Rhode Island, schoolmaster. Parker's Londonderry, p. 280, mentions also Robert, Daniel, Mary, Elizabeth and John.

the Bible in Celtic, and Presbyterians vied with Churchmen in establishing missions. Two dissenting societies were organized in 1716 to study the language, and McGregor was appointed to preach to one of them at a meeting in Dungiven in August.¹ A few years earlier he had become associated in this work with the Rev. Archibald Boyd, and we find them both as followers of the Rev. William Boyd on New England soil in 1718. McGregor's coming was doubtless hastened by the poverty of his parish, which owed him eighty pounds at the time of his departure. The General Synod brought pressure to collect half the sum, but with what result we cannot tell, for Aghadowey was reported in 1728 to be religiously and financially in "a sinking state."

The rigid standards of the dissenters at this period bring the sins of the clergy into relief. In 1700 they were censured by the Synod because they, their wives and children, were "gaudy and vain" in their manner of dress. They were cautioned to avoid "powderings, vain cravats, half shirts, and the like," as well as "sumptuous, prodigal dinners" at ordinations. McGregor and Boyd, the apostles to the Irish, withstood the allurements of fashion, but were found wanting in other virtues. McGregor, having taken several cans of ale at Coleraine where, as he said, "less might have serv'd," was in 1704 after a vote of "not proven" severely admonished

¹ Records of the General Synod of Ulster.

before the whole Synod of Ulster. Curiously enough the chief of his accusers bore the surname of Love. McGregor's after life appears to have been exemplary. Archibald Boyd was deposed for sins against morality in 1716; he appeared in Boston in 1718, but no reference was made to his former ministerial position.

McGregor's son David became even better known than his father as a Presbyterian leader, while settled at Londonderry, New Hampshire. He was a controversialist and speaker whose influence was felt

for many years in New England.

The weakness for excessive drinking affected men of all classes in Ireland. The archbishops admonished the clergy of the Established Church, and the Synod labored with the dissenters. John Gamble in his travels in the north of Ireland in 1810 refers to a certain Presbyterian clergyman who could lecture "on the seven churches, and on the seven candlesticks, as pat as if it was the Gospel o' St. Luke. Has but one fault in the world—he's our fond of the wee drap." The Congregation were tolerant of this failing in their pastor, but a parishioner said: "Ogh aye, man, the Papists and the high kirk hold out their fingers at us, and gibe us, sore, on his account."

The Rev. Mr. Clark, mentioned above, was at Kil-

¹ Gamble's Sketches of History, Politics and Manners in Dublin, and the North of Ireland in 1810, New Ed., London, 1826, p. 244.

rea; his connection with the congregation there was severed April 28, 1729. A few miles to the northwest the Rev. James Woodside had for many years preached at Garvagh. His arrival in New England will be described in an account of the Brunswick settlement. But a letter of encouragement from the Rev. Cotton Mather, written in February, 1718–19, has several interesting passages, and is given in full from the draft in the American Antiquarian Society:

[To the Rev. James Woodside] "3d XIIm 1718

"Tis more than Time that your Brethren here should bid you welcome to the western side of Ye Atlantic and make you a Tender of all the Brotherly Assistance that we are capable of giving you; especially under ye Difficulties which at your first Arrival you cannot but meet withal. The Glorious providence of God or Saviour, which has been at work, in the Removal of so many people, who are of so Desirable a character as we see come & coming from ye North of Ireland, Unto ye North of New England, has doubtless very great Intentions in it; and, what He does, we know not now, but we shall know hereafter.

"He who Defeated ye purposes of such a removal attempted by some excellent persons of your Nation & Spirit, more than four score years ago, now seems to favor us." Is it not because He has a work to do

¹ The "Eagle Wing" left Ireland in 1636.

which we are not yet aware of! Happy and Honoured, those of us Christians [?] by whom or glorious Lord comes to have these ends of ye earth for His possession!

"The people who are upon this Transportation, are of such principles, & so Laudable for their sobriety, their Honesty, their Industry, that we cannot but embrace you with a most fervent charity, and cherish hopes of noble settlements to be quickly made in a Region, which has hitherto been a Reputed Aceldama."

"The people who were formerly taking Root there, carried not ye ministry of ye Gospel with y^m, and were once and again suddenly cursed of God. The Indians have never yett been permitted of Heaven to break up a Town that had a minister of ye gospel in it. It is a vast encouragement unto o^r expectations of a smile from God on the plantation now going forward, that we see a Woodside as well as a Cornwal, appearing there; and we have a prospect of more such ministers coming over, as will be ye Beauty & ye Safety of that Countrey, and be ye very life of y^r colonies that will be under their watchful & [illegible] Influences."

The Rev. William Cornwall, mentioned by Mather, belonged to a family not unknown in the ministry.

¹ Acts i, 19. The potter's field near Jerusalem, said to have been purchased by Judas with money received for the betrayal of Jesus.

Thomas Cornwall graduated at Edinburgh in 1694, and William "of Ireland" matriculated at Glasgow in 1687. They were possibly sons of Gabriel Cornwall who preached in 1656 at two villages a few miles northeast of Coleraine, Ballywillan and Bushmills. The Rev. William Cornwall returned to Ireland after a winter of hardship in Casco Bay, and settled at Taughboyne in 1722. He died March 13, 1734–5.

Two ministers whose names will always be associated with the early life of the Scotch Irish settlers in Worcester were the Rev. Edward FitzGerald and the Rev. William Johnston.

The Rev. Edward FitzGerald, leader of the company which settled in Worcester in 1718, deserves notice, but his history has not been found. An influential man of the same name was an original settler of Boscawen, New Hampshire, in 1734.¹ The last record of the Rev. Edward FitzGerald in Worcester is in 1725, when £2 were recorded in the Town Treasurer's report as due "to ye Revd Mr. Fits Gearld."² The town had called the Rev. Isaac Burr in February, 1725, and it would appear that, being in need of a temporary preacher, Mr. FitzGerald had been

¹ Another FitzGerald, Richard by name, married at Scituate in 1729, and was a Latin schoolmaster in Hanover, Massachusetts, from 1734 to 1746. The presence of two educated men of the name in New England at this time, both probably Protestants, suggests some kinship with the Rev. Edward FitzGerald of Worcester.

² Collections Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 2, p. 41.

engaged until the ordination of Mr. Burr in October. This, however, is merely a conjecture.

The Rev. William Johnston, born at Mullaghmoyle, County Tyrone (?), in 1710, was the son of William and Elizabeth (Hoey) Johnston. After seven years at the University of Edinburgh, he came to Worcester. The Presbyterians there endeavored in March, 1736–7, to become exempt from taxation for the support of the town church that they might maintain Mr. Johnston in the ministry.

Failing in this, he removed to Windham, New Hampshire, where he became the first minister of the town in July, 1742. In July, 1752, the parish had become so poor that he voluntarily withdrew and settled in New York State, dying at Florida, Montgomery county, May 10, 1782, after many years of service in various places.²

Of other Presbyterian ministers who came from Ireland in 1718 or possibly the year following, the most important in the Connecticut valley³ were the Rev. John McKinstry⁴ of Sutton, Massachusetts and Ellington, Connecticut, the Rev. James Hillhouse of New London, and the Rev. Samuel Dorrance of Vol-

¹ Collections Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 2, p. 106.

² See a sketch of him in Morrison's Windham, p. 607.

³ See an excellent paper on "The Irish Pioneers of the Connecticut Valley" in Connecticut Valley Historical Society Papers, Vol. 2, pp. 175-213.

^{&#}x27;The genealogy of the McKinstrys has been published by the Hon. William Willis of Portland, Maine.

untown. McKinstry was born at Brode¹ on the eastern shore of Antrim, near Carrickfergus, in 1677, and took his Master of Arts degree at Edinburgh in 1712. Willis believes that he came in 1718, but I find no record of him so early. The town of Sutton voted December 25, 1719, to call him to be pastor at the meeting-house which the people had recently completed. Later he moved to Ellington, where he died January 20, 1754.

The Rev. James Hillhouse was born about 1688, the son of John and Rachel Hillhouse, owners of a large estate called Freehall, in County Londonderry. He studied at Glasgow under the famous Professor Simson, and was ordained by Derry presbytery October 15, 1718. Coming to America in 1720, he was called to a church in the second parish of New London in 1722, where he died December 15, 1740. His son William was a member of the Continental Congress, and William's son James was a Senator of the United States.² Mr. Hillhouse's widow Mary married the Rev. John Owen of Groton, Connecticut, who may have been of the Scotch Irish connection. Her third choice was also a minister, so that she was said to have spent her life "near the altar." This third husband, the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, was en-

¹ Brod appears in the Hibernian Atlas, but does not appear in the printed list of townlands.

² See Bacon's Sketch of the Hon. James Hillhouse, New Haven, 1860. James, uncle of the emigrant, was mayor of Londonderry in 1693. Abraham Hillhouse was at the siege.

tered as an Anglo-Hibernian at Glasgow University in 1709. He is said to have studied divinity at Edinburgh, although his name does not appear in the printed list of graduates; was licensed by Dunbarton presbytery in Scotland, and in 1719 was reported as received by the Presbytery of Coleraine, his testimonials having been read by the Synod of Derry. He settled in Voluntown, now Stirling, Connecticut, bringing with him several brothers and friends who became leaders in the community. Dorrance was ordained in 1723, not without opposition from those who opposed Presbyterian proclivities.

Samuel Dorrance Robert Gordon Thomas Cole John Kasson John Campbell Robert Campbell Samuel Campbell John Gordon Alexander Gordon Ebenezer Dow John Keigwin William Hamilton Robert Hopkin John Smith Daniel Dill Thomas Welch Jacob Bacon Spaniel Cass

John Dorrance

George Dorrance Samuel Church, Jun. John Dorrance, Jun. Nathaniel Deane Vincent Patterson Robert Miller Patrick Parke Samuel Church Adam Kasson William Kasson David Hopkins Charles Campbell Nath. French John Gibson James Hopkins John Parke Robert Parke William Rogers John Gallup

-Larned's Windham County, Conn., Vol. 1, p. 250.

¹ Signers of the Westminster Confession at Voluntown:

In 1750 this opposition became aroused, but again subsided, and their pastor was allowed to serve until March 5, 1771, when he was dismissed. Dorrance died November 12, 1775, at the age of ninety, leaving a large family. The first members of the church were asked to subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The English settlers held aloof, but the Scotch friends of Mr. Dorrance very generally signed. One might properly ask whether Dorrance had been long enough in Ireland to gather a following, or whether the Voluntown settlers came from Scotland. Since he was accepted by the Presbytery of Coleraine it seems probable that he came there to live, and finding many bent on migration joined in their well matured plans.¹

Two of the earliest Scotch Irish ministers in western Massachusetts, where Presbyterian influences grew rapidly, were the Rev. John Harvey and the Rev. Robert Abercrombie. Harvey was ordained at Palmer, then known as "The Elbows," June 5, 1734, and resigned in 1747, when he removed to Blandford to be with his Scotch Irish friends in that settlement

The Rev. Robert Abercrombie came to Boston late in 1740 with testimonials from the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in Scotland, and from the Rev. Mr. Wilson of Perth. He settled in Pelham in 1744 and after a useful but somewhat troubled career died during the Revolutionary period.

Of the many ministers who served the Maine coast settlers several deserve notice. The Rev. William Cornwall who spent the winter of 1718-19 at Falmouth, and the Rev. James Woodside, an early minister at Brunswick, have both been mentioned. Little is known at present of the Rev. Hugh Campbell, Master of Arts at Edinburgh in 1714, who spent a year at Scarboro, Maine, in 1720, and was followed by the Rev. Hugh Henry in June, 1722. The Rev. Robert Rutherford, perhaps a student at Glasgow in 1708, was ordained at Ahma-Carte March 23, 1714, came over with the Dunbar migration in 1729, and preached at Bristol, Nobleboro, and Boothbay in Maine. He was minister at Brunswick from about 1735 to 1742, and died at Thomaston October 18, 1756, aged 68. The Rev. Robert Dunlap of Brunswick, Maine, was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in August, 1715. He studied at the University of Edinburgh, received his Master of Arts degree about 1734, and embarked for America in the spring of 1736. He was wrecked on the Isle of Sable and landed at the Isle of Canso. In December, 1746, Brunswick voted to invite Mr. Dunlap to preach on He was ordained at the Protestant French Church in Boston the next year, and preached at Brunswick until October, 1760. He died June 26, 1776. The Rev. William Mc-Clanethan of Georgetown, Maine, was employed to preach for several years, beginning in 1734, but

having no settlement. He moved to Blandford, Massachusetts, in 1744. The Rev. Alexander Boyd of New-Castle, Maine, labored there first in 1754. The presence of many Congregationalists raised dissention soon after, and he was removed in 1758. He had studied divinity at Glasgow, and being approved by the Boston presbytery in 1749 he preached at Georgetown, Maine, and elsewhere on the Kennebec for a year or two.¹

In looking back over this rather cursory survey of the Ulster clergy we find that the migration of 1718–20 did not noticeably injure the Presbyterian ministry in Ireland where the Churches were well organized, and the leaders as a whole intelligent, prosperous and reasonably free from tyranny of law. If it had any effect it was upon the growing tide in later years. Men like McGregor and Homes represented a worthy standard, and their example must have influenced many in Ulster. A few, coming without proper credentials, or under a cloud, were less worthy of favor, but they had little effect upon public opinion. Other considerations often prejudiced the native clergymen and laymen.

The New England people after a century out of

¹ Jonathan Greenleaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches, pp. 77-79. The Rev. John Murray of Boothbay, Maine, first began a brilliant ministry there in 1763, a period rather too late to have influenced events described in these pages. His early life was less to his credit, and President Stiles of Yale devoted much space in his Diary to a review of Murray's sins.

England were still, as Professor Wendell has said, essentially Elizabethan; their speech and their habits, their polity and their ideals could not be in harmony with Scotch character developed on Irish soil, for the Scotch Irish were of the Hanoverian age. Where the early settlers were in a minority they tolerated a Presbyterian minister, or even came to love him; but Presbyterianism did not thrive in New England, where the English stock and the Congregational polity were all-powerful.

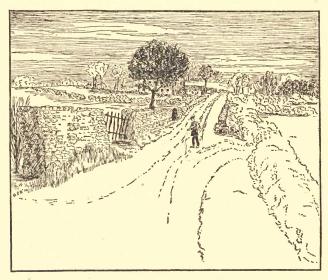
VII

AGHADOWEY AND THE SESSION BOOK

The Presbyterian records of Ulster will in good time yield a great store of information, of interest alike to the student of religion and genealogy. The official minutes of the Synod of Ulster are in print and have been invaluable in the preparation of these pages. But the records of the smaller organization, the presbytery, and the accounts of local congregations have never been published. These, when gathered together and made accessible to the student, will reveal, with a wealth of detail, the incidents of village life in Protestant Ireland at a period when out of almost every family group some member crossed the ocean to seek his fortune in America.

The records of the Presbytery of Coleraine, if they survive, will one day throw light on the migration to America. The most important town in certain respects of all those in the Presbytery was Aghadowey, the home of the Rev. James McGregor. In his day the people were, many of them, very poor. Today smoke curls from the same gable-end chimneys to tell of a more contented life within the ancient walls. The dark thatch of the cottages is in picturesque contrast to their white walls, and the

white gates mark openings in the long, thrifty hedges. Sometimes bounds of field stone take the place of hedges; and there are fine trees arching over excellent roads. An American, looking at the eager



WALL AND IRON GATES ENCLOSING THE SITE OF THE REV. JAMES McGREGOR'S MEETING HOUSE The present Presbyterian Church in the Distance

young faces that crowd the cabin doorway, might ask if a torrent of rain must not send its flood over the slightly raised threshold onto the stone floor within. But there each generation has kept a fire upon the hearth and broth in the kettle. And are not these the best answers to any doubting traveller?

The importance of Aghadowey and the Rev. James McGregor in the history of Scotch Irish emigration gives prominence to the Aghadowey Session Book, recently presented by the Misses Thompson of Cullycapple, Aghadowey, to the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, and preserved at Belfast. This long ledger-like book preserves the records from the end of 1702 to the year 1733, covering the ministry of McGregor and the larger part of the troubled non-subscribing career of the Rev. John Elder. McGregor acted as clerk from 1704 to the time of his departure. He was quartered with one of the elders, and had a protracted struggle to obtain from his poor flock a separate roof for his increasing family and bread for their maintenance.

The twenty-first session, and the first to be noticed in this book of records, was held December 1, 1702, with these members: "Mr. James McGregore, David Miller, Hugh Reed, John Shirila [Shirley], Daniel McRelis, Robert Archbold, Mosses Dillape [Dunlap], Arthur Bapti, David Cargill, and Hugh Kennedy." Dunlap and Cargill were absent. The next entry reads:

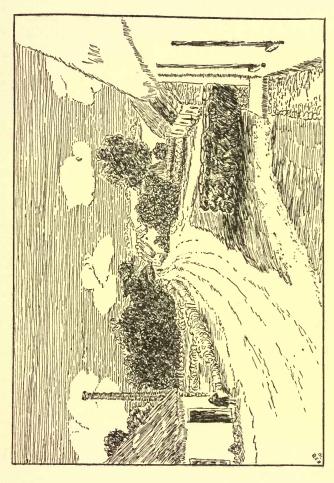
"Directions from { A letter from the presbtry to ye Presbtry { be comunicated concerning the payment of steipends & a f[arm] & lodgings to our minister this session apoin[ts] the former colectors

to use there u[tmost] diligence to gett in the Remainders of the steipends & Resolves upon another Method for the Holintyde steipends & that this allso to [be] mannaged wt all diligence. As to the farm they promise to use there endeavours to pro[cure] a farm as soone as possible & that they [are] agreed that his Quarters be where formerly."

More members of the session were needed, and the following who were "judged fitt for the work" were warned to be present: "John Given, Thomas Willson, John Shirila, Juny, John Browstr [Brewster], John Buy [Boyce?], John Thomson, John Gold [or Gould], Thomas Nickel, and Hugh Hendry [or Henry]."

At the twenty-second session, held January 26, 1702–3 "at the little house," the list of grants to the poor seems to justify a remark in Mr. J. W. Kernohan's description of the manuscript, written for the December number (1909) of the *Irish Presbyterian*. "At one point," he says, "a wail is uttered by the Session about the extraordinary number of poor, for at every meeting there was a regular distribution of charity." The records state that grants were made to

	S. D.
James Boyd for burial of daughter	1-6
Grany OCahan	1-6
Jenet Brown	8



THE VILLAGE ROAD EAST OF MCGREGOR'S MEETING HOUSE This part of Aghadowey is called Ardreagh

	S. D.
William Anderson	6
Robert Alison	3-0
John Gillmore	1-0
Nealy O Cahan	1-0
Jean Kearns	8
Margaret Miller	8
	10-6

To raise the money needed for these benefactions required collectors for each quarter, "North, South, East and West." Those appointed were Kennedy, Cargill, Miller, Archbold, Nickel, Dunlap, Henry, William Wallace and Robert Hunter.

At the Session held December 19, 1715, the following grants were recorded:

Silvanus Brooks	1-6
Marth McLevenny	1-0
Eliz Murch ⁿ	1-0
George McFarland	1-0
Jent McElchiner	1-0
Will. Bouie	1-6
Jas. Gilmor	8
 Hugh Millar	1-0
Isab. Porter	1-6
Alice Higins	8
Hellen Gilmor	1-0

The records which cover the period of Mr. Mc-Gregor's ministry throw many side lights on social life. Complaint was made that Captain Hugh Blair, who moved into town in 1703–4, did not present a certificate of his membership elsewhere. He came to occupy, perhaps, the famous Aghadowey or Blair's House which stood near the church. Dr. Hugh S. Morrison, in a letter dated December 25, 1909, speaks of a visit to this house the day before, of its modern stone finish with bow windows, and its walls in parts six feet thick, showing marks of port holes which have been filled up. In the garret are two large chests or "arks," lined with tin, and bound with primitive wrought iron bands and hinges. Here meal was stored, perhaps for the defenders of Derry.

Lapses from the standards imposed by social life are the source of many entries in the records. In 1702–3 Mary Clark was ordered to appear publicly before the Congregation to confess her too free conduct with James Cochran, a soldier in the year 1689.

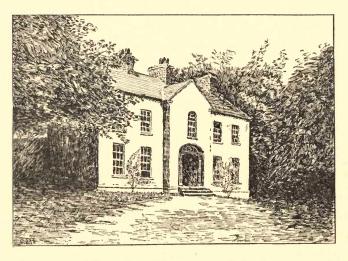
At the twenty-fourth session, in 1704, the old adage "the better the day the better the deed" seems to have been disregarded: "It haveing been evident to this session that John Boyd did Joyn in company wt David Lawson to bring away Mr William Hustown's daughter unknown to her parrents upon the sabath day in order to be Maryed to the said Lawson & being very Active in this Affair upon the sabath day, this being a general offence to this

session and to all good people, this session apoints Hugh Hendry to cite John Boyd to our next session, the foresd Lawson not receeding in this congregation we cannot cite him."

During the spring of the year 1715 Hugh Montgomery, the same Hugh who came to New England, was paying his court to Miss Jane Cargill, whose sisters, Mrs. McGregor of Aghadowey, Mrs. Gregg of Macosquin, and Mrs. McKeen of Ballymoney (assuming that they all were married at this time) formed an influential family circle. Perhaps Hugh found some difficulty in getting within this circle. At any rate, he and Miss Jane got beyond the circle's outer bound and found themselves in far off Ballymena. There they were married on the 22d of May, not by a minister but by the faith's arch enemy Robert Donald, "curate of Bellymenoch." All of which is sworn to by John Freeland and William Hodge, as if Mr. Donald's certificate was not evidence enough. The records state that Hugh "acknowledgth the disorder of his marriage & professeth his sorrow for it," glad we may be sure that this confession was permitted to be made before the Session instead of to the Congregation.

Others mentioned the same year were Thomas Turner and Marion Hunter, and also Hugh Torrence.

Mr. McGregor's last appearance at a Session was on April 11, 1718. The next meeting was held April



RESIDENCE OF Dr. HUGH S. MORRISON AT AGHADOWEY, IRELAND

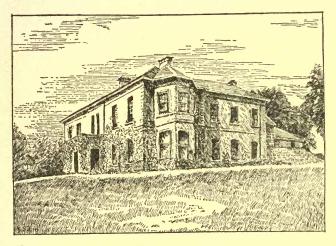
29, 1719, when the business referred altogether to settlement of the accounts of the Congregation, showing a balance of 1s. 0d. remaining in David Millar's hands. "This is in his hand when all the Accounts are settled since our Minist. Left us

as wittnes

Mat Clerk."

The village street in Aghadowey is now called Ardreagh. Near it there is a tall chimney of a bleaching green. The thatched cottages along the road were built between 1690 and 1700, yet they are

tidy and comfortable, and are still occupied by the heirs of the Scotch Irish who did not cross the Atlantic. There are in Aghadowey several country mansions, including the residence of Dr. Hugh S.



LIZARD MANOR, AGHADOWEY

Home of Charles E. S. Stronge, Esq., J. P., D. L.

(From a photograph by Miss Stronge)

Morrison, near Two Bridges, and the seat of Charles E. S. Stronge, Esq., known as Lizard Manor, once the Manor House of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, of London.

VIII

THE ARRIVAL OF "FIVE SHIPS" IN AUGUST, 1718

It would not be difficult to picture to ourselves the excitement produced by the preparations of those who contemplated removing to America. Families were closely allied in Ulster, and the affairs of each one interested a wide circle. The itinerant weaver brought from Dublin tales of the New World, more or less accurate accounts of the life across the Atlantic, derived from ship captains, or even from American students at the University there. frequent assignment of ministers for temporary service in other parishes than their own was a means of carrying the news. A few years after Boyd set forth Archbishop Boulter said that the desire for emigration had gone through Ulster like a fever; and we may well believe that letters from Cotton Mather, William Homes and Thomas Craighead had great influence.

There was much to be done by a family before removal. A supply of food, clothing and bedding was necessary; and the house-hold goods had to be packed for the long voyage. The land, the farm animals and the heavier tools must be sold. These were busy days, and the partings must have been hard for all, unless friends hoped to follow soon. In leaving their Churches the emigrants did not fail to procure testimonials of good standing to be used in forming fresh religious ties in New England. We find mention of these testimonials at Rutland, at Needham, Middleboro and elsewhere, but rarely the actual text. That brought over by William Caldwell, one of the defenders of Londonderry, was lost only a few years ago. It was written on parchment the size of a half sheet of note paper:

"The bearer, William Caldwell, his wife Sarah Morrison, with his children, being designed to go to New England in America—These are therefore to testifie they leave us without scandal, lived with us soberly and inoffensively, and may be admitted to Church priviledges. Given at Dunboe Aprile 9, 1718, by Jas. Woodside, Jr. Minister."

Parker, in his History of Londonderry, says that the pioneers "embarked in five ships for Boston, and arrived there August 4, 1718." This statement has been repeated wherever the Scotch Irish have been mentioned, but with no added information since Parker's day. In one place only can the names of the ships be found, and it is not a little strange that no student of the subject up to this time has had the

¹Mr. Edmund M. Barton obtained these facts from Mrs. Charles E. Stevens, daughter of Seth Caldwell of Barre.

²Barre Anniversary, 1874, p. 205. The "Jr." is omitted hereafter.

curiosity to bring these names to light. They are to many thousands of people as important as the Mayflower and the Speedwell are to those of pilgrim descent. Only one newspaper was being issued in North America in 1718, and of the files for July, August and September but one copy of each issue is known to exist. At the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society I examined these papers, and here print every known detail regarding arrivals from Ireland at the port of Boston for these three months.

It is our phenomenal good fortune that at this precise moment a gentleman in Boston was watching each ship as it discharged its passengers, and was writing his impressions to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. The Scotch Irish had no William Bradford nor John Winthrop to chronicle their transplanting, but the Boston News-Letter and Thomas Lechmere's letters give us a not unworthy picture of the arrival nearly two centuries ago. To these sources let us add the diary of Cotton Mather, the patron of the "poor Scotch."

The News-Letter for July 21-28 mentions the arrival from Ireland of the ship "William and Mary," James Montgomery, master; the issue for August 25-September 1 states that she had cleared for Dublin.

The "William and Mary" brought over the Rev. William Boyd of Macosquin, the leader of the move-

ment; and Cotton Mather writes July 25th: "A minister arrived from *Ireland*, wth Instructions to enquire after ye circumstances of this countrey in order to ye coming of many more, gives me an opportunity for many services."

The next day Mather says:

"The many Families arriving from Ireland, will afford me many opportunities, for kindness to ye Indigent." Mather here uses "arriving" to mean "about to arrive," having found through conversation with Mr. Boyd that many settlers were on their way from Ireland.

The first of the Scotch-Irish emigrant ships is referred to in the News-Letter of July 28-August 4 as from Londonderry, John Wilson, master, but the ship's name is not given. She probably came in on the 28th, for Lechmere, having been instructed by his brother-in-law Winthrop to find a suitable miller among incoming passengers, wrote on the 28th at "Eleven of ye Clock at night": "Shipps are comeing in hourly, but no news; Irish familys enough; above 200 souls are come in allready, & many now hourly expected; so that I wish you were here; they are none to be sold, have all paid their passages sterls in Ireland; they come upon some encouragement to settle upon some unimproved Lands, upon what other Towns I know not."...

¹This seems to disprove the theory referred to by Professor Perry that Boyd "stayed the summer in Boston."

The next issue of the News-Letter seems to refer to this arrival in the following advertisement: "Sundry Boys times for Years by Indentures, young Women and Girls by the Year, portable Linnen, Woolen and Beef to be disposed of by Mr. William Wilson at his Warehouse in Merchants Row, Boston."

It may seem difficult to harmonize the varying views of Mather and Lechmere as to the standing of these emigrants, but Lechmere was interested in the better class, men with trades who had left remunerative occupations to come to New England, and they of course paid their passage-money before their arrival here. In the same ships came kinsmen who had no property and could cross the ocean only by agreeing to work out their passage-money. The passengers of this kind probably became the Worcester Colony. And with them were a few ignorant adventurers who came over as indentured servants to try their fortunes; in these Mather as a minister felt a kindly interest. But there is evidence that in several of the ships of July and August there were many prosperous, religious families from the counties of Londonderry and Antrim, influenced to migrate by Boyd, McGregor, McKeen, Gregg and other leaders.

The second emigrant ship reached Boston on the 4th of August, the traditional date of arrival among the descendants of the settlers of the New Hampshire Londonderry. The vessel is referred to in the News-Letter of August 4-11 as the brigantine "Robert," James Ferguson, master, "from Glasgow and Belfast in Ireland." The same day Lechmere, writing to Winthrop for himself and his wife Ann, says: "I have this day according [to] yor directions made Enquiry after a miller, & a Vessel comeing in this day from Scottland, I find there is a young fellow of about 24 years of age. . . . This day are likewise Severall Vessells come in from all Parts, but no News: I am of Opinion all the north of Irland will be over here in a little time, here being another Vessell y' is a Third, with Irish familys come in, & 5 more, as they say, expected, & if their report be true, as I this day heard, if the Encouragemtt given to these be liked at Irland; 20 ministers with their congregations in generall will come over in Spring; I wish their comeing so over do not prove fatall in the End." Lechmere's letter settles the point that the ship which arrived about the 25th with Mr. Boyd did not bring Scotch emigrants. We have then:

July 28th? ——, John Wilson, from London-derry.

August 4th. Robert, James Ferguson, from Glasgow and Belfast.

August 4th. William, Archibald Hunter, from Coleraine.

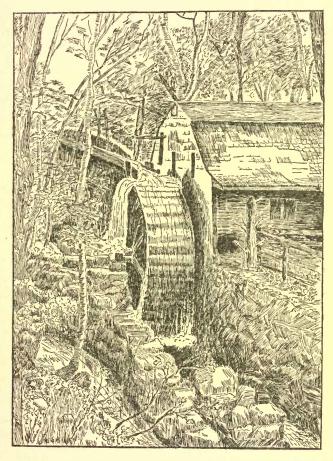
The third Scotch Irish emigrant ship, the "William," set sail from Coleraine, the heart of the dis-

trict from which most of the early settlers came. The News-Letter of August 4-11 mentions the ship "William," Archibald Hunter, from Coleraine; she cleared for Ireland the last week in August. Lechmere refers to her as the third ship with Irish families that had arrived, and states that she and the "Robert" entered on the same day.

Cotton Mather's dream of a great migration from Protestant Ireland was coming true. On the 7th of August he writes: "But what shall be done for the great Numbers of people, that are transporting themselves thither from ye North of Ireland:—Much may be done for ye Kingdom of God in these parts of ye world, by this Transportation." A month later, September 13th, he says: "Among ye Families arrived from Ireland, I find many & wondrous objects for my compassions. Among other methods of helping ym, I would enclose a sum of money wth a Nameless Letter, unto one of their ministers to be distributed among ym."

Although these emigrants were viewed with distrust by most New Englanders, the two chief figures in Boston at this time, Mather and Samuel Sewall, showed their ministers marked courtesy. On the 9th of August, Sewall writes in his diary that at seven "Mr. Macgregor and Mr. Boyd dine with me and my Son J. S. and James Clark. Gave the Scots Ministers each of them one of my Proposals."

Meanwhile Winthrop wrote from Connecticut that



THE WINTHROP MILL AT NEW LONDON



the miller whom Lechmere had selected was too expensive and hinted that his brother-in-law had been overreached. Lechmere was an improvident aristocrat, brother to Lord Lechmere, and Winthrop had reason at this time and later on to question the judgment of this husband of his sister. Lechmere replied rather hotly, and his estimate of the Scotch Irish, while not entirely reliable under these circumstances, is worthy of record. The letter is dated at Boston August 11, 1718, and reads: "As to ye Miller, the price is really as you are informed & whoever tells you that Servants are cheaper now then they were, it is a very gross mistake, & give me leave to tell you your Informer has given you a very wrong information about ye cheapness thereof, for never were they dearer then now, there being such demand for them, & likewise pray tell him he is much out of the way to think that these Irish are Servants, they are generally men of Estates, & are come over hither for no other reason but upon Encouragement sent from hence upon notice given ym they should have so many acres of Land given them gratis to settle our ffrontiers as a barrier against ye Indians; therefore ye notion given you hereof is absolutely groundless; the price of the Miller as proposed was 20£ & did not think of selling his time under sd sum, but since I wrote you he tells me would not stand with me for 20 or 30 £—thinking I should pay him ready money for him. It is now too late to think any thing farther

of him. Many inquireing after him, & he was kept for yor answer, which I think is somewhat darke, but lett that be what it will, could I advance so much bank stock, whis very low, I should still endeave to gett him, & so it being out of my power I must wholly desist from any such thought. I know yor necessity is such I would willingly do anything for yr interest was I capable. . . .

Yo^r Very Affect^e Bro & Serv^t Tho^s Lechmere

I should be glad you would send my Gunn down by some body or other. These confounded Irish will eat us all up provisions being most extravagantly dear & scarce of all sorts."

The News-Letter which notices the arrival of the ship "William" mentions also the ship "Mary Anne," Andrew Watt, master, from Dublin; she cleared about a fortnight later for Great Britain.

It is doubtful if the "Mary Anne" brought any Scotch Protestants from Dublin as part of the Bann Valley company. But the emigrants on the other ships beheld what must have been an unprecedented

¹The same issue of the News-Letter has this advertisement:

[&]quot;Newly Imported and to be disposed of at reasonable Rates by Messieurs *Tho Steel* and *Geo Bethune*, at their Warehouse in Merchants Row, Boston, sundry European Goods, *viz* Iron, Cordage, Broadcloths, Stuffs, Linnens and Madera Wines: Also Servants bound by Indenture, some four and some for five Years to be seen on board the 'Mary Anne' *Andrew Watt* Commander now at Anchor near the end of the Long Wharff, Boston."

sight in Boston harbor, five ships from Ireland lying at anchor at the same time, the "William and Mary," the ship of the unknown name, the "Robert," the "William" and the "Mary Anne." This doubtless made a deep and lasting impression upon minds alert to every new sight and thought as the emigrants were borne slowly up the beautiful bay.

A month later a second ship from Dublin, the "Dolphin," John Mackay, master, came in. The News-Letter which notices her arrival has this to say

of her cargo:

"Just arrived the Pink 'Dolphin' John Mackay, Master, with Servants, Boys, Tradesmen, Husbandmen, and Maids, to be disposed of by Mr John Walker, at his Warehouse at the lower end of Woodmansy Wharff in Merchants Row, or at Mr Benjamin Walker's House over against the Town House, Boston."

There were few if any Scotch Irish on the "Dolphin," but on the first of September a fourth emigrant ship arrived, the "Maccallum," James Law, master, from Londonderry. Lechmere states that she brought "20 odd familys," and among the passengers was probably a Scotch schoolmaster to whom Mather refers September 6th as here from Ireland and wanting employment. From Lechmere's letter it may be questioned whether the company on the "Maccallum" was closely allied with those on the ships from Belfast and Coleraine. He

writes: "This day a Ship arrived from Irland wth 20 odd familys; they were first bound for N London but haveing a long Passage the M^{rs} perswaded y^m to putt in here, so the poor Creatures are left in y^e Lurch." From the statement that their destination was not that of the other emigrants although they must have embarked at about the same time, it would seem that they had other plans in view, and had not come under the immediate influence of Boyd and McGregor. This company probably came with the Rev. James Woodside of Garvagh, in the Bann Valley.

The bargaining which went on for a week between Captain Law of the "Maccallum" and Captain Robert Temple, later a famous colonizer in Maine, came to naught. Temple could not persuade Law and his company to continue their voyage to Connecticut, and on the eighth of September the "Maccallum" sailed out of Boston harbor, for the territory owned by the Gentlemen Proprietors of Eastern Lands, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Law then perhaps satisfied his desire to take on a load of staves at or near Kittery on the Piscataqua and returned to Boston by October 7th, when he appeared in court to give surety for several of his He cleared for Londonderry the first passengers. week in December, 1718.

Lechmere's letter describing the affair is so good an account of the trials of the bewildered and nearly helpless emigrants that I continue the quotation begun above: . . . "Pray if any thereof should still have any inclination to come yor way to settle in Connecticut, I should be glad. You would aggree to their Settling about Tantiusques, wh in my Opinion is ye best place, & Mr. Temple is doeing what he can still to perswade ye Mr. to proceed for yr place, he intends to load Bolts & Staves home for Ireland & when I saw him among other talke I assured him he might load cheaper wth you then at Piscataqua; how sd Mr. Temple will worke on him I know not. Ye method they go in wth ye Irish is they sell ym so many Acres of Land for 12d ye acre & allow ym time to pay yt in. I know Land is more Valuable wth you, & therefore I am afraid 'twill be ye more difficult to aggree with ym. Ye only thing I can think off is yr Quantity you allow ym must be the less, you are the best judge so I leave it wholly to you, tho at same time should be glad of yr Thought thereof, & assure you ytt in my opinion it would be greatly for yr Interest."

Lechmere's next letter shows Temple working to induce the company to settle at Merrymeeting Bay at the mouth of the Androscoggin. In this he was successful, and it is possible that the experience first turned his mind seriously to the transportation of Ulstermen to these Eastern lands. During the next two years several ships came over under his management with settlers for the Kennebec. The letter follows:

"Boston Sept 8th 1718.

"As to ye Irish, I have acquainted Mr. Temple with what you write, he seem's not willing they should take up wth ytt proposall you mention; ye Gent. Propriet." of ye Eastern Lands hearing, I was talkeing with ym about Settling some of them have (as I hear) made new proposalls to them wherupon they have resolved with sd Mr Temple to visitt said Lands whither they are bound this afternoon; what they will conclude on I know not."

The deposition of David Dunning of Brunswick¹ in 1767 states that "on or about the year 1718 he came first to Boston in the same vessel with Andrew McFadden and wife (now a widow); soon after we came in the same vessel down together to the eastern country, and I have lived in Brunswick ever since 1718." Jane McFadden stated that they moved down to the Kennebec River and up Merrymeeting Bay to a place called Cathance (now Bowdoinham). Here we seem to trace the company which came over in the "Maccallum;" if the inference is correct this company left a record on Cyprian Southack's map of 1720 as "the Irish new settlement." McFadden came from Garvagh in the Bann Valley, and was probably of the Rev. James Woodside's company. We should expect all emigrants from the Bann to be followers of the Rev. William Boyd, who had

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 39, p. 184.

come out to Governor Shute as their accredited agent, but it is possible that Boyd and Woodside were not in sympathy, since Woodside's company intended to settle in New London—a town never mentioned by Boyd or McGregor.¹

The News-Letter for September 22-29, 1718, prints a report that a vessel had arrived at Casco Bay from Ireland, with several passengers on board, and a minister. This report refers no doubt to this company which sailed out of Boston harbor on September 8th.

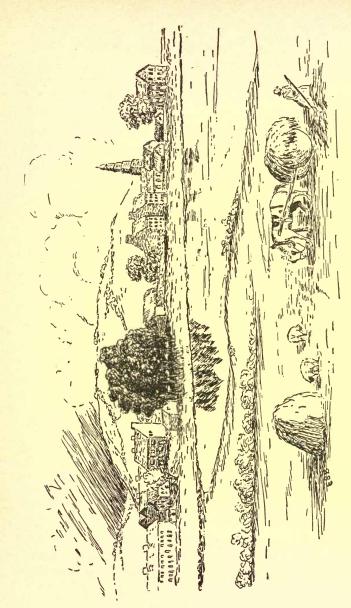
The followers of McGregor and James McKeen, also from the Bann Valley, must have sailed later in the season, for their ship upon arriving at Casco Bay was frozen in. Major Samuel Gregg in his reminiscences says that his grandfather James Gregg, a bleacher of linen cloth, in the Rev. Mr. Boyd's parish of Macosquin, near Coleraine, landed at Boston August 4th "with several other passengers that came in other ships. The ship that they [Gregg's immediate neighbors] came in as passengers went down East and spent the winter at Casco which is now called Portland."

This incident is so well established in the traditional history of the Londonderry Scotch-Irish—it accords so well with the known facts—that we may accept the statement that Gregg and his friends who

¹ It is just possible that Lechmere was misinformed and that the "Maccallum" never intended to go to New London.

went to Casco Bay sailed in the ship in which they had crossed the ocean. These men under the immediate leadership of the Rev. James McGregor came from Coleraine and neighboring towns in the Bann Valley, and the next spring (1719) they founded Nutfield, now Londonderry, New Hampshire. would seem to be a reasonable assumption that the Nutfield colony, including the few who remained at Casco Bay, had crossed the sea on the ship "William," which left Coleraine in April or May, or on the brigantine "Robert" from Belfast, a more attractive port of departure, or in both ships. The "William" is reported as "cleared" in the News-Letter for August 25-September 1 and as "outward" bound" September 15-22. She seems to have returned to Ireland.

Ferguson, captain of the "Robert," was in town October 7th to attend court; and this suggests that he may have lain in the outer harbor during the time intervening between his clearing from Boston and his attendance at court. With him on the voyage from Ireland came John Armstrong, his wife and five children, who were unable to convince the authorities in Boston that they were self-supporting. Captain Ferguson was ordered before the Court of General Sessions of the Peace to answer "for bringing in his vessell and landing in this Town John Armstrong, his wife and five children who cannot give Security to Indemnify the Town as the Law



BELFAST, ON THE LAGAN, 1793

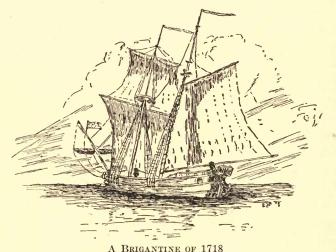


requires." Ferguson's explanation that three of the children were servants by indenture did not entirely satisfy the Court, and it was "Ordered that the sd fferguson carry the sd Armstrong wife & two voungest Children out of the Province or Indemnify the Town." Finally the Captain and William Wilson, at whose wharf they probably landed, became sureties in £100 each that the Armstrong family, would not come back upon the town for support.1 If this is the same John Armstrong who later in the year heads a petition from the Scotch Irish settlers at Falmouth, this is very good evidence that he, who certainly came over from Belfast in the brigantine "Robert," soon after went in her to Casco Bay with the little company from the Bann Valley. On the whole this seems probable, and it would follow that the Rev. James McGregor and his well-to-do connection, the Greggs, McKeens and others who according to Major Gregg crossed the ocean in the ship which afterward carried them to Casco Bay, journeyed a few miles to Belfast to take passage in the "Robert," while the families in more moderate condition, with the heavier freight, came down the Bann from Coleraine in the larger ship, the "William."

We get some impression of the appearance of these ships from the view of Boston drawn by Wil-

¹ Records Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Suffolk County, October 7, 1718.

liam Burgis in 1722 and commonly called Price's View. Lying off Boston are many forms of craft, some at anchor and others bending to a good breeze. In the foreground are two stately vessels, one like the "William," a ship with full body, a blunt bow and high stern, three masts and a wealth of rigging;



another like the "Robert," with more rounding bow and stern, a foremast square rigged like those of the ship, but with the main mast fore-and-aft rigged like a sloop. The "Robert" we think of as a hermaphrodite brig, but the English sailor of old would have called her a brigantine, as she was classed by the News-Letter.

It requires some effort to realize that a great part

of our population owes its place on this side the Atlantic to the slow, clumsy but rather impressive ships of the types to be seen in the drawing by Burgis. Nor do we easily comprehend the weariness of the voyage or even its hazard. The Pirate and the God of Storms shared an annual harvest of lives and fortunes. Let us take two incidents in a single year. The ship "Friends Goodwill" left Larne on the coast of Antrim about the first of May in the vear 1717. Meeting constant head winds the ship made very poor progress, and food ran so low that the fifty-two persons on board came to want. Captain Gooding or Goodwin fortunately fell in with another vessel and obtained provisions. Continual bad weather brought further delay, and hunger again threatened. Short allowance of water, bread, and meat brought only a temporary reprieve from starvation, and the crew soon were set to catching dolphins and sharks which a "good Providence" placed in their path. Rains came and the water was gathered from the decks to quench the thirst. When May, June and July, months of constant anxiety, had passed August brought so great a storm that the ship lay like a thing deserted, her decks awash, her sailors weak and exhausted. With September the sun shone, but their hunger increased, and in desperation they began to speak of drawing lots to decide whom should be eaten first. The Captain however now held out hope of land and about the second week of September the "Friends Goodwill" crept up Boston harbor with only one of her company dead.

A pirate could hardly do greater damage. Captain Codd who came into Philadelphia from Dublin in October with one hundred and fifty passengers, many of them servants, reported having been taken off the Capes by Teach of "the Pirate sloop Revenge of 12 Guns and 150 men." Teach took two snows; from one he threw overboard a great load of staves and crowded her with the passengers and crews of subsequent captures; from the other he cast a load of grain and turned her into a pirate ship. Out of a sloop bound from Madeira Teach took twenty-seven pipes of wine, cut down her masts, and left her to drift. From another he took two casks and sank her. Other captures were made before Codd was permitted to complete his voyage. During this enforced delay the victims saw much of Captain Bennet who had relinquished the command of the "Revenge" to Teach on account of his slow recovery from wounds received in a recent fight with a Spanish Man of War. Bennet took a walk in his "morning gown" after each day's breakfast, and then devoted his time to study, surrounded by his books, of which he had a good library on board. The pirate, with his

¹ News-Letter, September 9-16, 1717; November 25-December 2. The New England Weekly Journal, November 10, 1729, describes another voyage of even greater hardships.

guns and his books, was more than the average merchantman could hope to resist. He added terror to the long voyage of the emigrant from Ireland.¹

¹ News-Letter, November 4-11, 1717. The researches made by Mr. Edwin M. Bacon and Mr. John H. Edmonds have very generously been placed at my disposal in preparing this chapter.

IX

THE WINTER OF 1718-19 IN BOSTON

In July and August, 1718, from five to seven hundred Protestant immigrants from Ireland entered the port of Boston. Several followers of the Rev. Mr. McGregor set out early in the autumn for Andover where they spent the winter. Others as we have seen went to Casco Bay and the Kennebec River.

Family ties no doubt drew some into the neighboring towns, although all trace of these influences have been lost.

Among the early emigrants who came probably from the north of Ireland many were scattered through towns not known thereafter as distinctly Scotch Irish settlements. Where we find one family others are almost certainly to be found, disguised it may be by an English name. The following names are given as an indication of the wide distribution of the emigrants. Some families are merely known to be Scotch, others are Presbyterians who brought their babies to the Rev. Mr. Moorhead in Boston for baptism, while in still other instances the home town in Ireland has been or can be found by reference to

the local church records.1 James Long was in Charlestown, John Tom in Cambridge, Thomas Karr or Carr, John Pike, James Lindsay, James Taggart and John Brownlie in Roxbury, Robert Burns and James Aull in Medford, James Moor in Chelsea, Jeremiah Smith and John Longhead in Milton, Archibald Thompson and Thomas Henry in Bridgewater, and John Kennedy, with Abraham Hunter, at Braintree. At Concord lived Samuel Henderson; Robert Wilson was at Malden, Alexander Smith at Billerica, Thomas Little, Charles Richards, John Moor and James Gordon at Shirley, Daniel Ritter and Thomas Harkness at Lunenburg, Thomas Bogle at Sudbury, John McClure at Woburn and James Wilson at Lexington. Dugall McCombs was at Western, John McAllister at Westboro, David McClure at Brookfield, Andrew McElwain at Bolton, James Cargill at Mendon, Walter Beath at Lunenburg and at Boothbay in Maine, William Leman at Wiscasset, and Mrs. James at Annapolis. John Nichols lived at Freetown, John Wood and James Henry at Providence, and Archibald Mac-Kaye at Pomfret in Connecticut.

With James Glasford at Leicester was Matthew Watson who came from Coleraine in Ireland. James Smith of Needham brought a letter from the church

¹I am indebted to my sons Stanwood and Geoffrey for many references to Scotch Irish in country towns,

in Ballykelly. At Middleboro¹ was William Strobridge or Strawbridge, from Donagh (also called Cardonagh), Donegal, where the Rev. Thomas Strawbridge was minister from 1721 to 1762. At Lancaster there was a group of immigrants, Robert and Elizabeth Bratten from the church at Termont (or Clougherny), Tyrone, Robert Waite from Aghadowey, Jane Macmullin from Dawsonbridge (Castledawson), William and Ellinor White from Dunboe, Margaret Stuart from Bovedy, all in County Derry, as well as Alexander Scott and his wife "from Ireland." At Dracut was Thomas Holmes from Coleraine, with a brother John at Boston.

On the other hand an occasional voyager drifted back to Boston, perhaps forced from town to town lest he become a charge upon the rates. Thomas Crook came in the "Three Anns and Mary," Captain Richards, master, to Casco Bay, and from there was carried in a fishing sloop to Salem "where he, being sick, was turned out of Doors from House to House, till at length he got so far as Lyn, being then in a perishing condition & could proceed no further by reason of his Legs being dropsical, that at Lyn he was put under the Care & Direction of Dr. Bromstead."

¹ In Middleboro there may have been several Scotch Irish settlers: James Nealson, John McCully, William McFall, Thomas Pickens, John Montgomery, and an earlier Scotch or Scotch Irishman Alexander Canedy. (Weston's Middleboro, p. 434.)

² Massachusetts Resolves, 1719-20, Chapter 21.

The authorities in Boston could not very well warn from town so great a company as that which arrived in 1718, although they shared Mr. Surveyor-General Lechmere's anxiety lest the "confounded Irish" eat them out of house and home. The selectmen met August 13th and impowered Mr. John Marion to appear before the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the county of Suffolk "to move what he Shall think proper in order to Secure this Town from Charges wen may hapen to accrue or be imposed on them by reason of the Passengers Lately arived here from Ireland or elsewhere." the winter many were warned to leave Boston, Thomas Walker, John Rogers, James Blare or Blair, with Elizabeth and Rachel, who had come over from Ireland in August;² Anne Hanson who came down from Casco Bay, and Mehitable Lewis, from Piscatagua; Robert Holmes and wife, William Holmes and child, also from Casco Bay; and Alexander McGregory, lately from Ireland with his familv: they were all asked to leave or find sureties.

The selectmen could not hope to save the town from charges for the support of those who had brought with them their modest savings, if the price of grain continued to rise.

Before the Scotch Irish arrived the town had authorized the selectmen to expend for grain from time

² Suffolk Court Files, No. 12620.

¹ Selectmen's Records, Record Commission Reports, Vol. 13, p. 41.

to time as much as they thought best out of the sum of £1500 received from the sale of lands at Blue Hill. In October the following vote was passed by the selectmen to keep down the price of Indian corn: "Voted: that in case any considerable quantity of Indian Corn be imported into this Town before the Shutting in of y° ensuing winter & exposed to Sale, In order to check an Exorbitant demand of y° Sellers thereof:—

"Any four of the Sel. men agreeing may open the Townes Granary and order the Sale of corn at four Shillings & Six pence p. bushel."

On the 18th of December it was voted that "the Granaryes be opened for the Sale of Indian Corn on Fryday & Saterday next. vizt the South granary on Fryday, and the North Granary on Satterday, and on the next week following on Tuesday at the South and on Fryday at the North, and Mr. Galpine is directed to Sell out to the Inhabitts of this Town not exceeding one bushel to each buyer, at five Shillings p bushel, and he is directed to put up before hand one bushel in each of ye Townes Baggs, and first receive each p'sons money and then Shift the Corn into their respective baggs, the hours appointed to attend the Same is from nine to twelve in the fore noon and from two to four in the after noon & he is to Imploy ye Cryer to cry at that price each buyer to bring good bill ready changed & to cry thro the Town on thursday."

The need of wheat still pressing, the selectmen on December 19th agreed with the Hon. Jonathan Belcher for ten thousand pounds at forty shillings per hundred. The matter had become of so much importance that the Governor and Council advised the town to purchase grain in Connecticut if necessary in order to avoid distress. In January eight thousand pounds had been purchased. At the March town meeting, 1719, the inhabitants decided to lay out the entire sum of £1500 in grain to carry them through the spring months, and a committee of seven was appointed "to consult together for the Releife of This Town under their present distresses."

Through the kindness of Mr. Charles P. Greenough I have had access to the account kept by David Stoddard of his purchases in Boston during the years 1717, 1718 and 1719. Mr. Stoddard paid six shillings per bushel for wheat in the spring of 1717, and three shillings for Indian corn. In the spring of 1719, with the Scotch Irish in Boston, wheat had nearly doubled in price, selling for ten shillings per bushel, while corn which had brought three now brought five shillings. A study of the prices of small fruits and vegetables shows no material change due to the presence of the Scotch Irish.

PRICES.

PRICES.			
BEFORE ARRIVAL.		AFTER ARRIVAL.	
0-0-9 (May 31, 1718)	1 qt. gooseberries	0-0-9 (May 31, 1719)	
0-0-3 (June 25, 1718)	1 qt. currants	0-0-3 (June 20, 1719)	
0-1-0 (July 1, 1718)	1 qt. beans	0-0-9 (June 27, 1719)	
0-0-3 (June 28, 1718)	1 qt. cherries	0-0-3 (July 13, 1719)	

The prices after the arrival of the emigrants in the summer of 1718, and again twelve months later when presumably many had left Boston, were:

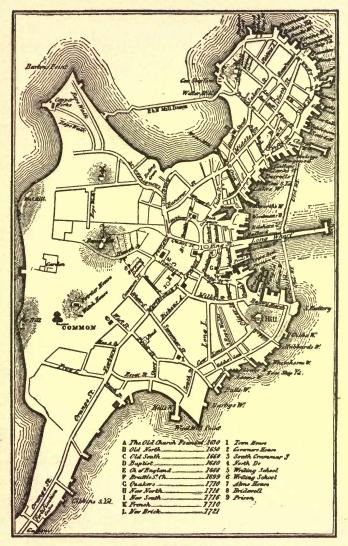
PRICES.

FRICES.			
SUMMER OF 1718.		SUMMER OF 1719.	
0-1-0 (Aug. 19, 1718)	l cabbage	0-0-10 (Aug. 13, 1719)	
0-0-2 (Aug. 27, 1718)	qt. Damsons [plums]	0-0- 3 (Aug. 31, 1719)	
0-0-6 (Sept. 19, 1718)	1 cabbage	0-0-4 (Sept. 14, 1719)	
0-4-6 (Nov. 4, 1718)	1 bu. carrots	0-5- 0 (Nov. 16, 1719)	

There were many taverns in Boston at this time, about half of them managed under the names of women. These became the resort of numbers of idle immigrants, and the members of the Council, Justices, selectmen, and overseers of the poor agreed among themselves in August that for the next eight weeks they would walk the streets by turns at night to suppress disorders, and by their presence show that the land of promise was not to be a land of license.

The winter of 1717–18 in Ireland had been very trying; small-pox, fevers and other afflictions prevailed there and especially in Ulster. We should expect to find further evidence of these conditions in the health of the passengers that left the ports of Ireland in the spring of 1718. As early as the year 1714 the ship "Elizabeth and Kathrin" from Ireland had landed sick persons on Spectacle Island by order of the Government; and again in 1716 the

¹ Province Laws, 1714, Chapter 45.



CAPTAIN JOHN BONNER'S MAP OF BOSTON



island was used for the same purpose. In 1717 a pest house was built, but before its completion some eighty persons from Ireland were put ashore. In the year 1718 "seven several companies" were left on Spectacle Island before June 17th, a fact which seems puzzling, since arrivals from abroad between January 1st and June 17th of that year were few; but the contemporary record is clear and beyond controversy. Some of these infected companies must have come from other American ports. A large ship-load from Ireland was detained in November, 1719.2 The inference from these facts seems to be that if any of the immigrants of July and August, 1718, were detained with contagious diseases they were inconsiderable in number and thus found no place in the records.

These were busy days in Boston. The batteries were repaired and the defences across the Neck were finished. Streets were being paved, projects were on foot for bringing in coal by sea, the weight and price of loaves of bread were fixed, schoolmasters were employed, and provision was made for the reading of God's word, catechising, and the encouragement of good spelling.

In so large a place it is not easy to discover the names of those who arrived from Ireland in 1718 and 1719, and settled down to remain there. It is

Province Laws, 1718-19, Chapter 19.

² Ibid, 1719-20, Chapter 68.

said that the Rev. John Moorhead, who was born near Belfast, and came to Boston in 1727, was induced to remain in town by the kindly welcome extended to him from resident families that he had known some years before.¹

We must remember, however, that Mr. Moorhead did not arrive until the migration from Ireland had been growing for several years. The records of marriages performed in Boston after July, 1718, show Scotch Irish names, as the following examples indicate:—

William Blair and Mary Phillips, Oct. 29, 1718. Cornelius Campbell and Eliza Short, September

17, 1718.

James Duncan and Eliza. Bason, December 16, 1718.

It will be found that the Campbells, Duncans, Blacks, Bethunes and others came before 1718, and most of them from Scotland. The following births, however, may suggest the Scotch-Irish immigration:

Lydia, daughter of William Mackinley and Lydia, born 12 March, 1718-19.

Lydia, daughter of William Forbish and Sarah, born 12 March, 1718-19.

William, son of William Doke and Lydia, born 29 April, 1719.

But a careful study of Boston birth and marriage records for 1718 and 1719 would seem to indicate

¹ A. Blaikie's Presbyterian Church in New England, p. 62.

that the immigrants of these years went very generally into the country. The Boston Scotch Irish came later.

We know little of the feeling towards these Scotch emigrants from Ireland shown by Boston people, although elsewhere they were disliked. An important incident of the next winter throws some light upon the subject, and for that reason it will be mentioned here. Benjamin Gray, a bookseller and publisher, offered for sale books on religion, and from time to time published works by Scotch presbyterians. Naturally then the Rev. William Boyd became a frequent visitor to Gray's shop. Boyd, as a leader of men, as an able preacher, and as a writer, was for a few months a prominent figure in Boston. At this period he was living in Charlestown at Captain John Long's hotel, or "the great tavern," as it was called.

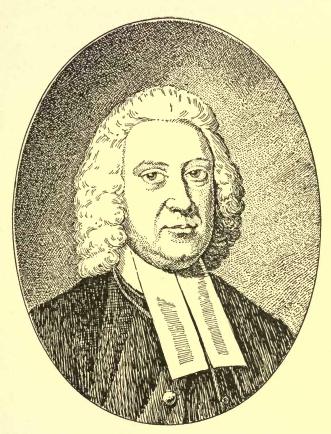
It happened that Mr. Boyd was in the shop on February 7, 1718–19, a Saturday, talking with friends when Edward Ellis, son of Robert Ellis, a surgeon, entered. Ellis soon became abusive, and singling out the Rev. Mr. Boyd he said that the Scotch Irish clergyman was an immoral man, and as evidence asserted that Boyd had had improper relations with a maid-servant in Captain Long's employ. Ellis was at once arrested and his case came before the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk County on April 7th. He was con-

victed, sentenced to pay twenty pounds, seven shillings, and to find sureties to be bound in twenty five pounds each that he would be of good behavior for six months, and he was ordered also to pay all the costs of the prosecution. The prominence of Ellis is made clear by the fact that the men who came to his assistance as sureties were both well known, Robert Auchmuty, Esquire, and Thomas Phillips, Innholder. Ellis was discharged November 10, 1719.

Over against this incident we may place the following sentence from the Rev. Increase Mather's Preface to Boyd's farewell sermon which was delivered March 19, 1719: "Since his being in New England (as well as before that) by the Exemplary holiness of his Conversation, and the Eminency of his Ministerial Gifts, he has obtained good Report amongst all Good Men."

At the close of the sermon, mentioned above, the Governor invited Mr. Boyd to dine, the company including the Rev. Cotton Mather, the Rev. James Woodside who had ordained Mr. Boyd in Ireland, Samuel Sewall, and a Mr. Stanton.

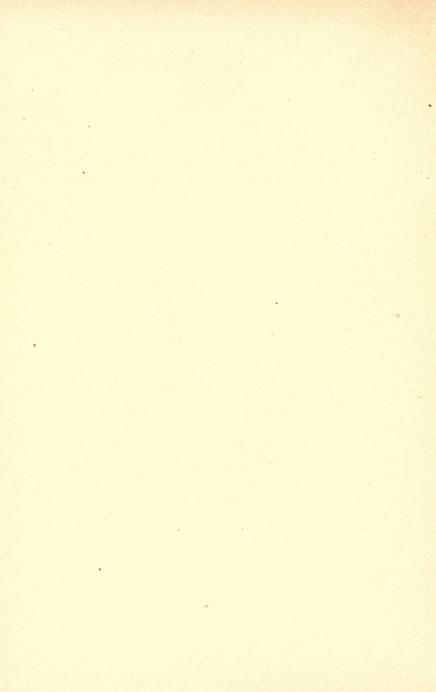
The Rev. John Moorhead, son of a respected farmer at Newton, near Belfast, county Down, was born there in 1703. He studied at the University of Edinburgh, and, upon his return to Newton, accounts that he heard of New England led him to emigrate to Boston. He arrived in 1727 and soon after undertook services, the people whom he gathered



THE REV. JOHN MOORHEAD,

"Minister of a Church of Presbyterian Strangers in Boston"

(Drawn by John Huybers)



about him calling themselves the "Church of Presbyterian strangers." He was ordained as their pastor March 30, 1730. Among these people was John Little, a prosperous gardener, who exhibited much interest. He had a house on Milk Street, and in May, 1729, purchased land for a garden at the corner of Long Lane and Bury Street. In Mr. Little's barn which stood on this land services were held for several years, the congregation making additions to the barn and alterations from time to time. Elders were first elected July 14, 1730, and John Young, Robert Patton, Samuel McClure, Richard McClure and Thomas McMullen were chosen to fill this office. They watched over those who had been baptized, cared for the sick and needy, and reproved the erring. Mr. Moorhead visited each family, whether in town or country, once or twice a year to talk with the parents and catechise children and servants. At the close of each visit he knelt in prayer with the family.

In June, 1735, Mr. Little conveyed the barn or meeting house and land on the north east corner of Long Lane to a Committee appointed by the Congregation to hold the property in trust. The members of this Committee were George Glen, a tailor, who had come from South Carolina in 1719, William

¹Grandfather of the Rev. David McClure, D. D., whose Diary has been published. David's son and grandson held the same offices.

Hall a leather-dresser, William Shaw a tailor, and Andrew Knox a mariner, all of Boston. Other members of the church interested in the negotiations which preceded the transfer were Edward Allen, tailor, George Sutherland, shopkeeper, Daniel Mac-Neal, laborer, Samuel Miller, gunsmith, and Abraham All or Aul, tailor. In 1744 a large and dignified building was erected, and in 1788 by a change of street name the place of worship became the Federal Street church. Mr. Moorhead married June 22, 1730, Sarah Parsons, an English lady of refinement and some artistic talent; they had several children, Alexander, Parsons, Mary, John, William, and Agnes or Ann Agnes. At least one of these, Agnes, who married Alexander Willson of Boston, left issue.2

His health began to fail a few years before his death; on the last Sunday in November, 1773, he preached twice, but upon returning home he became very ill and died on Thursday, December 2d.³ The Rev. David McGregor of Londonderry preached the funeral sermon, which was printed in 1774. Moorhead was a tall man, and rather corpulent. His character is described in a notice printed soon after his death:

¹ Suffolk Deeds, Vol. 51, p. 14.

² Mary Moorhead, perhaps a relative, married in Boston, April 3, 1732, Andrew Menford.

⁸ Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, No. 3662, December 9, 1773.

"Very few men have left behind them a fairer or better character,—charitable and liberal to the poor, with a hearty disposition to render them every service in his power,-industrious and faithful in the dispensation of the word, and a most earnest desire for the good of souls which was the actuating and ruling principle of his life. His mind was deeply impressed with the importance of the truth of the atonement of Jesus Christ as the only well grounded hope of salvation and happiness in a future state; this made him anxiously desirous to communicate that impression to others. With this view his labors were incessant. In all his discourses from the sacred desk he held up this grand truth as the only principle upon which depended the very existence of Christianity; also frequently visiting the families of his flock, and endeavoring to inspire them to practice as well as believe the Gospel. His honesty of heart, open and frank manner of address, rendered him at all times an able and faithful adviser."

The administrators of Mr. Moorhead's estate, William McNeil and the unmarried daughter Mary Moorhead, reported £ 223 - 3 - 11 to be divided between the son Alexander and the daughters Mary Moorhead and Agnes or Ann Agnes Willson.²

John Little, the early benefactor of the Scotch

¹ Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, December 9, 1773.

² Suffolk Wills, Vol. 74, p. 356.

Irish in Boston, was a son of Archibald Little with whom he came to Boston. John Little at his death in 1741 left two minor sons John and Moses, a daughter Mary having died in infancy. His will provided for his family, but in case the sons were to die before marriage and before reaching the age of twenty one, he instructed his executors Henry Dering and Andrew Cunningham to transfer his property to the Overseers of the Poor to be invested by them as a trust. The annual income was to be used for the employment of a schoolmaster to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to the "poor Protestant children whose Parents are of the Kingdom of Ireland and Inhabitants of Boston." Their books and materials, with psalter, testament and Bible, were to be furnished free. Children between the ages of seven and fourteen were eligible. Had his sons died in childhood Mr. Little's charity would have aided the Scotch Irish to this day and his name would have been known in our annals.

Among those who came to Boston in or about 1727 Peter Pelham, schoolmaster, painter and engraver, became the most eminent. He had close and kindly association with the Scotch Irish, and in 1751 he engraved a portrait of the Rev. Mr. Moorhead, one of the earliest of those of the Boston clergy made by him. John Little owed many favors to the Pelhams, and in 1741 he remembered Peter's son Charles in

¹ Suffolk Wills, Vol. 35, p. 476.

his will "as a token of my love for the Friendship receiv'd from his Father and Family."

William Shaw, a Boston tailor and a member of the committee to which John Little deeded the Presbyterian meeting house in 1735, died soon after, leaving a very interesting will. His bequest of land in Kingsfield to a sister Jane, wife of "William Mc-Clenenghen" of Kingsfield, suggests that Shaw was closely allied with these settlers, many of whom came from the Rutland company. The Shaws of Kingsfield, an early name for Palmer, Massachusetts, were Joshua, David, Samuel and Seth. The last three were deacons and men of influence. If Deacon Samuel is the "brother Samuel" Shaw of our William's will we have a numerous progeny for William's father Samuel Shaw of Boston. Captain John Mc-Clanathan married Martha Shaw, perhaps a sister of Jane mentioned above, who married William McClanathan. It is evident that William Shaw of Mr. Moorhead's church was closely allied with Palmer; he was a "petitioner" there in 1732 and owner of a fifty acre home lot. Tradition says that the Shaws came from Queenstown in 1720, but their alliance with Rutland families may mean that they had lived in County Tyrone and merely took ship from Queenstown.

Mr. Shaw left five pounds to the Presbyterian congregation in Long Lane, and his books to his friends. The titles of these volumes show what the Scotch

Irish pioneer read: The Practical Sabbatarian, by John Wells, minister of St. Olave, Jewry; Lectures upon the Fourth of John, by Arthur Hildersam, a puritan divine at Ashby de la Zouch; A Sacramental Directory, by John Willison, minister at Dundee: Heaven upon Earth, by James Janeway, a minister at Rotherhithe; and The Great Concern of Salvation, by Professor Thomas Halliburton of St. An-The last volume Shaw left to Alexander Thien. This book was published in 1721, so that the owner must have purchased it in Boston if he came in 1720. His great Bible and the work by Janeway he gave to Mrs. "Eupham" Johnson, and to her husband George his case of bottles-discriminating gifts, we may suppose! To their daughter Mary he left his oval table and pocket Bible with silver clasps, as well as the books by Willison and Hildersam, and his candlesticks and fire-tongs.

The clothing which he wore is described at some length: To his brother-in-law McClanathan his Camblet coat lined with green, and his black and white jacket; to his brother Samuel Shaw a Duroy coat, brown holland coat, and dimmity jacket; to Alexander Thien his coat with metal buttons. The father was to have the grey suit of clothes trimmed with black, his "Rocquelo" or roquelaure, a loose coat to be thrown over the shoulders, his silver shoe buckles, his linen, and Burkitt's Expository notes on the New Testament. To David Hoston or Huston

and wife he gave four pounds. The executors were his father and George Glen, tailor, his fellow member on the Church committee. The witnesses were William Hall, another member of the above mentioned committee, James Johnson, and James Bradford.¹

Robert Patten became an elder in Mr. Moorhead's church. But his father showed an interest in Trinity church and in his will remembered both faiths; he left a gold ring and gloves to Mr. Moorhead, and £ 40 to the minister, wardens and vestry of Trinity.²

The Charitable Irish Society of Boston, instituted in 1737, was to be composed of persons "of the Irish Nation or extraction"; and since the managers were to be Protestants (article viii) it is probable that the earliest members also were of that faith. Those who became members before the year 1742, when Roman Catholics are first supposed to have been eligible to membership, number one hundred and sixteen.³ Many of them had been in Boston for several years, and had become prosperous merchants or mariners.

The Scotch Irish began to arrive in Boston in considerable numbers as early as 1718. If we assume that most of these emigrants moved into the country towns their whereabouts is made clear. If, however, any great number remained in Boston we

¹ Suffolk Wills, Vol. 32, p. 179.

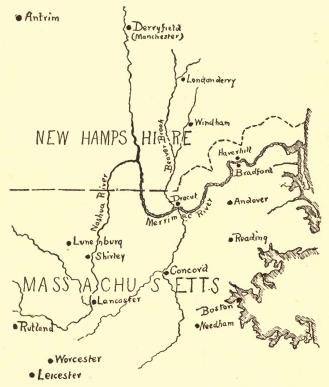
² Ibid, Vol. 69, p. 268.

³ See Appendix IV.

may wonder that they made no impress on affairs before 1730, when the Presbyterian Church records begin. The surnames mentioned in these records give some idea of Boston Scotch Irish families, although parents came fifty miles for the rites of baptism, and in some cases there is no indication on the records that a family lived out-of-town.

THE WINTER OF 1718-19 IN WORCESTER

Cotton Mather had in mind very early that the emigrants from Ulster would be useful settlers on the frontier. In 1718 the village of Worcester could claim a position on the Massachusetts frontier, although it lay only forty miles from Boston. First settled in 1674, it was deserted in King Philip's war, 1675, and again in Queen Anne's war, 1702. In 1713 Jonas Rice courageously built a cabin at the northern end of Sagatabscot Hill, south east of the centre of Worcester and near the Grafton line. Two years later his brother Gershom settled at Pakachoag Hill in the south western part of the township, near a corner of the present Auburn. These English settlers and others built a fort or garrison house of logs in 1717 on the west side of the present Main Street, near Chatham Street. The same year Obadiah Ward built his mill a little south east of the garrison house, and a year later Joshua Rice finished a garrison house on the Jo Bill road, north of the Main Street garrison house. At the north east corner of Main and Exchange streets already stood Daniel Heywood's fortified tavern, a landmark even in those days on the great highway into the wilderness.1



The little company of Scotch Irish settlers, poor, weary, laden with blankets and tools, flax-wheels and

¹ Wall's Worcester, 1877, Chapter 2. I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence Park of Groton for aid in preparing this chapter. Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill of Worcester has read the manuscript and has placed his views of old houses at my disposal.

cradles, watched this sandy path as it ran on through woodland and meadow, and dotted at intervals with garrison houses, which must have reminded them of danger. They came to act as a buffer against the Indians, and instead of welcome they received surly conversation from the few inhabitants who turned out to meet them. At the head of the party of emigrants was the Rev. Edward FitzGerald from Londonderry, of whom less is known than of the other ministers of the migration. James McClellan was one of the leaders, and he may even have been in Worcester when the band of emigrants came slowly out from Boston, if he landed on July 28th, as seems possible. It was on Saturday, August 9th, of the week after the ships entered the harbor, that McClellan made terms with Gershom Rice of Worcester for a farm of seventy five acres. The price was forty one pounds. The land was bounded partly westerly by land in the possession of Captain Prentice, easterly by land of Mr. John Smith, and every where else by common land, a country road six rods wide running through the farm. April 23d of the next year McClellan purchased from Nathaniel Jones

¹ Middlesex Deeds, Vol. 19, p. 328. In the publications of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 3, p. 144, the early Proprietors' Records are given. A plot made November 21, 1718, shows land laid out on the right of Captain Thomas Prentice, deceased, and "Macklelans land" is shown to be on "the Comon road," west of the Captain's land. In 1720 William McClellan's land is shown (page 157).

another large tract of land bounded on the south by the town line and on the east by Gershom Rice's land and common land. These and later purchases formed a large farm between Pakachoag Hill and the Leicester line.

McClellan at once became a factor in the Worcester of 1718, with its fifty-eight dwellings and its two hundred souls. Log cabins were built rapidly on the common land. Mr. Wall in his Reminiscences of Worcester indicates on his map the probable sites in 1718 of the homes of the settlers, most of them Scotch Irish men who came with their families and so had to provide houses for them. Professor Perry thinks that at least fifty families of the old fashioned size settled in Worcester that autumn, doubling the population of the town.¹

Religious services under the Rev. Mr. FitzGerald began in a garrison house near the intersection of the Boston and Lancaster roads,² at the north end of the town.

In the autumn of 1718 or the summer of 1719 the Presbyterians began to erect a church of their own, on the west side of Lincoln street, "near the top of the hill, a little north of the Paine house." Through ignorance as to the religious views of the Scotch Irish, or more probably from a desire to force all the inhabitants of the town to attend and support

¹ Proceedings Scotch Irish Society, 2d Congress, p. 111.

² Lincoln's Worcester, p. 163.

one church, the rougher element came together one night and destroyed the frame before much progress had been made. It is said that Deacon Daniel Heywood of the orthodox church lent his influence to this movement and that the "best people in town" were present. The destruction proved a crushing blow to those who clung tenaciously to their own form of worship. Many moved north onto a tract of land known as the settlers' part of the town. When, in 1722, forty or fifty families had gathered there this territory, six miles square, was incorporated as Rutland.

Many also went elsewhere, some gathering at Sutton to be under the Rev. John McKinstry, who began his ministry there about 1720; others moving to Londonderry in New Hampshire. The Scotch Irish did not entirely desert Worcester, although so few remained that they had no control of affairs in the annual town meetings, nor could they bear the burden of a minister of their own faith. The Rev. Mr. FitzGerald left them, but returned occasionally to preach, being referred to as late as 1729.² A few years later the Presbyterians again attempted to form a church, and they called the Rev. William Johnston who is said to have come from Mullowmale, or Mullaghmoyle, county Tyrone.

In 1737 John Clark and nine others, finding it

¹ Carl's tour in Main Street, pp. 8, 146.

² Lincoln's Worcester, pp. 166, 191.

burdensome to support Mr. Johnston and at the same time aid the town's minister, asked the town to free them from taxation for the support of religious services, but "ye Irish petition" was voted down by "a grate majority." Evidently the designation "Irish" still clung to these Scotch and English settlers from Ulster. Through adversity and isolation of old they had grown clannish and they did not assimilate well with the older New England blood.

If we could go back to these early years we should probably find that after FitzGerald's departure the Presbyterians attended the Congregational or town services, except when an itinerant or a passing minister of their own communion gathered the loyal band in a cabin to unite them in prayer or to baptize their children.

The orthodox church was built in 1719 in front of the site of the present handsome city hall. At this period it was plain, without steeple, and at first filled with benches. The committee on seating in 1724 had no Scotch Irish members, nor did they grant any places for private pews to these new settlers. In the fore seat or bench was John Gray; in the third seat were Matthew Gray, John Duncan; in the fourth seat was William Gray; in the fifth seat were James Hamilton, William McNal, Robert Peables, J. McClellan, Andrew Farrend, Alexander McConkey, John Killough and Robert Lothridge or

Lortridge; and in the sixth seat William McClellan, David Young, J. Bety or Batty, W. Mahan, James McClellan and [Thomas] Beard, or Baird, all or nearly all of them Scotch Irish.¹

In 1733 there were in the "fore seet" John Gray with five English sitters; in the second seat William Grav, James Hambleton, Andrew McFarland, John Clerk, Robert Peables; in the third seat, Matthew Gray, Alexander McConkey, William Caldwell, John Duncan, William Gray, Jr., Matthew Gray, Jr., Andrew McFarland, Jr., and John Gray, Jr.; in the fourth seat Moses Harper, James Thornington or Thornton, John Batty, Oliver Wallis, and Robert Blair; in the fifth seat James Furbush, Robert Lortridge, John Alexander, William Mahan, John Stinson, Duncan Graham, John McFarland, and Joseph Clerk; in the sixth seat John Patrick, James Glasford, John Sterling, and Hugh Kelso. In the fore seat in the long gallery were William and James McClellan,2 and Robert Barber; in the second seat were Patrick Peables, John McConkey, John Peables; and in the second seat of the "frunt galiry" were Samuel Gray, Thomas Hambleton, and Matthew Clark. In most of the seats were other sitters who were probably not of the Scotch Irish stock.3

It will be seen that in 1733 there was a consider-

¹ Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 2, p. 28.

² Perry adds John Cishiel.

⁸ Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 2, pp. 85-86.

able Scotch Irish colony within a church-going radius of the Worcester church.

In 1737 the Irish petition had been voted down. The lands now included in the town of Pelham were being opened for settlement, and on the 21st of January, 1738-39, John Stoddard arranged to settle a number of families "such as were inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland or their descendants, being Protestants." Their names were: James and John Alexander; Adam Clark; Ephraim and George Cowan, the latter being of Concord: John and Thomas Dick: John Ferguson of Grafton: James Gilmore of Boston; John Gray, Jr., Samuel, and William Gray, Jr.; James Hood; Adam Johnson; John Johnson of Shrewsbury; Robert Lotheridge; Thomas Lowden of Leicester; Alexander and John McConkey; James McAllach; Abraham Patterson of Leicester; Patrick and Robert Peibols; John Stinson; James Thornton; James Taylor; Samuel Thomes; Alexander Turner. The proprietors registered in 1739 included also Andrew McFarland. James Breakenridge, Robert Barbour, William Johnson and Matthew Gray. John Gray, Jr., had 3-60 of the rights, Robert Peibols 5-60 and James Thornton had 14-60. All the others had one or two rights. As the place was to be called Lisburn after the town in County Antrim a natural inference would be that Thornton came from that "mother town."

¹ Parmenter's Pelham, pp. 17, 24,

He was a man of ability and his son was a signer of the Declaration of Indepedence.

Exact information may be had in regard to a few of the Worcester settlers. James McClellan. whose early purchase of land has already been mentioned, was a very religious, industrious and thrifty man. His will, on file at the Middlesex Probate office, was signed September 29, 1729, when he made his mark. It was probated October 31st. The will was written apparently by Samuel Jenison, who with Moses and Jane Harper were witnesses. Mc-Clellan mentions "Margaret my dearly beloved wife"; the son William to have lands at Boggerhoage, 104 acres with buildings, and to give his mother yearly 100 weight of beef and 100 weight of pork; the son James to have 95 acres and one half the buildings, the other half to be Margaret's for life; James to haul and cut her fire wood, and to provide yearly ten bushels of Indian corn, three of English corn, two of malt, one barrel of cider, fodder for two cows, and a horse in the winter season, and also to fit (?) him in order whenever she wants to ride. To Margaret he gave the use of the orchard for life. To William's children William, Samuel and Ann he gave three pounds each, and to James's children James and Rebecca like sums. James he made executor. It is an excellent will, clear, simple,

^{1 &}quot;The south part of the town, then known as Bogachoag (now Auburn)."—Carl's tour in Main Street, p. 119.

and thoughtful through all its details, worthy of the Worcester colony, and of the emigrant's distinguished descendants General Samuel McClellan, General George B. McClellan, and the mayor of Greater New York.

The Young family have left on their grave stones valuable evidence of their Irish home. John and David both came from the Londonderry neighborhood, and this suggests that the Worcester company was from the valley of the Foyle; while the New Hampshire and Falmouth people were from the Bann Valley. John Young was born in the Isle of Bert or Burt near Londonderry, and died at Worcester June 30, 1730, aged 107. David was born in the parish of Taughboyne, Donegal, between Londonderry and Lifford on the west bank of the Foyle, and died December 26, 1776, aged 94.

The will of Daniel McFarland, who died in Worcester in 1738, states that he had a daughter Margaret Campbell living in County Tyrone, Ireland. Daniel may have been a brother of John McFarland, mentioned in a paper in the Suffolk County Files, number 163,586, which shows that three emigrants of the name, probably those of Boothbay a

¹Professor Perry says that the Youngs were of Celtic origin. See his article, p. 110.

²Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. 1. In the first cemetery in Worcester, where about seventeen were buried between 1713 and 1727, there are no stones. The earliest stone on the Common bears the date 1727.

little later, appear to have come from Ardstraw, County Tyrone, in 1720.

The paper reads:

"This Bill bindeth us John McFarland, Sr. John McFarland, Jr. Andrew McFarland

in the sum of £ 13. 16. 0 for the payment of £ 6. 18. 0 unto Rev. Mr. Isaac Taylor or order within 30 days after arrival at New England for value recd. Dated 10 August 1720. In presence of Robert Temple, Alexander Hamilton."

Taylor was assistant to the Rev. Mr. Haliday, minister at Ardstraw, Ireland. He may, however, have been at Brunswick for a few months in 1719 and 1720.

Matthew Gray who came over as a child in 1718 and Robert who came as a youth of twenty-one are both referred to as "of the Company of immigrants who settled here in 1718." John Gray had land laid out to him by the town's committee November 26, 1718, and these were his children: Robert (born 1697, ancestor of Asa Gray the botanist), Samuel,

¹ James, son of Daniel McFarland of Worcester, was at Brunswick in 1738. Duncan McFarland of Rutland was probably a son of Duncan who died in Boston in 1696, although perhaps closely related to the Worcester family. An Andrew McFarland married at Billerica in 1725,

William, Matthew (ancestor of Professor Bliss Perry), John, Mary (called wife of William Blair of Aghadowey, and later wife of Matthew Barbour), and Sarah (wife of Robert Barbour, who was born at "Koppra," County Tyrone).1

It is evident that those with families were obliged to build log cabins and clear spaces for planting; but two families no doubt often lived together under the same roof. There were also many young men and girls who went from place to place in search of employment. Some of these in the course of ten years returned to Worcester to buy land. Others married and settled elsewhere. The chief Worcester Scotch Irish settlers bore the following names, but many others were transient dwellers in Worcester and will be referred to under Rutland, Pelham and Palmer.

Thomas Baird Robert Barbour John Batley [Betty?] Abraham Blair Robert Blair William Caldwell Robert Crawford John Duncan

William Dunlap (1731)

Rev. Edward Fitz Gerald

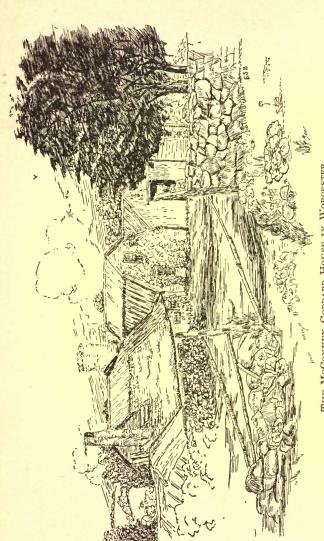
Samuel Fleming James Forbush Mrs. Isabel Gilmore

John Grav James Hamilton James Heart

Hugh Kelso

Archibald Lamond (1731)

¹ No place name in Ireland begins with Ko. Perhaps Cappagh on the northern side of the Mourne, between Newtown Stewart and Omagh, is referred to. Clogher was not far away.



THE MCCONKEY-GODDARD HOUSE IN WORCESTER

The land, now on Grove Street, north west of North Pond, was bought by Alexander McConkey January 25, 1731



Robert Lollard
Robert Lortridge
James McClellan
John McClintock
Alexander McConkey
John McConkey
Daniel McFarland
William McHan

John McKachan Robert Peables David Thomas James Thornton William Walker Matthias Wallis David Young John Young

Many men bearing these names will be found mentioned in the excellent history of Pelham. Most of the Rutland settlers came with the Worcester colony, and the names of the chief Scotch Irish families there belong almost as certainly with the Worcester as with the Rutland list. Some of these Rutland settlers brought letters of dismissal from their church in Ireland. That of Malkem Hendery was from the Rev. Mr. Haliday at Ardstraw in County Tyrone, the home of the McFarlands. The Stinsons, Hamiltons and Savages were closely allied, and it is possible that a large number of the Rutland colony came over from Ardstraw together. Of the following those with an asterisk prefixed probably represent Ardstraw colonists.

- *Alexander Bothwell
 James Browning
 *John Browning
 Lames Clark
 - James Clark
 John Clark

- *Aaron Crawford
- *John Crawford
- *William Fenton Robert Ferrell Robert Forbush

Duncan Graham
Patrick Gregory
*John Hamilton (of
Brookfield 1726)
*Malkem Hendery
John Lecore
William McCarter
Thomas McClanathan
John McClanathan
[Duncan McFarland]
John McIntire
*Robert McLem
Daniel McMains

James McPherson
*John Moor
John Murray
*Robert Patrick
Edward Savage
Matthew Slarrow
William Sloan
James Smith
William Spear
Robert Sterling
John Stinson
William Watson

Edward Savage mentioned above was the grandfather of the Philadelphia painter and engraver of portraits of Washington.

The chief Palmer settlers, who came largely from Worcester, were:

James Breakenridge
Andrew Farrand
Thomas Farrand, Jr.
Robert Ferrell
Joseph Fleming
John Glasford
James Lamont
Thomas McClanathan
William McClanathan
John McMaster

William McMitchel Alexander McNitt James Moore John Moore John Patterson William Patterson John Peables Duncan Quinton Robert Rogers Samuel Shaw Seth Shaw James Shearer Robert Smith John Spence Alexander Tackels John Thomson Robert Thomson

At Palmer and on lands across the Ware River in the present town of Ware the population grew rapidly. Sons and daughters from Worcester and Rutland did the first rough work of the pioneer. To their numbers were added those of the later immigrants who withstood the allurements of a warmer climate. There was Alexander McNitt from County Donegal whose son Barnard served as clerk and treasurer of the Proprietors of Common Lands. Several miles east of Palmer William Sinclair, born in the parish of Drumbo, County Down, in 1676, lived at this period in Leicester and Spencer. His daughter Agnes became the wife of the chief man in this Scotch Irish neighborhood, William Breakenridge, the first representative to the Provincial Congress, and town clerk of Ware for eighteen years. He came to America from Ireland in 1727 when four years of age, with his father, James, a native of Scotland. Mr. Hyde in his address at Ware, says: "There is in the Brakenridge family an ancient manuscript music-book upon the fly-leaf of which is written, 'Mr. Jacobus Breakenridge, His Music Book, made and taught per me, Robt. Cairnes, at

¹ History of Spencer, 1841, pp. 114, 132; 1860, 204, 255.

Glenreavoll, Sept. 1715. Besides the scale and rudiments of music, it contains the date of his marriage, 1720, and the births of his children, giving the day, the hour and the time in the moon, with other memoranda. On one page is written, 'We departed from Ireland, July 16, 1727, and my child died on the 19th of Aug.'"

The newer towns drew from almost every county in Ulster.

The evidence relating to the origin of the Worcester-Rutland colony, however, seems to point to the valley of the Foyle as the home of its pioneer members. If McClellan had not come in the ship from Londonderry, John Wilson, master, which arrived July 28th he would have come on August 4th. In those days the space of time between August 4th and the 9th, Monday to Saturday, would have been short for the labors of bringing his family goods ashore, journeying out to Worcester, selecting a farm and looking it over, waiting for a deed to be drawn, and attaching his signature. All this could have been done in six days, but a careful, provident man would have felt hurried in so important a task in a strange land. If, however, McClellan arrived on the ship from Londonderry he had from July 28th to August 9th to reach Worcester and buy his farm. With him in Worcester were settlers from three counties, Londonderry, Donegal and Tyrone, but

¹ Perhaps Glenravil, barony of Antrim, County Antrim.

most of them came from County Tyrone. The Foyle, made broad by the union of two streams, flows by Lifford on the Donegal side, and Strabane on the Tyrone side, northward between the counties until it approaches the city of Londonderry. There the county of Londonderry seems to throw itself across the Foyle to encompass the city. These twenty miles of the Foyle from Strabane to the city drain a territory which has been a nursery of strong men "who fought naked for King William, our liberties, our religion, and all that was dear to us."

These men from the valley of the Foyle proved themselves sturdy of body and brain. They were, however, if we may judge from minor evidences, less prosperous and possibly less well educated at the time of arrival than those of the Bann companies. In this opinion I am supported by Professor Perry, who writes: "I entertain the opinion, gathered from scattered and uncertain data, that it was the poorer, the more illiterate, the more helpless, part of the five ship-loads who were conducted to Worcester." Under these circumstances their success in the New World was remarkable.

¹ Page 110 of his article.

THE WINTER OF 1718–19 IN DRACUT, ANDOVER, AND CASCO BAY

We have seen that many Scotch Irish immigrants passed the winter of 1718–19 in Boston, much to the discomfort of the town officers and citizens there. These immigrants were possibly from the territory around Belfast, comprising southern Antrim and the northern part of the County of Down. They must have treasured some memories of the sailing of the Eagle Wing nearly a century before, for many of their towns had sent out inhabitants on that fated expedition.

The Worcester company left Boston early in August, 1718. Other families and groups of immigrants struck out for themselves. James Smith, who had come from Ballykelly, a town between the Foyle and the Bann, near Newton Limavady, wandered about for a few months and settled down in Needham, where his third son Matthew was born in April, 1720. The Rev. Jonathan Townsend, writing there in February, 1723–4, states that a year earlier he had had to plead with his people not to ill-treat the new settlers, from which we may infer that the

¹ Information from George K. Clarke, Esq.

Smiths soon must have had Scotch Irish neighbors. The church reference to Mr. Smith is an interesting record:

"Jan: 9, 1726.— James Smith & Mary his Wife admitted into the Church. came from Ireland A. D. 1718, & Brought a Testimonial with them from Mr. John Stirling Minister of the Congregation of Bellykelly in the County of Londonderry."

The leaders of the Bann Valley settlers, finding that their agent, the Rev. William Boyd, had obtained no definite grant of land, determined to spend the winter in or near Boston until affairs were more to their satisfaction. Boyd, as we have seen, remained in Boston, but the Rev. Mr. McGregor's means were not sufficient to allow him to pass the winter in idleness, and he appealed to the Rev. Cotton Mather for influence in obtaining a position as teacher or minister. Mather in his diary under October 3d writes: "Encourage ye people of Draycot unto ye Inviting of a worthy Scotch minister lately arrived here, to settle among ye."

Mather's letter, written on the previous day, is printed below from the somewhat illegible rough draft at the American Antiquarian Society's library in Worcester:

2^d VIII^m 1718

Dear Brethren

Being informed that you are desirous to hear from us, the character of o' Friend and Brother Mr Mc

Gregore, we do, with great Alacrity and satisfaction give you to understant that we look upon him, as a person of a very excellent character: and considerably qualified for the work of ye ministry as well for his ministerial abilities as his Christian [?] piety: [serious gravity and as far as we have heard every way unexceptionable Behaviour.] And we have also had it credibly Reported unto us, that from a singular goodness in his Temper, he was usually called The peace-maker, in ye countrey from whence he came. On these Accounts we cannot but hope that if you should obtain him, to become your pastor, you will enjoy in him a very precious gift of your ascended Saviour, To whose Blessing you are now commended by Your hearty Friend

[Cotton Mather].

In writing of Mr. McGregor it must be evident that Cotton Mather expressed himself after two months of intercourse with the Scotch minister. We may assume also from McGregor's marriage to a sister of the wives of James McKeen and Captain James Gregg that he must himself have been a man of ability, for they were leaders among men wherever they chanced to be.

The village of Dracut had built a little meeting house three years earlier on the river road, now Varnum Avenue. It was thirty feet long and twenty

¹ Mather wrote this clause as a marginal insertion.

feet wide, and to this house of worship after listening to some fifteen candidates the people decided to summon Mr. McGregor, "the peace-maker." The town evidently hoped that he would, if acceptable, settle down after the admirable custom of the time to be the father of his flock through life. The record of the town (there are no church records until 1788) reads:

"Dracutt, Oct. ye 15, 1718.

"Mad choice of Mr. Mackgreggor to settel in Dracutt to prech the Gospel and to do the Whole Work of a Settled minister; and likewise Voted to give to Mr Macgreger Sixty five pounds a year for his salary for the first four years, and then Seaventy pound a year till there Be fifty families in the town of Dracutt, and then it Shall Be eighty pounds a yeare; and likewise voted for a settlement sixty pounds the one half the Next June inseying, and the other half the next June, in the year 1720"

The Rev. James McGregor spent the winter of 1718–19 in Dracut on the banks of Beaver Brook, a little north of the present city of Lowell, and south of the future Nutfield; but there is no evidence that the Scotch Irish people followed him to Dracut. In addition to his work as the village pastor he taught the school.

Parker in his History of Londonderry refers to a winter settlement of Scotch Irish at Andover, a

¹ I consulted also papers lent by Silas R. Coburn, Esq., of Dracut.

village five or ten miles east of Dracut. "On taking their departure," he writes, "from one of the families with whom they had resided, they left a few potatoes for seed. The potatoes were accordingly planted; came up and flourished well; blossomed and produced balls, which the family supposed were the fruit to be eaten. They cooked the balls in various ways, but could not make them palatable, and pronounced them unfit for food. The next spring, while ploughing their garden the plough passed through where the potatoes had grown, and turned out some of great size, by which means they discovered their mistake."

This incident is said to have occurred on the farm of Nathaniel Walker, father of the Rev. Timothy Walker, first minister of Concord. The farm was near the boundary line between North Andover and Bradford, and several families probably spent the winter of 1718–19 there, the single men and girls finding shelter and employment in the neighboring villages.¹ The Andover taxpayers were assessed forty shillings in 1719 to provide funds to aid the poor, and part of the money thus collected was no doubt spent for provisions for the Scotch Irish. Obviously the settlers of a single winter left few records of their stay; but Miss C. H. Abbott, the indefatigable investigator, has found traces of them.

¹ Miss Abbott writes: "The Walker garden may have been on the Andover *line*, but I am quite as sure *he worshipped* and paid taxes mainly in Bradford town."

Thomas Grow, probably the same man who signed the petition to Governor Shute in 1718, was one of those who remained in Andover after his companions had moved to Nutfield. An order was issued the next winter for his relief, and at about the same time, with man's improvidence, he was married. His wife, Rebecca Holt came of a well known local family.¹

Two other men from Ireland are mentioned upon the records at an early date, Robert Stuart and William Bolton, who were recorded January 30, 1718-19. as living in the town. They had come up from Boston the preceding summer or autumn, Stuart bringing a family with him. Very unreliable tradition² states that Robert Stuart of Edinburgh (1655–1719) was the father of Robert of Andover and of John (1682–1741), the proprietor of Londonderry, New Hampshire. Samuel Stuart of Andover, called a third son of the first Robert, was executor of the will of John in 1741. A Walter Stewart or Stuart of Londonderry married in 1722 Giziell Crumey of Boxford, and a little later John Stuart of Londonderry owned land in Boxford. These men may have been kinsmen, but there were so many early immigrants by the name of Stuart, some on Cape Cod,

¹Their children mentioned upon the records were Ruth, born in 1720, and Hannah, born in 1723. In 1721 the town records refer to "Elizabeth Nichols' child that is called John Grow," for whom provision was to be made.

² See, however, the "Duncan-Stuart family," p. 140.

others in Connecticut, in Charlestown, Lunenburg and elsewhere that only the family historian could trace their relationship.

William Bolton, called "Scotch" by his descendants, came from the vicinity of Coleraine. He married at Andover in 1719–20, and died soon after in the adjoining town of Reading, leaving two sons William and John.

Of these immigrants Miss Abbott says: "I find many were tenants on farms held partly by dower widows and worked on shares." Land was difficult of purchase in an old town like Andover, and most of the Scotch Irish were transients only. On the Andover town records are the names of:

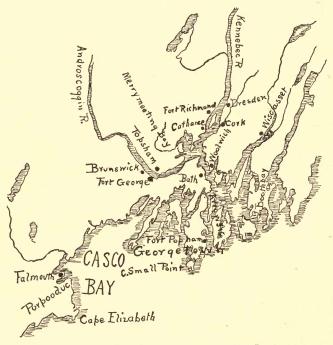
John Cofferin or Cochran	1725/6
John Telford	1725/6
John Cromme or Crombie	1726/7
Hugh Riddle	1726/7
William Crumney	1727
Thomas Richardson, "Irishman,"	
his son John baptized	1730
Joseph Waugh and wife Margaret,	
before	1732
Alexander Macartney, "Irish-	
man," and Margaret his wife,	
about	1742
James, John and Samuel Seaton .	1748

Other members of the Scotch Irish migration may

have tarried at Haverhill, Bradford and Dracut, but the record of them is meagre.

While the Andover colonists were spending the winter in moderate comfort, the "Irish" at Casco Bay suffered great hardship. Parker writes: "The party that left Boston for Casco Bay, arrived there late in the season; and it proving to be a very early and cold winter, the vessel was frozen in. Many of the families, not being able to find accommodations on shore, were obliged to pass the whole winter on board the ship, suffering severely from the want of food, as well as of convenience of situation."

The village of Falmouth on the site of the present city of Portland, Maine, had suffered from Indian raids, from intense cold in winter, and from the poverty of its fishing population. In the Acts and resolves of the province of the Massachusetts Bay it is recorded July 16, 1718, that a committee of five was appointed to view Falmouth, give advice as to laying out of streets, placing the meeting house, and organization. The appointment of this committee probably drew the attention of Governor Shute to the lands about Casco Bay between Cape Elizabeth and the mouth of the Kennebec, roughly the land between Portland and Bath. He, it is said, spoke to Mc-Gregor and McKeen, and the latter with the Rev. Mr. McGregor's congregation, relatives, and friends, determined to go at once in the ship in which they had crossed the ocean, to explore the coast of the bay. Meanwhile the Committee recommended that the inhabitants already there be given powers of self-government since there was "a Fair Prospect of its being in a little time a flourishing town." On No-



vember 12th the Legislature approved the suggestion on condition that fifty families more be admitted as soon as possible and settled in a compact and defensible manner. On the 19th the Legislature approved a project for a town to be laid out near Falmouth for the Scotch Irish, evidently having no

thought that the Scotch Irish emigrants would settle in Falmouth.

Those who sailed into Casco Bay in the "Robert" went ashore probably between Falmouth Village and the Point on Cape Elizabeth, where they began about the month of November to build rough shelters for the winter. It seems difficult to believe that the families which were on the ship could not provide rough huts before winter set in. Evidently the autumn was extremely cold and the vessel, if tradition is to be believed, was caught in the ice, so that those who did not immediately get their huts well under way were forced by the bitter weather to settle down on the "Robert" for the winter. John Armstrong and others at once sent a petition to the government at Boston.

This John Armstrong is no doubt the indigent voyager on the "Robert"; in the wild life on Cape Elizabeth his ability brought him forward. The official reference to the petition reads: "A Petition of John Armstrong & divers others, Setting forth that there are about thirty Families arrived from the North of Ireland, at Falmouth, in Casco Bay, that they are building Cottages to shelter themselves from the weather, that their good Success in these Parts will encourage many of their Brethren to transport themselves & Families into this countrey;

¹ Southack's "Actual survey of the sea coast" has houses and trees at "Porpolac Pt."

And therefore Praying that they may have Portions of Land allotted to them near Falmouth; & seeing they are scarce of Provisions, that they may have some thing to subsist them this Winter.'" There are several petitions of this period, and in reply the Council stated that Armstrong's petition could not be granted as Falmouth was "anciently inhabited," and the lands were already owned.

Meanwhile the development of Falmouth languished. Samuel Moody and John Smith wrote to the government that notwithstanding the favorable report of the Committee, and the powers given to Falmouth, yet claimers and proprietors of lands could not agree upon their bounds. The petitioners asked that a constable and other officers be appointed to regulate affairs and provide for the support of a minister. They stated that the population was about three hundred,2 most of them from Ireland, and one half so poor that they had neither provision nor money for them. They conclude by asking "that this Honble Court would be pleased to consider the deplorable Circumstances of the said Place by reason of the great Number of poor Strangers arrived amongst them and take some speedy & Effectual Care for their supply."

This petition was ordered to be referred to the

¹Legislative Records of the Council, Vol. 10, pp. 309, 313, 314, 318, 321.

 $^{^{2}\,\}mbox{The}$ "Robert's" passengers were not the only Scotch Irish on Cape Elizabeth.

session in May, and one hundred bushels of Indian meal were to be forwarded to the Irish people.¹

The Rev. William Cornwall had gone with the "Robert" in place of the Rev. Mr. McGregor. Mr. Cornwall was from Clogher, in County Tyrone, a day's journey south of Londonderry. He was not well, and on account of the distance of his dwelling house in Clogher from the church, and the arrears of his salary, he resigned his pastorate and joined the McGregor colony. One winter at Casco Bay seems to have chilled his ardor for pioneering and he returned to become minister at Taughboyne in 1722. The privations which threatened the "Robert's" company at Porpooduc, as the Cape Elizabeth land was called, brought from Mr. Cornwall a letter of distress. Cotton Mather, January 8, 1718-19, wrote in his Diary: "Some Letters unto ye Scotch ministers arrived in o[u]r East Countrey, may have a Tendency to hearten them in that work of God, which they have to do, in those New Plantations; and more particularly for ye Christianizing of the Indians there."2 The following draft of a letter by Mather gives an intimation of his labors in behalf of the struggling colony "at Porpooduc, Casco Bay, Falmouth township." He writes:

"Whereas, the New Settlement at Casco-bay, is as yett in its feeble infancy, But Yett there is usual

¹ Passed December 3, 1718.

²I am indebted to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle for these references to Mather's Diary.

(besides y° Families that have began as inhabitants) on y° Lords-day a Considerable Resort of people that are from divers places on their Fishing voyages: which renders y° Condition of these places a little peculiar, and Considerably calls for our care that the Lords-days may not pass without public Exercise of Religion there: Whereas also there is now a very worthy, pious & Peaceful Minister whose name is Mr. Cornwal much desired and invited by the people there: who are willing to do something toward the subsistence of him; which something is much too little in any tolerable measure to insure y° Instruction.

"Tis humbly moved That ye General Assembly would express ye goodness usual wth ye government on such occasions and allow for one year from ye public Treasury some agreeable accession to what ye people there can do, towards ye support of such a minister."

With the approach of warmer weather in the spring of 1719 most of the McGregor colony looked about for a more promising place. Those who remained at Falmouth led a miserable existence. The Rev. Thomas Smith, "pastor of the first church of Christ in Falmouth," came to his desolate field of labor in 1720. There were less than sixty families, very poor because they were so often forced through fear of the Indians to abandon their farms and live in garrison houses, and some of them, says Smith,

¹American Antiquarian Society, Mather Papers.

"soldiers that had found wives on the place, and were mean animals." But the fighting in 1722 did away with the worst of them.

In 1735 there were only twenty families at Porpooduc, and the Presbyterians there, at Falmouth, and at the settlement in Brunswick, to be noticed later, were ministered to by the Rev. James Woodside for several years. He was followed by the Rev. William McClenathan, who removed to Blandford in Massachusetts in 1744. During the next score of years only the aged gathered to hear a passing Presbyterian minister, to renew their faith and their memories of old Ireland.²

History and tradition have left some record of those who remained in Falmouth after the winter sojourners had gone on to Nutfield. John Armstrong, signer of the petition, with Robert Means, who had married his daughter, were certainly there, and Means settled at Stroudwater, a village near Falmouth. The descendants of Means became very prominent later in Massachusetts. Armstrong is said to have had brothers Simeon, James and Thomas, who had grants in or near Falmouth before 1721.

¹ Smith's Journal, p. 15.

² A. Blaikie's Presbyterianism, p. 88.

³ Armstrong had an infant son, James, and a son Thomas, born in Falmouth in 1719. His brother, James, had Thomas, born in Ireland in 1717, as well as John, born in 1720, and James, in 1721, both in Falmouth.

John Barbour¹ came with his family, a son John having come to York, it is said, as early as 1717.

Randal McDonald is also mentioned as of the company which spent the winter of 1718–19 in Falmouth, and with him William Jameson. A man named Slemons is said to have settled at Stroudwater with Means.

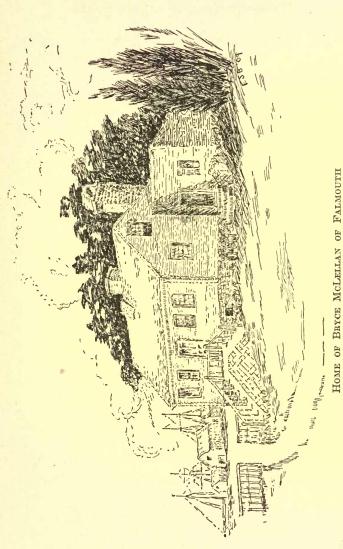
This list is no doubt wholly inadequate, but the establishment of settlers a few miles away at Brunswick in 1718, supposed to be the passengers by the "Maccallum," and additions in great numbers there in 1719 under Captain Robert Temple, make it extremely difficult to name those who spent the winter of 1718–19 in or near Falmouth, and remained long enough to find a place on the records.

Trouble with the Indians drove many farmers out of the country during the next five years, and from the lists of persons reaching Boston a few names of early dwellers in Casco Bay can be added. These names were incorporated into the Boston Selectmen's records.

Recorded at a meeting of the selectmen, April 27, 1719:—

Anne Hanson who came from Casco into this Town ab^t a week before was on ye 23th of march, 1718[-19] warned to depart.

¹ Smith and Deane's Journal, pp. 57, 60, 92, 165; Willis's Portland, pp. 326, 788; McLellan's Gorham, p. 395. See also an article by Mrs. Alice F. Moody in *The Boston Transcript*, June 5, 1907.



HOME OF BRYCE MCLELLAN OF FALMOUTI Now the oldest house in Portland, Maine



Robert Holmes & wife, William Holmes & child who came from Casco into this Town ab^t 12 dayes before was on the 15th of Aprill cur^t warned to depart.

Recorded July 25, 1719:—

Joan Maccoullah widd^o came from Casco bay who had been then here ab^t 5 dayes was on the 5th of June, warned to depart.

Recorded October 28, 1720:—

Noah Peck from Casco 2 moneths warned 26th of August.

Recorded July 28, 1722:—

Thomas Longworth, Lame, from Casco [warned] June 3.

Longworth was a settler long before 1718. The same may perhaps be said of Peck.

The Scotch Irish settlers at Casco Bay between 1718 and 1722, that is, at Falmouth and along the shore of Cape Elizabeth, were more numerous than these records show, but some of the earliest were:

James Armstrong.
John Armstrong.
Simeon Armstrong.
Thomas Armstrong.
John Barbour.
Thomas Bolton.
Rev. William Cornwall.

Joshua Gray.¹
Anne Hanson.
Robert Holmes and wife.
William Holmes and child.
William Jameson.²
Joan Maccoullah.
Randal McDonald.
Bryce McLellan.
Robert Means.
Andrew Simonton.
William Simonton.
William Slemons or Slemmons.

Bryce McLellan, who appears in the above list, built a house in Falmouth in 1731. Through the vicissitudes of fortune this house survived fire and storm, Mowat's attack in 1775, and the ruthless hand of progress, standing on York Street after every other house of its period had disappeared from the present city of Portland.

Among the later Scotch Irish settlers at Falmouth was John Motley, from Belfast in Ireland, who married in 1738 Mary Roberts. A son settled in Boston, where he became prominent; his descendant, John Lothrop Motley, was the historian of the Netherlands.

¹ So says Professor A. L. Perry. Proceedings Scotch Irish Society, 2d Congress, p. 135. He also includes William Gyles.

² This was probably the William Jameson who died at Rutland in 1760, leaving a sister, Martha Reed, of County Antrim, Ireland.

XII

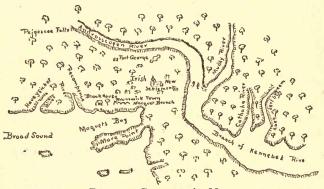
THE YEARS 1718 AND 1719 AT MERRY-MEETING BAY

In a previous chapter the voyage of the ship "Maccallum" was described, and it was made evident that her passengers from Londonderry settled on lands at the Eastward. These lands skirted a large body of water, known as Merrymeeting Bay, which is formed by the Androscoggin River entering the Kennebec. Southack's map, covering this region, bears the inscription, "An actual survey of the sea coast from New York to the I. Cape Briton . . by Capt. Cyprian Southack. Printed and sold by Wm. Herbert, London Bridge & Robt Sayer . . . Fleet Street." On the land between Brunswick and Maquoit Bay there is an inscription which states that in the years 1718, 1719 and 1720 five hundred emigrants from Ireland had come to settle; the inscription reads:

> "Kennebeck River very Long strong Tydes with all its branches Trade mostly is as yet Lumber Fish small matter came from the Kingdom of Ireland with in three Year: 1720 five Hun

dred Inhabitants and made new Settlements for Farming and Lumber."

In the English Pilot, Part IV, London, 1737, the map described as "The Harbour of Casco Bay, By Cyprian Southicke," indicates a church and several houses between Maquoit Bay and the Androscog-



PART OF SOUTHACK'S MAP

gin River. The words "Irish new settlement" show the character of the inhabitants.

By the depositions of David Dunning, Jane McFadden, and her son Andrew, and John McPhetre, we learn that some of the people who settled here in 1718 "removed from Ireland to Boston, from Boston down to Kennebec River and up Merrymeeting Bay to a place called Cathance."

¹I am indebted to Mr. John W. Farwell, Mr. Frederick L. Gay, and Mr. John H. Edmonds for much information relating to early New England maps.

A summary of these depositions follows:

David Dunning, gentleman, of Brunswick, deposed October 8, 1767, that on or about the year 1718 he came first to Boston, and in the same vessel with Andrew McFadden and his wife (now widow). Soon after they came down together in the same vessel to the eastern country, and lived in Brunswick ever since 1718.

Jane McFadden of Georgetown, aged about eighty-two, deposed June 19, 1766, that she with her late husband, Andrew McFadden, lived in the town of Garvo [Garvagh], County Derry, on the Bann Water, Ireland, at a place called Summersett. About forty-six years ago they removed from Ireland to Boston, from Boston down to the Kennebec River and up Merrymeeting Bay to a place called Cathance Point.¹

Andrew McFadden of Georgetown, aged fifty-three, deposed June 22, 1768, that he was a son of the above Andrew and Jane. Daniel McFadden of Georgetown, aged forty-six, made a similar deposition. Other testimony shows that Andrew and Jane had a daughter between Andrew and Daniel, born on the Kennebec River. They christened her Summersett.²

¹ See Appendix III.

² John Moore, living in Philadelphia in 1712, had a child of the same name.

John McPhetre of Georgetown, aged above sixty, deposed June 22, 1768, that he knew Summersett place on the Bann Water, for he lived within about five miles of it.¹

Colonel David Dunning was the son of Andrew Dunning, who was born in 1664, and came with his wife, Susan Bond, to the lower Kennebec, known then as Georgetown in Maine. After a year Andrew settled at Maquoit in Brunswick. He was a black-smith, and died January 16, 1736, aged 72 years. His children were James, Andrew, Robert, William and David. He and Andrew McFadden evidently were able, thrifty settlers, not unlike those led by McGregor, and they also were from the Bann Valley.

But these were not the only early settlers on the Kennebec. Captain Robert Temple came over to Boston with his family and servants in the autumn of 1717 to settle as a gentleman farmer. He visited Connecticut and also the lands of the Pejepscot Company about the Androscoggin River in Maine. He much preferred, however, the lands on the east side of the Kennebec, opposite the mouth of the Androscoggin. Upon his return to Boston he was taken into the enterprise, and agreed to undertake the transportation of settlers from Ireland. Tem-

¹ Depositions given in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 39, p. 184; taken from the Cumberland County Court files by W. M. Sargent of Portland,

ple engaged two large ships in 1718, and three more ships were chartered the next year. The Scotch Irish whom he brought over settled on the east bank of the Kennebec, between the present towns of Dresden and Woolwich. The land was called Cork. The names of some of his people were: William Montgomery, — Caldwell, James Steel, David Steel, —— McNut, James Rankin, William and James Burns or Barns. A few of the Temple colonists settled in Topsham, opposite Brunswick, and several in Cathance, now part of Bowdoinham, on the Kennebec, south of Dresden.2 Others, the larger part of the several hundred who came under Temple, went to New Hampshire and Pennsylvania to avoid the wrath of Father Rasle and his Indians. Cork was destroyed soon after.

The ships must have brought immigrants rapidly, for Southack's map, published in London in 1720, states that already five hundred had arrived, or about one hundred families. The News-Letter for August 17–24, 1719, prints an item from Piscataqua dated August 21st, to the effect that Philip Bass had arrived at the Kennebec River from Londonderry with about two hundred passengers. Many of these must have been friends of those who came in the

¹ See an interesting paper on "The Transient Town of Cork," in Maine Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, Vol. 4, p. 240.

²The Rev. E. S. Stackpole has given me valuable aid on this subject.

"Maccallum." We unfortunately have no record of the arrival of ships in 1718 and 1719 at the mouth of the Kennebec. But not all the settlers there sailed directly from Ireland; many came through the forests or by sea from Falmouth, York, and Boston. Perhaps the Spear and Harper families of Brunswick had associations farther south, since David Spear (from Coleraine) and James Harper, both of the Connecticut Valley, were early settled in and near Windsor.

The Rev. James Woodside had been preaching at Garvagh, in the Bann Valley, since 1700. Wheeler, in his history of Brunswick, calls him a clergyman of the Church of England; but there is more significance in the fact that we find him mentioned in Killen's Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, as a Presbyterian minister at Garvagh. Wind and tide drove him into Massachusetts Bay, and he went with his flock to Casco Bay and on to Brunswick, where they arrived in September, 1718. Possibly his sympathies were with the English ritual; this might have made him unwelcome to some of his Brunswick congregation and so given color to the tradition that he was an Episcopalian.

The first reference to religion at Brunswick ap-

¹Mr. Wheeler in his History and also in an entertaining sketch of Brunswick at the time of its incorporation (Pejepscot Historical Society Collections) is not always to be followed in statements as to ancestry and year of immigration.

pears to be a petition to the General Court from three Indians at Fort George, in October, 1717; and in response to their desire the Rev. Joseph Baxter was sent north from Medford to preach. In the summer of 1718 Mr. Woodside, with from twentyfive to forty families, reached Casco Bay from the Irish Londonderry, or from "Derry Lough." company went from Falmouth over land or by water to Merrymeeting Bay, as described in the deposition of Jane McFadden. Woodside appears to have settled down, temporarily at least, with his family at Falmouth. It is probable that the McGregor colony, with the Rev. Mr. Cornwall, had not yet arrived at Casco Bay, for they are known to have reached there in cold weather. Furthermore, Mr. Cornwall dined in Boston with Judge Sewall as late as October 16, 1718, and as he probably sailed with the rest of his party, the departure was no doubt as late as the end of October.

The settlers at Brunswick, having been without Mr. Baxter's ministrations for six months, voted in town meeting November 3, 1718, to call Mr. Woodside from Falmouth. The vote touches upon several details of interest, and it is given here: "Att a Leagual Town meeting in Brunswick Novmber 3d 1718, It was Voted That whereas the Proprietors of Sd Township in their paternal Care for our Spiritual Good, have by there Joynt Letter Sought to ye Reverend Mr. James Woodside to be our Minister & in

order there to proposed Conditions for his Settlement on their part, Wee the Inhabitance of Brunswick will Give Fourty pounds pr annum toward yesupport of yes Mr. Woodside & a Sum in proportion there to from this time until May next (if he Come to us) & God in his providence Should Then part us.

"It was also at this meeting Voted That M^r Baxters house on y^e 6th Lott in Brunswick Be forthwith made habitable for y^e s^d Mr. Woodside. That y^e Charges there of y^e Transporting him & his famoly from Falmouth to Brunswick be paid Equally by us y^e inhabitance of s^d Brunswick & y^t Capt Gyles is here by impowered to se y^e Buisness effected.

Joseph Heath Town Clk''1

In January, 1719, Cotton Mather wrote letters to the Scotch ministers at the Eastward to give them courage. Mr. Woodside certainly needed this encouragement, for matters went ill with him there. In May the town voted to continue Mr. Woodside's services for six months, "provided those of us who are Dissatisfied with his Conversation (as afore Said) Can by Treating with him as becomes Christians receive Such Sattisfaction from him as that they will heare him preach for ye Time afore sd." Mr. Wheeler takes "Conversation" to mean character. Possibly deportment or habits would come a

¹ Wheeler's Brunswick, p. 354.

little nearer, although in another place Wheeler says the trouble was that he was not puritanical enough. Mather, in 1716, writing to a friend in Scotland, spoke of the transplanted clergy as too often "of a disdainful carriage," and of an "expression full of a levity not usual among or ministers." The town voted September 10, 1719, to pay Mr. Woodside to that date and to dismiss him. In 1721 the Rev. Isaac Taylor, an assistant to the Rev. Samuel Haliday at Ardstraw, County Tyrone, came over. He could not have remained long, for in 1729 he was at Ardstraw, and had conformed to the Church of England. In 1722 he lent money to the McFarlands, probably those who were later of Boothbay, to pay their passage across the Atlantic.

The Rev. James Woodside returned to Boston, and on January 25, 1720, Mather writes that "poor Mr. Woodside, after many and grievous calamities in this uneasy country, is this week taking ship for London." He obtained credentials from the Rev. Cotton Mather, and a note of recommendation from the governor. Mather's letter reads:

"Boston, New England "Jan 14, 1720

"Concerning the Reverend Mr. James Woodside the Bearer hereof, we have been informed That arriving with other good people to the Eastern parts of New England from the Northern parts of Ireland with ample recommendation [?] from the presbertery of Route¹ in the year 1718 he had invitations to settle at several places, but chose a settlement at a New Town called *Brunswick*: Declaring that he had in his view the instruction of the Eastern Salvages (which he Chould have near unto him) in the primitive and Reformed Christianity. In the progression [of] that Excellent service we have been informed."

Woodside's son, Captain William, remained in Brunswick, where he became prominent. Captain Woodside had the ready wit and resource of his people. He once agreed to outrun a very fleet Indian if the savage would when defeated give him a fur robe. The Indian was delighted with the plan, since Woodside's corpulent figure was known far and wide to be slow of movement. A great crowd gathered at the appointed time and place, and the trial began. The captain ran so awkwardly and perspired so freely that the entire company, including his rival, broke into continual roars of laughter. The Indian remained near the captain to enjoy the fun, and so far forgot his part in the sport that the captain, with a final burst of speed, came home a winner before anyone recalled the fact that he was a competitor.

In 1723 the Rev. Mr. Woodside sent a very inter-

[&]quot;'Above these [i. e. The Glinnes] as far as the river Bann, the country is called Rowte,"—Camden's Britannia, 1722, p. 1406.

esting petition to the king in council, which tells of the family misfortunes:

"To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Memorial & Petition of James Woodside late Minister of the Gospel, at Brunswick, in New England.

"Sheweth

"That he with 40 Familys, consisting of above 160 Persons did in the Year 1718 embarque on a ship at Derry Lough in Ireland in Order to erect a Colony at Casco Bay, in Your Majestys Province of Main in New England.

"That being arriv'd they made a settlement at a Place called by the Indians Pegipscot, but by them Brunswick, within 4 miles from Fort George, where (after he had laid out a considerable sum upon a Garrison House, fortify'd with Palisadoes, & two large Bastions, had also made great Improvements, & laid out considerably for the Benefit of that Infant Colony) the Inhabitants were surpriz'd by the Indians who in the Month of July 1722 came down in great Numbers to murder Your Majesty's good Subjects there.

"That upon this Surprize the Inhabitants, naked & destitute of Provisions run for shelter into your Pet." House (which is still defended by his sons)

¹From Maine Historical Society Collections. Baxter Mss., Vol. X, p. 163. Original in the Rolls office, London.

where they were kindly received, provided for, & protected from the rebel Indians.

"That the S^d Indians being happily prevented from murdering Your Majesty's good Subjects (in Revenge to your Pet.") presently kill'd all his Cattel, destroying all the Moveables, & Provisions they could come at, & as Your Pet^r had a very considerable Stock of Cattel he & his Family were great sufferers thereby, as may appear by a Certificate of the Governour of that Province a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

"Your Pet therefore most humbly begs that in Regard to his great undertaking, his great Losses & sufferings, the Service done to the Publicke in saving the Lives of many of Your Majesty's Subjects, the unshak[en] Loyalty & undaunted Courage of his Sons, who still defend the S^d Garrison. Your Majesty in Councel will be pleas'd to provide for him, his Wife & Daughter here or grant him the Post of Mr. Cummins, a Searcher of Ships in the Harbour of Boston N England, lately deceas'd that so his Family, reduced to very low Circumstances may be resettled, & his losses repair'd where they were sustain'd.

& Your Pet^r shall ever pray &c."

"I do hereby certifie that the Rev. Mr. Woodside went over from Ireland to New England with a considerable Number of People, that he & they sate

down to plant in a Place they called Brunswick in the Eastern Parts of New England there he built a Garrison House, which was the Means of saving the Lives of many of his People in the late Insurrection of the Indians in July last. That his Generosity is taken Notice of by both Doctors Mathers & that the Indians cutt off all his Cattle, whereby he and his Family are great Sufferers

Samuel Shute

"Copia vera

"London June 25, 1723

"E: Memorial & Petition of James Woodside to His Most Excellent Majesty in Councel. June 1723"

During these days of Indian warfare, pillage and reprisal, men were impressed for sentinel duty, and distributed in small groups at garrison houses throughout the frontier towns in Maine, which was then under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. One of the unpleasant experiences of young Scotch Irishmen was to be met in the street by an officer and his attendants, and forced into military service. Many fell sick under the strain of such a life in the Maine woods, and through rough usage at the hands of officers. This ill-treatment fell heaviest upon the "Irish," and particularly at the outset of the Indian troubles. A case is on record of a Scotch Irish impressed soldier returning weak and crippled to the

place of his enlistment with no attempt at concealment, and because he could not produce papers to show his discharge, he was whipped at the cart's tail, and kept in jail until the Sheriff was moved through pity to ask for his release. Not until one half the force at the front had disappeared through illness and desertion did the Governor take the matter in hand. A committee then visited the frontier and brought back an unpleasant account of garrison life in such places as Brunswick.

With the coming of militant Indians the colonists fled, some to the New Hampshire Londonderry or to Worcester, and many to Pennsylvania, leaving few traces of their sojourn in Maine. William Willis, editor of Smith and Deane's Journals, has attempted to gather the names of these early settlers. The Rev. Everett S. Stackpole, a student of the subject, suggests the addition of those whose surnames appear between brackets:

pear between brackets

[Andrew] McFadden	Ward
——— McGowen	[David] Given
[William?] Vincent	[Andrew] Dunning
[John?] Hamilton	[William] Simpson
Johnston	[David Alexander and son]
[John?] Malcome	[William Alexander]
——— McLellan	[James Wilson]
Crawford	[James McFarland]
——— Graves	[George Cunningham]

[Robert Lithgow] [David Ross] [John Welch]

[William Craigie]

[John Young]

The last four men Welch, Ross, Craigie and Young, witnessed a deposition at Brunswick September 4, 1718.2 If they were Scotch Irish they might have come in July or August, but it seems most natural to place them with John Barbour at York where Scotchmen had lived since Cromwell's wars in 1650. Possibly they did not have any connection with the Scotch Irish movement.

At the outbreak of Dummer's war many Brunswick settlers sailed for Boston, and suffered the customary formality of being warned out of town. Lists of these have the virtue of being well within the field of verity. The settlers thus recorded undoubtedly came from the Kennebec country or settlements adjoining, and nearly all of these were Scotch Irish. The date at the left shows when the record of warning was reported to the selectmen in Boston.

July 25, 1719:

Mary Banerlen, a widdo wth 6 Children who came from Bronswick into this Town on yee 22th of July.

¹ See Monmouth, Maine.

² York deeds, Vol. 9, folio 238.

October 24, 1719:

John Clark wth his wife & five children who came from Merrymeeting bay.

October 24, 1719:

John Gray wth his wife & five Children John Newel wth his wife & three Children

Robert Tark wth his wife & three Children who all came into this Town from Berwick in a sloop Thomas Bell mast^r

James Dixwell & James Wallis husb^dmen who arrived here from y^e Eastward

Susanna Gate who Sayes She came from the Eastw^a

July 22, 1720:

Eliza Rylee from Arrowsack.

October 28, 1720:

Jean Hall & child from Piscattiqua.

January 27, 1721/22:

Humphry Taylor Wife & Six Children from Smal point, warned Aug. 7th.

Jean Sper & three Children from the Eastward, warned August 5th.

Mary Shertwell from Arowshick

John Miller from Misconges

July 28, 1722 from the Eastward viz.^t [the following who from their names, notably that of McFarland, evidently came from about Merrymeeting Bay.]

Jean Hunter with Two Children

Katherin Carter with & 3 Children
Jean Wilson with 4 Children
Sundry from the Eastward viz^t
Andrew Macfaden wife & 6 Children
Isaac Hunter wife & 2 Children
Alexan^r wife and 4 Children
James Johnson wife & 4 Children
John Nelson wife & 2 Children
Mathew Acheson wife & 2 Children
Andrew Rogers
Robert Rowland
Samuel forgeson
William Hambleton

November 6, 1722. A List of Sundry Persons Brought from Brunswick, Topsham and Towns adjacent at the Eastward parts by Thomas Sanders, and warned to depart the Town of Boston, as the Law directs, August the 12th 1722. viz^t.

Charles Stuart
Hanna Stuart
Hana Stuart
Sam¹¹ Stuart
Henry Stuart
Moses Harper
Mary Harper
Jenat Harper
Robert Lithgoe

Susan Lithgoe
Will^m Lithgoe
Jean Lithgoe
Susan Lithgoe
James Ross¹
Jenet Ross
Elizath Ross
Mary Ross
Ishⁿ Ross

¹ Wheeler thinks he was not Scotch Irish.

John Ross Mary Thorn Thomas Thorn Hugh Minsy [Menzies?] Sarah Minsy John Young Katherine Young Margaret Young Mary Young Easter Young Sarah Young James Harper James Miller Margaret Wadburn Mary Wadburn George Wadburn David Evins Will^m Evins Thomas Rogers Elizath Rogers Isabella Rogers John Hamilton John Hamilton James Rodgers

James Beverly Agnus Beverly James Beverly Sam" Beverly Joseph Beverly Mary Smith John Smith Aubia Smith Mathew Smith Robert Wallis Martha Wallis John Wallis Anbah Wallis Jonas Stanwood¹ Sam¹¹ Stanwood¹ David Stanwood¹ Mr Salter Mary Salter Thomas Salter Mary Salter Mr Swwanan & Maid

Mr Cary & wif

April 26, 1723:

Daniel Hunter & His Wife
James Savage His Wife & five Children—
Irish people from Smal Point. Apr 10th.

¹ Not Scotch Irish.

October 28, 1723:

Tho. Hogg his wife & Two Children from Arowshick.

June 29, 1724:

Mary Thomas & one Child from St. Georges.

We may summarize the Merrymeeting Bay Scotch Irish settlers of 1718–1722 somewhat in this way, using Wheeler's list of early settlers, pages 865–874; the warnings above; and various facts found elsewhere. Some names are no doubt English, but as yet they cannot safely be eliminated.

Merrymeeting Bay Scotch Irish Settlers, 1718-1722.

John Cochran

Selectman at Brunswick in 1719? "Ireland" in muster roll

William Craigie

At Brunswick September 4, 1718

----- Crawford

George Cunningham

James Dixwell

Andrew Dunning

"Ireland" in muster roll

David Evans

John Evans

William Evans

Samuel Ferguson

Alexander and James Ferguson were at Kittery in 1711

Thomas Fleming

David Given or Giveen

John Graves

John Gray, wife and five children

Jean Hall and child

John Hamilton

Abel and Gabriel Hamilton at Berwick in 1711

Patrick Hamilton

Robert Hamilton

Robert Hamilton, Jr.

William Hamilton

William Handsard

James Harper

"Ireland" in muster roll

Jenet Harper

Joseph Harper

Mary Harper .

Moses Harper

William Harper

Thomas Hogg, wife and two children; from Arrowsic, 1723

?Adam Hunter

Daniel Hunter and wife

"Irish people from Smal point," 1723

Isaac Hunter, wife and two children

James Hunter

Jean Hunter and two children

John Hunter

James Johnson, wife and four children

Jean Lithgow

Robert Lithgow

Susan Lithgow

William Lithgow

Andrew McFadden, wife and six children

James McFarland

——— McGowen

----- McNut

John Malcom

James Miller

John Miller

From Miscongus

Dr Hugh Minnery or Minory

Hugh Minsy

Sarah Minsy

Henry Mitchell

"Ireland" in muster roll.

Hugh Mitchell

"Ireland" in muster roll

William Montgomery

John Nelson, wife and two children

John Newel, wife and three children

James Rankin

Elizabeth Riley

From Arrowic

Andrew Rogers

Elizabeth Rogers

Isabella Rogers

James Rogers

Thomas Rogers

David Ross

Elizabeth Ross

Isabella Ross

James Ross

Jenet Ross

John Ross

Mary Ross

Robert Rowland

Mr — Salter

Mary Salter

Thomas Salter

James Savage, wife and five children "Irish people from Smal point," 1723

Mary Shertwell

From Arrowsic

William Simpson

Aubia Smith

James Smith

John Smith

Mary Smith

Matthew Smith

Jean Spear and three children

David and James Steel

James Stinson or Stevenson

"Ireland" in muster roll

John Stinson

Robert Stinson

Charles Stuart

Hannah Stuart

Henry Stuart

Samuel Stuart

William Tailer

Robert Tark, wife and three children

Humphrey Taylor, wife and six children

From Small Point

Mary Thomas and one child

From Saint Georges, 1724

Peter Thompson

Mary Thorn

Thomas Thorn

James Thornton Thomas Tregoweth John Vincent Anbah Wallis Daniel Wallis James Wallis John Wallis Martha Wallis Robert Wallis ------ Ward John Welch James Wilson Jean Wilson and four children George Woodburn Margaret Woodburn Mary Woodburn Samuel York Easter Young John Young Katherine Young Margaret Young Mary Young Sarah Young

These are the settlers who fulfilled the Rev. Cotton Mather's dream of a line of emigrant outposts. They suffered grievous hardships, but who shall say that they and theirs did not in the fulness of time reap a just reward of prosperity, influence and honor?

CHAPTER XIII

NUTFIELD AND LONDONDERRY, 1719-1720

The Scotch Irish petition, signed in Ireland, bears the date "this 26th day of March, Annoq. Dom. 1718," a few weeks only before the Rev. Mr. Boyd set sail for New England, where he arrived about July 25th. While his friends were crossing the ocean, Mr. Boyd endeavored to interest Governor Shute, Judge Sewall and the Rev. Cotton Mather in their behalf. Evidently he could do little more in Boston than call upon persons of influence before his flock came into the harbor.

We have seen that many of the settlers went to the frontier settlement at Worcester, and still others to Casco Bay, where Governor Shute was endeavoring to foster the growth of Falmouth. James Smith went to Needham, Walter Beath to Lunenburg, and Matthew Watson to Leicester, although it is not always possible to say that these or others went immediately to the towns where they eventually settled. The followers of the two clergymen, Boyd and McGregor, desired a grant of land which they might control rather than permission to settle among the old stock that had founded the colony. These men remained in Boston while negotiations went on. The

Rev. Mr. McGregor and Archibald Boyd, perhaps a brother of the clergyman of that name, sent the following petition to the General Court:

"A Petition of Archibald Boyd, James MacGregory & sundry others Setting forth that the Petitioners being under very discouraging circumstances in their own Countrey (viz. the Kingdom of Ireland) as well on the Account of Religion, as the Severity of their Rents & Taxes; & having heard of the great Willingness to encourage any of his Majestys Protestant & loyal Subjects of sober conversation to settle within this Province they have this last Summer, with their Families, undertaken a long & hazzardous Voyage to the sd Parts & are now residing in & about Boston, & have been waiting the Meeting of this Honble Assembly: And Praying that the Court would be pleased to grant unto them a convenient Tract of their wast Land, in such Place as they shall think fit, where they may without Loss of time, settle themselves & their Families, as over forty more Families who will come from Ireland as soon as they hear of their obtaining Land for Township; which they apprehend will be of great Advantage to this Country by strengthening the Frontiers & out Parts & making Provisions Cheaper.

"In the House of Represent October 31, 1718: Read and Committed. In Council; Read."

¹A Rev. Archibald Boyd, of Maghera, ordained October 28, 1703, was "set aside" in 1716.

The above petition shows that the rigorous laws relating to religion, and the rise in rents and taxes about Coleraine in Ireland, brought about the Scotch The reference to forty families Irish migration. soon to follow may indicate some connection in the plans of the McGregor company and the Rev. James Woodside's party which finally settled at Brunswick. The petition was granted November 20, 1718, and a committee of six was appointed to lay out a town for the people from Ireland. It was to be six miles square, of unappropriated lands "in the Eastern parts." Eighty house lots were to be laid out in a defensible manner, and not exceeding one hundred acres more to each lot. When forty lots had been taken the owners would manage all their own prudential affairs, and upon the settlement of eighty families they could then dispose of common lands. With true New England spirit, provision was made for two hundred and fifty acres to be set aside for the ministry before any other allotments were made, and a like amount for a school.1

Parker states that the company which passed the winter of 1718–19 on shipboard in Casco Bay explored the country to the eastward, and finding nothing satisfactory that had not been claimed they ascended the Merrimac to Haverhill, April 2, 1719; at this point they were told of a fertile tract of land covered with nut trees, lying about fourteen miles

¹ Province Laws, 1718-19, Chapters 99, 104.

north west of the meeting-house at Haverhill. Leaving their families there, or across the river at Bradford, the men of the party, James McKeen, Captain James Gregg and others, at once mounted horses and rode over to examine the land. They found it satisfactory and named the place Nutfield, on account of the trees growing there. They remained to build a few temporary huts near a small tributary of Beaver Brook, which they called West-running Brook. They then returned to Haverhill for their wives and children. Those who had remained on the south side of the Merrimac at Bradford or Andover crossed over the river in boats. The Haverhill rabble had no love for the "Irish," and greeted them with jeers and ridicule. When nearing the shore for a landing one of the boats turned over, so that women and children were thrown into the water. This afforded boundless delight to the onlookers, and at last inspired a local bard, who sang:

> "Then they began to scream and bawl, And if the devil had spread his net He would have made a glorious haul."

Several of the company went to Nutfield by way of Dracut, a town near the mouth of Beaver Brook, where it joins the Merrimac. They met the Rev.

¹ B. L. Mirick's Haverhill, 1832, pp. 140-141.

Mr. McGregor and asked him to go with them. The two parties journeying to Nutfield met on April 11th, at the little hill where the men had on the previous visit tied their horses. This happy and memorable occasion was made impressive by an address from the Rev. Mr. McGregor. He congratulated his friends on the termination of their wanderings after enduring the perils of a voyage across the ocean and a pitiless winter. He besought them to be steadfast in their faith in the midst of a strange people and unknown dangers.

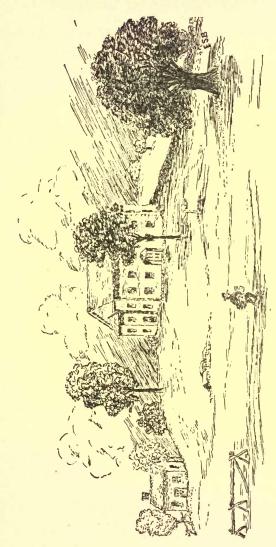
Before he returned to Dracut the next day he preached from Isaiah xxxii. 2, "And a man shall be a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest: as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." He stood under a large oak tree, east of Beaver Pond and within sight of the first rude cabins of his people, who now gathered round him. His tall figure was erect and commanding, his dark face serene and strong. It was a time for courage and for prayer. They had come over the sea to escape persecution and had met everywhere in the new world intolerance and distrust. They had not only to subdue the wilderness but to kindle a brotherly Christian spirit in the grandsons of those who founded Plymouth and Boston.

The settlers decided to build on either side of West-running Brook, each home lot to be thirty rods

wide, fronting the brook, and extending back from the bank to a distance sufficient to make each lot contain sixty acres. In this way they were able for a few years to live in a close community as a protection from the Indians. Two stone garrison houses were built for further safety, although as it happened the town was never attacked, and one man, James Blair, never sought their sheltering walls.

There is a tradition that this immunity from Indian assault was due to a bond of friendship between McGregor and Philippe, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-general of Canada. It has been said that the two men, the Catholic nobleman and the Protestant commoner, attended the same college. The improbability of the story is apparent, although some form of intercourse between the two may be inferred from the fact that a manuscript sermon in McGregor's hand bears on the margin Vaudreuil's name and titles. The following paragraph in Sewall's Diary, under date of March 5, 1718-19, refers to news obtained by Boyd, possibly from a letter written by Vaudreuil, although there is not the slightest evidence that it was sent to McGregor. The passage "Mr. Boyd dines with me: he says there is a Report in the Town that Gov Vandrel [Vaudreuil] has written that he can no longer keep back the Indians from War."

In these days of hewing and building at Nutfield we get a pleasant bit of humor in the story of the



MEETING HOUSE AT LONDONDERRY, N. H.



construction of John Morison's log cabin. John was at work on the bank of West-running Brook, selecting from his pile of logs those that he preferred for front wall and for sides, and those best suited for beams to support the roof. His wife Margaret, engrossed by her share of the home duties, nevertheless found time to watch his progress and also to cast an eye about upon the work being done by other women's husbands. As the cabin grew she became anxious, and approaching him in a manner unusually affectionate she said: "Aweel, aweel, dear Joan, an it maun be a loghouse, do make it a log heegher nor the lave" (higher than the rest). It was her grandson, Jeremiah Smith, whose inherited desire to excel made him a member of Congress and chief justice of his state.

But there was in these settlers something more vital than even a proper pride. They were everywhere devout. When a religious organization was needed the Bann company at once thought of the Rev. Mr. McGregor. He accepted their invitation to settle at Nutfield and in May, 1719, removed with his family from Dracut to the new village. This must have been a contrast indeed, leaving the well-established town for a large field covered with stumps of trees, intersected by a brook, and dotted with log cabins. But between the stumps potatoes and beans and barley grew, and where the smoke curled from the clay chimneys he knew that there

he should recognize voices, and should meet eyes that were familiar with Coleraine in old Ireland, with the Salmon Leap, the Giant's Causeway, Boyd's mountain, and even with God's house in far-away Aghadowey church-yard. There he had been known as the "Peace-maker," and he lived to be revered anew in his New England home.

The settlement had been made at Nutfield under the impression that the lands were in Massachusetts, but in May, 1719, the General Court decided that New Hampshire had jurisdiction over them. Gregg and Robert Wear, in behalf of the Scotch Irish at Nutfield, then asked the governor and court assembled at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for a township ten miles square. Meanwhile, to obtain a title to the lands of Nutfield, which were claimed by several persons, they applied to Colonel John Wheelwright, the chief claimant. By virtue of a deed or grant made to his grandfather and others by representatives of all the Indians between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua, the colonel held a title which commanded attention. His deed to James McGregor, Samuel Graves, David Cargill, James McKeen, James Gregg, "and one hundred more" was dated October 20, 1719.1

Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, on account of a dispute as to the title, refused to make a grant, but by advice of his council extended to the people the

¹ See Parker's Londonderry, page 321.

benefits of government and appointed James McKeen a justice of the peace and Robert Wear a sheriff. The petition reads: "The Humble petition of the People late of Ireland now settled at Nutfield to his Excellency the Governor and General Court assembled at Portsmouth Sept 23d 1719.

"Humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioners having made application to the General Court met at Boston in October last² and having obtained a grant for a Township in any part of their unappropriated lands took incouragement thereupon to settle at Nutfield about the Eleventh of Aprile last which is situated by Estimation about fourteen miles from Haverel meeting House to the North West and fifteen miles from Dracut meeting House on the River merrimack north and by East. That your petitioners since their settlement have found that the said Nutfield is claimed by three or four different parties by virtue of Indian Deeds, yet none of them offered any disturbance to your petitioners except one party from Newbury and Salem. Their Deed from one John Indian bears date March the 13th Anno Dom: 1701 and imports that they had made a purchase of the said land for five pounds, by virtue of this deed they claim ten miles square Westward from Haverel

¹ New Hampshire Town Papers, Vol. IX, p. 480.

²The petition from John Armstrong at Falmouth was not granted. That from Archibald Boyd led to the grant of a township, and so appears to be the one here referred to.

line and one Caleb Moody of Newbury in their name discharged our People from clearing or any wais improving the said land unless we agreed that twenty or five and twenty families at most should dwell there and that all the rest of the land should be reserved for them.

"That your petitioners by reading the Grant of the Crown of Great Britain to the Province of the Massachusetts bay, which determineth their northern line three miles from the River merrimack from any and every part of the River and by advise from such as were more capable to judge of this Affair, are Satisfied that the said Nutfield is within his Majesties Province of New Hampshire which we are further Confirmed in, because the General Court met at Boston in May last, upon our renewed application did not think fit any way to intermeddle with the said land.

"That your petitioners therefore imbrace this opportunity of addressing this honorable Court, praying that their Township may consist of ten miles square or in a figure Equivalent to it, they being already in number about seventy Families & Inhabitants and more of their friends arrived from Ireland to settle with them, and many of the people of New England settling with them, and that they being so numerous may be Erected into a Township with its usual Priviledges and have a power of making Town Officers and Laws, that being a frontier place they may the better subsist by Government amongst them, and may be more strong and full of Inhabitants:

"That your Petitioners being descended from and professing the Faith and Principles of the Establist Church of North Britain and Loyal Subjects of the British Crown in the family of his Majesty King George and incouraged by the happy administration of his Majesties Chief Governour in these provinces and the favourable inclinations of the good people of New England to their Brethren adventuring to come over and plant in this vast Wilderness, humbly Expect a favorable answer from this honourable Court and your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray &c, Subscribed at Nutfield in the name of your people Sep^t ye 21st 1719

"James Gregg"
Robertt Wear"

Nutfield was incorporated as the town of Londonderry in June, 1722, and an interesting list of proprietors was appended to the act.¹

It would be fruitless to follow longer the fortunes of the New Hampshire Londonderry, since Parker has written the story in all its detail. The people throve and multiplied, they tilled the soil, fished at the Amoskeag falls, and made linens and hollands that became known far and wide.

¹ See Parker's Londonderry, pp. 322-326; also New Hampshire Town Papers, Vol. IX, p. 484.

It is said by Parker that sixteen men with their families first settled on the "common field" about the mouth of West-running Brook. Perhaps they should be defined as the immediate friends of Mr. McGregor. The town in December, 1719, voted to grant a lot to each of "the first Comers to the town which is the number of twenty." The sixteen men were:

James McKeen, of Ballymoney,² County Antrim: he married 1st Janet Cochran, 2d Annis Cargill. His daughter married James Nesmith. He died November 9, 1756, at the age of 91 years.

James Gregg, of Macosquin, County Londonderry: he married Janet Cargill, sister of Mrs. McKeen above and of Mrs. James McGregor.

John Barnett, Captain, and Jean his wife. Their children are mentioned in the records as early as 1722. He died in 1740 at the age of 86. Jean or Janet was the widow of John McKeen, a brother of James McKeen.

Archibald Clendenin, and Miriam his wife. Their children are given in the birth records as early as 1720.

[&]quot;More strictly defined as members of Rev. James McGregor's congregation."—Willey's Nutfield, p. 91.

² The townland of Ballynacree in the parish of Ballymoney was also a center of Quaker influence. From the Ballynacree monthly meetings there went out to Pennsylvania Daniel, Andrew and Alexander Moore, William McCool, Samuel Beverly, Samuel Miller, John Boyd and Thomas McMillan.

- John Mitchell, Captain, died in 1776, aged 80. His wife Eleanor died in 1771, aged 74.
- James Sterrett, of whom little is known. His home lot was isolated, and next to it he had a grant of 80 acres laid out in 1729.
- James Anderson, and Mary his wife. Their children are mentioned as early as 1720. He died in 1771, aged 88. His grand-daughter Alice married the Rev. Joseph McKeen, first president of Bowdoin College, grandson of James McKeen.
- Allen Anderson, married a daughter of Hugh Rankin but died childless. Land was laid out to him in 1728.
- Randal Alexander, and Jenet his wife. Their children are mentioned on the birth records. He died in 1770, aged 83. The "Randal" in Scotch Irish names came from the great Earl of Antrim.
- James Clark, and Elizabeth his wife, had a child whose birth is recorded in 1726. He became a deacon, and had four sons and a daughter.
- James Nesmith, married Elizabeth, daughter of James McKeen. He died in 1767, aged 75. She died in 1763, at the age of 67.
- Robert Weir or Wear, and Martha his wife. A daughter Elizabeth was born in 1723.
- John Morison, and Margaret his wife. He died in Peterborough in 1776, aged 98. She died in 1769, aged 82.
- Samuel Allison, and Catherine his wife. Their

children are mentioned as early as 1721. He died in 1760, at the age of 70.

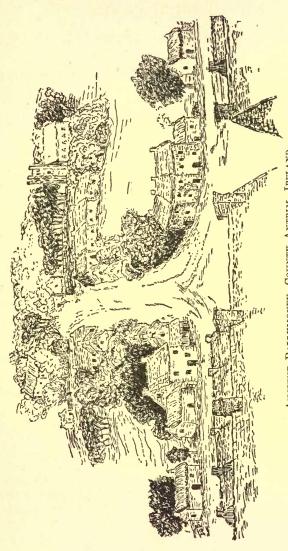
Thomas Steele, married Martha Morison, sister of John Morison above. He died in 1748, aged 65. She died in 1759, aged 73.

John Stuart, and Jean his wife.

The records speak of twenty "first comers," so that we should, perhaps, add four others to the above list. These might be Goffe, Graves, Simonds and Keyes, or the first two, with the Rev. Mr. McGregor and a fourth. At best we can only offer a surmise.

With the sixteen settlers should be associated the Rev. James McGregor who married Marion Cargill, the sister of Mrs. McKeen and Mrs. James Gregg. These people were all from the banks of the Bann River, or the Bann Water, as it was called, and had ties of blood or social intercourse to hold them together. James McKeen and his brother John were in business together at Ballymoney, county Antrim, in 1718, and had prospered. They determined to emigrate to America, influenced perhaps by James's brother-in-law McGregor who felt keenly the effects of commercial depression and religious strife in Ire-

¹ The accompanying sketch of Ballymoney, reconstructed from a plan, shows its four streets. In the foreground is Meeting House Lane, with the Gate Cabin (near Gate End and the Castle) at the extreme left, and Fort Cabin at the right, with the Meeting House opposite to it. The Main Street leads to Coleraine. From it to the right is Church Street; to the left is Piper's Row, with the Market on the corner.



Ancient Ballymoner, County Antrim, Ireland Home of the McKeen family. Reconstructed from a plan and description



land. John McKeen died a short time before the ship was to sail; but his widow with her four children continued with the party, which was evidently composed of families allied by marriage or closely associated with the McKeen business interests in Ballymoney, or with the Rev. Mr. McGregor's religious life across the Bann at Aghadowey and Macosquin. We are not surprised therefore to hear that McKeen's daughter said to her granddaughter one day that "James McKeen, having disposed of his property embarked with his preacher, Rev. James McGregor and sixteen others, who had bound themselves to him for a certain time to pay for their passage to America." He no doubt engaged the ship and became responsible for most of the expense of the enterprise.

The news that the Scotch Irish were to have a tract of land ten miles square for a town of their own soon attracted settlers from Boston, Worcester, and Falmouth. In September, 1719, there were seventy families at Nutfield, not all, however, of Scotch Irish connection. The list of proprietors of Londonderry in 1722 records about one hundred Scotch Irish land owners, and also several of English descent, John Wheelwright, Benning Wentworth, Richard Wal-

¹His parish had become poor and his salary was greatly in arrears.

² Mrs. Thom's statement, L. A. Morrison's Dinsmoor Family, Lowell, 1891, p. 41.

dron, Edward Proctor, Benjamin and Joseph Kidder. .

It is difficult to name the seventy families who settled at Nutfield before September, 1719; there must have been in addition to the sixteen original families at least twenty five who came during the summer of 1719. Some of these twenty five or more we know: others are to be found probably in the list of proprietors of 1722. One might name:

David Cargill, a selectman in 1719; he may have been the father of Mrs. McKeen, Mrs. Gregg and Mrs. McGregor: he was elected as the first selectman, a courtesy perhaps to his distinguished sonsin-law, for he served but one year. He had been a Ruling Elder of the church in Aghadowey, Ireland, and died in 1734, at the age of 73. His wife Jenet survived him for eleven years.

Alexander McMurphy, mentioned very early. His son John was a Justice of the Peace, and the town's first representative.2

James Reid, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh; among the first settlers, and prominent. He died in 1755, at the age of sixty.

John Wallace, who came in 1719 or 1720, and married in 1721 Annis Barnett. They had four sons and four daughters.

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Charles F. White, Mrs. Henry S. Tufts and Miss Virginia Hall for many genealogical facts of value in connection with these families.

² See Willey's Nutfield, p. 231.

the bearer Abraham Hobines, June icens his mother in law many more you his wife and thin live Children has lived Congregation the most part of the Infancy cho all along End at indeparture this were not only soon free of publick feared le But also good Report and Christian Conversation is and being now coul to transport thempeloss to new England in america we know nothing to hunder them being received as mombers of any Phistion Societie and may be admitted topaling ordinances when over providence may order than lot all of which is fertified at Ahadon in this 12 day

ABRAHAM HOLMES'S LETTER FROM THE CHURCH AT AGHADOWEY,
IRBLAND

John Bell, from Ballymoney in 1719 or 1720. The grandfather of Governor Bell of New Hampshire. Abraham Holmes came with his wife and children in 1719. He died in 1753, at the age of 70. His wife

Mary Morison was probably a sister of David and Samuel Morison. They brought a very interesting letter from the church in Aghadowey, Ireland, signed by John Given and David Cargill. This letter reads:

"The bearer, Abraham Holmes, Janet Givens his mother-in-law, Mary Morison his wife, and their two Children has lived in this Congregation the most part of them from their Infancy, and all along, and now at their departure they were not only sober and free of publick scandle, But also of good Report and Christian Conversation (Children exepted) now Communicants with us. And now being about to transport themselves to New England in America we have nothing to hinder their being received as members of any Christian Society, and may be admitted to sealing ordinances wherever providence may order their lot; all of which is certified at Ahadonia [Aghadowey] this 12th day of June 1719.

Witness by
"John Givens
"David Cargill"

The following men are mentioned in the historical statement with which the first town clerk opened his book of records:

¹I am indebted to Mr. J. Albert Holmes for a copy of this paper. The original is owned by Mr. Charles D. Page of New Haven.

Robert Boyes, a prominent pioneer, who was sent to Ireland after Mr. McGregor's death to secure a successor in the pulpit;

Alexander and James Nichols, both useful men;

Alexander McGregor, doubtless a relative of the clergyman;

James Blair, the man who lived without fear of Indians and was never molested;

Alexander Walker, and

James Morison.

Among those who may have been of English origin, but were very early in Nutfield two appear on the town records in 1719:

John Goffe was town clerk from 1719 to 1722. He probably belonged to the Charlestown family of the same name.

Samuel Graves, a selectman as early as 1719. One might expect him to be a relative of the McKeen connection, for he was a grantee from Wheelwright of the Nutfield township, and the other four grantees mentioned, McKeen, McGregor, Cargill and Gregg were all related one to another by blood or marriage.

Two other men are noted by the editor of the printed Londonderry records as early settlers, Joseph Simonds, who appears in the historical statement, and Elias Keyes, who, like Goffe and Graves, fails of mention in the statement.

So ends a list which is far from satisfactory since many others may have been in Londonderry during the summer of the year 1719. Goffe, the town clerk, placed upon the Nutfield records birth dates which antedate 1718. It cannot be assumed that settlers reported these facts before the settlement was made at West-running Brook. Probably Goffe, who recorded his own early family statistics, did a like service for his friends the Graveses, MacMurphys, Leslies and Smiths. They were, perhaps, all in Nutfield in 1719.

The early settlers of Londonderry comprised many who remained but a short time and moved on to new plantations.²

William Aiken
Edward Aiken
James Aiken
William Adams
James Alexander
(called "early" by
Jesse McMurphy)
Randal Alexander‡
Samuel Allison‡
Allen Anderson†‡°

James Anderson‡
John Anderson
John Archibald
John Archibald, Jr.
Robert Armstrong
Robert Actmuty or
Auchmuty
John Barnett‡
John Barnett, Jr.
John Bell

¹ Willey's Nutfield, pp. 63, 237.

² Robert Boyes and David Cargill in 1729 sent a petition to Colonel Dunbar in behalf of 150 families who desired lands about Pemaquid, Maine, for settlement. Maine Historical Society Collections, Baxter MSS., Vol. X, p. 439.

^{*†‡°.} For explanation see p. 265.

James Blairt ° John Blair David Bogle Thomas Bogle Dr. Hugh Bolton William Bolton Robert Boyest ° Thomas Caldwell William Campbell David Cargill* ° David Cargill, Jr.° George Clark James Clark[‡] ° John Clark Matthew Clark Robert Clark Thomas Clark Archibald Clendenin[‡] ° Andrew Cochran John Cochran Peter Cochran William Cochran David Craig John Crombie David Dickey Samuel Dickey James Doak John Doak Robert Doak

George Duncan William Eavers James Gilmore Robert Gilmore William Gilmore John Given John Goffe* Samuel Graves* ° John Gray Henry Green David Gregg James Gregg* † i ° John Gregg Samuel Gregg William Gregg Nehemiah Griffin Abraham Holmes Samuel Huston William Humphra or Humphrey James Lesly or Leslie James Liggit James Lindsey [of Mendon, turner, 17317 John McClurg Alexander McCollum John McConoeighy Daniel McDuffee

James McGlaughlin Rev James McGregor* † ° John Pinkerton Alexander McGregort ° John Mack James McKeen* † ‡ ° Janet McKeen John McKeen Robert McKeen Samuel McKeen Alexander McMurphy John McMurphy Alexander McNeal James McNeal John McNeal Abel Merrel John Mitchell‡ Hugh Montgomery James Moor John Moor Samuel Moor David Morison James Morisont ° John Morison, d. 1736 John Morison (Jr.) * † ‡ ° Mary Willson Robert Morison Samuel Morison James Nesmith‡° Alexander Nichols† ° James Nicholst °

Peter Patterson Hugh Ramsey Hugh Rankin James Reid John Richey James Rogers John Sheales William Smith Archibald Stark Thomas Steelet * ° James Sterrett‡ John Stuart[‡] Jonathan Taylor Matthew Taylor William Thompson Andrew Todd Alexander Walkert ° John Wallace Robert Weir or Wear Benjamin Williams Benjamin Willson Elizabeth Willson Thomas Willson William Willson James Wilson Robert Wilson

John Woodford

- * indicates that the name will be found on the town records of 1719.
- † indicates that the name appears in the historical statement with which the town records open.
 - ‡ indicates one of Parker's "first sixteen settlers."
- ° indicates an early settler in the judgment of the editor of the printed Londonderry records.

The following proprietors of Londonderry in 1722 have not been included above; few if any were Scotch Irish: Col. John Wheelwright, Edward Proctor,



BEARDIVILLE, BALLYWILLAN, COUNTY ANTRIM
Seat of the Leckys, distinguished at the Siege of Derry

Benjamin and Joseph Kidder, Joseph Simonds, Elias Kays, John Robey, John Senter, Stephen Perce, Andrew Spaulden, Benning Wentworth, and Richard Waldron. The Scotch Irish had their wish fulfilled, the desire for a town to be ruled by their own kith and kin.

XIV

THE SCOTCH IRISH IN DONEGAL, DERRY AND NESHAMINY, PENNSYLVANIA AFTER 1718

After the development of Londonderry, Rutland. and Pelham the New England Scotch Irish spread gradually into other towns, Windham, Antrim, Peterborough, Colerain, Blandford, Palmer and many more. Upon each they left a mark of thrift and From these towns the more venturesome moved westward into New York, and one of their settlements, Cherry Valley, became famous later as the scene of an Indian massacre. Receiving fewer immigrants from Ireland to swell their numbers than like communities at the South received, the Scotch Irish of New England had less power, both to exercise in civil affairs, and to aid them to maintain their transplanted faith. If they may be said to have been unfortunate in this respect they have been peculiarly favored in their historians. Londonderry, Windham, Peterborough and Pelham are represented by local histories that treasure the Scotch Irish tradition. The life of Judge Jeremiah Smith, and the family histories of the Blairs, Smiths and Morrisons, are typical of the record of Scotch

Irish life that New England has preserved. If it be true that history must achieve vitality to reclaim a dead past, we may say, viewing these vital historical works, that New England in the days of the Scotch Irish pioneers still lives. Of the Scotch Irish at the South much of this can also be said with equal emphasis. Theirs is a record of influence still to be traced in history.

A southern stronghold of Presbyterianism was in the neighborhood of Newcastle, Delaware. narrow tongue of land between the upper shore of Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River is shared by Maryland and Delaware. Maryland's portion includes the Elk River and is known as Cecil County. Delaware's portion is called Newcastle County, with Wilmington, its chief city, at the mouth of Christiana Creek. North of these two counties and across the Pennsylvania line are Lancaster and Chester counties (all known as Chester County from 1682 to 1729), extending from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna River. This territory, south a few miles from Philadelphia, became the mecca for Scotch emigrants from Ireland. These emigrants pushed up through Newcastle County to cross the Pennsylvania line, hoping to escape from Maryland and its tithes.1 Unfortunately at this very time the exact line of the boundary was in dispute between Lord Baltimore and the heirs of William Penn, and

¹ Pennsylvania Magazine of History, January, 1901, p. 497.

many of the settlers flocked in and preëmpted land in dispute, without obtaining right or title. To add to the confusion the Penn family were in a state of domestic discord, so that their agent James Logan allowed very few grants in any place after the year 1720. An exception was made however in the case of the Scotch Irish, people who, said Logan, "if kindly used, will I believe be orderly, as they have hitherto been, and easily dealt with; they will also, I expect, be a leading example to others." These grants were made for a settlement which was called Donegal.

At this early period when the business of sending "runners" into the rural communities in Ireland to stimulate emigration had not begun, we must not expect to find any noticeable increase in the number of ships entering the Atlantic ports. At Boston trading vessels from Dublin were not infrequent visitors, but aside from servants their passengers were few. At Charleston the number of ships entering the port scarcely varied between the years 1714 and 1724, except for a falling off when the pirates injured commerce in 1717–18, and a temporary increase in 1719.

Few Scotch Irish came to New York in the early part of the eighteenth century because the Governor of New York and New Jersey, Lord Cornbury, dealt

¹ Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. 21, p. 495.

² Ibid, p. 485.

harshly with dissenters. The Rev. Francis Makemie and the Rev. John Hampton visited the city on a missionary tour to New England in January, 1706-7. Makemie was refused permission to preach in the Dutch Church, but conducted a service openly at the home of William Jackson in Pearl Street on Sunday, the 19th. He was arrested and thrown into prison for preaching without a license. Makemie petitioned for a speedy trial, but the legal proceedings were permitted to drag on until the seventh of June when a verdict of not guilty was brought in. The financial burden of imprisonment and trial, amounting to more than eighty three pounds, fell entirely upon Makemie, although he is known to have had firm friends in New York. His sureties John Johnstone, gentleman, and William Jackson, cordwainer, both recorded in 1703 as residents of the South ward, no doubt had listened to this famous sermon; and we know of four others who were present: Captain John Theobalds, John Vanhorne, Anthony Young and one Harris, Lord Cornbury's coachman. The Governor, soon after the trial, was removed from office and imprisoned for debt. Late in 1718 the News-Letter furnishes evidence of the arrival of passengers from Ireland at the port of New York.2 Whether Celts or Scots

¹ For a list of Presbyterians in New York in 1755, see Journal Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 1, p. 244.

²A pink from Ireland, John Read, master, arrived with passengers November 10, 1718.

we have as yet no information. But in forty years we find the Scotch Irish in New York to be wealthy and of great political influence.

Philadelphia seems to have had a considerable immigration from Dublin, Belfast and Glasgow from the time of the arrival of the first Quakers in 1682. What are we to think of over seventy passengers from Waterford, Ireland, who arrived in the ship Cezer, Matthew, Cowman, commander, in July, 1716, or of fifty passengers from Cork in March 1718?

Again, of what character were the one hundred and fifty passengers which the Elizabeth and Margaret, after a voyage of twelve weeks from Dublin, left at Philadelphia in August, 1718? Were these people Presbyterian Scotch Irish? A few may no doubt have claimed their faith and their blood, but I cannot but believe that up to the year 1719 most of the passengers were English and Celtic servants and mechanics, with a number of prosperous Scotch and English Quakers. Very few Ulster weavers and farmers came to the South until word reached Ireland late in 1718 that Boyd, the Bann Valley envoy, had found serious difficulty in obtaining land in New England for settlement. In 1719 hundreds of Scotch Irish immigrants turned to lands in Chester

¹ News-Letter, August 6, 1716. Captain Cowman arrived from Dublin in September, 1717, with about one hundred passengers. Captain Gough in the Dove brought passengers a month later.

County and to the fields south of the Pennsylvania line for their homes.

The Scotch Irish migration of Presbyterians to Chester County² began in 1719 and thus came long after the English-Irish migration of Quakers which had begun in 1682. These Presbyterians became of sufficient influence in Chester County in 1722 to obtain the name Donegal for their township. Chief among them at this time were:

James Galbraith, Senior, and his sons Andrew, James and John

Robert Wilkins and his sons Thomas, William, Peter and John

Gordon Howard and his sons Thomas and Joseph George Stuart and his son John

Peter Allen

James Roddy

James and Alexander Hutchinson

John and Robert Spear

Hugh, Henry, and Moses White

Robert McFarland and his sons Robert and James

James Paterson

Richard Allison

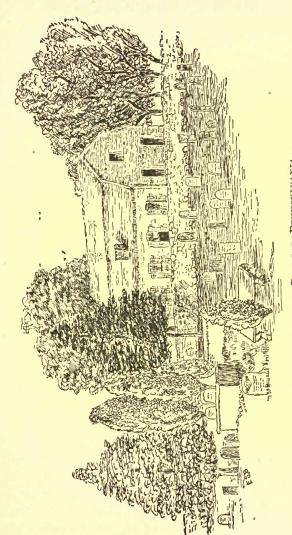
¹The curious reader may be interested in Charles Clinton's Journal of his voyage from Dublin via Glenarm and Derry Lough in 1729 when over one hundred passengers died on board. See the Pennsylvania Magazine of History, 1902, p. 112.

² Futhey and Cope's Chester County, p. 248.

Patrick Campbell Robert Middleton Thomas Bayly Jonas Davenport James and Samuel Smith James Kyle James and Thomas Mitchell John and Benjamin Sterrett Joseph Work Ephraim Lytle David McClure Samuel Fulton Alexander McKean Robert and Arthur Buchannan James Cunningham William Maybee William Hay Henry Bailey John Taylor William Bryan John and Malcom Karr Edward Dougherty John and Hugh Scott

The place names in old Chester County, Pennsylvania, such as Derry, Donegal and Toboyne, suggest that the early emigrants came for the most part from lands west of the River Foyle.

These pioneers built their log cabins in the pleas-



MEETING HOUSE AT DONEGAL, PENNSYLVANIA



ant meadows and woodlands near John Galbraith's mill, and in due time they gave of their prosperity to maintain a well-built "ordinary" or tavern, for which the same thrifty John obtained a license in 1726. Here Rebecca, his daughter, was born, to become at the age of eighteen the wife of Colonel Ephraim Blaine whose untiring efforts as Commissary of Provisions kept body and soul together through the terrible winter at Valley Forge. Thus the Scotch Irish of Donegal were to have their influence upon the greater events of the world.

The fine old church at Donegal became a center of religious influence. Its plain walls, high windows, and great gambrel roof symbolizes the plain manners and large hearts of its worshippers. Beneath the even turf within the graveyard wall these pioneers now lie, protected from the summer's heat by The heirs of their blood and spruce and cedar. brain are building the great west, while strange hands trim the sod, and children with unfamiliar names play among the ancient head stones. After the Galbraiths and their friends had moved westward or had become less dominant in their influence other men of the same race came into prominence, the Semples, Andersons, Lowreys, Pedans, Porters, and Whitehills.

¹A picture of the church may be seen in Gail Hamilton's Biography of James G. Blaine, 1895, and both the Church and Galbraith's "ordinary" in the Scotch Irish Society, 8th Congress, pp. 80, 336.

Donegal was only one of four townships along the east bank of the Susquehanna, all of them Scotch Irish settlements, which extended south and north of the present city of Harrisburg. Perhaps the most interesting of these is Derry since its ancient meeting house brings to the present generation a flavor of those pioneer times. Built on the "barrens of Derry" as early as 1729, its walls were of hewn oak logs, two feet thick, covered by rough hemlock boards, and sheathed within with yellow pine and cherry. The nails and fastenings were



MEETING HOUSE AT DERRY, PENNSYLVANIA

primitive examples of hammer and anvil; the thirty eight panes of glass over the pulpit were set in pewter, and the communion service was of the same metal — mugs and platters sent over from London by sympathizing dissenters in 1733.

The pulpit was small and crescent shaped, with

narrow steps leading up from the east side. Along the wall were stout pegs on which to sling the muskets of the male worshippers. Close by the meeting house was the session-house with the pastor's study, and a few rods away within a neat wall about God's acre slept the dead.¹

Derry, early known as Spring Creek, received its first settlers about 1720. As the Scotch Irish began to increase in numbers a Presbyterian minister was needed, and in 1726 the Rev. James Anderson of Donegal gave one fifth of his time to Derry, and another fifth to Paxtang.

One of the founders of the church was James Galbraith whose father James had crossed the ocean, some say, as early as 1718. The younger James had fallen in love with Elizabeth Bertram, the daughter of a clergyman from Bangor, County Down, who came to the church at Derry. Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth Gillespie, tradition claimed, had a fine estate in Edinburgh. James settled on Swatara Creek, next to the farm of three hundred and fifty acres which the Derry people had deeded to their minister upon his arrival. Here a prosperous farm and grist-mill brought food and clothing for James's growing family and for his aged father, who came to dwell under his roof.

Another settler, David McNair, came over from

¹W. H. Egle's History of Pennsylvania, 1883, p. 644. Also his address at the church October 2, 1884.

Donaghmore, County Donegal, the ancestral town of the Rev. William Homes of Martha's Vineyard. David's nephew became governor of Missouri. In the Derry grave yard lie the Boyds, Campbells, Chamberses, Clarks, Harrises, Hayses, Logans, Martins, Mitchells, Moodeys, McCords, Roans, Rodgers, Snoddeys, Thompsons, Wilsons and Wallaces.

In Hanover township were William Crain, John Barnett, William Allen and others. At Paxtang were John Wiggins, John Gray, Robert Elder, John Forster, Matthew Cowden, Hugh McCormick and Thomas Rutherford. The last mentioned emigrant left a record of his birth and marriage in old Tyrone.

Across the river in Allen township lived the families of Wilson, Wallace, Parker and Linn, as well as Andrew Gregg who is said to have had a brother David amid the ungracious rocks of New Hampshire, another brother Samuel in Massachusetts, and a brother John in South Carolina. A study of the marriages in the various families given in Dr. Egle's Scotch Irish genealogies, will yield names of many neighbors along the banks of the Susquehanna.

North of Philadelphia the Presbyterians, chiefly Dutch settlers with a few Welshmen, had worshipped at Neshaminy Creek, Bensalem, and other near-by towns since 1710. The Neshaminy records are of especial interest in 1722 when persons from "Eer-

lant" (Ireland) were recorded as admitted by certificate.

These persons were:

William Pickins and his wife (Margaret?)
George Davis and his wife
Hugh White and his wife
Andrew Reed and his wife
John Anderson and his wife
Moses White and his wife
Humphrey Eyre and his wife
Israel Pickins
Matte Gillespie
Joanna Bell (or Jane who married George
Logan?)

Thomas Foster, his wife, daughter Margaret and the rest of his children; also his wife's brother, George Logan ¹

Neshaminy became famous in the annals of the Presbyterian Church as the site of the Log College in which the Rev. William Tennent trained young men for the ministry.² Tennent had married in Ire land a daughter of the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, a fine type of the sturdy old Scotch Irish clergy, a man whose tomb still remains to record his ancient blood and virile inheritances. Tennent's four sons brought

¹ Journal Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 1, p. 111.

² Ibid, p. 345.

to America great zeal and much needed high standards of ministerial culture.

In looking over the map of Pennsylvania we find that these townships, Donegal, Paxtang, Derry and Hanover (near the Susquehanna), and Drumore, Colerain, Fallowfield and Sadsbury (along Octorara Creek, which marks the western line of Chester County after 1729), together with the Brandywine farms a little north of Wilmington, the Neshaminy lands north of Philadelphia, and Allen township, ten miles west of Easton, comprise the earliest settlements of the Scotch Irish in Pennsylvania. The settlers who first occupied these fertile lands entered America at the ports of Philadelphia and Newcastle.

At Philadelphia the Rev. Jedediah Andrews had begun about 1701 to preach in the "Barbadoes store." His followers were Presbyterians, and to his church came the strangers of that faith. From Philadelphia the immigrants spread out over the county of Lancaster. From Newcastle as another center they pushed along the Christiana to its con-

¹I. D. Rupp's Lancaster County, 1844, p. 185. For a list of land-holders before 1735 in the present County of Lancaster, which comprised that part of old Chester County settled largely by Scotch Irish, see Rupp, p. 233. The list includes the Craigheads, Cooksons, McCawleys, Storys, Greens, Blacks, Steels, Montgomerys, McCardys, Templemans, McConnels, McNealys, McClellands, Sherrards, Stinsons, McKimms, Dyers, Lambs, Bishops, McPhersons,

tributing sources, White Clay Creek and Red Clay Creek.

Along the banks of these creeks, and down the Brandywine and the Elk, the Rev. George Gillespie, a Scotch preacher, had ridden from house to house on his lonely circuit as early as 1713, when he was stationed at the church at the head of the Christiana.¹ Scotch and English chiefly composed the congregations until between 1718 and 1720, although the presence of ministers from Ireland would seem to suggest an occasional layman also from Irish soil.² On White Clay Creek were the Steels, Gardeners and Whites, of early importance, although their church of that name was not founded until 1721.

The purchasers of land for the joint church at

Robinsons, Murrays, Bensons, Blyths, Allisons, McClenns, Shennon, McClures, Hugheses, Duffields, Crawfords, Dennys, Scotts, Pennocks, Blackshaws, Buchanans, Gilmores, Musgroves, Higgenbothems, Livingtons, Painters, Saunderses, Stileses, Watsons, Webbs, Irwins, Palmers, Owens, Pendalls, Thornburys, Marshalls, Jacksons, Beesons, Nessleys, Herseys, Astons, Steers, McNabbs, Smiths, Lindseys, Longs, Kings, Moores, Fullertons, Francises, McKanes, Douglases, Darbys, Knowleses, McClanaghans, Burtons, Gales, Cowens and others.

A few of these families were doubtless Quakers.

¹ Mackey's White Clay Creek, p. 4; G. E. Jones's Lower Brandywine Church, 1876, p. 9.

²The Rev. Robert Cross of Newcastle, 1719, and Jamaica, Long Island, 1723, was born near Ballykelly, Ireland.

Lower Brandywine in 1720¹ were John Kirkpatrick, James Houston, James Mole, William Smith, Magnus Simonson, Ananias Higgins, John Heath and Patrick Scott. The surnames of the members of the Upper Octorara Church² before the middle of the eighteenth century were:

Alison, Blelock, Boggs, Boyd, Boyle, Clingan, Cochran, Cowan, Dickey, Filson, Fleming, Gardner, Glendenning, Hamill, Henderson, Heslep, Hope, Kerr, Kyle, Liggett, Lockhart, Luckey, McAllister, McNeil, McPherson, Mitchell, Moody, Park, Richmond, Robb, Rowan, Sandford, Scott, Sharpe, Sloan, Smith, Stewart, Summeril, Wiley, Wilkin, and Wilson.

The Rev. Samuel Young, a successor of Gillespie in this field, came to the Elk River in 1718, having preached at Magherally in County Down for four-teen years. He had been ordained by Armagh Presbytery in 1703.

The following extracts from a very long letter written by Robert Parke, an Irish Quaker of the original Chester county, Pennsylvania, to his sister in Ireland, describe life in the colony in 1725. Mr. Parke makes it evident that there was no disappointment upon their arrival in America, when he

¹ Jones, p. 12.

² Futhey's Upper Octorara Church, p. 151. The church was organized in 1720. The first minister, the Rev. Adam Boyd, Craighead's son-in-law, was ordained in 1724.

writes: "There is not one of the family but what likes the country very well and wod If we were in Ireland again come here Directly it being the best country for working folk & Tradesmen of any in the . . My father bought a Tract of Land consisting of five hundred Acres for which he gave 350 pounds, it is Excellent good land but none cleared, Except about 20 Acres, with a small log house & Orchard Planted." A little later he contrasts the farmer's labor in Pennsylvania with his work in Ireland: "We plowed up our Sumer's fallows in May & June, with a Yoak of Oxen & 2 horses & they goe with as much Ease as Double the number in Ireland. . . Dear Sister I desire thee may tell my old friend Samuel Thornton that he could give so much credit to my words & find no Iffs nor ands in my Letter that in Plain terms he could not do better than to Come here, for both his & his wife's trade are Very good here, The best way for him to do is to pay what money he Can Conveniently Spare at that side & engage himself to Pay the rest at this Side & when he Comes here if he Can get no friend to lay down the money for him, when it Comes to the worst, he may hire out 2 or 3 Children. . I wod have him Procure 3 or 4 Lusty Servants & Agree to pay their passage at this Side he might sell 2 & pay the others passage with the money." Parke closes his letter with a touch of brotherly gallantry:

"I wod not have thee think much at my Irregular way of writing by reason I write as it offer'd to me, for they that write to you should have more wits than I can Pretend to."

¹ A. C. Myers's Immigration of the Irish Quakers, 1902, p. 70.

XV

THE SCOTCH IRISH IN SOUTH CAROLINA AFTER 1718

Settlements which were so far to the south that they were constantly menaced by the Spaniards and their Indian allies grew slowly. At Port Royal and Charleston the Scotch, both free men and deported prisoners taken in battle, were very early in residence.

About the year 1685 an Independent, or as some called it, a Presbyterian church was organized, and it had a prosperous history for half a century. The career of its chief minister, the Rev. Archibald Stobo, has already been referred to. His successor, the Rev. William Livingston, from the North of Ireland, preached from 1704 to 1720, when he died.

In 1731 or 1732 about a dozen members of this first church, including James Abercrombie, John Allen, Daniel Crowford,² John Bee,² John Fraser,² George Ducaff or Ducat,² and James Paine or Payne,² withdrew and formed a new organization,

¹His descendants bear the names of Tunno and Stewart. Charleston Year Book for 1882, p. 381.

² Assigned pews in the old church in 1732, and thus were not as yet known as seceders. Fraser and Ducat were members in 1724.

worshipping in a small wooden building, with the Rev. Hugh Stewart for their minister. These families were alarmed by an evident trend in the sentiment of the majority toward Congregationalism, and since they adhered loyally to the Westminster Confession they wished to be free to maintain a minister of their own faith.

Some of the founders of this seceding or Scotch Presbyterian church in Charleston in 1732 were probably Scotch Irish. The statement that John Witherspoon's daughter, who had died immediately after his arrival from Ireland, was the first person buried in the new church field implies that there were religious and perhaps racial ties which governed this choice of a spot; although in the older church there continued members bearing Scottish names.

In 1717 the town of Beaufort on the Island of Port Royal was laid out. To the west of this town were lands lying along the northern bank of the Savannah River; they had recently been left uninhabited by the retreat of the Yamassee Indians after their rebellion and defeat. These lands the Assembly opened up to Protestants in 1719, increasing the usual allotment of fifty acres to two hundred acres for each settler. It is said by Rivers, the historian, with how much authority is not known, that several hundred emigrants from Ireland were to take possession of these and other lands the same year; but

¹ Howe's Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, p. 177.

the grants were soon after annulled by the Colonial Proprietors, the territory was surveyed, and from it fifteen baronies were erected.

Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, writes that Mr. Rivers1 "did not mean (for that would not have been true) that these Irishmen settled in a body on the Yamassee lands or expected to do so. They would have taken their grants anywhere in the province, just as hundreds of other settlers from England, Scotland, and Ireland had been doing. It is even doubtful if these Irishmen came in a body, or dispersed in a body." Many of them, if many there were, died of fever or privation, and the others were forced to look elsewhere for homes. At this time civilization in South Carolina did not extend beyond the Port Royal neighborhood at the south, and to the north it was limited to the territory between the Santee and the Edisto rivers. Some probably wandered into Charleston, where they remained until a strong Scotch Irish colony took possession of the township of Williamsburg.

This colony arrived in 1732 or the year following, the Council having granted the petition of James Pringle and other Irish Protestants that their passage be paid. A township twenty miles square, along the Black River, was laid out for them, and

¹ See pp. 293-294 of his South Carolina,

was given the name Williamsburg.¹ To this colony came John Witherspoon, James McClelland, William Sym, David Allan, William Wilson, Robert Wilson, James Bradley, William Frierson, John James, William Hamilton, Archibald Hamilton, Roger Gordon, John Porter, John Lemon, David Pressley, William Pressley, Archibald McRae, James Armstrong, the Erwins, Plowdens, Dickeys, Blakelys, Dobbinses, Stuarts and McDonalds.²

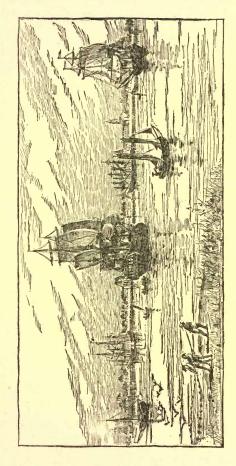
In August, 1736, a church was organized and the Rev. Robert Heron of Ireland became the first minister. From the church at Williamsburg sprang that at Indian Town, with Major John James and William, Robert and David Wilson among its founders; also that at Salem, founded by Samuel and James Bradley. At Mount Zion Church were Roger and James Wilson, with Captain William Erwin; at Jeffries Creek were John and Gavin Witherspoon; and John and Hugh Erwin joined the Hopewell Church which others directly from Ireland had founded. The Plowden, Nelson and Gamble families were identified with the earliest days of the Church at Brewington.³

The Scotch Irish at Williamsburg, or perhaps later companies of immigrants, did not all fare prosperously, and in 1738 Charleston was forced to pro

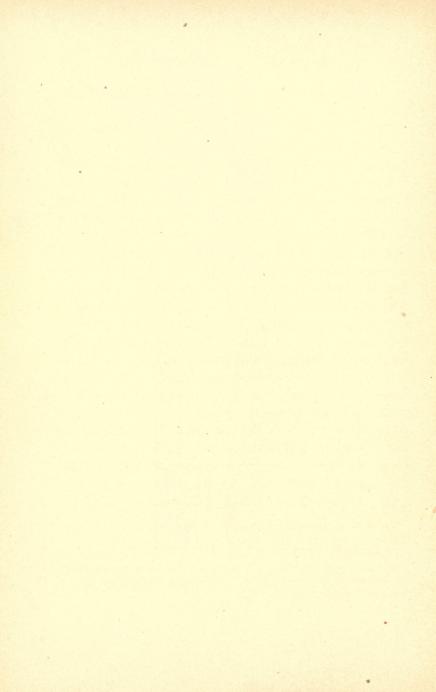
¹ McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, p. 132; also, Scotch Irish Society, 1st Congress, p. 202.

² Wallace's History of Williamsburg Church, 1856, pp. 18, 36.

⁸ Wallace's History of Williamsburg Church, pp. 35, 36.



CHARLESTON HARBOR IN 1740 (From Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America)



vide for poor Protestants from Ireland who swarmed the streets, begging from door to door.

John Witherspoon came from County Down in 1734, with his children David, John, Robert and Sarah. Robert has left us an account of his early experiences, typical of the pioneer hardships of those who settled in South Carolina.2 After lying becalmed in Belfast Lough for two weeks the ship with Robert's grandmother very ill on board, got under way on the 28th of September, 1734. It soon encountered rough weather and the aged lady died. Her interment in a roaring storm made a deep impression upon the boy. About the first of December the ship reached Charleston with a crew exhausted by almost incessant toil at the pumps. There the child Sarah died and was buried in the new Scotch graveyard. The settlers were kindly received by families that had come over in earlier years, but were soon sent up the river in an open boat to "Potatoe Ferry," where the women and children were put ashore to find what protection they could in a barn-like hovel. Meanwhile the men with their tools and baggage pushed up stream, and then went forward through flooded woods and meadows to find a

¹ Hewit's Historical Account of South Carolina, Vol. 2, pp. 316, 324; in Carroll's Historical Collection.

²Witherspoon was not harassed by local Irish port officers as were many in 1736 when the Government had become alarmed by the magnitude of the migration. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. 21, p. 485.

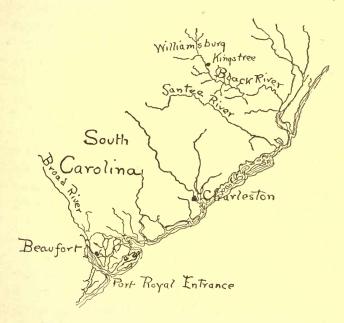
suitable spot for their houses. They had no timbers, and they soon discovered that boughs of trees covered with sods were but a poor protection against the fierce winter storms. Soon however a fire blazed upon the rude hearth, the smoke dried the branches overhead, and with one of Queen Anne's great muskets loaded with swan-shot close at hand, even the night in an endless waste of forest and marsh lost some of its terror. Although they had to wait long for their spring planting they were given time to become acclimated before the warm and sultry weather set in. They thus escaped the sickness which carried off great numbers of the early settlers in South Carolina.¹

The great tide of migration, however, did not all come through the port of Charleston. Many of the Scotch Irish of the Carolinas came from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and then went through Virginia and North Carolina to the Waxhaws in South Carolina.² Of this stock was John C. Calhoun, and — somewhat later — Andrew Jackson. Mr. McCrady, the historian of South Carolina, in a note on this migration, says that from the Waxhaws the Scotch Irish crossed the Catawba and spread over the counties of Lancaster, York, Chester and Fairfield. Prominent among them were the Adairs, Allisons, Brattons, Adrians, Blacks, Boggs, Broones, Buchan-

¹ Hanna's Scotch Irish, Vol. 2, p. 26.

² McCrady, p. 624.

ans, Boyces, Bryces, Crawfords, Crocketts, Carrols, Carsons, Chamberses, Dunlops, Douglasses, Erwins, Flemings, Irwins, Hancocks, Kirklands, Laceys, Lathams, Loves, Lyles, Masseys, McCaws, McDaniels, McCans, Millses, McKenzies, McIllhennys, McMullans, McLures, McMorrises, Martins, Neelys,



Wylies, Witherspoons, Rosses, and Youngs.¹ In Union County, as it now is, were the Brandons, Bogans, Jollys, Kennedys, McQunkins [McQuak-

¹McCrady's South Carolina, 1719-1776, p. 317.

ins?], Youngs, Cunninghams, Savages, Hughs, Vances, and Wilsons.¹

The McCrerys (or McCrearys), Greens, Hannahs, Abernathys, Millers, Beards, Wellses, Coffees, Gishams, Bartons, Youngs, McClures, Adamses, and the McDaids settled in Newberry between the Broad and the Saluda.² After them came the Caldwells, Thompsons, Youngs, Fairs, Carmichaels, Hunters, McClellans, Greggs, Wilsons, Conners, Neals, Camerons, Flemings, McCallas, Montgomerys, Sloans, Spencers, Wrights, Glenns, Chalmerses, McCrackenses, and Glasgows.

At Nazareth Church in Spartanburg were the Andersons, Millers, Barrys, Moores, Collinses, Thompsons, Vernons, Pearsons, Jamisons, Dodds, Rays, Pennys, McMahons, Nicols, Nesbitts, and Patons.³ In the bounds of Abbeville and Edgefield were the Meriwethers, Wardlaws, Moors, Browns, McAlasters, Logans and Calhouns.⁴

These many surnames survive everywhere along the rivers and in the mountain settlements.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Scotch Irish, through industry and intelligence even more than by force of numbers, had come to have a con-

¹ Southern Presbyterian Review, Vol. 14, p. 482. Quoted by McCrady.

² Mills's Statistics of South Carolina, p. 639. O'Neall's Annals of Newberry, pp. 47, 49.

⁸ Southern Presbyterian Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 483.

Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, p. 25.

SOUTH CAROLINA SCOTCH IRISH 295

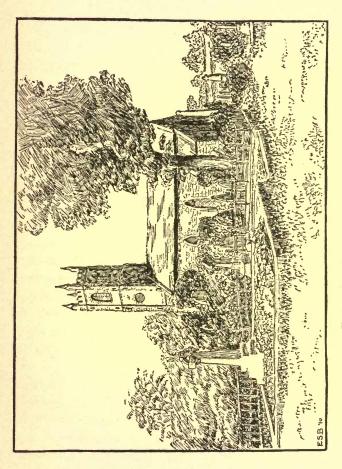
trolling voice in the management of much of the southern country. And this voice was heard a generation later when a rider brought into the Carolinas a paper which had told the people of New York, of Philadelphia and of farms along the shores of Chesapeake Bay that New England farmers had dared to fire upon British troops at Lexington.

XVI

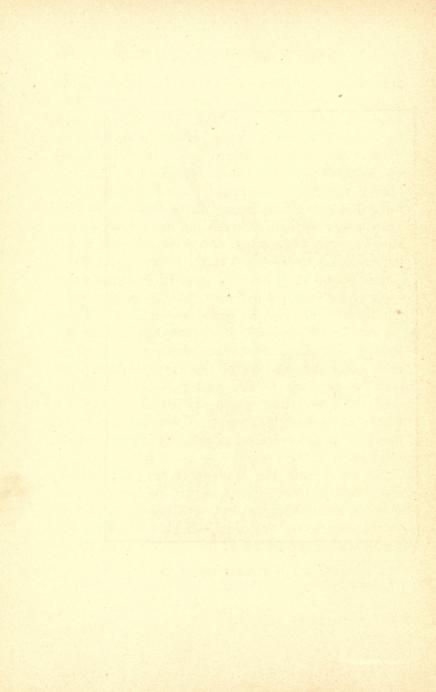
THE SCOTCH IRISH CHARACTER

In this attempt to give some impression of the Scotch in Ireland and in America, so much emphasis has been placed upon documentary history that race characteristics have played only a small part in the story. But these people of Coleraine on the Bann, of Strabane and Londonderry, came into the rural settlements of the New World with so distinct a personality, with customs and habits so marked, that they left an enduring impress. Since the days of the battle of Dunbar (1650), or for nearly a century, the Scotchman had lived in the Atlantic colonies. How did his influence differ from that of his Scotch cousin of Ulster who came to America in 1718? Did the life in Ulster really effect a change? Certainly orators and writers have from time to time made this claim.

The lowland Scotch and their borderland English neighbors left heather-clad mountains and grazing flocks to cross the narrow waters of the North Channel into Antrim and Down. They abandoned pastoral land for flax fields and bleach-greens, surrendering an isolated existence to live close together upon small farms. Speaking of Aghadowey Miss



THE PARISH CHURCH, AGHADOWEY From a photograph by Miss Pauline Marian Stronge



Mary Semple of Larne writes: "The whole region is quite level, with a gentle slope to the river. The southern end of the village joins Kilrea, and throughout its length can be traced houses built by its first Scotch settlers. These are in clusters and are termed 'clackens,' Gaelic for village. The people are a strong-looking race, the men tall and well formed, the women rather above medium height. They are principally farmers, but many work on the bleach-greens, while others spend their lives in weaving on looms which stand in their own homes."

New scenes must have quickened the mental processes of the transplanted Scot, and the greater community life enlarged the social instinct. The Episcopalians, all-powerful in government, and the Roman Catholics, strong in numbers, pressed in upon every side, and forced the Presbyterians to an exercise of their loyalty and patience, while the spirit of proselyting which existed everywhere in Ulster sharpened their wits. Under a century of these social and religious influences the Scotch character must have changed.

"It was," said Mr. Morison in his life of Jeremiah Smith, "the sternness of the Scotch covenanter, softened by a century's residence abroad amid persecution and trial, wedded there to the pathos and comic humor of the Irish." And Presi-

¹ Blair Family of New England, 1900, p. 21.

² Page 8.

dent McKinley, another scion of the same stock, said of the Scotch Irishman, "He was the result of a slow fusion of diverse characteristics." Time and trial had given to the Scot in Ireland memories, both of bloody Claverhouse in Scotland and of Tyrconnel in Ireland, that became a part of his fibre. The illiterate mother in the hills of Kentucky today passes on her burden of tradition when she exclaims to her unruly son: "Behave yourself, or Clavers will get you!" To her Clavers is but a bogey; to her ancestors Graham of Claverhouse was a very real cause for terror². If that is an inheritance from the days of religious warfare what shall we say of Gabriel Barr and Rachel Wilson, lovers for forty years, who would not or could not marry because there were two warring Presbyterian churches in Londonderry and neither lover would abandon an allegiance of faith for the ties of affection?3

The Rev. Dr. MacIntosh in his charming essay on "The making of the Ulsterman" calls the transplanted Scot more versatile and more fertile in resource, less clannish and less pugnacious, or in other terms a man of wider vision. His beliefs were consistent and well defined. Against the Puritan's town meeting the Scotch Irishman placed the legislature; for the congregation he substituted the as-

¹ Proceedings Scotch Irish Society, 5th Congress, p. 19.

² The Berea Quarterly, October, 1908, p. 9.

³ Willey's Nutfield, p. 91.

sembly; instead of laying stress upon personality, he emphasized partnership.

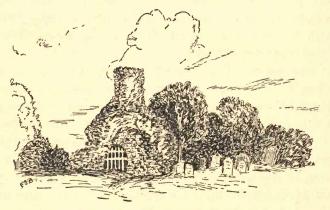
Since the denial of the franchise to non-conformists in Ireland threw the Scotch Irish back upon their church assemblies for exercise in government they were perhaps the more eager for participation in affairs of state when they reached America. Accustomed to close reasoning in debate the Scotch Irish leaders from Maine to Georgia accepted political responsibility promptly and successfully.

Oppression commercially, politically and religiously in Ireland prepared those who emigrated to the colonies to enter the civic school of Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. Nor were they unprepared for the inevitable result. Whatever of military science the Scotch Irish did not learn at the siege of Londonderry they acquired in the French and Indian wars in the New World. Their rugged life fitted them to endure camp and march; and their inborn hostility toward England led them to forge to the front in the early weeks of the year 1775 when many good men of the old English race wavered in the face of war with Great Britain.

The Scotch Irish have never claimed that they brought literature or art to these shores. They knew little of the former and nothing of æsthetics. Diaries and letters of the migration period do not exist and perhaps never did exist. Let us speak

¹Proceedings Scotch Irish Society, 2d Congress, p. 102.

frankly. Every race brings to our western civilization a gift of its own. These people from Ulster cared very little for the beautiful, with the single exception of the wonderful and beautiful Bible story. Even the New Testament they handled as a laborer might touch a Sèvres vase—reverently



RUINS OF A CHURCH IN KILBEA County Londonderry

but rudely. The Rev. Matthew Clark of Kilrea, a veteran of the Londonderry siege and a popular minister at the American Londonderry, was a type of the patriot soldier, rough, sturdy, independent. Preaching from Philippians iv. 13 he began with the words: "'I can do all things.' Ay, can ye, Paul? I'll bet a dollar o' that!" whereupon he drew a Spanish dollar from his pocket and placed it beside

his Bible on the pulpit. Then, with a look of surprise he continued: "Stop! let's see what else Paul says: 'I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me.' Ay, sae can I, Paul; I draw my bet!" and he returned the dollar to his pocket. We may wonder that such preaching fostered the simple trust and abiding faith evident in the dying words of Mrs. Morison of Londonderry. When asked what she would have more, she replied: "Nothing but Christ."

The Scotch Irish could not see that the severe lines of a cabin are softened by a sumac against the south wall or a creeper at the corner. They did not trim the edge of the roadway that led to the front door. In short, utility required nothing of these things and utility was their law. For the same reason, if the soles of their feet were tough they saw small need of shoes in summer. Their bare feet, however, gave something of a shock to century-old New England.

This rude development of taste was based possibly upon a primitive state of education. Although many served as local school-masters, it is evident that few even of the scant number who attained a college education ever learned to write well or to spell correctly their English language.² William Smith of Moneymore, Ireland, was a bright lad in

¹ Morison's Smith, p. 11.

² Ibid, p. 19.

his use of the pen, and his school-master wrote in his copy book:

William Smith of Moneymar Beats his master far and awar: I mean in writing Not inditing.

William's son Judge Smith of Peterborough, New Hampshire, after copying these and other lines upon birch bark became so proficient that he was employed to write letters, basing commissions from young lovers upon the burning phrases in the Song of Solomon.¹

The earliest emigrants knew Gaelic, and some may even have had no other language until they settled among English and Dutch colonists in America. I have found no direct mention of Gaelic in New England, but Rupp the Pennsylvania historian speaks of the disappearance of the language before his day.² The authorities in Georgia in 1735 applied to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge for a minister to preach in Gaelic and to catechise the children in English. John Macleod of the Isle of Sky was sent out in response to this request.³ Gaelic lingered among the old Scotch emigrants very much as Presbyterianism in New Eng-

¹ Morison's Smith, pp. 2, 12.

² Rupp's History Counties of Berks and Lebanon, 1844, p. 115.

³ Journal Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 1, p. 206.

land remained with the aged after their children and grandchildren had turned to Congregationalism.

In the industrial field the Scotch Irish at the outset contributed to New England's economic life; they taught their new neighbors the value of the "Irish" potato as a common article of food, and to make fine linen out of flax. The potato which now is a large part of the annual crop of every Northern farmer was rare in the colonies before 1718.

The spinning industry soon became so popular that a public school of spinning was proposed in Boston² in 1720, and the following year the selectmen, together with a special committee, were empowered to let out without interest three hundred pounds to any one who should establish a school for instruction in spinning flax and weaving linen.³ In 1732 the Hon. Daniel Oliver, who had been a member of the Committee in 1720, died, leaving the old Spinning House adjoining Barton's Ropewalk, with its "Proffits and Incomes . . . for learning poor children of the Town of Boston to Read the word of God and to write if need be."

In time, when they had grown accustomed to their new environment, the Scotch Irish did more than to

¹ Parker's Londonderry, p. 49; Lewis and Newhall's Lynn, 1865, p. 312.

² Drake's Boston, pp. 560, 591.

⁸ Town Records, March 1720-21.

^{*}Suffolk deeds, Vol. 31, p. 53.

defend the frontier and fight the battles of the Revolution, for they excelled also in letters and in art.

It is evident that whether we view the Scotch Irish pioneers from the standpoint of education, or culture, or material success of the larger kind, they were in 1718 in their proper place when Cotton Mather consigned them to the frontier. The life there conformed to their standards, as measured by their opportunity at that time. Those who remained in Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston were very generally tradesmen, and on account of the Ulster industries many naturally were tailors. But they were none the less virile, earnest and ambitious. A line of settlements extending from the Maine seacoast westward through New Hampshire and south westerly through western Massachusetts into a part of New York, and thence through Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, might be expected to produce much when a second generation had come to manhood on American soil. And the roll of statesmen, preachers and soldiers proves that these Scotch Irish did possess latent power of a high order.

All that has been said of the character of those who constituted the great migration to New England in 1718 applies equally to the brothers, cousins and neighbors in old Ireland who swarmed across the sea into the middle and southern colonies. For every one who landed at Boston a dozen set foot in Philadelphia and Charleston. In Massachusetts

they were an incident in history; at the South while they did not outnumber the natives they helped to make history. In 1790, following the Revolution, the Scotch Irish in Maine still clung in greatest numbers about the Kennebec; in New Hampshire on both sides of the Merrimack; and in Massachusetts they were to be found along the Merrimac, in the valley of the Connecticut and around the ancient settlements of Worcester and Rutland. In New York state they inhabited the banks of the Hudson near Albany. Pennsylvania still held a great Scotch Irish population, not only on the fertile shores of the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna, where they first found homes, but now all about the source rivers of the great Ohio.

Farther south the Scotch Irish were very numerous in North Carolina, between the upper waters of the Great Pedee and the Catawba. Across the border in South Carolina the Scotch Irish found homes along the Saluda, the Broad and the Catawba, in two districts which then bore names made famous in Revolutionary history, Camden and Ninety six.¹

It cannot but be evident that the great water courses were in those days as vital in their influence upon colonization as they were to be upon the commerce which follows permanent settlements.

In no state did the Scotch Irish population in 1790

¹ See W. S. Rossiter's A Century of Population Growth, Chapter XI.

equal the English, averaging only 6.7 per cent. of the whole, but in every state except New York and Pennsylvania it stands second. The Scotch Irish were largely responsible for phenomenal increases in the population of New Hampshire and North Carolina between 1720 and 1740. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Maryland already had a considerable population and new settlers made less impression on the per cent. of increase. The Scotch Irish family averaging 5.67 members, fell short of the English family of 5.77, a fact not expected of the later comer²; but in energy, resource and endurance, in a desire to excel in arms and in political leadership the smaller family held its own.

The statement that the Scotch Irish in 1790 amounted to 6.7 per cent. of the entire population, although 7 per cent. would probably be nearer the truth, at least gives a vague basis for the comparison of Scotch Irish ability with that of other strains. We may turn then with some curiosity to a group of figures prepared by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge for the Century Magazine of September, 1891, under the title "Distribution of ability in the United States." These figures are founded on 14,243 biographies of Americans of more than average ability, as given in Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Biography. The results were so much discussed in the press of

Rossiter, pp. 9, 10.

² Ibid, pp. 274, 275.

that winter that Senator Lodge printed similar tables in the *Century* for July, 1892, based upon names selected in a different manner. The results were not unlike those first obtained.

The Scotch Irish he describes as the descendants of the Scotch and English who settled in the North of Ireland, with an infusion of Irish blood in some few instances.

Of the 14,243 influential people recorded, there were biographies of the

Race.	No. a	Per cent. of the popula- tion in 1790.				
English	10,376	or	72.8	per	cent.	83.5
Scotch Irish	1,439	or	10.1	"	6.6	6.7
German	659	or	4.6	66	6.6	5.6
Huguenot	589	or	4.2	6.6	66	.5
Others	1,180	or	8.2	66	66	3.7

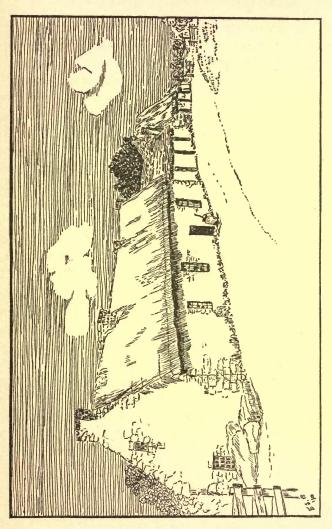
We find that the Germans, with a little less than one half as many biographies as the Scotch Irish, had more representatives in art, music and science; but in education, government, law, the stage, invention, exploration and war the Scotch Irish exceeded the Germans by more than three to one. As compared with the Huguenots the Scotch Irish were weaker in art and music, but were three times as strong in government, theology, exploration, invention and the stage. In careers devoted to government, war and exploration, just as one is prepared to expect, the Scotch Irish exceed their natural propor-

tion; in literature, art, science, business, philanthropy and music — careers ill suited to a pioneer life, they fall far short.

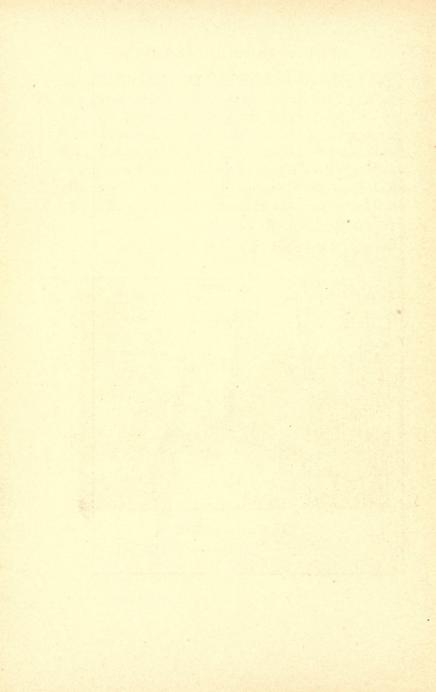
Those who are represented in the work by portraits, an indication of conspicuous ability, number 1,258. Of these, the men of Scotch Irish extraction number 137, or 10.9 per cent.; the English 897, or 71.3 per cent. If this increase from 10.1 (non portrait class) to 10.9 per cent. (portrait class) means anything it suggests that among English and Scotch Irish men of ability the Scotch Irish more often produce men of the first rank.

New England may well be proud of General John Stark and General Henry Knox of the Revolution, and of General George B. McClellan of the Civil War; of Matthew Thornton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence; of Horace Greeley, the editor; of Asa Gray the botanist; and of John Lothrop Motley the historian, all scions of the early Scotch Irish migration.

Further south were other great figures in our national life — Governor Edward Rutledge, Vice President Calhoun, President Jackson, and also William McKinley, whose ancestors lived at Conagher's Farm in County Antrim, only a few hours walk from the homes of our Bann Valley settlers. We should like to believe that McKinley stands as a type of the best Scotch Irish manhood, simple in his habits, gentle in his demeanor, strong in control of himself and a peace maker among his fellows.

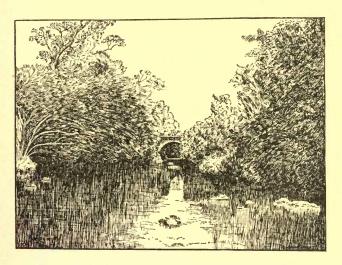


CONAGHER'S FARM, NEAR BALLYMONEY, COUNTY ANTRIM Home of President McKinley's Ancestors



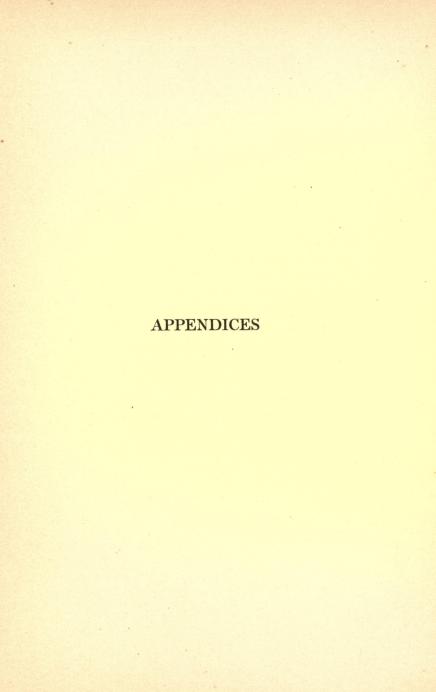
Dr. MacIntosh has said: "The plantation of the Scot into Ulster kept for the world the essential and the best features of the lowlander. But the vast change gave birth to and trained a somewhat new and distinct man, soon to be needed for a great task which only the Ulsterman could do; and that work—which none save God, the guide, foresaw—was with Puritan to work the revolution that gave humanity this republic."

¹ Proceedings Scotch Irish Society, 2d Congress, p. 91.



THE AGHADOWEY RIVER

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APPENDIX I

SHIPS FROM IRELAND ARRIVING IN NEW ENGLAND

1714

- GRAY-HOUND, sloop, Benjamin Elson, master, from Ireland; arrived April, at Boston (News-Letter, Apr. 19-26, 1714).
- ELIZABETH & KATHRIN, ship, William Robinson, master, from Ireland; arr. June, at Boston (N. L. May 31–June 7, 1715). Sick put on shore at Spectacle Island (Province Laws 1714, chapter 45).
- MARY ANNE, John Macarell, master, from Ireland; arr. August, at Boston (N. L. Aug. 2–9, 1714). Goods on sale at Steele and Bethune's ware house, Merchants Row.
- YORK MERCHANT, ship, John Beach, master, from Cork; arr. September, at Boston (N. L. Sept. 13-20, 1714). Irish servants (N. L. Sept. 6-13, 1714). Outward bound (N. L. Oct. 11-18, 1714).
- THOMAS & JANE, ship, William Wilson, master, from Londonderry; arr. Oct. at Boston (N. L. Oct 4-11, 1714). Outward bound for Holland (N. L. Oct. 18-25, 1714).

1715

AMITY, snow, Nathaniel Breed, master, from Ireland; arr. June, at Boston (N. L. June 13-20, 1715). Outward bound for Great Britain (N. L. June 20-27, 1715).

[Name Not Given.] James Hamilton, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Cleared for Ireland (N. L. Nov. 28-Dec. 5. 1715).

1716

- TRUTH AND DAYLIGHT, galley, Robert Campbell, master, from Cork; arr. May 21, at Boston (N. L. May 21-28, 1716; Record Com. Rept. 29, p. 232). Names of passengers given. Outward bound (N. L. May 28-June 4, 1716).
- MARY ANN, ship, Robert Maccarell, master, from Dublin; arr. June 18, at Boston (N. L. June 18-25, 1716; Record Com. Rept. 29, p. 235). John Gallard and his waiting man.
- GLOBE, ship, Nicholas Oursell, master, from Ireland; arr. June 25, at Boston (N. L. June 25-June 2, 1716; Record Com. Rept. 29, p. 236). Names of passengers given. "Protestants."

- [Name Not Given.] Montgomery, master, from Waterford; arr. [not given] at Piscataqua (N. L. July 2-9, 1716).
- [Name Not Given.] Master not given; from Ireland; arr. at Boston. Passengers ordered to Spectacle Island in June. (Province Laws 1716-17, chapter 52).
- GLOBE, ship, Alexander Dowglase, master, from Dublin; arr. Aug. at Boston (N. L. Aug. 12–19, 1717). Sundry servants to serve for four to nine years. Governor Shute reported fourteen male servants from Dublin.

- [Name Not Given.] Robert Montgomery, master, from Ireland; arr. Sept. at Boston (N. L. Sept. 2-9, 1717).
- [Name Not Given.] Archibald MacPheaderies, master, from Ireland; arr. Sept. at Piscataqua (N. L. Sept. 23–30, 1717).
- FRIENDS GOODWILL, Edward Gooding, master, from Larne and Dublin; arr. Sept. at Boston (N. L. Sept. 9-16, 1717). Fifty two persons. Great hardships. See in chapter I a reference to Governor Shute's report of nine servants from Belfast.

- [Name Not Given.] Alexander Miller, master, Robert Homes, mate, from [not given]; arr. [not given] at Boston. Cleared for Ireland (N. L. March 24-31, 1718; Rev. W. Homes in his Diary says sailed April 10th).
- [Name Not Given.] —— Gibbs, master, from Dublin; arr. May 16, at Marblehead (N. L. May 12–19, 1718). Irish and Scotch servants.
- William and Mary, ship, James Montgomery, master, from Ireland; arr. July 25, at Boston (N. L. July 21–28, 1718; also C. Mather). Cleared for Dublin (N. L. Aug. 25–Sept. 1, 1718).
- [Name Not Given.] John Wilson, master, from Londonderry; arr. July 28 ? at Boston (N. L. July 28-Aug. 4, 1718; also Lechmere). Boys, young women and girls.
- ROBERT, brigantine, James Ferguson, master, from Glasgow and Belfast; arr. Aug. 4, at Boston (N. L. Aug.

- 4-11, 1718; also Lechmere). Cleared (N. L. Aug. 18-25, 1718).
- WILLIAM, ship, Archibald Hunter, master, from Coleraine; arr. Aug. 4, at Boston (N. L. Aug. 4-11, 1718; also Lechmere). Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. Sept. 15-22, 1718).
- Mary Anne, ship, Andrew Watt, master, from Dublin; arr. August, at Boston (N. L. Aug. 4-11, 1718). Servants. Cleared for Great Britain (N. L. Aug. 18-25, 1718).
- DOLPHIN, pink, John Mackay, master, from Dublin; arr. Sept. 1, at Boston (N. L. Sept. 1-8, 1718; also Lechmere). 20 odd families. Servants, boys, tradesmen, &c.
- Maccallum, ship, James Law, master, from Londonderry; arr. Sept. 6 ? at Boston (N. L. Sept. 1-8, 1718; also C. Mather). Intended for New London. Went to the Kennebec. Cleared for Londonderry (N. L. Dec. 1-8, 1718).
- [Name Not Given. MACCALLUM?] Master not given. From Ireland; arr. Sept. at Casco Bay (N. L. Sept. 22–29, 1718). Passengers and a minister.
- Beginning, sloop, John Rogers, master, from Waterford; arr. Oct. at Boston (N. L. Oct. 27-Nov. 3, 1718).
- RETURN, schooner ?, Joseph Newall, master, from Glasgow; arr. Oct. at Boston (N. L. Nov. 17-24, 1718).
- MARY AND ELIZABETH, Alexander Miller, master, Robert Remes [Homes], mate, from Londonderry; arr. Oct. at Boston (N. L. Oct. 20-27, 1718; also Rev. W. Homes's Diary). Full of passengers. Cleared (N. L. Dec. 8-15, 1718).

- JOSEPH AND MARY, ship, Eben Allen, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. Dec. 8-15, 1718).
- GEORGE, snow, Grashinham Salter, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. Dec. 29, 1718-Jan. 5, 1719).

- Jane, ship, John MacMaster, master, from Glasgow and Belfast; arr. June 9, at Boston (N. L. June 8-15, 1719; Record Com. Rept. 13, p. 57). List of passengers warned, p. 57.
- [Name Not Given. Joseph?] Philip Bass, master, from Londonderry; arr. Aug. 21, at Kennebec River (N. L. Aug. 17-24, 1719). 200 passengers.
- GLOBE, ship, John Mackay, master, from Dublin; arr. Aug. at Boston (N. L. Aug. 10-17, 1719). Sundry servants.
- JOSEPH, ship, Samuel Harris, master, from Ireland; arr. Sept. ?, at Boston (N. L. Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1719). Six men and boys and one woman's time.
- MARY, schooner, Philip Rawlings, master, from Dublin; arr. Sept., at Boston (N. L. Sept. 21–28, 1719). Six weeks passage.
- Amsterdam, John Wakefield, master, from Ireland; arr. Oct., at Boston (N. L. Oct. 12–19, 1719).
- ELIZABETH, ship, Robert Homes, master, from Ireland; arr. Nov. 3 ?, at Hull and Boston. (Mass. Resolves, 1719, chapter 68.) About 150 passengers, some with smallpox. List of warnings (Record Com. Rept. 13, p. 63).

- [Name Not Given.] Dennis, master, from Ireland; arr. Nov., at Boston. List of persons warned. (Record Com. Rept. 13, p. 64).
- Mary and Abigail, Eben Allen, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. Nov. 30-Dec. 7, 1719).
- GRAY-HOUND, ship, Thomas Arnold, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston? Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. Jan. 5-12, 1719-20).

- [Name Not Given.] William Jarvis, master, from [not given]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Cleared for Ireland (N. L. April 4-11, 1720).
- Amity, James Goodman, master, from Cork; arr. April, at Boston (N. L. April 25-May 2, 1720). Outward bound (N. L. May 9-16, 1720).
- Joseph, Philip Bass, master, from [not given, Kennebec River?]; arr. [not given], at Boston. Outward bound for Ireland (N. L. May 5-9, 1720).
- MARGARET, Luke Stafford, master, from Dublin; arr. Aug. 4, at Marblehead (N. L. Aug. 1–8, 1720). Nine weeks voyage.
- [Name Not Given.] Benjamin? Marston, master, from Ireland; arr. Aug., at Salem (N. L. Aug. 22–29, 1720). Taken by pirates. Had several passengers.
- [Name Not Given.] Nathaniel Jarvis, master, from Ireland; arr. between Aug. 29 and Sept. 5, at Boston (N. L. Aug. 29-Sept. 5. 1720). See below.

- [Name Not Given.] Robert Homes, from Ireland; arr.

 Aug. 28, at Boston. (Rev. W. Homes's Diary.)

 Homes may have been mate to Jarvis above.
- RETURN, Jos. Newell, master, from Dublin; arr. Sept., at Boston (N. L. Sept. 5-12, 1720).
- Mary, schooner, Philip Rawlings, master, from Dublin; arr. Sept., at Boston (N. L. Sept. 21–28, 1720).
- Joseph, Philip Bass, master, from Ireland; arr. Oct., at Boston (N. L. Oct. 17-24, 1720).
- Essex, brigantine, Robert Peat, master, from Ireland; arr. July ?, at Salem (N. L. Oct. 17-24, 1720). Held up by Capt. Thomas Roberts, a pirate.
- Prosperity, Josiah Carver, master, from Ireland; arr. Nov., at Boston (N. L. Nov. 21–28).
- EXPERIMENT, George Read, master, from Londonderry; arr. Dec., at Boston (N. L. Dec. 5-12, 1720). Cleared for Ireland (N. L. Dec. 19-26, 1720).

APPENDIX II

THE PETITION TO GOVERNOR SHUTE IN 1718

The petition which now hangs in the rooms of the New Hampshire Historical Society at Concord can still be read, with the exception of a few names which have faded out since Mr. Parker, the historian of Londonderry, copied them in 1850. These are now given between brackets. The address occupies the top of the sheet, extending across its face. The words "To His Excellency the Right Honourable Colonel Samuel Suitte, Governour of New England-" do not fill an entire line, but are written large and are centred. The rest of the address reads: "We whose names are underwritten Inhabitants of ye North of Ireland Doe in our own names and in the names of many others our neighbours, Gentlemen, Ministers, Farmers and [End of line] Tradesmen, Commissionate and appoint our trusty and well beloved Friend The Reverend Mr William Boyd of Macasky to repair to His Excellency the Right Honourable [End of line] Collonel Samuel Suitte Governour of New England, and to assure His Excellency of our sincere, and hearty Inclinations to Transport our selves to that very excellent and [End of line] renowned Plantation upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable incouragement. And further to act, and Doe in our names as his Prudence shall direct. Given under [End of line] our hands this 26th day of March Annoq Dom. 1718."

Below this address are the autograph signatures, ar-

ranged in eight columns of equal length. Where Mr. Parker's rendering of a name differs from my own I have given Parker's form below in italics. A question mark indicates that although we may agree, the form is still open to question. An asterisk marks names beginning with a small written b. In these cases I read "Black," not "Clark," "Beverelle," not "Ceverelle," and "Blaire," not "Claire." My study of the petition has been aided by holding a negative photographic plate before a strong light. I am indebted for this negative to the kindness of Miss Edith Shepard Freeman, Librarian of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The names follow:

[FIRST COLUMN AT THE LEFT.] James Alexander James Nesmith David Craig Neall McNeall Weall McNeall Thomas Orr William Caldwell ?Jas Moore Jr ?Wm. Slamon Sam Gunion. Perfectly distinct. Looks like Siemon. Possibly for William Slemmons Matthew Love Lord Robrt Knox Alexdr McGregore

James Trotter

Robert Roe

Roo

Alexander McNeall

Joseph Watson Robert Millar John Smeally Much faded. John Morieson James Walker Robert Walker Robert Walker His Wilam × Calual mark Calwall. Difficult William Walker His mark Samuel X Young Alexander Richey James Morieson His mark Josheph × Beverlam His B mark Robert Crage John Thomson Thompson, Clear

Hugh Tomson James Still James Hoog Thomas Hanson John Hanson Ritchard Etone James Etone Thomas Etone Samuell Hanson James Cochran James Hulton Thomas Hultone Haseltone. Or ffultone John Cochrane William Cochrane His Samuel × Hunter mark [John Hunter] [SECOND COLUMN.] Thomas Hunter

His
Daniel × McKerrel
mark
ffergos Kenedey
Horgos (?)
His
?John × Setone

mark
Suene (?) Well written,

but elusive.

Adam × Dickey

His mark

Ditkoy

Alexander Kid

Thomas Lorie

Thomas Hines

Will × Halkins

mark

Georg Anton
John Colbreath

*William Baird
Caird
John Gray
?John Hostowne
Woodman (?) Last four
letters very clear.
Andrew Wattson
William Blair
Joseph Blair
His
Hugh × Blare
mark

mark
William Blare
Samuel Anton
James Knox
Robert Hendry
John Knox
William Hendry
William Dunkan
David Duncan
John Muree
Murray?
James Gillmor

James Gillmor
Samuel Gillmor
Alexander Chocran
Edward M Kene
John Morduck
His

?Samuel × McMun mark ?Molcam Calual Henry Calual Thomas McLaughlen Robert Hoog

Robert Hoog John Millar Hugh Calwell William Boyd John Stirling Samuel Smith John Lamond Robert Lamond Robert Knox Wm Wilson Wm Paterson

[THIRD COLUMN.]

Stephen Murdoch Robertt Murdoch John Murdoch William Jennson James Rodger John Buyers Robert Smith Adam Dean Randall Alexander Thomas Boyd Hugh Rogers John Craig Wm Boyle Benj Boyle Ja. Kenedy M'G. Stirling

A blot comes between the

M. and the S. Samuel Ross John Ramsay John McKeen James Willsone Robert McKeen John Boyd Andrew Dunlap James Ramsay William Park John Blair James Thompson

Lawrence McLaughlen

Will Campibell James Bankhead Andrew Patrick James McFee ?James Tonson Or Temen? Gorg Anton James Anton George Kairy Thomas Freeland

[FOURTH COLUMN.] Peter Simpson Thomas M'Laughlen Robert Boyd Andrew Agnew James King Thomas Elder Daniel Johnstone Robert Walker David Jonston James Steuart John Murray Thomas Blackwel Thomas Wilson John Ross William Johnston John King Andrew Curry ?John Leech

Parker omits. Looks like Jueeh. ?James Brighym Parker omits. Samuel Code *James Blak Thomys Gro Thomys Anton James Gro

*John Black Clark Thomas Boyd Andrew McFaden Thomas McFaden David Hanson Richard Acton *James Blaire Claire Thomas Elder *Jeremiah Blaire Claire *Jacob Black Clark Abram Bayerly [FIFTH COLUMN.] Robert Johnston Thomas Black Peter Murray John Jameson John Cochran Samuell Gonston

*James Barkley Carkley Laurence Tod Dod. ?Sandrs Mear

Thomas Shadev

Andrew Watson

James McKerrall

Hugh Stockman

Andrew Cochren

John Thonson

William Ker Thomas Moore

James Elder

John Jackson James Curry

?Gorg Gregory Parker omits. Samuel Smith Andrew Dodg James Forsaith Andrew Fleeming Gorge Thomson

James Acton

James Brouster Thomas Kengston Parker omits.

James Baverlay

[SIXTH COLUMN.] James Smith James Smith Patrick Smith *Sameuel Beverelle Ceverelle James Craig

Samuel Wilson, M. A. Gawen Jirwin Robert Miller Thomas Wilson William Wilson James Brice Ninian Pattison James Thompson Jon Thompson Robt Thompson Adam Thompson Alexander Pattison Thomas Dunlop John Willson David Willson

John Moor James McKeen John Lamont John Smith

Patrick Orr ?Boniel Orr William Orr John Orr Jeams Lenox John Leslie John Lason ?John Colvil Samuel Wat James Crafort James Henderson Matheu Slarroh David Widborn Luk Wat Robert Hendre William Walas Thomas Walas ?Thomas Enoch Cewch? William Boyd William Christy John Boyd William Boyd Hugh Ker

The last nineteen are possibly in one handwriting.

[SEVENTH COLUMN.]

Alexr McBride, Phar.

Bart. There never was
Baronet of this name.

Sam: McGivern
John Murdoch

Hurdoch

Geo Campbell
James Shorswood
John McLaughlen

Georg McLaughlen

Laurence McLaughlen

?John Hezlet Faded. George McAlester Thomas Ramadge James Campbell David Lindsay Robt Giveen James Laidlay Benjamen Galt Daniell Todd Robt Barr Hugh [Hollmes] Robt King John [Black] Thomas Ramsay James [Henry] Francis [Richie] James Gregg Robert Boyd Hugh Tarbel David Tarbel His John X Robb mark ?Peatter Fulltone Jeatter Fueltone. Possibly John Robt Wear [Alex'r Donnaldson] [Arch'd Duglass] [Robert Stiven] Robt [Henry] [James Pettey] David Bigger David [Patteson] ?David Mitchell

Parker omits.

John Wight

Joseph Wight
Robt Willson
James Ball
?Andrew Cord
Or Coxe?
James Nesmith
Peter Christy

[EIGHTH COLUMN.]

Jas Teatte, V. D. M.
Thos Cobham, V. D. M.
Robert Neilson, V. D. M.
Houston
Will: Leech V. D. M.

Houston
Will: Leech, V. D. M.
Robert Higinbotham, V. D. M.
John Porter, V. D. M.
Hen: Neille, V. D. M.
Tho. Elder, V. D. M.
James Thomson, V. D. M.
William Ker
Will: McClben
McAlben
Willeam Jeameson
Or Jennieson?

Wm Agnew

Jeremiah Thompson Jahon Andrson George Grege Andrew Dean Alexr Dunlop, M. A. Arch McCook, M. A. Alex'r Blair ?Boulonget Cochran Parker says B. Cochran. Fairly clear, but elusive. William Galt Peter Thompson Richart McLaughlen ?John Mccan Muar*John Black ?John Thompson Samuel Boyd John Mitchell James Paterson Joseph Curry David Willson Patrick Anderson John Gray

James Greg

APPENDIX III

Andrew McFadden's Transplanting from Garvagh in the County of Derry to Merrymeeting Bay in 1718

(Copied by Mr. John H. Edmonds from Supreme Court Files, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Vol. 895, p. 71)

Jane Macfadden of Georgetown about 82 Years of Age testifyeth and Saith that She with her late husband Andrew Macfadden lived in the Town of Garvo in the County of Derry on the ban Water in Ireland belonging to one Esqr Fullinton being a pleasant place and call'd Summersett and about Forty Six Years ago my Husband and I removed from Ireland to Boston and from Boston we moved down to Kennebeck-River and up the River to Merry-Meeting Bay and set down on a point of Land laying between Cathance River and Abagadussett River and opposite and a litte to the Northward of Brick Island So call'd and Said point was then call'd by every Body Cathance point at that day and by no other Name, and As my husband was aclearing away the Trees to Merry-Meeting Bay he Said it was a very pleasant place and he thought it was like a place call'd Summersett on the ban Water in Ireland where they lived and that he would give it the Name of Summersett after that in Ireland which he did and it hath gone by the Name of Summersett ever Since, which is now about Forty five Years ago and at that time there was No Settlement on Kennebeck-River above Arowswick Island excepting Our family and two more that she knew of and

there is a large Fish in Kennebeck-River call'd Sturgeon which Jumps plentifully in the Summer time from the Mouth of the River Kennebeck where it empty's it Self into the Sea Near Sequin Island clear up to Teconnett at Fort Hallifax where I have often been and there is a Number of Vessells which Yearly come to catch these Sort of Fish called Sturgeons and the general place where the Vessells lay is at the head of Arowswick Island about Twelve Miles . from the Sea, and Some Vessells lay at Merry-Meeting Bay to catch the Said Fish and the general place for catching Said Sturgeon Fish was in Long Reach and Merry-Meeting Bay there being the greatest plenty as I always understood and the Vessels that generally come for those Sturgion fish were Small Schooners and the Deponant further Saith that the Plymouth or Kennebeck Proprietors have made large Settlements on Kennebeck river and are still making them Continually-

JANE X MCFADDEN

Pounalborough June 19:th 1766-

APPENDIX IV

(A) Members of the Charitable Irish Society in Boston

Edward Allen, 1737; Edward Alderchurch, 1737; Joseph Austin, 1739; Robert Auchmuty, Esq., 1740; David Allen, 1740; Adam Boyd, 1737; Thomas Bennett, 1737; Michael Bourns, 1738; Samuel Black, 1738; George Boulton, 1738; Philip Breaden, 1739; John Beath, 1739; James Clark, 1737; John Clark, 1737; Alexander Caldwell, 1738; Andrew Canworthy, 1739; Thomas Cumerford, 1741; Robert Duncan, 1737; William Drummond, 1737; James Downing, 1737; George Draper, 1737; Samuel Douse, 1738; William Dunning, 1739; Peter Dillon, 1739; Henry Dunworth, 1739; Walter Dougherty, 1739; Hugh Dorus, 1739; James Dalton, 1740; William Davis, 1740; Michael Derby, 1740; James Egart, 1737; William Edgar, 1739; William Freeland, 1737; William French, 1739; George Ferguson, 1739; Patrick Fitzgibbon, 1739; Owen Fergus, 1739: John Farrel, 1740; Daniel Gibbs, 1737; George Glen, 1737; James Gardner, 1737; Michael Geoghegan, 1737; John Griffin, 1738; Joseph Gilmore, 1739; John Gradon, 1739; Robert Glen, 1741; William Hall, 1737, President; John Hoog, 1738; John Hutchinson, 1739; Andrew Holmes, 1739; John Harper, 1739; Frederick Hamilton, 1740; James Hughes, 1740; William Holmes, 1740; Andrew Knox, 1737; David Kennedy, 1737; Adam Knox, 1737; John Little, 1737; Joseph Lewis, 1738; Thomas Lawler,

1739; Daniel McFfall, 1737; James Mayes, 1737; Samuel Moore, 1737; Philip Mortimer, 1737; Patrick Motley, 1737; Thomas Molony, 1737; David Moore, 1738; John MacMurphy, 1738; Adam McNeil, 1738; James McCrillis, 1738; Thomas McDaniel, 1738; James McFaden, 1738; Lodowic McGowing, 1739; Michael Malcolm, 1739; John McCleary, 1739; John Moony, 1739; Rev. John Moorehead, 1739, here in 1727; Hugh McDaniel, 1737; David Miller, 1739; Samuel Miller, 1740; James McHord, 1740; Rev. William McClennehan, 1741; Archibald McNeil, 1743; William Moore, 1743; Neill McIntire, 1743, President; John Noble, 1737; Daniel Neal, 1737; James Nelson, 1738; Arthur Noble, 1740; Isaac Orr, 1737; Peter Pelham, 1737; John Poyntz, 1737; John Powers, 1739; William Patton, 1739; John Quig, 1738; Francis Richey, 1737, Vice-President; Kennedy Ryan, 1739; Joseph St. Lawrence, 1737; William Stewart, 1737; Samuel Sloane, 1738; Robert Sloane. 1738; William Sherrard, 1739; James Stet, 1739; Isaac Savage, 1739; David Stanley, 1741; Archibald Thomas, 1737; Patrick Tracy, 1737; William Toler, 1738; James Tabb, 1739; Robert Temple, Esq., 1740; John Thompson, 1740; John Tanner, 1741; Nathaniel Walsh, 1737; Patrick Walker, 1737; John Whitley, 1738; Peter Williams, 1738.

(B) Names of Fathers on the Presbyterian Baptismal Records in Boston, 1730–1736

Robert Patton, Andrew Simson, Daniel Camble, Robert Knox, Samuel Millar, Samuel Sloan, Patrick Camble, John Little, John McCurdy, William Hogg, James Moor, John Watts, James Crozier, Robert Rutherford, Robert Morton,

Samuel Smith, John Tom, Robert Kirkland, Alexander Wilson, John Young, Robert Hodge, William Shirlow, Elizabeth Hutchinson, William Patterson, Patrick Walker, Robert Wilson, William Camble, Francis Lee, James Maxwell, William Chessnutt, Jeramiah Smith, James MaClure, John Harper, David MaClure, James Tatt, James MacQuistion, Robert Speer, Allen Whippie, David MaClare, Roanald Stewart, John Smith, Henry Hodge, Rev. Mr. Moorhead, George Sinclair, Robert Knox, Thomas Mitchel, Robert Hodgen, John Gwinn, Andrew Knox, Andrew Nichols, Robert Dixon, Ephraim Kile, John MacDugall, John Pharr, Hugh Mickleravie, Robert Ross, Samuel MaClure, Abraham Aul, Charles MaClure, Marnaduck Black, John Quigg, William Bryant, William Cammeron, John Walker, William Hays, James Hart, William Micklevain, Edward Allen, Patrick White, John MaClure, Alexander Orr, James Mayes, Richard MaClure, William MaClinto, Duncan MaClane, Patrick Chambers, John Lough, Samuel Smith, John Fulton, John Karr, John Turk, Benjamin Frizwell, Robert Montgomery, Ezekiel McNichols, William Mickleroy, David Tweed, James Davidson, Henry Hodge, Samuel Karnachan, John Davis, John MacKachan, Daniel McNeal, John Watts, John Dicky, Robert Hill, William Lindsay, James Perry, Robert Speer, Robert Cunningham, John Jonston, Robert Burns, Henry Kelly, Robert Wilie, James Robinson, James MaCalan, Andrew Menford, Walter Topham, Alexander Watts, James Willis, David White, George Sinclair, Gawin Hemphill, James Baird, Michael Burns, James Tate, Archbald Tomb, James Hart, John Moor, James Gaudy, William Freeland, John Clerk, William Williamson, Robert Scott, William Dame, John

Lockhead, John MacKisick, Alexander Cumings, Robert Work, John Kerr, Samuel Gibson, Simon Eliot, Archibald Thomson, Thomas Harkness, William Harmon, William Moor, Thomas Brown, Gilbert Hides, George Hogg, Robert Dunlop, John Britton, James Cowan, Thomas Lawry, Thomas Boggle, James Carlile, Alexander MaClery, Hugh Gregg, John Kennedy, John Alison, Humphrey Caldbreath, James Long, John Bell, Robert Cuthbertson.

APPENDIX V

VITAL RECORDS OF TOWNS IN ULSTER, BEGUN BEFORE 1755

Birth, marriage and death records in Ulster at the time of the Protestant migration to America are very meagre. Those which relate to members of the Established Church rarely reach back to this period except in the large towns and cities, and facts concerning members of dissenting chapels are still less common. It must be said, however, that many dissenters were married and buried by the Episcopal rector or curate, to satisfy the law. For this reason, and because members of Presbyterian families not infrequently "conformed" in order to hold public office, the following list of vital records will be of service. It is from the Appendix to the 28th report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. An asterisk means that the records are in local custody. Italics indicate that the records are in the Public Record Office in Dublin.



Town	and County.	Vols.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burial.
*Antrim	Antrim	1	1000 1000	1700 1770	1800 1881
*Ardkoon	Down	2	1700-1755	1700-1756	1700-1754
Ardstran	Tyrone.	5	1746- 1728-	1746-	1746-
*Bailiebor	ough or	0	1120-	1743-	
Movh	olgue, Cavan	5	1744-	1744-	
Ballyphil	lip, Down	5	1745-	1744-	1745-
Belfast:	up, Down	0	1740-	1740-	1745-
	Anne, Shankill	26	1745-	1745-	1745-
Cannagh.	Tyrone	6	1758-	1758-	1758-
*Carrickfe	ergus, Antrim	7	1740-	1740-	1740-
Clondehor	ky, Donegal	6	1756-	1140-	1140-
Clonfeacle	, Tyrone	7	1743-	1761-	1736-
Clonleigh.	Donegal	6	1759-	1764-	1764-
*Coleraine		7	1769-	1769-	1769-
Comber .	;; • ; • ; • • • • • • •	5	1683-	1683-	1683-
*Derry Ca	thedral		2000	1000	1000-
(Temp	olemore)	19	1642-	1642-	1642-
*Derryagh	ley, Antrim	6	1696-1738	1696-1738	1696-1738
*Donagher	ndry, Tyrone	7	1734-1768	1.00	1000 1100
*Down, D	own	5	1750-	1752-	1752-
*Drumach	ose, Derry	6	1728-	1728-	1728-
*Dumglass	s, Tyrone	7	1600-?	1754-1766	1754-1767
*Drumhol:	m, Donegal	3	1691-	1691-	1691-
*Ematris.	Monaghan	7	1753-	1753-	1753-
Enniskille	n, Fermanagh.	10	1666-	1666-	1666-
*Glenavy.	Antrim	5	1707-	1813-	1707-
*Killeshan	dra, Cavan	5	1735-	1735-	1735-
*Killyman	, Tyrone	9	1741-	1741-	1741-
Kilmore,	Cavan	6	1702-	1702-	1702-
	Antrim	12	1639-1646 1661-	1661-	1661-
	Derry	4	1753-	1752-	1753-
*Lougheal	l, Armagh	7	1706-1729	1706-1729	1706-1729
*Magheraf	elt, Derry	6	1718-	1718-	1718-
*Magheral	in, Down	9	1692-	1692-	1692-
Mullaghbr	ack, Armagh	10	1737-	1737-	1737-
Newtown	ards, Down	10	1701-1736	1701-1736	1101-
*Saintfield	, Down	5	1724-1757	1734-1757	
			(1672-1731	1676-1731	1691-1731
*Seagoe, L	own	9	1735-	1735-	1735-
*Shankill.	Down	7	1681-	1676-	1675-
Tamlaght	ard, Derry	4	1747-	1747-	1747-
	, Dorrj	-	7121	1111-	1121-

APPENDIX VI

HOME TOWNS OF ULSTER FAMILIES, 1691-1718

Since the ministers of dissenting congregations had little or no legal standing during the earliest years of the emigration to New England their records of births, marriages and death do not appear to have been preserved, except in isolated cases. But the records of presbytery and synod were kept with great care, and the latter have been printed to the year 1820. They give the name of the ruling elder in each congregation for the year of the general synod, and often the names of commissioners sent to the synod to represent local interests. Names of witnesses in cases which came before the synod also help to establish the home towns of Presbyterian families. Names of Ulster towns are usually given here as they are spelled in the records. A complete list of Irish townlands was printed at Dublin in 1861 under the title "Census of Ireland. Index to townlands and Towns, Parishes and Baronies." meeting houses stood in the towns here given, but some parishioners lived in adjoining towns. The site of the meeting house and the bounds of each church's influence were subjects for contention at the meetings of presbytery and synod.

R. E. means Ruling Elder.

C. stands for Commissioner.

W. stands for Witness and P. means Petitioner.

The Cathedral records of Londonderry have been copied

from the supplement to Mr. Morrison's History of Windham. A few references to families may be found in the Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland. Additional information might have been gathered from the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

ACHESON, George, R E 1711 ACHINVOLE, Samuel, R E 1716 ADAIR, Alexander, C 1708 Robert, C 1709 Thomas, R E 1711 William, R E 1698 AGNEW, Alexander, R E 1706 Andrew, R E 1717 James, R E 1707 John, R E 1708, 15, 18 Mr William, C 1714 AIKEN, William, 1709 AITKEN, James, R E 1707, 11, 15 Ballinderry, Antrim ALLEN, Hector, R E 1706, 10, 12 Stonebridge, Monaghan James, R E 1697 John, R E 1694, 1704, 11, 12, 15 John, R E 1704 John, R E 1718 Patrick, C 1691, 1701 Robert, C 1718 Thomas, R E 1713 William, R E 1706 ALLISON, John, R E 1712 Thomas, bapt, 1663 ANDERSON, Archibald, R E 1717 Isaac, m. 1727 Margaret

Cochran

Samuel, R E 1710

James, R E 1710, 15

Donegal, Donegal Ballycarry, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Drogheda, Louth Sligo, Sligo Ballymena, Antrim Loughbrickland, Down Belfast, Antrim Ballymoney, Antrim Finvoy, Antrim Minterburn, Tyrone Ballycogly, Derry? Randalstown, Antrim Cairncastle, Antrim Ballykelly, Derry Randalstown, Antrim

Dunagor (Donegore, Antrim?) Garvachy, Down Corboy and Tully, West Meath Garvagh, Derry Donaghmore, Down Londonderry Fannet, Donegal

Londonderry Dunean, Antrim Ballymena, Antrim Andrews, Robert, C 1708

Mr Robert, R E 1712

Thomas, R E 1705

William, C 1708, 11

Belfast, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Ramelton, Donegal
Glen and Drumbanagher, Armagh

Arbuckle, James, R E 1703, 13, 16, C 1708

Arbeskin, Robert, R E 1709, 17

Armour, John, R E 1704

John, R E 1711

Armstrong, Andrew, R E 1707

George, C 1715

John, C 1708

John, R E 1708, 14

John and James 1681

John, R E 1708, 14 John and Janet, 1681 Joseph, bapt. 1711 Robert, C 1692

Robert, R E 1705 Thomas, R E 1707 Thomas, R E 1704 William, R E 1711

William, R E 1717 ATCHESON, George, R E 1709 AUSTIN, James, C 1706

Belfast, Antrim Strabane, Tyrone Dromore, Down Maghera, Derry Castledawson, Derry Monaghan, Monaghan Belfast, Antrim Cavanaleck, Tyrone Londonderry Londonderry Maghera, Derry Castledawson, Derry Ballybay, Monaghan Clogher, Tyrone Connor, Antrim Braid, Antrim Donegal, Donegal Coleraine, Derry

В

Bagnol, Mr Alexander, C 1718
BALLENTINE, James, C 1708
James, R E 1708, 9, 12, 16, 17
BANKHEAD, Hugh, C 1691, 1706,
R E 1698

Barber, Adam, R E 1706
David, R E 1706, 9
John, R E 1705

BARNET, John, married 1681 Katherine Gilpatrick John, 1709 Dublin Newry?, Down Newry, Down

Coleraine, Derry Markethill, Armagh Limavady, Derry Omagh, Tyrone

Londonderry Ballycogly, Wexford BARNET, Robert, R E 1697 Carnmoney, Antrim 1665. William. married Catherine Vance Londonderry BARR, Charles, of Raphoe, mar. Londonderry 1684, Janet Ramsey BATHO, John, of Derry m. 1701 Taughboyne, Donegal Ann Patterson Ballee, Down BAYLY, Alexander, R E 1710 ---, Mr., C 1717 Anahilt, Down BETY, James, R E 1712, 18 Anahilt, Down Richard, R E 1698 Richard, R E 1694 Thomas (Beatie), C 1712, 15 Ballinderry, Antrim Thomas, R E 1694 William, C 1692 William, R E 1714

Beggs, James, R E 1706, 9, 11, 14 Ballycarry, Antrim Bell, Alexander, R E 1711 Francis, R E 1710, 12, 14 Francis, C 1711, 14 James, R E 1711 Mr James, C 1717 John, R E 1694 John, R E 1698

John, C 1708

John, C 1708 Thomas and Jean, 1683 Thomas, 1709

William, R E 1694, 1705 Berry, Alexander, R E 1715

Thomas, R E 1704 Best, Thomas, R E 1706 BIDDELL, John, R E 1703 BIGGAR, Joseph, C 1708 BIGGOM, Hugh, R E 1715 BILLSLAND, John, R E 1711, 18 BIRNEY, Alexander, R E 1710

Antrim, Antrim Hillsborough, Down

Upper Killead, Antrim Derriloran, Tyrone Ballynahinch, Down William (Beatie), R E 1717 Comber, Down

Drum, Armagh Aughnacloy, Tyrone Aghaloo, Tyrone Comber, Down Antrim, Antrim Downpatrick, Down Ahoghill, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Londonderry

Ballyroney or Moneymore, Derry Tirkvillan, Derry? Carrickfergus, Antrim Saintfield, Down Galway, Galway Sligo, Sligo Monreagh, Donegal Belfast, Antrim Keady, Armagh Clough, Down Cavanaleck, Tyrone

Black, John, C 1708 Mr Samuel, C 1714, 15 Blackwood, John, R E 1706, 12,

16

Robert, R E 1716 BLAIR, Bryce, R E 1705, 8, 9, 15, C 1708

James, R E 1703

Blakeley, David, R E 1712 Bolton, James and Margaret,

1682

Bones, John, R E 1712 Boy, Francis, R E 1698

Boyp, Adam and Katreen, 1678

Archibald, R E 1698 David, C 1692

Hugh, R E 1708, 11

Hugh, C 1708 James, R E 1704

James, R E 1716 John, R E 1704, 7, 10, 11,

13, 14, 15 John, P 1706

John, R E 1706

John, R E 1709

Robert, R E 1703 Robert and Joanna, 1688

Samuel, R E 1716

Thomas, C 1710 Thomas and Jean, 1687

William, married 1658

Agnes Young

BOYLE, Henry, R E 1709 Thomas, R E 1713

Brady, William, R E 1711 Bralton, William, R E 1697

Bratton, John, C 1692

Brenan, Thomas, R E 1711, 15

Belfast, Antrim Monaghan

Bangor, Down Carrickfergus, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim Donegore, Antrim Holywood, Down

Londonderry
Donegore, Antrim
Burt, Donegal
Londonderry
Dervock, Antrim
Ballymoney, Antrim
Dervock, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Dervock, Antrim
Larne, Antrim

Brigh, Tyrone
Macosquin, Derry
Cookstown, Tyrone
Omagh, Tyrone
Ballymena, Antrim
Londonderry
Donaghmore, Down
Ballyhalbert, Down
Londonderry

Londonderry
Monreagh, Donegal
Islandmagee, Antrim
Ballyrashane, Antrim
Burt, Donegal
Taughboyne, Donegal
Carrickfergus, Antrim

BRISBIN, James, R E 1703 BRODLY, Mr., R E 1712 BROOMFIELD, William, R E 1707 BROWN, Charles, R E 1713

Francis, R E 1715 George, R E 1692 Hugh and Elizabeth, 1683 Hugh, R E 1713 Hugh, R E 1717 James, R E 1703, 4, 15 James, R E 1709 James, R E 1694, 1710 James, R E 1708 John, C 1692 John, R E 1704 John, R E 1713 John, R E 1714 Mr John, P 1716 Patrick, R E 1705 William, R E 1706, 10 William, R E 1708 William, R E 1711 William, R E 1711 William, R E 1714

Browster, James, R E 1708 Bryce, Edward, Esq., C 1708, 18 Bryson, Archibald, R E 1718

James, R E 1715
James, R E 1705
James, R E 1708
John, R E 1703
John, R E 1712
Mr John, C 1717
Thomas, R E 1704
Thomas, R E 1707
BURNSIDE, John, R E 1697
BUTTLE, David, C 1708
Mr George, C 1718
BYEBS, John, R E 1717

Cookstown, Tyrone Strabane, Tyrone Fintona, Tyron Braid, Antrim Glenarm, Antrim Drumall, Antrim Londonderry Downpatrick, Down Bangor, Down Braid, Antrim Ramelton, Donegal Connor, Antrim Donegal, Donegal Carrickfergus, Antrim Cookstown, Tyrone Limavady, Derry Killinchy, Down Dungannon, Tyrone Drum, Monaghan Moneymore, Derry Armagh, Armagh Aughnacloy, Tyrone Islandmagee, Antrim Armagh, Armagh Aghadowey, Derry Belfast, Antrim Stonebridge, Monaghan Connor, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Cookstown, Tyrone Moneymore, Derry Coagh, Tyrone Antrim, Antrim Randalstown, Antrim Lisburn, Antrim Clogher, Tyrone Belfast, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Clough, Down

 \mathbf{C}

CADERWOOD, Hugh, R E 1709,

• 17

Mr Hugh, C 1718 CAIRNS, William, C 1691

CALDWELL, David and Jean, 1683 Londonderry

James, R E 1703 John, R E 1692, 8 John, R E 1709

William, R E 1697

CALLY, John, R E 1703, 17 CAMOND, Archibald, C 1711

CAMPBELL, Alexander, R E 1694

Archibald and Janet, 1683 Cornelius, R E 1713

James, R E 1708 John, R E 1703, 4, 5

John, R E 1714

John, R E 1697, 1707 Jos., R E 1718

Matthew, R E 1697, 1706, 9

Patrick, R E 1704, 12

Robert, R E 1714

Robert, R E 1715

Thomas, R E 1705, 11, 13,

14

Thomas, R E 1706 William and Ann, 1683

CANNY, John, R E 1698

CABGILL, David, R E 1694, 1707,

CARLILE, William, C 1698

William, R E 1710 CARR, James, R E 1697

Carson, Andrew, R E 1704 John, R E 1705

John, R E 1708

Drum, Monaghan Cootehill, Cavan Clogher, Tyrone Londonderry

Larne, Antrim Cairncastle, Antrim

Ballindreat, Donegal Ballindreat, Donegal

Kilraughts, Antrim

Donaghmore, Down

Antrim, Antrim Londonderry

Londonderry

Ballyrashane, Antrim

Ballee, Down

Carnmoney, Antrim Magherally, Down

Cairncastle, Antrim

Killead, Antrim Dervock, Antrim

Dublin

Rathfriland, Down

Ballyrashane, Antrim

Ballybay, Monaghan Aughnacloy, Tyrone Londonderry

Ballynahinch, Down

Aghadowey, Derry Blarise, Down?

(south of Lisburn)
Newry, Down *
Minterburn, Tyrone

Ardstraw, Tyrone Cairncastle, Antrim

Ballyclare, Antrim

CARSON, Robert, R E 1697 Samuel, P 1718 Case, William, R E 1717 CHADS, Henry, R E 1692, 8, 1704, C 1708 Henry, Jr., C 1708 CHALMERS, Alexander, R E 1703 5, 15 Alexander, C 1711 David, R E 1697, 1709, 10 John, C 1711 John, R E 1705, 13, 18 John, R E 1706, 11 John, C 1708 Robert, R E 1705, 7, 14, 15 CHANCELLER, Robert, R E 1703 CHARTERS, John, W 1704 Robert, R E 1706 CHERRY, John, 1697 CLANDEVIN, James, buried 1675 CLANCY, William, R E 1708 CLARK, James, R E 1718 John, R E 1694, 8, 1714, 16 John, R E 1704, 7, 11, 17

John, R E 1694
Cochran, Captain, C 1714
John, R E 1703
Robert, R E 1710
Thomas, and Elizabeth,
1684

William, R E 1714 Clugston, James, R E 1697,

COLEMAN, David, R E 1707 COLTHEART, John, R E 1706 Michael, R E 1703, 5 COMACK, Mr John, C 1715 CONOLLY, James, C 1711 Strabane, Tyrone Dublin?
Boveva, Derry

Belfast, Antrim Belfast, Antrim

Tullylish, Down Drumbanagher, Armagh Cookstown, Tyrone Donaghcloney, Down Ballee, Down Tullylish, Down Belfast, Antrim Dromore, Down -Drumbo, Down Lisburn, Antrim Lisburn, Antrim Near Hillsborough, Down Londonderry Castlereagh, Down Randalstown, Antrim Lisburn, Antrim Ballee, Down Glenarm, Antrim

Clough, Down Clough or Drumca, Down Kinnaird, Tyrone
Garvagh, Derry
[Presbytery of Coleraine]

Londonderry
Donegore, Antrim
Carlingford, Louth
Ballywalter, Down
Moira, Down
Drumbanagher, Armagh

CORBET, Hugh, C 1713

CRAIG, David, R E 1692

Hugh, R E 1715

John, C 1710

John, R E 1717

John, R E 1716

Courses Archibold R E

CRAFORD, Archibald, R E
CRAWFORD, 1703, 10
John, R E 1710
Malcom, R E 1694, 98, 1704,
13, 18

Oliver, R E 1716
Robert, R E 1704, 10, 12
Thomas, merchant, 1701
Thomas, R E 1707
William, C 1694, 1708
William, R E 1704
William, R E 1709
CROOKS, John, R E 1712
CUDBERT, John, R E 1713

John, R E 1714 CUDDIE, Alexander, R E 1707,

9, 10 James, C 1715 Culton, James, R E 1711 Culverson, James, R E 1714 Cummin, Alexander, R E 1703 James, R E 1703

John, C 1715 Cunningham, Alexander, married 1681 Mary Rankin

Andrew and Mary, 1682 John and Grizell, 1705 John and Mary, 1684 Capt. Michael, R E 1704 Drummarah (near Dromore, Down)

Ballyclare, Antrim Macosquin, Derry Ballywalter, Down Cairncastle, Antrim Randalstown, Antrim

Ballycarry, Antrim Donegore, Antrim

Donegore, Antrim
Donagheady, Tyrone
Carrickfergus, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Omagh, Tyrone
Brigh, Tyrone
Dunmurry, Down
Killinchy, Down

Dungannon, Tyrone Moira, Down Minterburn, Tyrone Donaghmore, Down Monaghan Loughbrickland, Down Kilraughts, Antrim

Londonderry Londonderry Londonderry Londonderry Glendermot, Derry Curry, David, R E 1708 Hugh, R E 1714 John, R E 1707 Letterkenny, Donegal Ballymena, Antrim Comber, Down

D

DARRAGH, James, R E 1707 DAVIDSON, John and Mary, 1705 John, R E 1710 Robert, R E 1706 Robert, R E 1713 Thomas, R E 1718 Davis, Theoplihis, 1650 DAWSON, William, C 1692 DAYBURN, Archibald, R E 1706 DICK, Quintin, C 1715 William, R E 1706 Dickson, Thomas, R E 1703 William, R E 1715 DICKEY, Alexander, R E 1704 John, R E 1694, 8, 1704, C 1701 DINGMORE, Robert, C 1715 DINGWELL, John, C 1711 DINNISTON, John, R E 1698 DIXON, Hugh, R E 1710 Dobbin, Hugh, R E 1716 Donelson, Thomas, married 1725 Martha Parke

8, 16
DOUGLAS, Henry, C 1692
William, C 1712
DRAHAME, George, R E 1707
DRENAN, Archibald, R E 1716
DRENNAN, James, 1701
DUCHALL, Mr James, C 1718
DUGAN, James, R E 1712
William, R E 1718

Donnaldson, John, R E 1704,

Ardstraw, Tyrone
Londonderry
Benburb, Tyrone
Braid, Antrim
Rathfriland, Down
Urney, Tyrone
Londonderry
Carrickfergus, Antrim
Strabane, Tyrone
Ballymoney, Antrim
Randalstown, Antrim
Castlereagh, Down
Downpatrick, Down
Mourne, Down

Clare, Armagh Ballymoney, Antrim Congreg'n of Galway Ballindreat, Donegal Killinchy, Down Bailieborough, Cavan

Londonderry

Islandmagee, Antrim Lurgan, Armagh Narrow-Water, Down Newry, Down * Moneymore, Derry Session of Carmony Antrim, Antrim Lurgan, Armagh Markethill, Armagh DUNBAR, Andrew and Margaret, 1695 William, R E 1697 William, R E 1704 DUNCAN, Mr Anthony, C 1717 William, R E 1710 DUNLAP, Adam, R E 1718 DUNLOP, Allen, C 1694 James, R E 1694 Moses, R E 1703, 12, 15 Nathaniel, R E 1707, 8, 10 Mr Samuel, P 1716 William, R E 1692 William, R E 1704 William R E 1712 Dunn, James, 1709 Joseph, R E 1710, 13 Jorias, R E 1717 Peter, C 1698 Dunwoody, John, R E 1713 DYATT, Hugh, C 1708 DYKE, James, C 1709

Londonderry Ramelton, Donegal Donaghmore, Donegal Antrim, Antrim Fintona, Tyrone Keady, Armagh Ballymoney, Antrim Ballywalter, Down Aghadowey, Antrim Keady, Armagh Athlone, Roscommon Upper Killead, Antrim Limavady, Derry Keady, Armagh Inniskillen Randalstown, Antrim Randalstown, Antrim Down, Down Drumbo, Down Belfast, Antrim Moneymore, Derry

E

Eccles, Hugh R E 1703, 16
John, C 1708

Edgar, John, R E 1698
John, R E 1717
John, R E 1716

Edwards, George, R E 1713, 18
James, R E 1707
Thomas, Esq., R E 1717

Egelsham, Thomas, R E 1717

Eldar, Samuel, R E 1708
Thomas, R E 1716

Empill, James, R E 1697

Ennis, Josias, R E 1715

Espy, William, R E 1713

Ewart, George, R E 1705, 7, 15

Killead, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Moira, Down
Dunean, Antrim
Dunmurry, Down
Clare, Armagh
Castlereagh, Down
Castlederg, Tyrone
Connor, Antrim
Burt, Donegal
Ballyrashane, Antrim
Aghadowey, Derry
Donegore, Antrim
Cookstown, Tyrone
Clare, Armagh

FAIRISE, John, W 1704 FEE, John, C 1715 FENTON, William, R E 1705 Ferguson, Andrew, 1709 Gilbert, C 1715 Richard, R E 1718 Dr Victor, C 1708, R E 1710, 17 FERNE, Anthony, C 1708 FERNS, Samuel, C 1710 Mr William, C 1714 William, R E 1716 FERRON, William, R E 1704 FERRY, Robert, R E 1706 Samuel, R E 1715 FERRYS, John, R E 1704 FERYS, John, R E 1707 John, R E 1712 William, R E 1715 FETTYS, William, R E 1706 FINLAY, James, R E 1718 William, R E 1698 FINNIE, Robert, R E 1711 FISHER, James and Janet, 1661 James, R E 1707 John, R E 1698 John, R E 1707, 11, 16, 17, 18 FLECK, Hugh, 1709

FLEMING, John, R E 1698
FORBES, James, R E 1716
FOSTER, John, R E 1694, 1704
FRANCIS, John, R E 1718
FRASER, Mr James, R E 1717
FRISELL, Hugh, R E 1717
FULTON, Peter, R E 1704
William, R E 1704, 6, 9

F

Dunmurry, Down Monaghan Islandmagee, Antrim Drummullan, Derry? Moira, Down Lurgan, Armagh

Belfast, Antrim Summer-hill, Fermanagh? Summer-hill, Fermanagh? Kinnaird, Tyrone Glennan, Monaghan Minterburn, Tyrone Islandmagee, Antrim Islandmagee, Antrim Dunmurry, Down Enniskillen, Fermanagh Killeshandra, Cavan Ballynahinch, Down Downpatick, Down Carrickfergus, Antrim Sligo, Sligo Ballindreat, Donegal Londonderry Benburb, Tyrone Armagh, Armagh

Benburb, Tyrone
Achavan, Derry?
Ballyclare, Antrim
Ballee, Down
Ahoghill, Antrim
Bailieborough, Cavan
Loughbrickland, Down
Rathfriland, Down
Macosquin, Derry
Cardonagh, Donegal

G

GA, George, R E 1704, 12, 17 GALBREATH, Capt. Robert, C 1710

Capt. Robert, R E 1706, 9 GALLAND, Edward, R E 1706, 7, 13, 16

GALT, John, C 1691, 1709
Mr John, R E 1712
GARRAN, James, C 1691
GARVAH, John, R E 1710
GAWDIE, James, R E 1714
GAWDY, John, R E 1713
GELSOR, Alexander, R E 1714
GEMBLE, John, R E 1718

Peter, C 1715
Robert, R E 1714
Robert, R E 1718
GIBSON, James, R E 1705
GILLIS, Robert, R E 1718
GILMORE, Mr John, C 1714, 15
John, R E 1703
GIVAN, John, C 1715

Robert, C 1716 GLASGOW, George, R E 1713 James, R E 1698, 1703

James, R E 1705 GLEN, John, R E 1711 GORDON, Alexander, R E 1708,

18

John, R E 1706 John, R E 1711 John, R E 1705, 15 Rodger, R E 1698 Robert, R E 1705, 6 Robert, R E 1710 Samuel, R E 1705, 8, 15 GRACY, John, R E 1711 Downpatrick, Down

Summer-hill, Fermanagh? Killeshandra, Cavan

Finvoy, Antrim Coleraine, Derry Coleraine, Derry Maghera, Derry Ballyrashane, Antrim Newtownards, Down Drumbo, Down Donaghmore, Down Ballykelly, Derry Ballymoney, Antrim Donegore, Antrim Londonderry Clogher, Tyrone Islandmagee, Antrim Monaghan Rathfriland, Down ~ Kilraughts, Antrim Kilraughts, Antrim Keady, Armagh Randalstown, Antrim Dunean, Antrim Burt, Donegal

Ballycarry, Antrim
Larne, Antrim
Braid, Antrim
Maghera, Derry
Braid, Antrim
Castlereagh, Down
Loughbrickland, Down
Aughnacloy, Tyrone
Enniskillen, Fermanagh

Graham, John, C 1692 John, R E 1703 Richard, R E 1698, 1704, 7 Granger, Gawin, R E 1716 Thomas, R E 1706 GRAY, Alexander, of Taughboyne, married 1685, Alice Jamison Archibald, R E 1697 Gilbert, R E 1710, 13 John, C 1717 Greddin, Alexander, R E 1698, 1709 GREG, John, C 1708 Robert, R E 1705 Thomas, R E 1711 GRIER, Hugh, C. 1702 John, R E 1709, 14, 16 Timothy, C 1691 Grerson, Robert, C 1718

Maghera, Derry Clough, Antrim Monaghan Cushendall, Antrim Dunmurry, Down

Londonderry Ahoghill, Antrim Magherally, Down Antrim, Antrim

Corboy, West Meath
Belfast, Antrim
Enniskillen, Fermanagh
Cavanaleck, Tyrone
Brechy and Kells, Monaghau
Markethill, Armagh
Kinnaird, Tyrone
Kinnaird, Tyrone
Comber, Down
Ballykelly, Derry

\mathbf{H}

HALIDAY, Samuel, R E 1716
William, R E 1697, 8
HALL, Gilbert, R E 1704, 7
Mr Robert, C 1715
HAMILL, Neil, R E 1704, C 1715
HAMILTON, Andrew, R E 1708
Archibald, C 1699

GRIFFITH, John, R E 1697, 8

GUTRY, William, R E 1710

Capt. Gawin, C 1691 Henry, R E 1709 Hugh, W 1704 James, R E 1703 James, R E 1714, C 1715 Anahilt, Down
Glenarm, Antrim
Ballycarry, Antrim
Ballinderry, Antrim
Kilraughts, Antrim
Ramelton, Donegal
Killmakevet, Antrim
(north of Glenavy)
Tanoch-Neeve, Down
Ray, Donegal
Lisburn?, Antrim
Dundonald, Down
Holywood, Down

HAMILTON, John, C 1691 John, R E 1710 Mr John, C 1715 Robert, R E 1694

> Robert, R E 1708 Capt. Robert, C 1718 William, 1709

William, C 1710 HANDCOCK, Major Thomas, C 1704

Major ---, R E 1708, 11 Hanna, Alexander, R E 1705 HANNAH, John, R E 1703, 11 HANYNG, John, R E 1718 HARESHAW, James, R E 1718 John, R E 1711, 14 HARPER, John, C 1709 Robert, R E 1713, 17 HARVEY, John, C 1710 HASLETON, George, R E 1706, 15 Ballymena, Antrim HASTIE, John, R E 1715 HEMPHILL, James, R E 1713 HENDERSON, Archibald, R E 1715 Convoy, Donegal James, C 1715

HENRY, Alexander, R E 1703 Daniel, C 1691 Hugh, R E 1706 Hugh, R E 1709 James, R E 1706, 17 James, R E 1712 Mr James, C 1715 John, R'E 1704 Samuel, C 1717 HERE, Nicholas, C 1715

HERRON, Henry, C 1718

Tanoch-Neeve, Down Limavady, Derry Holywood, Down Kirkdonnell (Same as Dundonald, Down) Monaghan Drum, Monaghan Ballydally (Ballydawley, Derry?) Killyleagh, Down

Athlone, Roscommon Letterkenny, Donegal Loughbrickland, Down Dungannon, Tyrone Newry, Down Donaghmore, Down Loughbrickland, Down Coleraine, Derry Ahoghill, Antrim Londonderry Ballycarry, Antrim Macosquin, Derry Twenty-Quarter Lands (Near

Ballymoney) Newtownards, Down Maghera, Derry Aghadowey, Derry Bangor, Down Ballymoney, Antrim Castledawson, Tyrone Ballymoney, Antrim Dungannon, Tyrone Sea Patrick, Down Moira, Down Sea Patrick, Down

HERRON, Hugh, R E 1706 James, R E 1711 James, R E 1710 Samuel, W 1704, R E 1708 Samuel, R E 1706 Samuel, P 1716, C 1718 William, R E 1710 HEYLYN, Dominick, W 1707, 10 HILL, John, R E 1706 John, R E 1705 Joseph, R E 1718 William, C 1694 HINES, William, married 1649 Jane Morrison Hog, James, R E 1716, 18 James, C 1708 James, 1709 John, C 1691 HOLLAND, John, R E 1704, 8, 15 Stephen and Mary, 1703 HOLMES, James, R E 1711 Robert, R E 1707, 12, 17 Hood, or Hud, David, R E 1697. 8, 1706, 8 Hook, John, R E 1703, 6, 8, 10 Hopes, John, R E 1698, 1707, 8 HOPKIN, Robert, R E 1707, 12 Hopkins, Samuel and Elizabeth, 1696 HORNER, John, married 1683 Jean Morison Horsbrugh, John, R E 1712 John, R E 1712 Houston, James, R E 1707, 10 Thomas, R E 1714 William, R E 1697 William, C 1712

Magherally, Down
Newry, Down
Vinecash, Armagh
Lisburn, Antrim
Ballee, Down
Sea Patrick, Down
Minterburn, Tyrone
Macosquin, Derry
Dunean, Antrim
Braid, Antrim
Dunean, Antrim
Near Aghadowey, Derry

Londonderry
Coagh, Tyrone
Coagh, Tyrone
Ballygurch, Derry?
Derriloran, Tyrone
Killyleagh, Down
Londonderry
Clough, Antrim
Islandmagee, Antrim

Carrickfergus, Antrim Dromore, Down Ballywalter, Down Limavady, Derry

Londonderry

Londonderry
Ballycarry, Antrim
Omagh, Tyrone
Maghera, Derry
Ballyeaston, Antrim
Clough, Antrim
Ballymagra[an ?] Monaghan?
(Part of Aghaloo)

How, James, R E 1709
Howat, William, R E 1694
William, R E 1703
Hudson, James, R E 1694
Hume, John, R E 1706
Hunter, Andrew, C 1706, 9
Andrew, R E 1703
John and Elizabeth, 1683
John, R E 1706, 8
Thomas, R E 1703
Thomas, R E 1703
Thomas, R E 1717
Hutchen, Hugh, R E 1710
Hutcheson, James, R E 1718
Huy, Robert, R E 1709

Monaghan
Killinchy, Down
Comber, Down
Ballyclare, Antrim
Ballyeaston, Antrim
Coleraine, Derry
Ardstraw, Tyrone
Londonderry
Ballinderry, Antrim
Minterburn, Tyrone
Ballinderry, Antrim
Killead, Antrim
Ervey, Meath
Carnmoney, Antrim
Kilrea, Derry

Innis, Josias, R E 1706 Irwin, James, R E 1707 Thomas, R E 1710 William, C 1701 Ι

Donegore, Antrim
Killeshandra, Cavan
Killyleagh, Down
Ballynadrento (near Glenavy,
Antrim)

JA, George, R E 1716

JACK, Andrew and Eleanor,
1713

LACKSON, Gilbert, R E 1711

Jackson, Gilbert, R E 1711, 18
James, R E 1717
Peter, C 1699
Mr Thomas, C 1717

Jameson, John, R E 1709, 16
Marmaduke, R E 1692
Thomas, R E 1715

Jamison, John, R E 1697

Thomas, R E 1710
Johnson, Duncan, C 1708

J

Downpatrick, Down

Londonderry
Newtownards, Down
Larne, Antrim
Antrim, Antrim
Donegore, Antrim
Braid, Antrim
Anahilt, Down
Anahilt, Down
Coagh, Tyrone

Johnston, James, 1709
James, R E 1703, 11, 12, 16
James, C 1708
James, R E 1716
John, R E 1697, 1704
John, R E 1710
John, R E 1716
John, W 1708
Mr Thomas, C 1714
Thomas, C 1715
William, R E 1692
William, R E 1707
Capt. William, C 1717
Jones, Richard, R E 1713

Drummullen, Derry?
Armagh
Rathfriland, Down Ballyroney, Down Rathfriland, Down Strabane, Tyrone
Drumbo, Down
Belfast, Antrim
Trewgh, Monaghan
Ballinderry, Antrim
Broadisland, Antrim
Clough, Down
Antrim, Antrim
Glendermot, Derry

K

Kell, James, R E 1718 Kelso, Henry, W 1706 John, R E 1717 KENKIN, Richard, C 1708 Kennedy, Alexander, R E 1709 Arthur, Esq., C 1715 Arthur, R E 1713 16 David, R E 1698 David, R E 1703 David, R E 1712 Horace, C 1710 Hugh, R E 1711 James, C 1691 James, R E 1703, 6, 8, 12 James, R E 1706 James, R E 1709 James, R E 1718 Mr Jon., C 1715 Joseph, R E 1718 Thomas, R E 1717 William, R E 1705 William, R E 1709, 10

Vinecash, Armagh Raphoe, Donegal Templepatrick, Antrim Coagh, Tyrone Londonderry Holywood, Down Holywood, Down Clough, Down Killyleagh, Down Cushendall, Antrim Londonderry Kilrea, Derry Clogher, Tyrone Donaghadee, Down Dublin Clogher, Tyrone Rathfriland, Down -Holywood, Down Ballyroney, Down -Ballynahinch, Down Belfast, Antrim Castledawson, Tyrone

Kennedy, Mr William, C 1717 KEYS, Roger, R E 1713 KER, Hugh, R E 1705 James, R E 1705 James, R E 1709 John, married 1683 Mary McCalam Moses, C 1698 Robert, R E 1708, 10, 16 William, R E 1712 KILGOUR, James, R E 1707 KINEAR, Mr John, C 1717 King, James, R E 1711 Robert, R E 1698 Robert, R E 1705 William, R E 1718 KINKEAD, James and Mary, 1705 KINLY, Daniel, W 1704, R E Kniven, William, R E 1697 Knox, Alexander, R E 1705, 7, 12, Cookstown, Tyrone KYLE, Jon., 1714

Antrim, Antrim Ballindreat, Donegal Clogher, Tyrone Minterburn, Tyrone Donagheady, Tyrone

Londonderry Donaghcloney, Down Larne, Antrim Tullylish, Down Donagheady, Tyrone Antrim, Antrim Dunmurry, Down Ballyeaston, Antrim Randalstown, Antrim Fintona, Tyrone

Londonderry

Lisburn, Antrim Glendermot, Derry Belfast, Antrim Tanoch-Neeve, Down

Londonderry

 \mathbf{L}

LADLEY, Joseph, R E 1718 LAMOND, Andrew, R E 1711 John, C 1715 (See also Camond) LAPSLEY, John, R E 1709 LAWRENCE, James, R E 1716 LAWRIE, Andrew, R E 1714 LAWRY, John, R E 1708

Robert, C 1691

William, married 1684 Mary Gee

> Brigh, Tyrone Donaghadee, Down Ballymoney, Antrim

Glenarm, Antrim Maghera, Derry Ballee, Down Donagheady, Tyrone Lawson, Alexander, R E 1712, 14, 16 John, R E 1713

LAYON, Joseph, R E 1706 LEATHS, Randal, R E 1710 LEMAN, James, C 1715 LENNAN, John, R E 1697 LENNOX, Mr Robert, C 1708, 9,

18

LENOX, Mr John, C 1712 LERNAN, Matthew, C 1691 LESSLY, John, R E 1692 LESTER, George, R E 1698 LIGAT, Alexander, R E 1711 John, C 1691 Jo., R E 1694.

LINDSEY, Alexander, 1727 Mr John, R E 1712, 15 John, R E 1714 John, R E 1714

LINTON, Robert, R E 1711, 14,

Robert, C 1712 Liston, John, R E 1714 LITTON, Christopher, R E 1705 LIVINGSTON, William, R E 1697 LOGAN, Hugh, R E 1716 John, R E 1697 Logh, John, R E 1704 John, R E 1709

LOGHRIDGE, John, R E 1705 LORD, Mr John, C 1718

LORIMER, Andrew, R E 1712, 15 James, R E 1704, 16

Love, John, W 1704 John, C 1715 Robert, C 1692

Lowse, Hugh, R E 1714

Drum, Monaghan Coagh, Tyrone Ramelton, Donegal Islandmagee, Antrim Moira, Down Limavady, Derry

Belfast, Antrim Londonderry Maghera, &c., Derry Coleraine, Derry Newry, Down Glenarm, Antrim Coleraine, Derry Coleraine, Derry Londonderry Monreagh, Donegal Carnmoney, Antrim Cushendall, Antrim

Carlingford, Louth Narrow-Water, Down Newry, Down Dublin Ballynahinch, Down Braid, Antrim Braid, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Templepatrick, Antrim Aghadowey, Derry Dublin Randalstown, Antrim Ballyclare, Antrim Coleraine?, Derry Ballymoney, Antrim Ballymoney, Antrim

Templepatrick, Antrim

Luke, John, R E 1705 Lyle, James, R E 1712, 15 Thomas, C 1708 Lyn, John, R E 1708 Lynd, Adam, R E 1713 Bangor, Down Larne, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Ballykelly, Derry Cookstown, Tyrone

M

McALEXANDER, Mr Daniel, C 1718 McAllister, Alexander and Ann, 1725 McAlpin, James, C 1710 McBride, Andrew, R E 1694 McCala, John, R E 1703 Mr, R E 1714 McCall, James, R E 1716 John, R E 1706 C 1706 McCane, Alexander, C 1709, R E 1715 Robert, R E 1716 McCartney, Alexander, R E 1717 George, C 1708 Isaac, C 1708, 18, R E 1709, 16 McClane, John, R E 1718

McClatchy, James, R E 1711
James, C 1717
McClellan, James, R E 1708
James, C 1718 (June)
John, R E 1706
John, R E 1710
McClinsky, William, R E 1708,

16
McClure, James, R E 1705, 12
James, R E 1710
James, C 1712

Cootehill, Cavan

Londonderry
Killyleagh, Down
Rathfriland, Down
Finvoy, Antrim
Billy, Antrim
Keady, Armagh
Lurgan, Armagh

Moneymore, Derry Dervock, Antrim

Killinchy, Down Belfast, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim
Castlereagh, Down
Markethill, Armagh
Magherally, Down
Loughbrickland, Down
Magherally, Down
Maghera, Derry
Killeshandra, Cavan

Ballynahinch, Down Markethill, Armagh Ballinderry Antrim Glenavy, Antrim McComb, Alexander, R E 1707 McCome, Hugh, R E 1716 James, R E 1713 McComphy, Edward, R E 1692 McConchy, George, R E 1717 James, C 1715 Robert, C 1694 William, R E 1705 William, R E 1708 Mr William, C 1717 McConnell, James, R E 1715, 18 McCord, James, 1709 Thomas, 1709 McCormick, Andrew, R E 1708 Hugh, R E 1703 John, R E 1703, 7 William, R E 1708 McCracken, William, P 1711 McCrea, James, R E 1703 McCreigh, David, R E 1708 John, R E 1703 John, 1709 McCrery, William, R E 1718 McCullogh, David, R E 1714 Fergus, R E 1709 Henry, 1708 James, R E 1706 John, R E 1692 John, R E 1705 John, R E 1708, 10 John, R E 1718 Robert, R E 1708 Robert, R E 1703 William, R E 1712 McCully, Thomas, R E 1692 McCutchen, James, R E 1711,

15

Portaferry, Down
Portaferry, Down
Minterburn, Tyrone
Lisburn, Antrim
Moneymore, Derry
Monaghan
Armagh, Armagh
Ballyeaston Antrim
Ballymena, Antrim
Antrim, Antrim

Comber, Down "In the Moor" Edruna, Derry? Carnmoney, Antrim Portaferry, Down Ballyclare, Antrim Clough, Down Letterkenny, Donegal Ray, Donegal Moneymore, Derry Ballybay, Monaghan Drumady, Derry? Bangor, Down Carrickfergus, Antrim Minterburn, Tyrone Belfast, Antrim Ballynahinch, Down Broadisland, Antrim Ballycarry, Antrim Ballybay, Monaghan Larne, Antrim Carlingford?, Louth Vinecash, Armagh Rathfriland, Down-Ballyeaston Antrim

Portaferry, Down

McCutchen, William, R E 1706 Corboy, West Meath McDonnell, Robert, R E 1717,

18

McDowell, Daniel, R E 1717 John, R E 1713 McDug, Robert, R E 1713 McElwayne, John, R E 1710, 12, 18

William, R E 1697 McEntyr, Robert, R E 1705 McFarlin, John, R E 1716 McFedrick, Gilbert, R E 1710 McFerran, Patrick, C 1714, 18 McFrudin, Gib., R E 1697 McGahy, Samuel, R E 1718 McGarroch, John, R E 1716 McGAU, Richard, 1709 McGee, John, R E 1710, 16 McGennis, Glassny, P 1712 McGie, Hugh, R E 1717 McGILL, Hugh, C 1710

James, C 1718 Mr John, C 1713, R E 1712, 13, 16

John, Esq., 1708 John, R E 1710 McGlahry, Andrew, R E 1718 McGown, Cornet Alexander,

C 1715

Hugh, R E 1704, 13, 14, 16 McGuffock, Fergus, C 1714 McGusty, David, R E 1709 McIlwain, Andrew and Katherine, 1726 McKa, John, R E 1717, 18 MacKee, David, married 1665 Margaret Patterson James, R E 1707

Portaferry, Down Markethill, Armagh Newry, Down Castledawson, Tyrone

Braid, Antrim Moneymore, Derry Donagheady, Tyrone Badoney, Tyrone Ballymoney, Antrim Breaky, Monaghan? Ballymoney, Antrim Killinchy, Down Comber, Down Ballynarga, Tyrone Clough, Down Newry, Down Donaghmore, Down Ballywalter, Down Girvachy, Down?

Dromore, Down Rathfriland, Down -Ballyeaston, Antrim Glennan, Monaghan

Ballymoney, Antrim Donaghadee, Down Minterburn, Tyrone Enniskillen, Fermanagh

Londonderry Glenarm, Antrim

Londonderry Drumbo, Down MACKEE, James, R E 1709 John, R E 1694 John, R E 1694 John, 1709 William, R E 1711 McKelly, Daniel, C 1694 McKenry, William, R E 1703 McKewn, Alexander, R E 1709 MACKEY, John, R E 1703 MACKY, Alderman, C 1716 McKibbin, Hugh, R E 1713 James, R E 1707, 12 McKinly, Patrick, R E 1705 McKitrick, John, C 1704 John, R E 1710 McKnaight, James, C 1698 James, R E 1703 John, W 1704 William, R E 1703 McKneely, John, R E 1715 McMaighan, William, R E 1711, C 1712, 15 McMaster, Mr George, C 1717 John, R E 1692, C 1717 John, R E 1705 McMullen, John, 1708 Mr Robert, R E 1712, 14, 15, Ballyroney, Down William, 1709 McMurdy, Hans, C 1718 McMurran, Mr William, C 1716 Monaghan McMurray, John, R E 1710 John, R E 1712 Robert, R E 1711 McNedny, Robert, R E 1715 McNeil, C 1718 Capt., C 1713, R E 1716 John, C 1708 McQuistin, David, R E 1710

Ballydally, Derry? Moneymore, Derry Maghera, Derry Ballygurch (Ballygurk, Derry?) Ballywalter, Down Near Aghadowey, Derry Carrickfergus, Antrim Moneymore, Derry Ramoan, Antrim Londonderry Newry, Down Loughbrickland, Down Ballyclare, Antrim Kirkdonnell, Down Cushendall, Antrim Down Downpatrick, Down Lisburn, Antrim Moira, Down Bailieborough, Cavan

Moira, Down Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Donegore, Antrim Rathfriland, Down-Millinaho, Derry? Sea Patrick, Down Comber, Down Ballee, Down Ballyroney, Down Castledawson, Tyrone Belfast, Antrim Dundalk, Louth Coagh, Tyrone Enniskillen, Fermanagh

APPENDICES

McRobert, Andrew, R E 1717 McTyre, Andrew, R E 1707 MAGEE, James, R E 1708 MAGLAGHLIN, Robert, R E 1704 MAHAFFY, Hugh, R E 1709 MAINS, John, R E 1712 John, R E 1714 MAIRS, David, C 1715 MAITHLAND, Alexander, R E 1704, 16 MAN, John, R E 1714 Marshall, Mr Hugh, R E 1712 James, C 1691 Walter, R E 1713 MARTIN, Alexander, R E 1710 Colin, R E 1709 Daniel, R E 1710 David, R E 1710 James, R E 1711, 12, 13 James, R E 1715, 17 John, R E 1705 John, 1705 William, R E 1706 MASKIMINE, John, R E 1708 MATHEW, John, R E 1705

MAXWELL, Andrew, R E 1704 Andrew, C 1708, R E 1711 Arthur, R E 1706, 8, 10,

MATHY, William, R E 1694 MATIRE, Maurice, R E 1706

11, 12
Arthur, C 1712
William, R E 1705
MENZIES, Adam, R E 1708
MERCER, John, R E 1697
John, R E 1703
Thomas, R E 1697
METCALF, Mr George, R E 1709,

Kilmore, Down
Cardonagh, Donegal
Dunmurry, Down
Clough, Antrim
Ballybay, Monaghan
Saintfield, Down
Clough, Down
Ballinderry, Antrim

Enniskillen, Fermanagh Islandmagee, Antrim Clough, Down Taughboyne, Donegal Londonderry Omagh, Tyrone Killinchy, Down Markethill, Armagh Ballynahinch, Down Carnmoney, Antrim Castlereagh, Down Lisburn, Antrim Drumbo, Down Belfast, Antrim Downpatrick, Down Dunmurry, Down Glenarm, Antrim Cavanaleck, Tyrone Ballynahinch, Down Belfast, Antrim

Drumbo, Down
Ballinderry, Antrim
Strabane, Tyrone
Stonebridge, Monaghan
Killead, Antrim
Dunmurry, Down
Enniskillen, Fermanagh

Dublin

METCH, Mr, R E 1712 MILES, William, R E 1703 MILLAR, David, R E 1704, 16 John, R E 1712, 14 Mr John, C 1717 Robert, R E 1709 Robert, R E 1717 MILLIKEN, Robert, C 1708 Thomas, R E 1707, 18 MILLING, Archibald, R E 1715 Mills, Daniel, R E 1703, 5, 10 John, R E 1703 MITCHELL, Alexander, 1709 David, C 1691 James and Jane, 1686 John, R E 1692, 1710, 13, C 1705 John and Esther, 1686 William, R E 1718 Montgomery, Francis, C 1711 John and Joanna, 1682 John, R E 1717 Nathaniel, R E 1704, 7, 13, Monypenny, Robert, C 1708

Moore, Adam, R E 1717
Alexander, C 1708
David, R E 1708
Francis, R E 1710, 17
Mr Francis, C 1718
Hugh, R E 1707
John, C 1694
John, R E 1703
John, R E 1705
John, 1706 (brother-in-law of John Whitehead; Barbary captive)

Moodie, John, R E 1714, 16

Cavanaleck, Tyrone
Anahilt, Down
Aghadowey, Derry
Ballyclare, Antrim
Antrim, Antrim
Fintona, Tyrone
Ballykelly, Derry
Belfast, Antrim
Ballynahinch, Down
Donaghadee, Down
Dublin
Macosquin, Derry
Liscasy, Tyrone
Donaghmore, Tyrone
Londonderry

Glenarm, Antrim Londonderry Belfast, Antrim Cong'n of Galway Londonderry Donegore, Antrim

Tullylish, Down
Dundalk, Louth
Clare, Armagh
Ballyeaston, Antrim
Belfast, Antrim
Cairncastle, Antrim
Ballyroney, Down
Magherally, Down
Omagh, Tyrone
Aghadowey, Derry
Aughnacloy, Tyrone
Macosquin, Derry

Coleraine, Derry

Moore, John, C 1711 John, R E 1712 John, R E 1713 John and Ann, 1699 John, married Elizabeth Morrison, 1701 Patrick, R E 1708 Robert, R E 1697, 8 Robert, R E 1704, 8 Mr Robert, C 1714 Mr Robert, C 1718 Samuel, R E 1708 Thomas, R E 1707 Thomas, R E 1709 William, R E 1709 William, C 1706, 12, R E 1710, 12, 17 William, R E 1710, 12, C 1715 William, C 1712 MOORHEAD, Thomas, R E 1716 William, C 1694 Morehead, William, R E 1709 Morrison, James, R E 1714 James and Mary, 1701 Mr Joseph, C 1712, 16 Robert and Ann, 1683 Robert, R E 1709 Morson, James, R E 1698 MUNDALE, William, R E 1698 MURDOGH, James, R E 1704 James, R E 1712 MURPHY, Daniel, C 1708 MURRAY, Horas, R E 1706 James, R E 1707 James, R E 1713

William, R E 1711

Aghaloo, Tyrone Newtownards, Down Ballycarry, Antrim Londonderry

Londonderry
Fintona, Tyrone
Killyleagh, Down
Monreagh, Derry
Ballymagraan?
Drum, Monaghan
Maghera, Derry
Ramelton, Donegal
Urney, Tyrone
Ray, Donegal

Moira, Down

Clough, Antrim Ballymagraan? Ballywalter, Down Killinchy, Down Ardstraw, Tyrone Macosquin, Derry Londonderry Londonderry Londonderry Ballykelly, Derry Donaghmore, Donega Dunean, Antrim Ballymena, Antrim Maghera, Derry Dundalk, Louth Minterburn, Tyrone Newtownards, Down Comber, Down Larne, Antrim

N

Neil, Daniel, R E 1715 Robert, R. E 1717 Neilson, Alexander, R E 1707 Robert, R E 1694, 1707 Robert, R E 1697, 8 William, R E 1704 NESBIT, John, R E 1703, 5, 6 Nathan, C 1718 Richard, R E 1713 NESMITH, James, married Jane Bennumas, 1659 NEVIN, Andrew, R E 1697, 1706 William, C 1691 Norton, Mr. Richard, C 1718 Nutt, Robert, R E 1698, 1709

Bangor, Down Cushendall, Antrim Dunean, Antrim Larne, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Ervey, Meath Ban Breaky, Monaghan? Donagheady, Tyrone

Londonderry Ballyclare, Antrim Glendermot, Derry Dublin Glendermot, Derry

0

O'CAHAN, John, R E 1704, 13 O'NEILL, John, Esq., P. 1717 ORR, Abel, R E 1711 David and Isabel, 1683 James, R E 1710 James, R E 1712 John, R E 1708 John, R E 1714 Mr Patrick, C 1715 OUGHTERSON, John, C 1711 OUSTEAN, James, C 1691 OWENS, Hugh, R E 1709 14, 16, 18 Connor, Antrim

Maghera, Derry Shane's Castle, Antrim Dublin Londonderry Mourne, Down Comber, Down Boveva, Derry Drumbo, Down Clough, Antrim Drumbanagher, Armagh Coleraine, Derry

P

PAGE, John, R E 1716 PARK, Andrew and Jane, 1704 John, R E 1713, 15 Robert and Mary, 1697

Armagh? Londonderry Ballyclare, Antrim Londonderry,

PARKER, John, R E 1716 Samuel, R E 1712 PATERSON, Arthur, R E 1704 Arthur, R E 1709 David, R E 1711 Garvin, R E 1707, 11, 13, 14, Killyleagh, Down John, R E 1694 John, R E 1697 John, R E 1707 John, R E 1708, 18 John, C 1708 John, R E 1708, 14 John, R E 1711, 15 John, married Margaret King, 1681 John and Anne, 1695 Peter, R E 1706 Robert, R E 1715 Samuel, R E 1703 Walter, C 1691 Walter, R E 1707 PATON, John, R E 1715 Joseph Donagh, parish married 1699, Mary Mc-Gillharan Thomas, R E 1707 PATRICK, Robert, R E 1697 PAXTON, James, R E 1713 Thomas, C 1713 PEACOCK, Doctor, C 1708, 9, R E 1710 PIKAN, Andrew, R E 1704 PINKERTON, John, married Eliza-

beth Graham, 1684

Pollock, Charles, R E 1706

William, R E 1717

PORTER, Alexander, R E 1704

PIPER, Hugh, R E 1718

Dunean, Antrim Connor, Antrim Ray, Donegal Burt, Donegal Monreagh, Donegal Newry, Down Dunpatrick, Down Carrickfergus, Antrim Dungannon, Tyrone Elden-derry, Armagh? Tullylish, Down Lurgan, Armagh

Londonderry Londonderry Kilraughts, Antrim Billy, Antrim Ballywillan, Antrim Taughboyne, Donegal Monreagh, Donegal Ballykelly, Derry

Londonderry Urney, Tyrone Ardstraw, Tyrone Ballyroney, Down -Monaghan

Belfast, Antrim Donagheady, Tyrone

Londonderry Winterburn, Tyrone Donagheady, Tyrone Dunmurry, Down Comber, Down

PORTER, Andrew, R E 1711 James, R E 1703 James, R E 1705 James, R E 1709 James, R E 1716 John, R E 1716 Mr William, C 1715 Potts, Mr David, C 1716 John, R E 1717 Thomas, R E 1715 Pringle, Alexander, C 1714 Hugh, R E 1710 Purly, Thomas, R E 1708 Ballyclare, Antrim Burt, Donegal Magherally, Down Loughbrickland, Down -Ballindreat, Donegal Dromara, Down Monaghan Monaghan Letterkenny, Donegal Cushendall, Antrim Kinnaird, Tyrone Drum, Monaghan Magherally, Down

Q

Quigley, John and Mary, 1618 Londonderry

R

RAINEY, Hugh, R E 1698, 1704 James, R E 1694, 7 John, C 1708 John, R E 1714 Robert, R E 1706, 9, 11 Mr Robert, Sr., C 1717 Mr Robert, Jr., C 1717 William, R E 1697, 1711 William, Sr., C 1708 William, Jr., C 1708 RAMAGE, John, R E 1711 RAMSEY, James, married Martha Henderson, 1685 RANDLE, John, R E 1705 RANKIN, James, married Constance McCormen, 1699 John, married Martha Kinkead, 1703 Richard, 1709 Tomlin and Eleanor, 1683

Castledawson, Tyrone Dunean, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Castledawson, Tyrone Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Glendermot, Derry Londonderry Monaghan

Londonderry

Londonderry Tirkvillan, Derry? Londonderry

APPENDICES

RAWLSTON, Robert, R E 1707 REA, James, C 1692 READ, George, parish Dunboe, married Janet Skewin.

1684

Samuel, R E 1703

REDMAN, ----, 1697

Moses, 1709

REID, Henry, R E 1718

Hugh, R E 1704 Hugh, R E 1705

James, C 1694, R E 1707

John, R E 1694, 1714 John, R E 1705

John, R E 1709

John, R E 1716 Samuel, R E 1707

Thomas, R E 1715, 18

Thomas, C 1715 William, R E 1704, 10, 13

RELY, Myles, R E 1707 RIDDEL, Robert, R E 1698

RITCHIE, Daniel, R E 1715 RITCHY, James, R E 1707

Robb, Alexander, R E 1710, 13 Robertson, John, R E 1698

Robinson, George, R E 1709 Robert, R E 1708 Thomas, R E 1708

Hugh, R E 1710 RODGER, James, R E 1703

Rogers, Robert and Abigail, 1703 Londonderry William, C 1708

Rolan, Claud, 1709 Ross, Alexander, R E 1704

James, R E 1710 James, P 1712

John, R E 1716, 17

Robert, C 1691

Aughnacloy, Tyrone Moneymore, Derry

Londonderry Kilrea, Derry

Near Hillsborough, Down

Edruna, Derry? Donaghadee, Down Ballywillan, Antrim Cavanaleck, Tyrone

Armagh

Braid, Antrim Portaferry, Down Carlingford, South

Loughbrickland, Down Kilrea, Derry

Ballywillan, Antrim Ballymoney, Antrim

Portaferry, Down Lurgan, Armagh Urney, Tyrone

Templepatrick, Antrim Randalstown, Antrim Saintfield, Down

Dunmurry, Down Newtownards?, Down

Glendermot, Derry

Benburb, Tyrone Glendermot, Derry

Omagh, Tyrone

Belfast, Antrim

Ballynahone, Derry? Bangor, Down

Finvoy, Antrim

Derry

Ballymena, Antrim Tanoch-Neeve, Down ROSSBOTHOM, Matthew, R E 1697 Lisburn, Antrim RUSSEL, George, R E 1706 Carnmoney, Antr

James, R E 1698 James, C 1715

John, R E 1707 John, R E 1709

William, R E 1711 RUTHERFORD, Elias, R E 1716 Carnmoney, Antrim Dundonald, Down Holywood, Down Boyeva, Derry Castlereagh, Down Letterkenny, Donegal Ballybay, Monaghan

S

Scor, George, R E 1716 Hugh, R E 1711

James, R E 1717 Matthew, R E 1705, 7, 10

Patrick, R E 1717 Thomas, R E 1718

William, R E 1703 William, R E 1711

SEAWRIGHT, Gilbert, R E 1715 SELKIRK, William, R E 1694 SHARP, Nicholas, C 1708

SHARPES, William, C 1708 SHAW, George, R E, 1717

Capt. John, R E 1708, C

1717, 18

Mr John, C 1712, 18 Mr Patrick, C 1712 William, C 1691

William, C 1699

William, R E 1705 Capt. William, R E 1715

Col. William, C 1717, 18 William, Esq., R E 1707, 12,

C 1712

SHENNAN, James, R E 1698 John, P 1704

John, R E 1708

SHIELDS, George, R E 1703, 16

, ,

Rathfriland, Down Donegore, Antrim
Bailieborough, Cavan

Donaghadee, Down Drumbo, Down

Ballywalter, Down

Ramelton, Donegal

Rathfriland, Down - Magherally, Down

Lagan Presbytery Coagh or Ballinderry, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim Lurgan, Armagh

Antrim, Antrim

Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim

Donegore, Antrim

Antrim, Antrim Comber, Down

Antrim, Antrim Antrim, Antrim

Antrim, Antrim

Tyrone?
Tandro-gee, Armagh?

Limavady, Derry Killinchy, Down

APPENDICES

SIM, William, R E 1714 SIMPSON, Thomas and Elizabeth,

1680

William and Janet, 1684 SIMSON, James and Ann, 1681 John, R E 1711

SINCLAIR, William, R E 1717, 18 Dublin SIRRILAW, John, R E 1709

SKELTON, John, R E 1705

SLOAN, Jo:, R E 1694

John, R E 1705 13 John, R E 1712, 18

SMART, John, R E 1697 SMELY, Robert, R E 1708

SMILY, Samuel, R E 1704 SMITH, David, C 1694

George, R E 1718

James, C 1691; 1701 James, C 1694

James, R E 1713 John, R E 1703, 9

John, R E 1712

John, R E 1707, 10, 15

John, R E 1715, 18 John, R E 1715

Lancelot, R E 1718

Robert and Mary, 1686

Robert, R E 1698

Robert, R E 1712

Samuel and Katherine, 1692 Londonderry

Samuel, R E 1713 Samuel, Jr., 1714 William, C 1691

SMYTH, William, C 1711 Speir, Robert, C 1691, 1709

SPENS, James, R E 1694 STARRAT, James, R E 1706

STEEL, Andrew, R E 1715

Francis and Martha, 1696

Comber, Down

Londonderry Londonderry

Londonderry

Keady, Armagh

Aghadowey, Derry Ballynahinch, Down -

Broadisland, Antrim

Moneymore, Derry

Ballybay, Monaghan

Vinecash, Amargh Ardstraw, Tyrone

Larne, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim

Kilmore, Down

Donegore, Antrim

Macosquin, Derry

Cushendall, Antrim

Lisburn, Antrim

Magherally, Down

Carnmoney, Antrim

Carlingford?, South

Belfast, Antrim Dunmurry, Down

Londonderry

Kilrea, Derry

Ballymena, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim

Newry, Down

Moy-water, Mayo

Ballyclug, Antrim

Drumbo, Down Ahoghill, Antrim

Ballindreat, Donegal

Londonderry

STEEL, Gawin, C 1715, R E 1718 Clough, Antrim John, R E 1707, 10, 13 John, R E 1718 Thomas, R E 1708

STEPHENSON, James, R E 1712 Robert, R E 1716 William, R E 1712

STEUART, Alexander and Sara (McLaughlin), 1694 Archibald, R E 1706 James, R E 1708 John, R E 1698 John, R E 1708 Robert, C 1700 William and Mary, 1697 William, R E 1704, 6, 8

STEVENSON, James, R E 1703, 5 James, C 1709 James, R E 1709 John, R E 1708 Robert, 1707

STEWARD, William, parish of Lifford, married Margaret Wallis of Lifford, 1700 STEWART, Andrew and Katherine, 1693 George and Charity, 1683 James, R E 1703 John, R E 1698 William, R E 1711 STIRLING, Archibald, R E 1704, 9, 12

John, R E 1692, 4 John, R E 1715 STITT, Thomas, R E 1717 STONES, Edmund, R E 1710 STRAIGHT, James, R E 1713

Bangor, Down Dunpatrick, Down Vinecash, Armagh Brigh, Tyrone Vinecash, Armagh Ballindreat, Donegal

Londonderry Comber, Down Dunean, Antrim Killinchy, Down Bangor, Down Lisburn, Antrim Londonderry Killinchy, Down Brigh, Tyrone Ballyclug, Antrim Boveva, Derry Brigh, Tyrone Molena

(near Londonderry)

Donegal

Londonderry -Londonderry Dunean Antrim Dungannon, Tyrone Killinchy, Down

Finvoy, Antrim Templepatrick, Antrim Benburb, Tryone Mourne, Down Armagh, Armagh Loughbrickland, Down

STRAITON, George, C 1692 STRAWBRIDGE, James, R E 1706 STREAN, Adam, R E 1692 John, R E 1711 STUART, Archibald, C 1715 Hugh, R E 1692 John, C 1694 John, R E 1718 Thomas, R E 1714 William, R E 1716 Mr William, C 1717 SUTLER, James, R E 1704 SWAN, John, R E 1692 William, C 1691 SWARNBECK, George, R E 1717 SYMINTON, John, R E 1713

Lurgan, Amargh Burt, Donegal Ahoghill, Antrim Stonebridge, Monaghan Kilraughts, Antrim Ballyclug, Antrim Killinchy, Down Kilraughts, Antrim Dunmurry, Down Killyleagh, Down Antrim, Antrim Garvagh, Derry Under Killead Donaghmore, Tyrone Dunmurry, Down Donaghmore, Down

T

TAGGARD, Thomas, R E 1705 TAGGART, Francis, R E 1717 TATE, William, C 1691 TAYLOR, Alexander, R E 1718 David, R E 1710, 15 James, R E 1714 John, C 1708 Thomas, R E 1694 TAYT, David, R E 1711 TEAT, Thomas, C 1698 TEMPLETON, Adam Alan, C 1715 John, R E 1707, 11 Matthew, R E 1707, 9 THOMB, Hugh, R E 1708 Thompson, David, R E 1698, 1704, 7 David, R E 1714, 15, 17 George, R E 1709

Ardstraw, Tyrone
Ballyclare, Antrim
Armagh
Lisburn, Antrim
Donaghmore, Down
Saintfield, Down
Belfast, Antrim
Killyleagh, Down
Cushendall, Antrim
Blarise?, Down
Ballywillan, Antrim
Ballymoney, Antrim
Magherally, Down
Braid, Antrim
Braid, Antrim

Moneymore, Derry Coagh, Tyrone Ballymena, Antrim THOMPSON, James and Katherine, 1695
John, R E 1697, C 1709
John, R E 1713, 18
John, R E 1710, 17
Robert, R E 1706
Robert, R E 1706
Robert, R E 1717
Thomas, R E 1713

William, R E 1708 Thomson, Alexander, R E 1711 Andrew, C 1698 Michael, R E 1697, 1718

Samuel, R E 1710
Topp, Andrew, R E 1711, 16, 17

George, R E 1708 James, R E 1717 John, C 1708, 9, 11, R E 1708, 9, 11

John, C 1714 John, R E 1714

Tom, Robert and Mary, 1684 Toplis, Joseph, R E 1707, 10 Toulan, John, R E 1692 TRAIL, Mr. James, R E 1717 TRYMBLE, Robert, R E 1709 TURK, John, C 1715

TWEED, David, R E 1708 TYLER, Evan, C 1711, R E 1718 Londonderry Coleraine, Derry Ballymena, Antrim Newtownards, Down Ballykelly, Derry Glendermot, Derry Cavanaleck, Tyrone Cavanaleck, Tyrone Randalstown, Antrim Maghera, Derry Loughbrickland, Down Moira, Down Antrim, Antrim Saintfield, Down Ballyeaston, Antrim Vinecash, Armagh

Donaghmore, Down
Kinnaird, Tyrone
Minterburn, Tyrone
Londonderry
Dublin
Carrickfergus, Antrim
Killyleagh, Down
Clough, Down
Twenty Quarter Lands (near
Ballymoney, Antrim
Cong'n of Galway
Kilraughts, Antrim

U

Upton, Clotworthy, R E 1711, 12, 16

URY, William, C 1691

Templepatrick, Antrim Clogher, Tyrone

VANS, Mr Archibald, C 1718 John, parish Moville, mar-Elizabeth Quinne, 1683 Patrick, R E 1699, 1703, 4 Patrick, R E 1717

VERNOR, John, R E 1697 Jon., C 1691 Robert, R E 1067, 7

William, 1709

Drum, Monaghan

Londonderry Magherally Down Ballywalter, Down Achavan, Derry? Castledawson, Tyrone Maghera, Derry Connor, Antrim Castledawson, Tyrone

W

Wachop, Samuel, R E 1713 WALBUR, John, married Janet

William, R E 1706, 8

Hog, 1684 WALKER, Andrew, C 1713

John, R E 1698 John, R E 1705

John, R E 1718

WALLACE, David, R E 1709 Hugh, R E 1707

> Hugh, R E 1718 Hugh, R E 1707, 12 Hugh, R E 1706, 10, 14

Hugh, R E 1711 James, R E 1708 James, R E 1715

John, R E 1692

Robert, R E 1718 William, married Margaret

Morrison, 1663 WARD, Thomas, R E 1705

WARRINGTON, Thomas, R E 1708 Dublin WATERSON, William, C 1708, 9

Fintona, Tyrone

Londonderry Drummarah, Down Limavady, Derry Burt, Donegal Ballyrashane, Antrim Fannet, Donegal Ballymena, Antrim Saintfield, Down Killinchy, Down Ballywalter, Down Ravara, Down . Portaferry, Down Loughbrickland, Down Donegore, Antrim

Londonderry Dunfanaghy, Donegal

Loughbrickland, Down

Glen and Drumbanagher, Armagh

Watson, Gilbert, R E 1704
James, C 1711
John, R E 1716
Robert, R E 1712
William, R E 1697
William, R E 1712
Watt, Hugh, R E 1703, 4, 7
Weir, Mr Robert, C 1717
William, R E 1712, 14
White, James, R E 1697
John, R E 1717
Whitelaw, Alexander, R E 1714,

WHITESIDE, Mr Arthur, C 1717
Peter, R E 1705
WHYTE, James, R E 1715
WIGTON, William, R E 1717
WILLIAMS, George, R E 1713
WILLIAMSON, John, R E 1711
Thomas, R E 1713

WILSON, Alexander, R E 1710

Alexander, R E 1717

Alexander, R E 1715

Andrew, R E 1707

Edward, C 1708

Capt. Francis, R E 1704, 5, 11

Hugh, R E 1711

James and Elizabeth, 1683

James, R E 1692

James, R E 1705

James, R E 1711

John, R E 1698

John, C 1699, 1716

Ballybay, Monaghan

Kilrea, Derry

Ballyeaston, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim

Belfast, Antrim

Londonderry

Islandmagee, Antrim

Ballymena, Antrim

Fintona, Tyrone

Ardstraw, Tyrone

Killmakevett, Antrim

John, R E 1714, 16 John, R E 1706 John, R E 1708 John, R E 1710 Aughnacloy, Tyrone
Aghaloo, Tyrone
Castlereagh, Down
Urney, Tyrone
Dungannon, Tyrone
Killyleagh, Down
Markethill, Amargh
Antrim, Antrim
Moneymore, Derry
Ballywalter, Down
Billy, Antrim

Vinecash, Armagh Antrim, Antrim Killead, Antrim Larne, Antrim Clogher, Tyrone Ballyeaston, Antrim Anahilt, Down Ballywalter, Down Tullylish, Down Ballybay, Monaghan Kilrea, Derry Ballyeaston, Antrim Belfast, Antrim Ballykelly, Derry Londonderry Islandmagee, Antrim Ballymena, Antrim Fintona, Tyrone Ardstraw, Tyrone Killmakevett, Antrim (north of

Glenavy)
Ballinderry, Antrim
Brigh, Tyrone
Donegore, Antrim
Dunmurry, Down

APPENDICES

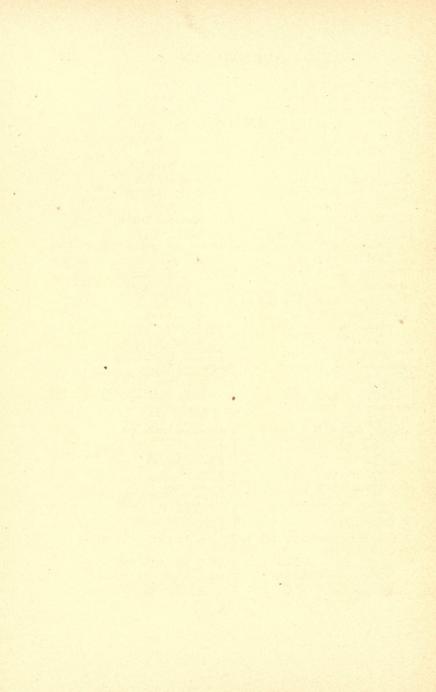
WILSON, John, R E 1711 John, R E 1714 John, R E 1717 Robert, R E 1698 Robert, R E 1709, 16 Robert, R E 1706, 10 Robert, C 1708, 14 Samuel, R E 1713 Thomas, R E 1711 Mr Thomas, C 1717 William, R E 1694 William, R E 1707, 13 William, R E 1712, 15 William, R E 1717 WINDRON, John, R E 1710 WIRLING, James, R E 1708 Woodburn, George, R E 1710 Woods, James, R E 1707 James, R E 1710, 14 James, C 1714 John, R E 1716, 18 Woodside, Robert, R E 1718 Wool, John, R E 1703 WORKMAN, John, P 1706 WRIGHT, John, R E 1718 WYLIE) James, R E 1698 WYLY (John, R E 1703, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18 William, R E 1705 William, R E 1707, 10, 13

Bangor, Down Portaferry, Down Keady, Armagh Rathfriland, Down -Ballyeaston, Armagh Clogher, Tyrone Belfast, Antrim Newtownards, Down Ballyeaston, Antrim Antrim, Antrim Islandmagee, Antrim Ballykelly, Derry Ballyeaston, Antrim Anahilt, Down Templepatrick, Antrim Newtownards, Down Kilrea, Derry Dunmurry, Down Lurgan, Armagh Belfast, Antrim Tullylish, Down Ballyclare, Antrim Ballee, Down Macosquin, Antrim Ballymoney, Antrim Carnmoney, Antrim

Ahoghill, Antrim Finvoy, Antrim Dervock, Antrim

Y

Young, John, merchant, 1701, 15 Belfast, Antrim



INDEX

Abbeville, 294 Abbott, C. H., quoted, 200, 202 Abercrombie, James, 285 Rev. Robert, 115 Abernathy, 294
Abernathy, Rev. John, 75
Ability, 308, 309
Acheson, Matthew, 231, 233
Acton, James, 328
Richard, 328
Addis 202 Adair, 292 Adams, 294 William, 262 Adrian, 292 Aghadowey, 106, 107, 156, 188; on map, 39; session book of Presbyterian church, 119; site of meeting house, 120; poor in, 122; letter from church at, 259; view of Parish church, 267; 297 Agnew, Andrew, 2 William, 330 Agriculture, 283 Aiken, Edward, 262 James, 262 James, 262
William, 262
William, 262
Alderchurch, Edward, 333
Alexander, 231 233
David, 228, 233
James, 184, 262, 325
John, 183, 184
Randall, 102, 262, Randall, 102, 2 ticed, 255 William, 228, 233 Alison, 282 no-Alison, 282 John, 336 Robert, 125 Allan, David, 288, 333 Allen, Eben, 320, 322 Edward, 170, 333, 335 John, 82, 285 Joshua, 82 Joshua, 82 Peter, 271 Sylvanus, 82 William, 278 Allen township, 278
Allison, 281, 292
Richard, 271
Samuel, noticed, 255, 262

American Antiquarian Society, 197 "Amity," ship, 322

"Amity," snow, 317
"Amsterdam," ship, 321
Anderson, 275, 294
Allen, noticed, 255, 262 James, 262 noticed, 255 noticed, 255
Rev. James, 277
John, 262, 330
Patrick, 330
William, 125
Andover, on map, 178; Scotch Irish
at, 200-202
Andrews, Rev. Jedediah, 28, 36, 280
Annapolis, N. S., 155
Anne, Queen, Presbyterians under, 15; Ulster under, 63-64 Anton, George, 326 James, 327 Samuel, 326 Thomas, 327 Antrim, town, view of, 73
Archibald, John, 262
Robert 121, 125
Ardreagh, 123, 128
Ardstraw, 100, 187, 191, 223
Armstram, Johnson, Armstrong, James, 213, 288 John, 209, 213 John, in Boston, 146, 149; and the "Robert," 205; petition the "F of, 249 Robert, 262 Simeon, 209, 213 Armstrong family, 209 Arnold, Thomas, 322 Arrowsic, 331, 372; on map, 204 Art, Scotch Irish in, 301, 303, 309 Ashe, Bishop, 67 Aston, 281 Atlantic, crossing, 151 Auburn, 185 Auchmuty, Robert, 166, 262, 333 Aul, Abraham, 170, 335 James, 155 Austin, Joseph, 333 Ayrshire, 1 B Bacon, Edwin M., 153

Jacob, 114
Baird, James, 335
Thomas, 183, 188
William, 326

Bailey, Henry, 272
Ball, James, 330
Ballykelly, 42, 100, 156, 196, 197
Ballymena, 101, 127
Ballymena, 101, 127 Ballymoney, 100; view of, 255; explanation of view, 254 Ballyrashane, 100
Ballywillan, 102; on map, 39; view of, 265
Banerlen, Mary, 233
Bangor Castle, view, 7
Bankhead, James, 327. Bann, river, 1 Bann Valley, discord in, 38; road map, 39 Baptl, Arthur, 121 Baptl, Arthur, 121
Barbadoes store, 280
Barber, Robert, 183, 184, 188
Barbour, John, 210, 213, 229
Bare-foot habit, 303
Barkley, James, 328
Barnett, Annis, 258
John, 278, 262; noticed, 252
Barns, James, 219 Barns, James, 219
William, 233
Barr, Gabriel, 300
Robert, 329
Barrow, John, quoted, 96
Barry, 294
Barton, 294
Barton, 484 Barry, 294
Barton, 294
Edmund M., 131
Bass, Philip, 219, 321, 322, 323
Bath, on map, 204
Batty, John, 183, 188
Baxter, Rev. Joseph, 221
Bayly, Thomas, 272
Beach, John, 317
Beall, Ninian, 27
Bearl, 294
Beath, John, 333
Walter, 155, 239
Beaufort, 286
Beaver Brook, 242
Bee, John, 285
Beeson, 281
"Beginning," sloop, 320
Belcher, Jonathan, 159
Belfast, ships at, 67; view of, 147
Belfast Society, 75
Bell, Joanna, 279
John, 12, 259, 262, 336
Thomas, 230
Bennett, Captain, 152
Thomas, 333 Bennett, Captain, 152 Thomas, 333
Bensalem, 278
Benson, 281
Bertram, Elizabeth, 2
Bethune, George, 140
Bethune, George, 140 Bettnine, George, 140
Betty, John, 183
Beverley, Abram, 328
Agnes, 272, 273
James, 232, 233, 328
Joseph, 232, 233, 325
Samuel, 232, 233, 252, 328

Bible, in Celtic, 106; love for, 302 Bigger, David, 329 Billerica, 155 Bishop, 280 Black, 280, 292 Jacob, 328 James, 327 John, 328, 329, 330 Marmaduke, 335 Samuel, 333 Thomas, 328 Blackshaw, 281 Blackwell, Thomas, 327 Blackwell, Thomas, 327
Blair, Abraham, 188
Alexander, 330
Hugh, 326
Capt. Hugh, 126
James, 157, 244, 261, 263, 328
Jeremiah, 328
John, 263, 327
Joseph, 326
Rachel, 157
Robert, 183, 188
Rev. Robert, 7-10
William, 164, 188, 326
Rlair's House, 126 Blair's House, 126 Blakely, 288 Blandford, 115, 117 Bleaching greens, 49 Blelock, 282 Blaine, Ephraim, 275 James G., 275 James G., 275
Blyth, 281
Bogachoag, 185
Bogan, 293
Boggle, Thomas, 336
Boggs, 292
Bogle, David, 263
Thomas, 155, 263
Botton, Geoffrey, 155
Dr. Hugh, 263
John, 202
Stanwood K. 155 Stanwood K., 155 Thomas, 213 William, 201, 202, 263 Bolton, Mass., 155 Bond, Susan, 218 Bonner's map, 161 Books read by Presbyterlans, 174 Boothbay, 117, 155 Boscawen, 111 Boscawen, 111
Boston, provisions provided, 158;
Scotch Irish in, 154; warnings
from, 229
Bothwell, Alexander, 191
Boule, William, 125
Boulter, Hugh, Archbishop, 29, 130;
on a tillage bill, 46.48; on
tythes, 65-68; and King, 69
Boulton, George, 333
Bourns, Michael, 333
Bovedy, 156 Bovedy, 156 Boxford, 201 Boyce, 293

Power John 199	Bryant William.
Boyce, John, 122 Boyd, 278	Bryant, William, Bryce, 293
Boyd, 278 Adam, 333	Buchanan, 281, 2 Arthur, 272 Robert, 272
Rev Adam 87 92 282	Arthur, 272
Rev. Alexander, 117 Rev. Archibald, 107, 108 Archibald, bis position, 240, 249	Robert, 272
Por Archibald 107 108	Burgis, William, Burkitt's Exposit
Archibald his netition 240 249	Burkitt's Exposit
Temos 199	Burns, James, 23
James, 122 John 126 252 327 329	Michael, 335
Robert 327 329	Burns, James, 23 Michael, 335 Robert, 155,
Archibald, his petition, 240, 249 James, 122 John, 126, 252, 327, 329 Robert, 327, 329 Samuel, 330 Thomas, 327, 328	William, 219
Thomas, 327, 328	Burr, Rev. Isaac.
Per Thomas 91	Burr, Rev. Isaac, Burton, 281
William 326 329	Bushmills, 100, 1
Rev William 18, 105 132, 133,	Bushmills, 100, 1 Buyers, John, 22
144 197 324; sketch of 91.	, ,
99: dines with Sewall, 136:	
William, 326, 329 Rev. William, 18, 105, 132, 133, 144, 197, 324; sketch of, 91, 99; dines with Sewall, 136; in Gray's bookstore, 165; his created 220, and Savell 344	
arrival, 239; and Sewall, 244	Cairnes, Robert,
Boyes Robert, 261, 267	Caldbreath, Hum
Royle Benjamin 327	Caldwell, 294
William, 327	Alexander, 1
arrival, 239; and Sewall, 244 Boyes, Robert, 261, 267 Boyle, Benjamin, 327 William, 327 Boyse, Rev. Joseph, 67; replies to	Alexander, 1 Hugh, 326
	Malcom, 326
Bradford, Mass., 200, 242 Bradford, James, 175 Bradley, James, 288	Seth. 131
Bradford, James, 175	Thomas, 263
Bradley, James, 288	William, 18
Samuel, 288	church let
Braintree, 155	Calhoun, 294
Braintree, 155 Brandon, 293	John C., 292
Brandywine larms, 280	Cambridge, 155 Cameron, 294
Bratton, 292	Cameron, 294
Robert, 156	William, 335
Breaden, Philip, 333	Campbell, 278
Breakenridge, James, 184, 192 William, 193 Breakenridge music book, 193	
William, 193	Cornelius, 16 Daniel, 334 George, 329 Hugh, 12
Breakenridge music book, 193	Daniel, 554
Breed, Nathaniel, 317	George, 529
Brewington, 288	Pow Hugh
Brewster, James, 328	Rev. Hugh, James, 329 John, 114
John, 122 Brice, James, 328 Bridgewater, 155	John 114
Brice, James, 320	Margaret 18
Bridgewater, 199	John, 114 Margaret, 18 Patrick, 272
Drigham James 227	Robert, 114.
Brigantine, view of, 150 Brigham, James, 327 Bristol, 116 Bristol Leby 226	Patrick, 272 Robert, 114, Samuel, 114 William, 265
Britton John 336	William, 263
Britton, John, 336 Brode, 113	Canedy, Alexand
Brookfield 155	Canworthy, And
Brooks, Silvanus, 125 Brooks, Silvanus, 125	Canworthy, And Cape Cod, 201
Broone, 292	Cape Elizabeth,
Brown, 294	Cane Fear Merci
David, 22	Cappagh, 188
George, 87	Carey, George, 3:
George, 87 Jenet, 122	Carey, George, 3: Cargill, Annis, 2:
Thomas 336	
Browning, James, 191	260, 261,
John, 191	James, 155
Brownlie, John, 155	Jane, 127
Brunswick, 116; on map, 204; Wood-	260, 261, James, 155 Jane, 127 Janet, 252
Browning, James, 191 John, 191 Brownlie, John, 155 Brunswick, 116; on map, 204; Woodslide at, 220-227	Carme, James,
Bryan, William, 272	Carmichael, 294

ant, William, 335 ce, 293 ce, 293
chanan, 281, 292
Arthur, 272
Robert, 272
Robert, 272
Rokitt's Expository, 174
cns, James, 233
Michael, 335
Robert, 155, 335
William, 219
They Roy 1592, 111 r, Rev. Isaac, 111 ton, 281 hmills, 100, 111 yers, John, 227 rnes, Robert, 193 dbreath, Humphrey, 336 dwell, 294 Alexander, 106, 333 Hugh, 326 Malcom, 326 Seth, 131 Thomas, 263 William, 183, 188, church letter, 131 325; his houn, 294 John C., 292, 310 nbridge, 155 nbridge, 155 neron, 294 William, 335 Charles, 114
Cornelius, 164
Daniel, 334
George, 329
Hugh, 12 Hugh, 12 Rev. Hugh, 116 James, 329 John, 114 John, 114 Margaret, 186 Patrick, 272, 334 Robert, 114, 318 Samuel, 114 William, 263, 327, 335 nedy, Alexander, 156 nworthy, Andrew, 333 pe Cod, 201 pe Cod, 201
pe Elizabeth, 204
pe Flear Mercury, 87
ppagh, 188
rey, George, 327
rgill, Annis, 252
David, 94, 121, 125, 248, 259,
260, 261, 263; noticed, 258
James, 155
Jane, 127
Janet, 252
rille, James, 336

Carolinas, and Ireland, 91 Carr, John, 335
Thomas, 155
See also Karr, 272
Carrickfergus, 31 Carrickfergus, 31
Carrol, 293
Carson, 293
Carter, Katherin, 231, 233
Carver, Josiah, 323
Cary, Mr., 232, 233
Casco Bay, 111, 157; Scotch Irish at, 203-214; map of, 204; settlers at, 213, 214
Cass, Daniel, 114
Castledawson, 156 Cass, Palmer, 115 Casthedawson, 156 Cathance, 219, 331; on map, 204 Catholics, 57, 64 Celtic, Bible in, 107 Celtic catechism, 94 Celts in Ulster, 3-4 "Cezer," ship, 270 Chalmers, 294
Chambers, 278, 293
Patrick, 335
Character of the Scotch Irish, chapter 16, 296 Characteristics, 118
Charitable Irish Society, 175, 333
Charles II, Presbyterians under, 60
Charleston, 155; Presbyterians at, 30-35; Scotch Irish at, 285; ships entering, 268 Chelsea, 155 Cherry Valley, 266 Chessnutt, William, 335 Chester County, Penn., 271
Chester County, Penn., 271
Children, hiring out of, 283; number of, 308
Chilmark, 82, 84
Christiana Creek, 58
Christy Deter 220 Christy, Peter, 330 William, 329 Church, Samuel, 114 Cishiel, John, 183 Clackens, 299 Claffin, 11 Clare, Chancellor, 20 Clark, 278 Adam, 184 Dr. Alexander, 106 George, 263 James, 136, 191, 2 ticed, 255 191, 263, 333; noticed, 255
John, 181, 191, 230, 233, 263,
333, 335
Mary, 126
Matthew, 183, 263
Rev. Matthew, 94, 100, 108, 128;
his preaching, 302; marries
Mrs. McGregor, 106
Pechant 262 Robert, 263 Thomas, 263 See also Clerk

Clarke, George K., 196 Claverhouse, Graham of, 300 Clavers, as a bogey, 300 Clendenin, Archibald, 252, 263 Clerk, John, 183 Joseph, 183 Clinton, Charles, his voyage, 271 Clogher, 100, 207 Clothworkers Company, 38, 41 Clough, 101 Clough, 101 Clougherny, 156 Cobham, Rev. Thomas, 101, 330 Coburn, Silas R., 199 Cochran, Andrew, 263, 326, 328 Boulonget, 330 James, 126, 326 Janet, 252 John, 202, 254, 263, 326, 328 Peter, 263 William, 263, 326 William, 263, 326 Code, Samuel, 327 Coffee, 294 Cofferin, John, 202 Coin, scarcity in Ireland, 57 Colbreath, John, 326 Cole, Thomas, 114 Colerain, Penn., 280 Coleraine, Ireland, 41, 155, 156, 320; and the Jackson family, 37; control of, 42; described, 96; view of, 97 vlew or, Collins, 294 Colvil, John, 329 Conagher's Farm, 310, 311 Concord, 155, 184 Connecticut Valley, Irish of, 112 Connecticut Valley, Irish of, 112
Conner, 294
Conkson, 280
Coolidge, Ruth D., 5
Cord, Andrew, 330
Cork, Ireland, 219
Cork, Maine, on map, 204
Cornbury, Lord, 268, 269
Cornwall, Rev. William, 95, 100, 110, 207, 213
Cowan, 282
Enhraim, 184 Ephraim, 184 George, 184 James, 336 James, 336
Cowden, Matthew, 278
Cowen, 281
Cowman, Matthew, 270
Craig, David, 263, 325
James, 328
John, 327
Robert, 325
Craighead, 280
Rev. Robert, 70: d Rev. Robert, 70; daughter marries Homes, 80 Rev. Robert, Jr., 86 Rev. Thomas, 18, 30, 79, 84, 86, 130; sketch of, 87 Craigie, William, 229, 234

Crain, William, 278 Crawford, 228, 281, 293 Aaron, 191 Daniel, 285 James, 329 John, 191 Robert, 188 Robert, 188 Robert, 188 Creveceur, quoted, 78 Crockett, 293 Cromble, John, 202, 263 Crook, Thomas, 156 Cross, Rev. Robert, 281 Crozler, James, 334 Crumey, Giziell. 201 Crumney, William, 202 Cumerford, Thomas, 333 Cumings, Alexander, 336 Cunningham. 294, 336 Cunningham, 294
Andrew, 172
George, 228, 234
James, 272
Robert, 335 Curry, Andrew. James, 328 Joseph, 330 Cuthbertson, Robert, 376 D Daggett, Benjamin, 82 Dalton, James, 333 Dame, William, 335 Darby, 281 Darien Colony, 31 Davien Colony, 31
Davenport, Jonas, 272
Davidson, James, 335
Davis, George, 279
John, 335
Samuel, 36
Rey, Samuel, 26 Rev. Samuel, 26 William, 333 Dawsonbridge, 156 Dean, Adam, 327 Andrew, 330 Andrew, 330
Deane, Nathaniel, 114
Dennis, Captain, 322
Denny, 281
Derby, Michael, 333
Dering, Henry, 172
Derry, Ireland, siege of, 13-15, 126
Derry, Penn., 266; view of meeting house, 276
Derry and Londonsy, 42

house, 276
Derry and Londonderry, 42
Derryfield, N. H.. on map, 178
Desertion, 227, 228
Diaries, 301
Dick, John, 184
Thomas, 184
Dickey, 282, 288
Adam, 326
David, 263
Samuel, 263
Dicky, John, 335

Dicky, John, 335

Dill, Daniel, 114 Dillon, Peter, 333 Dillon, Peter, 333
Dissenters, under William III, 62;
under George II, 65; criticised, 70; at Drogheda, 71
Dixon, Robert, 335
Dixwell, James, 230, 234
Doak, James, 263
John, 263
Robert, 263
Dobblins, 288
Dobd. 294 Dodd, 294 Dodge, Andrew, 328 Doke, William. 164 "Dolphin," 141, 320 Donagh, 156 Donaghmore, Donegal, 81, 100 Donald, Robert, 127 Donalds, Robert, 127
Donaldson, Alexander, 329
Donegal, Lord, 55
Donegal, Ireland, 100
Donegal, Penn., 266; view of meeting house, 273; description of meeting house, 275
Dorus, Hugh, 333
Dorrance George, 114 Dorrance, George, 114 John, 114 Samuel, 114 Samuel, 114
Rev. Samuel, 113
Dougherty, Edward, 272
Walter, 333
Doughty and Hill, 21
Douglas, 281, 293, 329
Douse, Samuel, 333
"Dover, 114
Dowglase, Alexander, 318
Downing, James, 333
Dracut, 156, 198, 242; calls
McGregor, 199; on map, 178
Drapers, 41
Dresden, Maine, on map, 204
Dress, 107; of Presbyterians in Bostton, 174
Drink habit, 108 Drink habit, 108 Drugheda, trouble at, 71 Drumbo, 193 Drummond, William, 333 Drumore, Penn., 280 Ducat, George, 285 Duffield, 281 Dummer's war, 229 Dupher, battle of, 11 Dummer's war, 229
Dunbar, battle of, 11
Dunboe, 131, 156
Duncan, David, 326
George, 263
James, 164
John, 182, 183, 188
Robert, 333
William, 326 William, 326 Dungannon, meeting house, view of, 62

Dungiven, 42, 107 Dunlap, Andrew, 327 Moses, 121, 125 Rev. Robert, 116 William, 188 Dunlop, 293 Alexander, 102, 330 Robert, 336 Thomas, 328
Dunmore, 51
Dunning, Andrew, 228, 234
David, his deposition, 144, 216, William, 333 Dunworth, Henry, 333 Duroy coat, 174 Dyer, 280 D Eagle Wing, voyage of, 9-10 Eayers, William, 263 Economic conditions in Ulster, chapter 3. Edgar, William, 333 Edgefield, 294 Edgefield, 294 Edmonds, John H., 153, 216, 331 Education of Scotch Irish, 303, 305, 306 Egart, James, 333
Egle, W. H., referred to, 277, 278
Elbows, 115
Elder, James, 328
Rev. John, 121
Robert, 278
Thomas, 327, 328
Rev. Thomas, 100, 102, 330
Elk River, 282 Elk River, 282 Eliot, Simon, 336 Elizabeth, Queen, religion under 61 "Elizabeth," ship, 321 "Elizabeth and Kathrin," 160, 317 "Elizabeth and Margaret," ship, 270 Elizabeth River, 27 Ellington, 113 Ellis, Edward, 165 Robert, 165 Elson, Benjamin, 317
Emigration, 268; fever of, 130; influences to, 43; and manufacturers, 88
English, ability of, 309
Enoch, Thomas, 329
Episcopalians, 71 Episcopalians, 71 Erskine, Archibald, 22 Erwin, 288, 293 Hugh, 288 John, 288

William, 288
"Essex," brigantine, 323
Established church, 71
Eton, James, 326
Richard, 326

Eton, Thomas, 326 Evans, David, 232, 234 John, 234 William, 232, 234 "Experiment," ship, 323 Eyre, Humphrey, 279 Fair, 294 Fallowfield, Penn., 280
Fallowfield, Penn., 280
Fallowfield, Maine, 203; life at, 208
Families in Ulster, 339-377
Family, size of, 308
Farrand, Andrew, 192 Thomas, 192
Farrel, John, 333
Farrend, Andrew, 182
Farwell, John W., 216
Faust's German Element, quoted, 78
Federal Street Church, 170 Feet, 303 Fenton, William, 191 Fergus, Owen, 333 Ferguson, Alexander, 234 George, 333 James, 146, 149, 234, 319 John, 184 Samuel, 231, 234 of Charleston, 31 Ferrell, Robert, 191, 192 Filson, 282 Finn, river, 1 Fishmongers, 42 FitzGerald, Rev. Edward, 111, 179-182, 188 182, 188
Richard, 111
Fitzgibbon, Patrick, 333
Flax, cultivation, 49-50
Fleming, 282, 293, 294
Andrew, 328
Joseph, 192
Samuel, 188
Thomas, 234
Forbish, William, 164 Forbish, William, 164 Forbush, James, 183, 188 Robert, 191 Forsaith, James, 328 Forster, John, 278 Foster, Thomas, 279 Foyle, river, 1, 195 Francis, 281 Francis, 281
Frankin, Benjamin, 81
Fraser, John, 285
Freeland, John, 127
Thomas, 327
Thomas, 327
William, 333, 335
Freeman, Edith S., 325
Freetown, 87, 88, 89, 155
French, Nath, 114
William, 333
"Erlands Goodwill", 151 "Friends Goodwill," 151, 319 Frierson, William, 288 Frizwell, Benjamin, 335

Frost, Charles, 12 Frost, Charles, 12 Fullerton, 281 Fulton, John, 335 Peter, 329 Samuel, 272 Futhey, J. S., quoted, 30 Gaelic, 304 Galbraith, Andrew, 271 James, 271, 277 John, 22, 275 Rebecca, 275 Gale, Abraham, 22 Gales, 281 Gallard, John, 318 Gallup, John, 114 Galt, Benjamin, 329 William, 330 Gamble, 288 John, on drinking, 108; on the Scotch Irish, 4 Gardner, 282
James, 333
Garrison life, 228
Garvagh, 41, 217, 331; on map, 39
Gaudy, James, 335
Gay, Frederick L., 216
"George," snow, 321
"George," ship, voyage of, 12
Georgetown, 16, 117; on map, 204
Geoghegan, Michael, 333
Georgia, Gaelic in, 304
Germans, ability of, 309; as farmers, 78 Gardner, 282 ers, 78
Gibbs, Captain, 319
Daniel, 333 Gibson, John, 114
Samuel, 336
Gillespie, Elizabeth, 277
Matte, 279
Gilmore, 281 aore, 281 Helen, 125 Isabel, 188 James, 125, 184, 326 John, 125 Joseph, 333 Robert, 263 Samuel, 326 William 263 William, 263 Gisham, 294
Giveen, Robert, 329
Given, David, 229, 234
John, 122, 259, 260, 263
Glasford, James, 155, 183 John, 192 Glasgow, 32, 294 Glen, George, 169, 175, 333 Robert, 114 Glendenning, 282 Glenn, 294 Glenravil, 194

"Globe," ship, 318, 321 Goddard house, view of, 189 Goffe, John, 256, 261, 262, 263 Gold, John, 122 Goldsmiths, 42 Gooding, Edward, 319 Goodman, James, 322 Gordon, Alexander, 114 James, 155 John, 114 Robert, 114 Roger, 288 Gough, Captain, 270 Government, training for, 301, 309 Government, training for, 301, 309 Gradon, John, 333 Grafton, 184 Graham, Duncan, 183, 192 Grants, the, 11 Graves, 228 John, 234 Samuel, 248, 256, 261, 262, 263 Gray, Asa, 187, 310 Benjamin, 165 John, 182, 183, 184, 187, 188, 230, 234, 267, 278, 326, 330 Joshua, 214 Matthew, 182, 183, 184, 187 Joshua, 214
Matthew, 182, 183, 184, 187
Samuel, 183, 184
William, 182, 183, 184
Gray family, 187, 188
"Gray-hound," sloop, 317, 322
Grazing in Ireland, 45, 48
Greeley, Horace, 310
Green, 280, 294
Henry, 263
Greenleaf, Jonathan, 117
Greenough, Charles P., 159
Gregg, 294
Andrew, 278 Andrew, 278 David, 263 David, 268 George, 330 Hugh, 336 James, 145, 149, 198, 242, 248, 251, 261, 263, 329, 330; no-ticed, 252, John, 263 Samuel, 145, 263 William, 263 Fory, George, 292 Gregory, George, 328 Patrick, 192 Griffin, John, 333 Nehemiah, 263 Grocers, 41 Grow, James, 327 Thomas, 327 Gwinn, John, 335 Gyles, William, 214 Haberdashers, 42 Haliday, Rev. Samuel, 100 Hallfax, Fort, 332 Halkins, William, 326

Hall, Jean, 230, 234
Mrs. S. C., 50
Virginia, 258
Wiiliam, 170, 175, 333
Halliburton, Thomas, 174
Hambleton. Thomas, 183
Wiiliam, 231, 234
Hamilton, Abel, 234
Alexander, 187
Archibald, 288
Frederick, 333
Gabriel, 234
James, 182, 183, 188, 318
Rev. James, 7
John, 192, 228, 232, 234
Patrick, 234
Robert, 234
William, 114, 288 330 William, 114, 288
Professor, 75
Hamiltons, 191
Hammond, Otis G., 106
Hampton, Rev. John, 27, 36; in New
York, 269 York, 269

Hancock, 293

Handsard, William, 234

Hannah, 294

Hanover, 278

Hanson, Anne, 157, 210, 214

David, 328

John, 333, 335

Samuel, 326

Thomas, 326

Hardships, 292

Harkness, Thomas, 155, 336

Harper, James, 220, 232, 238

John, 333, 335

Moses, 183, 185, 231, 235

William, 235

Harris, 278 Harris, 278 Samuel, 321 Hart, James, 335
Harvey, Rev. John, 115
Hathaway, John, 88, 89
Haverhill, 241; greets Irlsh, 242
Hay, William, 272, 335
Hays, 278
Hays, 278 Hays, 278
Haziltt, W. C., quoted, 42
Health of passengers, 160
Heart, James. 188
Heath, John, 282
Joseph, 222
Hebrew, to be taught, 70
Hemphill, Gawin, 335
Henderson, James, 329
Samuel, 155
Hendery, Malkem, 191, 192
Hendry, Hugh, 122, 125, 127
Robert, 326, 329
William, 326
Henry, Hugh, 271
Rev. Hugh, 116 377 Hugh, 294

Henry, James, 155, 329
Rev. John, 27
Robert, 329
Thomas, 155
Heron, Rev. Robert, 288
Hersey, 281
Heslep, 282
Heywood, Daniel, 177, 181
Hezlet, John, 329
Hides, Gilbert, 336
Higgenbothem, 281
Higgins, Alice, 125
Analys, 282 Henry, James, 155, 329 Higgins, Alice, 125 Ananias, 282 Higinbotham, Rev. Robert, 100, 101, Hildersam, Rev. Arthur, 174
Hill, Benjamin T., 178
Robert, 335
Rev. William, quoted, 26
Hillhouse, Rev. James, sketch of, 113
William, 113 Hines, Thomas, 326 Hodge, Henry, 335 Robert, 335 William, 127 Hodgen, Robert, 335 Hogg, George, 336 Thomas, 233, 235 William, 334 Holmes, Abraham, 263; his church letter, 259, 260 Andrew, 383 letter, 259, 260
Andrew, 333
Hugh, 329
J. Albert, referred to, 260
John, 156
Robert, 213, 214
Thomas, 156
William, 157, 213, 214, 333
Homes, Rev. Benjamin, 83, 100
Rev. John 100 Rev. William, 58, 100
Rev. William, 18, 130; sketch of, 79; death, 84
Rev. William, 18, 130; sketch of, 79; death, 84
Rev. William, of Urney, 79
Homes family, 81-82
Home-towns of Ulster families, 339-Hood, James, 184 Hoog, James, 326 John, 333 Robert, 326 Hope, 282 Hopkin, Robert, 114 Hopkins, James, 114
Hopewell Church, 288
Houses in Ulster, 2
Houston, James, 282
John, 326
Howard, Gordon, 271
Joseph, 271
Huch, 294

Hughes, 281
James, 333
Huguenots, ability of, 309
Hulton, James, 326
Thomas, 326
Humphrey, John, 8
William, 263
Hunter, 294
Abraham, 155
Adam, 235
Archibald, 135, 136, 320
Daniel, 232, 235
Isaac, 231, 235
James, 235
Jean, 230, 235
John, 235, 326
Marion, 127
Robert, 125
Samuel, 326
Thomas, 326
Huston, David, 174
Samuel, 263
William, 126
Hutchinson, Alexander, 271
Elizabeth, 335
James, 82, 271 Elizabeth, 335 James, 82, 271 John, 333 I Immigration in 1717, 18; in 1718, 130-153 Impressment, 227
Indian Town, church at, 288
Indians, Nutfield free from, 244
Inventions of Men, 69
Ireland, labor in, 44; grazing in, 45;
poverty, 47; farm profits, 56;
in 1718, 57; and New England, 58; learning in, 68;
fevers in, 160
Irish language, 94
Irish new settlement, 216
Irish Soclety, 37; charter, 42
Irishmen, who are called, 44; as
tenants, 55
Irommongers, 41, 129
Irwin, 281, 293
Isle of Burt, 186 Impressment, 227 Jackson, 281 Andrew, 292, 310 John, 328 John, 328
Richard, 38
William, 37, 269
Jackson Hall, 99
James, Mrs., 155
John, 288
James II, Ireland under, 13
Jameson, James, 85
John, 328
William 210, 214, 230 William, 210, 214, 330

Jamison, 294
"Jane," ship, 321
Janeway, Rev. James, 174
Jarvie, John, 32
Jarvis, Nathaniel, 322
William, 322
Jeffries Creek, S. C., 288
Jenison, Samuel, 185
Jenson, William, 327
Jirwin, Gawen, 328
Johnson, Adam, 184
Euphemia, 174 Euphemia, 174 George, 174 James, 175, 231, 235 John, 184 John, 184 William, 184 Johnston, 228 Daniel, 327 John, 335 Robert, 328 Samuel, 328 Rev. William, 181; sketch of, William, 327 Johnstone, John, 269 Jolly, 293 Jones, Nathaniel, 179 "Joseph," ship, 321, 322, 323 "Joseph and Mary," ship, 321 Junkinses, 11 Karr, John, 272 Malcom, 272 Kasson, Adam, 114 John, 114 William, 114
Kearns, Jean, 125
Keigwin, John, 114
Kelly, Henry, 335
Kelso, Hugh, 183, 188
Kennebec River, 215, 219
Kennebec settlement, 144
Kennebec settlement, 144 Kennebec River, 215, 219
Kennebec Settlement, 144
Kennedy, 293
David, 333
Fergus, 326
Rev. Gilbert, 279
Hugh, 121, 125
James, 327
John, 155, 336
Ker, Hugh, 329
William, 328, 330
Kernochan, Samuel, 335
Kernochan, J. W., 122
Kerr, 282
John, 336
Keyes, or Kays, Elias, 256, 261, 265
Kid, Alexander, 326
Kidder, Benjamin, 258, 265
Joseph, 258, 265
Killen's Congregations, 220
Killeshandra, 101

Killeshandra, 101

Killough, John, 182 Kilmore, 100 Kilraughts, 101 Kilrea, 38, 42, 299 King, 281 James, 327 John, 327 Robert, 329 William Archbi William, Archbishop, on labor in Ireland, 144; and rents, 56; on trade, 57; on the Tolera-tion act, 64; and Dr. Ashe, tion act, 64; and Dr. Asne, 67; his book on the Inventions of Men, 69-70 Kingsfield, 173 Kingston, Thomas, 328 Kirkcaldy, 115 Kirkland, 293 Robert, 335 Kirkpatrick, John, 282 Kittery, 142 Knowles, 281 Knowles, 281
Knox, Adam, 333
Andrew, 170, 330, 335
Henry, 310
James, 326
John, 326
Robert, 325, 327, 334, 335
Koppra, 188
Kyle, 282
James, 272
John, 63
Kyrle, Sir Richard, 31 Lacey, 293 Laidlay, James, 329 Laird, Francis, 83 Lamb, 280 Lamond, Archibald, 188 John, 327 Robert, 327 Lamont, James, 192 John, 328
Lancaster, 152
Lancaster County,
Irish in, 280
Landlords, Swift on, 19 Penn., Scotch Lason, John, 329 Latham, 293 Law, James, 141, 142, 320 Lawler, Thomas, 333 Lawry, Thomas, 336 Lawson, David, 126 Leaser, 20 Leavitt, Emily W., 92 Lechmere, Thomas, 157; his letters, 132-144 Lecore, John, 192 Lecore, John, 192 Lee, Arthur, on the Scotch Irish, 5 Francis, 335 Leech, John, 327 Rev. William, 101, 320

Leicester, 155, 184, 239 Leman, William, 155 Lemon, John, 288 Lenox, James, 329 Leslie, James, 262, 263 John, 329 Lewes, 33, 36 Lewes, Del., 26 Lewis, Joseph, 233 Mehitable, 157 Lexington, 155 Liggett, 282 Liggit, James, 263 Limavaddy, 99 Limavaddy, 99 Lindsay, David, 329 James, 155, 263 William, 335 Lindsey, 281 Linen, 50, 52; in 1698, 15; use of, 305 Linn, 278 Linn, 278
Lisburn, Pelham to be called, 184
Literature, Scotch Irish in, 301, 309
Lithgow, Robert, 229
William, 231, 235
Lithgow family, 231, 236
Little, John, 169, 333, 334; his school, 171-2; and the Pelhams, 172
Thomas, 155
Livingston, 281
Rev. John, 8, 9
Rev. William, 285
Lizard Manor, yiew of, 129 Lizard Manor, vic...
Lockhart, 282
Lockhead, John, 336
Lodge, Senator, on Scotch Irish
ability, 308
College, 279 Log College, 279 Logan, 278, 294 George, 279 James, 30, 35; on Scotch Irish, 268 Loghouses, 247 Lollard, Robert, 191 Londonderry, Ireland, siege of, 13-15; Cathedral records, 339-377 Londonderry, N. H., on map, 178; settled, 242; view of meeting house, 245; title to lands, 248-251; first settlers, 252-261; proprietors, 262-265 201; proprietors, 262-26 Long, 281 James, 155, 336 Capt. John, 165 Longhead, John, 155 Long Lane meeting house, 169 Longworth, Thomas, 213 Lord's Supper, 64 Lowrey, 275 Lorie, Thomas, 326 Lothridge, Robert, 182, 183, 184, 191

Lough, John, 335

Lowden, Thomas, 184 Lower Brandywine, 282 Love, 293 Love, 293 Matthew, 325 Luckey, 282 Lunenburg, 155, 202, 239 Lyle, 293 Lytle, Ephraim, 272 McAlan, James, 335 McAlaster, 294 McAlben, William, 330 McAlaster, 294
McAlester, William, 330
McAlester, George, 329
McAllach, James, 184
McAllister, 282
John, 155
Macarell, John, 317
McBride, Alexander, 329
Rev. Robert, 100
McCalla, 294
"Maccallum," ship, 141, 142, 1
220, 320
McCan, 293
John, 330
McCardy, 280
Maccarell, Robert, 318
McCarter, William, 192
Macartney, Alexander, 202
McCaw, 293
McCawley, 280
McClanaghan, 281
McClanaghan, 281
McClanaghan, 181
McClanathan, John, 173, 192
Thomas, 192
William, 173, 192
McClanethan, Rev. William, 116
McCleary, Alexander, 336 ship, 141, 142, 145, McClanethan, Rev. William, 116
McCleary, Alexander, 336
John, 334
McClellan, 294
James, 183, 191; his land, 179;
his will, 185; his arrival, 194
George B., 186, 310
McClellan, J., 182
John, 85
William, 179, 183
McClelland, 280
James, 288
McClenathan, Rev. William, 209 McClenathan, Rev. William, 209
McClenn, 281
McClennehan, Rev. William, 334
McClintock, 105
John, 191
Rev. Samuel, 106
William, 335
McClure, 281, 294
Charles, 335
David, 155, 292, 335
James, 335
John, 155, 335
Richard, 169
Richard, 169
Richard, 335
Samuel, 169, 335
McClurg, John, 263 McClenathan, Rev. William, 209

McCollum, Alexander, 263 McCombs, Dugall, 155 McCombes, Dugall, 155
McConkey, Alexander, 182, 183, 184, 191; his house, 189
John, 183, 184, 191
McConneil, 280
McConoeighy, John, 263
McCook, Archibald, 102, 330
McCool, William, 252
McCord, 278
McCord, 278
McCord, 278 McCormick, Hugh, 278 Maccoullah, Joan, 213, 214 McCracken, 294 McCrady, Edward, quoted, 292 McCrady, Edward, qu McCreary, 294 McCrillis, James, 334 McCurly, John, 156 McCurdy, John, 334 McDaild, 294 McDaniel, 293 Hugh, 334 Thomas, 334 Thomas, 334 McDonald, 288 Randal, 210, 214 McDougall, John, 335 McDuffee, Daniel, 263 McDougall, John, 335
McDuffee, Daniel, 263
McBlchiner, Jenet, 125
McBlwaln, Andrew, 155
McFadden, Andrew, 102, 144, 217, 218, 228, 231, 235, 327; his transplanting, 331
Daniel, 217
Jane, 144, 332; her deposition, 216, 217
McFaden, James, 334
McFall, Daniel, 334
William, 156
McFarland, 223
Andrew, 183, 184, 187
Daniel, 186, 191
Duncan, 187, 192
George, 125
James, 228, 235
John, 183, 186, 187
Robert, 271
McFee, James, 327 McFee, James, 327 McGivern, Samuel, 329 McGlaughlin, James, 264 McGowan, 235 McGowens, 228 McGowens, 228
McGowing, Lodowie, 334
McGregor, Alexander, 261, 264, 325
Rev. David, 108, 170
Rev. James, 94, 95, 99, 119, 145, 146, 149, 256, 257, 261, 264; his family, 106; habits, 107; view of his meeting house, 120; dines with Sewall, 136; recommended by Mather, 197; 198; called to Dracut, 199; his petition, 240; goes to Nutfield, 243, 247; and Vaudreull, 244; wife, 252

McGregor family, 106
McGregory, Alexander, 157
McHan, William, 191
McHard, James, 334
McIlhenny, 293
McIlvain, Rev. J. W., 22
McIltie, 11
McIntire, John, 192
Neil, 334
MacIntosh, Rev. Dr., quoted, 300, 313
Mack, John, 264
McKachan, John, 191, 335
McKachan, John, 191, 335
McKane, 281
Mackay, John, 141, 320, 321
MacKaye, Archibaid, 155
Mackaye, Archibaid, 155
Mackaye, Alexander, 272 MacKaye, Archibald, 155
Mackclothlan, 11
McKean, Alexander, 272
McKeen, Edward, 326
James, 145, 149, 198, 242, 248, 249, 253, 255, 256, 261, 264, 328; noticed, 252; goes to Casco Bay, 203
John, 252, 257, 327
Rev. Joseph, 255
Robert, 264
McKernel, Daniel, 326
McKerrel, Daniel, 326
McKerrel, James, 328
Mackey, W. D., quoted, 30
Mackie, Rev. Joslas, 27
McKimm, 280
McKinstry, Rev. John, 181; sketch of, 113
McKinstry, Rev. John, 181; sketch of, 100, 336
McLane, Duncan, 335
McLaughlen, George, 329
John, 329
Lawrence, 327, 329
Elschard, 330 McLaughlen, George, 329
John, 329
Lawrence, 327, 329
Richard, 330
Thomas, 326, 327
McLeilan, 228
Bryce, his house, 211, 214
Rev. John, 8, 9
McLen, Robert, 192
Macleod, Rev. John, 304
McLevenny, Martha, 125
McLure, 293
McMahon, 290
McMains, Daniel, 192
McMains, Daniel, 192
McMaister, John, 192, 321
McMillan, Thomas, 252
McMitchel, William, 192
McMorris, 293
McMullan, 293
Macmullen, Jane, 156
Thomas, 169
McMun, Samuel, 326 McMun, Samuel, 326 McMurphy, Alexander, 258, 262, 264 Jesse, 262 John, 264, 334 McNabb, 281

McNair, David, 277 McNal, William, 182 MacNeal, Alexander, 264, 325 Daniel, 170, 335 James, 264 John, 264 Neall, 325 McNealy, 280 McNeil, 282 Adam, 334 Archibald, 334 Adam, 334 Archibald, 334 William, 171 McNichols, Ezekiel, 335 McNish, Rev. George, 36 McNitt, Alexander, 192, 193 Barnard, 193
Barnard, 193
McNut, 235
McNut, 235
Macosquin, on map, 39
MacPheaderies, Archibald, 319
McPherson, 280, 282
James, 192
McPhetre, John, 216, 218
McQuakin, 293
McQuistlan, James, 335
McQuistlan, James, 335
McQuistlan, James, 335
McRae, Archibald, 288
McRelis, Daniel, 121
Magherafelt, 42
Magherally, 100
Mahan, William, 183
Makemie, Rev. Francis, 21, 26, 365;
in New York, 269; his arrest and trial, 269
Malcolm, Michael, 334
Malcome, John, 228, 235
Malden, 155
Manokin, 21, 28, 33, 36 Barnard, 193 Manokin, 21, 28, 33, 36
Manufacturers and Emigration, 55
Map of Massachusetts and New Map of Massachusetts and Ne Hampshire, 178
"Margaret," ship, 322
Marion, John, 157
Marriages by dissenters, 63, 65
Marshall, 281
Marston, Captain, 322
Martha's Vineyard, 80
Martin, 278, 293
"Mary," schooner, 321, 323
"Mary and Abigail," 322
"Mary and Abigail," 322
"Mary and Abigail," 322
"Mary Anne," ship, 318
"Mary Anne," ship, 318
"Mary Anne," ship, 140, 317, 320
Maryland, Presbyterians in, 21
Maryland, boundary and tithes, 267
Massey, 293 Maryland boundary and tithes, 267
Massey, 293
Mather, Rev. Cotton, 85, 86, 130, 132, 166, 238, 239; portrait, 16; desire for immigrants, 17; letter to Hathaway, 88; letter to Bout Boyd, 93; letter to Woodside, 109; on the arrival of Scotch Irish, 133-136; recommends McGregor, 197; encourages ministers, 222

Mather, Rev. Increase, on Boyd, 92, Mathleson's Scotland and the Union, quoted, 76
Matthews, Albert, 25
Maxfelld, William, 12
Maxwell, 11
James, 335
Maybee, William, 272
Mayes, James, 334, 335
Means, Robert, 209, 214
Mear, Alexander, 328
Mecklenburg declaration, 77
Medford, 155
Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, 240 quoted, 76 240 Mendon, 155 Menford, Andrew, 170, 335 Menzies. S Mercers, 42 See Minsy. Merchant Tailors, 42 Meriwether, 294 Merrymeeting Bay. 143, 331; on map, 204; settlement, 215; names of Scotch Irish at, 233-Merrel, Abel, 264 Mickleroy, William, 335
Mickleravie, Hugh, 335
Micklevain, William, 335
Middleboro, 156
Middleboro, 156
Middleton, Robert, 272
Migration of 1636, 7; in Cromwell's
time, 11; from New England to Ireland, 11; to the South, 13 Military duty, 227 Military training, 301, 309 Militar, David, 128 Hugh, 125 John, 326 Margaret, 125 Robert, 325 Samuel, 334 Miller, 294
Alexander, 319, 320
David, 121, 125
James, 232, 235
John, 230, 234
Robert, 114, 328
Samuel, 170, 252 Mills, 293 Milton, 155 Milton, 155
Ministers, dress of, 107
Minnery, Dr. Hugh, 236
Minsy, Hugh, 232, 236
Misconges, 230
Mitchell, 278, 282
David, 329, 334
Henry, 236
Hugh, 236
James, 272

Mitchell, John, noticed, 255, 264, 330 Thomas, 272, 335 Mole, James, 282 Mole, James, 282 Molony, Thomas, 334 Moneymore, 41, 303, 304 Monreagh, 105 Montgomery, 280, 294 Hugh, 127, 264 James, 132, 319 John, 156 Robert, 319, 335 William, 219, 236 Moodey, 278, 282 Moody, Alice F., 210 Caleb, 250 Samuel, 206 Moony, John, 334 Moony, John, 334 Moor, 294 James, 155, 264, 334 John, 155, 192, 264, 328, 335 Samuel, 264 William, 336 Moore, 281, 294 Alexander, 252 Andrew, 252 Daniel, 252 Daniel, 252 David, 334 James, 192, 32 John, 192, 217 Samuel, 334 325 Thomas, 328 William, 334 William, 334
Moorhead, Rev. John, 106, 334, 335;
hls arrival, 164; sketch of,
166; portrait of, 167, 172;
wife, 170; children 170
Moorhead, Mary, 170
Sarah, 170
Morison, Mrs., 303
David, 260, 264
James, 261, 264, 325
John, 264, 325; builds log
house, 247; noticed, 255, 256
Margaret, 247, 255
Robert, 264
Samuel, 260, 264
Morrison, Dr. Hugh S., letter on Morrison, Dr. Hugh S., letter on Blair's House, 126; view of his home, 128 L. A., quoted, 257 Sarah, 131 Mortimer, Philip, 334 Morton, Robert, 334 Motley, John, 214 John Lothrop, 214, 310 Patrick, 334 Mount Sandall Fort, view of, 53 Mount Zion Church, 288 Mourne, river, 1 Muff, 41 Mullaghmoyle, 181 Murchison, Eliz., 125

Murdock, John, 326, 327, 329 Robert, 327 Stephen, 327 Murray, 281 John, 192, 326, 327 Rev. John, 117 Musgrove, 281 Music, 193 Myers, on the Irish Quakers, 28 Nazareth Church, 294 Neal, 294 Danlel, 334 Nealson, James, 156 Needham, 155, 239 Neily, 293 Neill, Rev. Henry, 100, 102 Neilson, Rev. Robert, 101, 50 Neilson, Rev. Robert, 101, 330 Nelson, 288 James, 334 John, 231, 236 Nepmug country, 12 Nesbitt, 294 Neshitt, 294
Neshaminy Creek, 58, 278
Neshaminy, Penn., 266
Nesmith, James, 252, 264, 325, 330;
noticed, 255
Nessley, 281
Nevin, Alfred, quoted, 30
Newberry, 294
Newcastle, 35, 36, 117
Newcastle, 55, 36, 117
Newcastle, Delaware, 267
Newel, John, 230, 236
Newell, Joseph, 323
New England emigrants to Ireland, 11; Scotch Irish, 266
New Hampshire, 308
New London, 113, 142
Newton, Marmaduke, 31
Richard, 31
Newtown Limavady, 42 Richard, 31
Newtown Limavady, 42
New York, Scotch Irish in, 268, 269
Nicols, 294
Nicols, Alexander, 261, 264
Andrew, 335
James, 261, 264
John, 155
Nickel, Thomas, 122, 125
Noble, Arthur, 334
John, 334
Non-subscribers in Antrim, 75-76 Non-subscribers in Antrim, 75-76 North, Mrs. Mary M., quoted, 21 North Carolina, 308 Nutfield, settled, 242 O'Cahan, Grany, 122 Nealy, 125 Octorara Creek, 58 Oliver, Daniel, 305

Omagh, houses at, 3 Orr, Alexander, 335 Boniel, 329 Isaac, 334 John, 329 Patrick, 329 Thomas, 325 William, 329 Oursell, Nicholas, 318 Owen, 281 Rev. John, 113 Philip, 12 Page, Charles D., 261 Paine, James, 285 Painter, 281 Painter, 281
Pakachoag Hill, 177, 180
Palmer, 115, 173, 281; settlers, 182
Park, 282, 327
Lawrence, 178
Parke, John, 114
Patrick, 114
Robert, 114; letter on emigration, 282-284
Parker, 278
Rev. E. L., 241, 252; and Shute Parker, 248

Rev. E. L., 241, 252; and Shute
petition, 324; quoted, 131,
199, 200, 203

Paterson, James, 271, 330

William, 327

Patterson, Abraham, 184

David, 329

John, 192
Peter, 264
Vincent, 114 Vincent, 114 William, 192, 335 Pattison, Alexander, 328 Ninian, 328 Paton, 294 Patrick, Andrew, 327 John, 183 Robert, 192 Patten, Robert, 175
Patton, Robert, 169, 334
William, 334
Patuxent, 27, 33
Paxtang, 278 Paxtang, 278
Peables, John, 183, 192
Patrick, 183, 184
Robert, 182, 183, 184, 191
Pearson, 294 Pearson, 294
Peat, Robert, 323
Peck, Noah, 213
Pedan, 275
Peg of Limavaddy, 99
Pejepscot, 218, 225
Pelham, 115
Charles, 172
Peter, 172, 334
Pelham Mass. settlen Pelham, Mass., settlement, 184 Pendale, 281 Pennock, 281

Pennsylvania, life in, 228-284; Scotch Irish, 266 Penny, 294 Pequea, 89 Perce, Stephen, 265 Per cent. of population, 308 Perry, Prof. Arthur L., 133; on Worcester, 180, 195; quoted, 183, 186, 214

183, 186, 214
Bliss, 188
Prof. James, 335
Perth, 115
Peterborough, 255
Petition for land, 240; to Shute, 101, 105, 324
Pettey, James, 329
Pharr, John, 335
Philadelphia passengers at, 30, 35;
Scotch Irish in, 270
Philips, Thomas, 166
Sir Thomas, 19
Pickens, Israel, 279
Thomas, 156
William, 279
Pike, John, 155
Pirates, 322
Piscatagua, 142, 143, 248; ship at,

Piscataqua, 142, 143, 248; ship at, 219

Plowden, 288 Plowing allowed, 49 Polk, Thomas, 77 Pomfret, 155, 307, 308 Poor in Ireland, 122

Porpooduc, on map, 204; houses at, 205

Port regulations in Ireland, 291
Port Royal, 285
Porter, 275
Isabel, 125
John, 288
Rev. John, 100, 102, 330
Portland. See Falmouth
Potatoes, at Andover, 200; use of, 305

Poverty in Ireland, 47 Powers, John, 334 Pownts, 30hh, 332 Poyntz, John, 334 Preaching, 302 Presbyterian books, 174 Presbyterian meeting house, Boston.

Presbyterians under Queen Anne, 15; in Maryland, 28; and Quakers, 29; at Charleston, 31; Synod, 36; in Ulster, 60; wanted control in Ireland and Eng-land, 61; under William III, 62; criticised by Dr. King, 69; charges against, 71; split,

Prentice, Captain, 179 Pressley, David, 288

Pressley, William, 288 Prices of provisions, 159 Price's view, 150
Prince, Thomas, 83
Proctor, Edward, 258, 3
Protestant tenantry, 55
Providence, 155
Providence, 155 Pynner's Survey, 41

Quakers, 64; did not influence Scotch Irish migration, 28; in Bally-

nacree, 252 Quig, John, 334, 335 Quinnebaug, 12 Quinton, Duncan, 192

R

Ramage, Thomas, 329 Ramsay, James, 327 John, 327

Thomas, 329 Ramsey, Hugh, 264 Randal, 255

Randolph, Edward, quoted, 25 Rankin, Hugh, 255, 264 James, 219, 236

Rasle, Father, 219 Rawlings, Philip, 321, 323

Ray, 294
Read, George, 323
John, 269
Records in Ulster, 337 Reed, Andrew, 279 Hugh, 121

Martha, 214
Reid, James, 264; noticed, 258
Rehoboth, 21, 22, 33, 36
Religious conditions in Ireland,
der William III, 61 Ireland, un-

Rent and tythes, 66
Rents in Ireland, 56
Reglum Donum, suspended, 63
"Return," schooner, 320
ship, 323
"Revenge," 152
Pice Company 177

Rice, Gersham, 177
Jonas, 177
Richards, Arthur, 12
Charles, 155
Richardson, Thomas, 202

Richie, Francis, 329 Richey, Alexander, 325 Francis, 334

John, 264 Richmond, 282 Riddle, Hugh, 202 Riley, Elizabeth, 230, "Rising Sun," ship, 31 Ritter, Daniel, 155

Rivers, W. J., his South Carolina, quoted, 286-287 Salter, Grashinham, 321 Mary, 232, 236
Thomas, 232, 236
Sandford, 282
Sargent, W. M., 218
Saunders, 281 Rivers, int Roan, 278 Robb, 282 influence of, 307 Robb. 282 John, 329 "Robert," brigantine, 135, 146, 149, Saunders, 281 Savage, 191, 294 Edward, 192 ship, voyage of, 205, 206 Roberts, Mary, 214 Robey, John, 265 Robinson, 281 Isaac, 334 James, 232, 237
Scarboro, 116
School in Boston, Little's, 172
Scotch Irish, 4; cleanliness, 5; Lee
on, 5; as farmers, 78; meaning of the term, 309; ability
shown by, 309
Scott 281, 289 James, 335 William, 317 Roddy, James, 271 Rodger, 278 Rodger, 278 James, 327 Roe, Robert, 325 Rogers, Andrew, 231, 23 Elizabeth, 232, 236 Hugh, 327 Isabella, 232, 236, 264 John, 157, 320 Robert, 192 Thomas, 232, 236 Scott, 281, 282 Alexander, 156 Hugh, 272 John, 272 Patrick, 282 Robert, 335 Seating, committee on, 182 Seaton, James, 202 John, 202 Thomas, 232, 236 William, 114 Roquelo coat, 174 Ross, 293 Samuel, 202 Semple, 275 Mary, on the Bann Valley, 299
Senter, John, 265
Seton, John, 326
Settlements in 1776, 307
Sewall, Joseph, 83
Samuel, 84, 136, 244
Sheday Thomas, 328 Ross, 293
David, 229, 236
James, 231, 236
John, 232, 236, 327
Robert, 335
Samuel, 327
Ross family, 231, 236
Rossiter, W. S., referred to, 307, 308
Route, 224
Rowland, Robert, 231, 236
Roxbury, 155
Ruling elders, 339-377
"Runners," in Ireland, 268
Rupp, Isaac D., quoted, 280
Rutherford, Robert, 334
Rev. Robert, 116 Shadey, Thomas, 328 Sharpe, 282 Shaw, Samuel, 173, 174, 192 Seth, 193 William, 170; his will, 173 Sheales, John, 264
Shearer, James, 193
Shennen, 281
Sherrard, 280
William, 334
Shertwell, Mary, 230, 237
Ships from Ireland, 317
Shipway, John, 29 Rev. Robert, 116 Thomas, 278 Shipway, John, 22 Shirley, 155 Shirley, John, 121, 122 Shirlow, William, 335 Shorswell, James, 329 Rutland, on map, 178; incorporated, 181; names of settlers, 191 Rutledge, Edward, 310 Ryan, Kennedy, 334 Shrewsbury, 184
Shrewsbury, 184
Shute, Samuel, Governor, 18,
227; petition to, 324
Simonds, Joseph, 256, 261, 265
Simonson, Magnus, 282
Simonton, Andrew, 214 18, 203, Sacramental test, 63 Sadsbury, Penn., 280 Sadsbury, Penn., 280 Sagatabscot Hill, 177 William, 214 St. Lawrence, Joseph, 334 Salem, S. C., church at, 288
Salley, A. S., Jr., quoted, 287
Salmon fisheries, 51-52
Salmon Leap, 42; on map, 39; view of, 53
Salter, 42 Simpson, Peter, 327 William, 228, 237

Simson, Professor, 75 Andrew, 334 Sinclair, George, 335 William, 193

Skinners, 42 Slamon, William, 325 Slarrow, Matthew, 102, 192, Slemmons, William, 214, 325 Slemons, 210 Sloan, 282, 294 William, 192 Sloane, Robert, 334
Samuel, 334
Small Point, 204. 2 Smeally, John, 325 Smith, 281, 282 Alexander, 155
Aubla, 237
James, 155, 192, 196, 237, 239, 272, 328; his letter from Ballykelly, 197
Jeremiah, 155, 247, 335; and his mother, 51; life of, 266, 299; education, 304
John, 114, 179, 206, 232, 237, 235, 235 Alexander, 155 Matthew, 196, 237 Patrick, 328 Robert, 193, 327 Samuel, 63, 82, 272, 327, 328, Rev. Thomas, 208 William, 262, 264, 3 Smith family, 232, 237 282, 303, 304 Snoddey, 278 Snow Hill, 21, 26, 28, 33, 36; old house at, 26 Somerset, Ireland, 53
Somerset County, Md., 21, 33: Scotch
Irish In, 25
South, Scotch Irish of, 266
South Carolina, 169; Scotch Irish
in, 30-35, 285; hardships, 10, 30-33, 286 291, 292 Southack, Cyprian, 1-215, 216, 219 Spartanburg, 294 Spaulden, Adrew, 265 144: his map, Spear, David, 220
Jean, 230, 237
John, 271
Robert, 271, 335
William, 192 Spectacle Island, 160, 163 Spence, John, 193 Spencer, 294 Spinning, in Ireland, 51; in Ameri-51; wheels, 51; school, ca. 305 Stackpole, Rev. E. S., 219, 228 Stafford, Luke, 322 Stanley, David, 334 Stanwood, David, 232 Jonas, 232 Samuel, 232 Stark, Archibald, 264 General John, 310

Steel, 280 David, 219, 237 James, 219, 237 Thomas, 140 Steele, Thomas, noticed, 256, 264 Steer, 281 Sterling, John, 183 Robert, 192 Sterrett, Benjamin, 272 James, 255, 264 John, 272 Stet. James, 334 Stet., James, 334
Steuart, James, 327
Stevens, Mrs. Charles E., 131
Col. William, 22
Stevenson, James, 237
Stewart, 282
Rev. Hugh, 286
Ronald, 335
Walter, 201
William, 334 William, 334 Stiles, 281 Ezra, President, 89, 117 Still, James, 326 Stinson, 191, 280 Still, James, 326 Stinson, 191, 280 James, 237 John, 183, 184, 192, 237 Robert, 237 Stirling, Rev. John, 100, 197 John, 327 MrG., 327 Stiven, Robert, 329 Stobo, Rev. Archibald, 31, 285 Stockman, Hugh, 328 Stoddard, David, 159 Loby, 184 John, 184 Storey, 280 Strabane, 80 Strawbridge, Rev. Thomas, 156
William, 156
Strobridge, William, 156
Stronge, Charles E. S., his home, 129
Pauline Marian, 129, 297
Strondwater, 209, 210
Stuart, 288
Charles, 231, 237
Gordon, 271
Hanna, 231, 237
Henry, 231, 237
John, 201, 256, 264
Margaret, 156
Robert, 201 Strawbridge, Rev. Thomas, 156 Robert, 201 Samuel, 201, 231, 237 Sturgeon, 332 Sudbury, 155 Summeril, 282 Summersett, Maine, 331 as a Christian name, 217 Surnames in Ulster, 339-377 Sutherland, George, 170 Sutton, 113, 181 Swanan, Mr., 232

19;

Swift, Dean, on landlords, 19; Sym, William, 288 Synod of Ulster, business of, 94-98 Synod records, 339 T
Tabb, James, 334
Tackels, Alexander, 193
Taggart, James, 155
Taller, William, 237
Tailors, 306
Tanner, John, 334
Tappan, Sarah, 82
Tarbel, David, 329
Hugh, 329
Tark, Robert, 230, 237
Tate, James, 335
Rev. James, 101, 330
Tatt, James, 335
Taughboyne, 105, 111, 186, 207
Taylor, Humphrey, 230, 237
Rev. Isaac, 187, 223
James, 184
John, 272
Jonathan, 264
Matthew, 264
Rev. Nathaniel, 36
Teach, Captain, 152
Telford, John, 202
Temple, Robert, 142, 187, 210, 218, 334
Templeman, 280 Templeman, 280
Tenants, 19, 20
Tenants, 19, 20
Tennent, Rev. William, 30, 279
Termont, 156
Test act, 15; use of, 63
Thackeray, W. M., on Coleraine, 99
Theobaids, John, 269
Thien, Alexander, 174
Thom, Mrs., 257
Thomas, Archibald, 334
Dayld, 191 David, 191
Mary, 233, 237
Samuel, 184
"Thomas & Jane," ship, 317
Thompson, 278, 294
Misses, of Cullycapple, 121
Adam, 328
Arabland, 155

William, 264
Thomson, Archibald, 336
George, 328 Rev. James, 102, 330

James, 327, 328 Jeremiah, 330 John, 330, 334 Jonathan, 328 Peter, 237, 330 Robert, 328

51

Archibald, 155 Archibald, and spinning wheels,

Thomson, John, 122, 193, 325, 328
Robert, 193
Thorn, Mary, 232, 237
Thorn, Mary, 232, 237
Thornbury, 281
Thornton, James, 183, 184, 191, 238
Matthew, 310
Samuel, 283
"Three Anns and Mary," 156
Tillage bill, 45, 48
Tobacco trade, 58
Toboco trade, 58
Toboyne, Penn, 272
Tod, Laurence, 328
Todd, Andrew, 264
Daniel, 329
Toler, William, 334
Toleration act, 15, 64
Tom, John, 155, 335
Tomb, Archibaid, 335
Tomb, Archibaid, 335
Tomson, Hugh, 326
Tonson, James, 327
Topham, Walter, 335
Torrence, Hugh, 127
Town names, 1lst of, 339
Towns, Irish, having records, 337
Townsend, Rev. Jonathan, 196
Tracy, Patrick, 334
Traill, Rev. William, 22
Tregoweth, Thomas, 238
Trevor, Lord, 48
Trinity, 64
Trinity, 64
Trinity, Church, Boston, 175
Trotter, James, 325
"Truth and Daylight," galley, 318
Tufts, Mrs. Henry F., 258
Turner, Alexander, 184
Thomas, 127
Tuttle Lulius H. 207 Turner, Alexander, 184 Thomas, 127

U Ulster, extent, 1; climate, 2; houses, 2-3; population, 4; under James II, 13; under Queen Anne, 15; in 1698, 15; under George I, 17; economic conditions, chapter 3; disease and drought, 43; political and religious conditions, chapter 4; under Queen Anne, 64; and Curates, 68; map of, 103
Ulster Journal of Archæology, 340
Ulster man, 313

Ulsterman, 313 Unitarianism in Ulster, 72 Union County, 293 Upper Marlborough, 33, 36 Upper Octorara church, 282

Tuttle, Julius H., 207 Tweed, David, 335 Tyrconnel, Earl of, 13 Tythes, 65

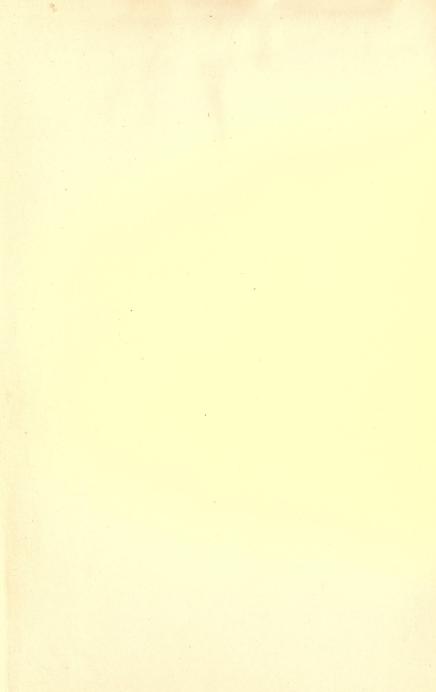
Valley Forge, 275 Vance, 294

Vanhorne, John, 269
Vaudreull, Marquis de, 244
Vernon, 294
Vincent, John, 238
William, 228
Vintners, 42
Vital records in Ulster, 337
Voluntown, 114
Voyage, the Atlantic, 151
W

Waite, Robert, 156 Wakefield, John, 321 Waldron, Richard, 257, 265 Walker, Alexander, 261, 264 Benjamin, 141 Walker, Alexander, 261, 264
Benjamin, 141
Rev. George, at Derry, 14
James, 325
John, 141, 335
Nathaniel, 200
Patrick, 334, 335
Robert, 325, 327
Thomas, 157
William, 191, 325
Wall, Caleb, 180
Wallace, 278
John, 264; noticed, 258
William, 8, 9, 125
Walls, Thomas, 329
William, 329
William, 329
William, 329
William, 329
William, 329
Wallis, Daniel, 238
James, 25, 230, 238
John, 25, 232, 238
Matthew, 25
Matthew, 25
Matthias, 191
Oliver, 183
Robert, 232, 238
Wallis family, 232, 238
Wallis family, 232, 238
Wallis family, 232, 238
Walsh, Nathaniel, 334
Walvorth, 42
Ward, 229, 238
Obadiah, 177
Wardlaw, 294
Ware, Mass., 193
Warnings, 229
Watson, 281
Andrew, 326, 328
Joseph, 325
Matthew, 155, 239
William, 192
Watt, Andrew, 140, 320
Luke, 329 Watt, Andrew, 140, 320 Luke, 329 Samuel, 329 Watts, Alexander, 335 John, 334, 335 Waugh, Joseph, 202 Waxhaws, 292 Waxnaws, 292 Wear, Robert, 248, 249, 251, 264, 329; noticed, 255 Webb, 281 Welch, John, 229, 238 Thomas, 114 Wells, 294
Rev. John, 174
Wendell, Barrett, 118
Wentworth, Benning, 248, 257, 265
Westboro, 155
Western, 155
Western, 75 Westminster Confession, 75 West-running Brook, 242, 243, 247, West-running Brook, 242, 243, 241, 252
Wheeler's Brunswick, 220, 222
Wheelwright, John, 248, 257, 265
White, Mrs. Charles F., 258
David, 335
Rev. Fulk, to teach Hebrew, 70
Hugh, 278
John, 22
Rev. John, 83
Rev. John, of Dorchester, England, 8 Rev. John, of Dorch land, 8
Moses, 271, 279
Patrick, 335
William, 156
White Clay Creek, 30, 89
Whitehill, 275
Whitey, John, 334
Wicomico, 21, 28, 33
Widborn, David, 329
Wiggins, John, 278
Wight, John, 329
Joseph, 330
Wiley, 282
Wille, Robert, 335
Wilkin, 282 Wilkin, 282 Wilkins, Peter, 271 Robert, 271 "William," shlp, 135, 146, 149, 150, "William and Mary," ship, 132, 319 William III, 15 Williams, Benjamin, 264 Peter, 334 Williamsburg colony, 287, 288 Williamson, William, 335 Willis, James, 335 William, 228 William, 228
William, 228
Willison, Rev. John, 174
Willson, Alexander, 170
Benjamin, 264
David, 328, 330
James, 327
John, 328
Robert, 330
Thomas, 122, 264
William, 264
William, 264
Wilson, 278, 282, 294
Alexander, 335
David, 288
James, 155, 228, 238, 264
Jean, 231, 238
John, 133, 319
Capt. John, 194
Rev. John, 36

Wilson, Rachel, 300 Roger, 288 Robert, 155, 264, 288, 335 Tnomas, 327, 328
Rev. Thomas, 22
William, 82, 134, 149, 288, 317, 327, 328
Windham, N. H., 112
Winthrop, Governor, 132, 139
Wait, 12
Wiscasset, 155
Withersnon, 292 Witherspoon, 293 Gavin, 288 John, 286, 288; his voyage, 291 Robert, 291 Woburn, 155 Wood, John, 155 Woodburn, George, 232, 238 Woodburn family, 232, 238 Woodford, John, 264 Woods, Catherine, her spinning, 51; Mrs. Martha, 100 Woodside, Rev. James, 94, 99, 131, 142, 144, 166, 209, 241; Mather's letter to, 109; at Brunswick, 220-227; his own story, Woodside, William, 224
Woolen in 1698, 15
Worcester, settlement, 177; on map,
178; site of Presbyterian
meeting house, 180, 181;
seating, 182; cemetery, 186;
names of settlers, 188; their
character, 195 wright, 294
Wylie, 293

Yamassee lands, 286, 287 York, Samuel, 238, 325 "York Merchant," ship, 317 Young, 293, 294 Arthur, on emigration and manufactures, 55 Anthony, 269 David, 183, stone, 186 191: his grave-John, 169, 191, 229, 232, 238, 335; his gravestone, 186 Rev. Samuel, 100, 282 Young family, 232, 238



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