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# THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF PROVINCIAL NEW HAMPSHIRE

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THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF PROVINCIAL  
NEW HAMPSHIRE

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DISSERTATION

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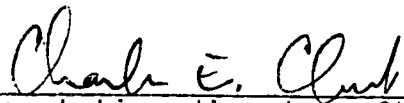
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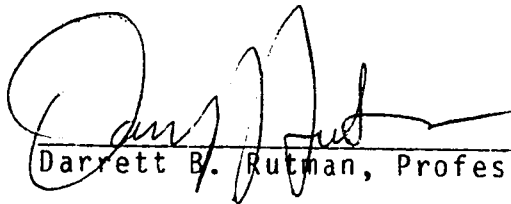
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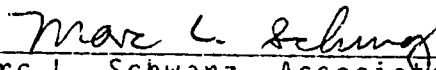
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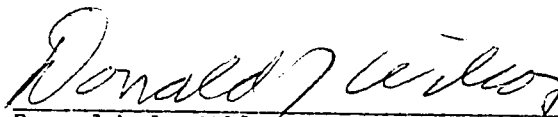
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ABSTRACT

THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF PROVINCIAL NEW HAMPSHIRE

by

RALPH STUART WALLACE

University of New Hampshire, May, 1984

This dissertation examines the Scotch-Irish as a distinct ethnic group in eighteenth-century New Hampshire. The Scotch-Irish are seen in light of their ethnicity as well as the role they played in the growth and development of provincial New Hampshire.

When the first "wave" of Presbyterians from Ulster came to New England in 1718, they were misunderstood and mistreated. Town and provincial leaders in Massachusetts, not to mention occasional Boston mobs, frequently confused the immigrants with native, Catholic Irish. Since their arrival coincided with food shortages and outbreaks of smallpox in Boston, the Scotch-Irish were hardly welcome. Instead, they were sent to frontier areas in Maine and central Massachusetts, where they suffered at the hands of land speculators, unsympathetic neighbors, and hostile Indians.

In New Hampshire, a substantial number of New England's Scotch-Irish immigrants found a haven in the

vicinity of Nutfield, or Londonderry. Yet it was a haven threatened by conflicting interpretations of town and provincial boundaries. The Scotch-Irish story in Londonderry had both ethnic and political dimensions. The Scotch-Irish proprietors of Londonderry sought to control town affairs in order to preserve their community's ethnic identity. Toward that end, they encouraged emigrants from Ulster to join them. Yet out of political necessity, town proprietors had to align themselves with New Hampshire's political leaders. Officials in Londonderry and Portsmouth worked together in order to prevent New Hampshire from being absorbed by its much larger southern neighbor. In the end, they succeeded. New Hampshire not only survived, but the boundary decision of 1740 expanded New Hampshire at the expense of Massachusetts.

Ironically, while Scotch-Irish participation in the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary controversy resulted in political victory, it also contributed to a weakening of ethnic barriers. As the boundary controversy came to a conclusion, Scotch-Irish settlers left Londonderry to settle new townships in western New Hampshire, where they lived among "the people of New England"--settlers from Massachusetts and even Connecticut. Assimilation resulted. By the end of the century, contemporary accounts indicate that the Scotch-Irish had disappeared as a distinct ethnic group, only to be revived a generation later in the histories and commemorative literature of their ancestors.

## INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the Scotch-Irish. The literature varies in quality, temper, and scope. It ranges from folksy to scientific, genealogical to anthropological, local to international. Some of the literature bursts with ethnic pride; other accounts doubt the existence of the Scotch-Irish as a distinct ethnic group.<sup>1</sup>

The Scotch-Irish have been defined generally as Presbyterians of Scottish descent who migrated throughout the eighteenth century from Ulster to the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard.<sup>2</sup> By the time of the American Revolution, they were the second largest European ethnic group in North America. Yet even the name of this group of immigrants is controversial. "Scotch-Irish" is an American term; it has virtually no European antecedents, and it did not come into popular usage until after the Scotch-Irish had assimilated with their English neighbors. The term and the literature surrounding it were perpetuated as much by ethnic hatred as ethnic pride. By the turn of the twentieth century, Scotch-Irish history had fallen victim to the rhetoric of Irish and Irish-American politics.

Very little has been written about the Scotch-Irish settlers who came to New Hampshire, or even New England.



This is partly a matter of numbers. Most of the Scotch-Irish immigrated to Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Those who emigrated from Ulster to Boston were not well received. Their experiences in Massachusetts and Maine were generally negative, and few were encouraged to follow in their wake. Only in New Hampshire did New England's Scotch-Irish find a haven that met their needs. Yet while the number of Scotch-Irish immigrants to provincial New Hampshire was significant in such a tiny province, it was relatively insignificant when compared to the number of Scotch-Irish settlers in the middle and southern colonies. Scotch-Irish settlement in New Hampshire is generally regarded as something of a sideshow to Scotch-Irish immigration in general.<sup>3</sup>

New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish settlers have been appreciated traditionally for a variety of ethnic characteristics and contributions. Existing literature, both primary and secondary, mentions their Presbyterianism, their fine linen cloth, their potatoes, their "broad Scotch tongue," and their ability to adapt to the rugged New Hampshire wilderness. Literature written in the second half of the nineteenth century embellished these bare facts with a number of less substantiated traits. The result was a full-blown Scotch-Irish myth, one that gave the eighteenth-century emigrants from Ulster a clear, if somewhat exaggerated ethnic identity. According to the literature, as Scotch-Irish ethnicity began to fade, the

resulting American "blend" became all the richer for the Scotch-Irish contribution.

Yet New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish immigrants did more than sprinkle a few ethnic customs around the countryside. Their arrival in New Hampshire in the years following Queen Anne's War had significant political and economic repercussions. Their dislike for Massachusetts authorities (and vice versa) combined with the willingness of New Hampshire officials to "adopt" the Scotch-Irish, meant that the long-standing conflict between New Hampshire and Massachusetts had developed a new dimension. The Scotch-Irish gave New Hampshire a physical presence in its western frontier. In return, Portsmouth officials and their friends in London gave New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish farmers more political muscle than immigrant groups usually wielded. The alliance worked well during the New Hampshire - Massachusetts boundary controversy. The boundary established in 1740 guaranteed the claims of Portsmouth officials and Londonderry farmers alike, and it opened the door for Scotch-Irish expansion into lands beyond the Merrimack River.

NOTES

1. Bibliographies of Scotch-Irish literature include James G. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 352-72; Maldwyn A. Jones, "Scotch-Irish," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 908; John D. Haskell, Jr., and T.D. Seymour Bassett, New Hampshire: A Bibliography of Its History (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979), particularly the entries for Londonderry, Peterborough, Antrim, and Bedford.

2. Maldwyn A. Jones documents the fact that much of the Scotch-Irish migration to America took place after the American Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century. Jones, "Scotch-Irish", and also in "Ulster Emigration, 1783-1815," in E.R.R. Green, ed., Essays in Scotch-Irish History (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1969), 179-99.

3. James G. Leyburn's excellent study, The Scotch-Irish, devotes only six pages to the New England experience. The exception to this generalization is Charles Knowles Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America (Boston: Bacon and Brown, 1910). Bolton was a New England historian and genealogist who covered the Scotch-Irish experience in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas in three chapters.

## Chapter I

### The Ulster Plantation

The Scotch-Irish came swiftly to New England. When their vessels began drifting into Boston Harbor in 1717 and particularly in 1718, few in New England knew anything about Scotch-Irish religion, skills, levels of wealth and education--even Scotch-Irish identity. New Englanders were uninformed about Ireland in the early eighteenth century, and the forces that drove the Scotch-Irish out of Ulster and into Boston Harbor were as foreign to the "Puritans" of New England as the emigrants themselves. These forces formed one small chapter in the sad relationship between Ireland and England.

Since the reign of Henry II, English officials had made repeated attempts to subjugate the various Irish chiefs; in the reign of Elizabeth, mainly for reasons of defense, these efforts had become more serious. Of the four provinces, Ulster in the north had been the most resistant to change. Its geographic isolation from "The Pale" around Dublin helped Ulster to remain the most traditional (the English would have said the most "backward") of the four provinces, with its Celtic population living under the rule of its ancient chiefs. Yet by the end of Elizabeth's reign, this began to change.

Through a mixture of warfare and harsh administration, Elizabeth forced the rebellious Irish chiefs of Ulster to submit to English rule.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of James I, Ulster went through the most dramatic change yet experienced by any of the four provinces. The most traditionally Irish province in Ireland became the least in less than twenty years.

Much of Ulster's transformation resulted from its proximity to Scotland. At its narrowest point, a mere twenty miles of water separate the two--a distance easily traveled by settlers and invading armies in the Middle Ages, and a distance that seemed temptingly insignificant to Scottish investors and farmers alike by 1600.<sup>2</sup> Beginning in 1603, the year of Elizabeth's death and James' accession, two Scottish lords from nearby Ayrshire acquired a considerable amount of land in the Ulster counties of Down and Antrim. By 1606, they were bringing over Lowland Scots to settle on their holdings. At the same time, a successful English plantation began in the lands around Belfast, while yet another settlement took place in Monaghan County. Thus began the "Plantation" of Ulster.<sup>3</sup>

The formal "Plantation" is usually associated with the name and person of James I (of England) and VI (of Scotland).<sup>4</sup> Yet the plantation in Ulster, like the plantations being attempted under James in America, was a complicated arrangement. James gave his blessing, but

others took the risk. It was a combination of royal policy and private money. Unlike the situation in America, however, James took a personal interest in the Ulster plantation, as its success had much to do with his overall policy in Scotland.

James' real opportunity to take a leading role in Ulster came in 1607. In that year, the most prominent Irish chiefs of Ulster fled to Europe. With their departure, reinforced by the devastation of the province under Elizabeth, English officials planned a complete colonization of Northern Ireland. Elizabeth had attempted Irish colonies, only to have them absorbed by the native population. James would be more successful. The native population of Ulster had been demoralized, reduced in size, and finally deserted by its natural leaders.

The most active agent in the colonization scheme in Ulster was the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester. Following the flight of the principal northern chiefs, he quickly had most of the remaining Ulster chiefs swept aside in preparation for a transfer of their land to the crown.<sup>5</sup> Upon the removal of the Irish leaders, approximately one-half million acres of useable farm land in Ulster, located in six of Ulster's nine counties, passed to James.<sup>6</sup> Chichester immediately put forth a proposal for colonizing the newly acquired territory.<sup>7</sup> It was Chichester's hope to keep Scots as well as Irish out of Ulster. His principal concern with Scots was that Lowland

leaders would open the door to Highlanders, whom Chichester considered as troublesome as the Irish.<sup>8</sup> His advice was at least partially heeded. In the final version of the published Orders and Conditions of settlement, it was understood that Scottish settlers invited to the Ulster plantation would be "inland Scottish inhabitants"--James' fellow Lowlanders--and that the "mere Irish" were excluded from most holdings.<sup>9</sup>

The final solution to the delicate matter of land distribution in Ulster was complicated. Much of the land went to worthy English and Scottish gentlemen--often as a reward for services rendered the crown. These "undertakers" were to settle their lands with English farmers and Lowland Scots. In addition, English military men, or "servitors," were also given much of the land; they could settle native Irish on their lands if they chose. Land was also set aside for the Church of England, Dublin's Trinity College, and for designated towns, forts, and schools. In addition, approximately one-tenth of the allocated lands, or the present Londonderry County, was given to the City of London and its twelve companies, or guilds--a group already involved in starting a plantation in Virginia.<sup>10</sup>

The natives of Ireland were given what little was left over. Officially, this may have amounted to only about one-tenth of the available farm land in Ulster. However, the Irish were everywhere throughout Ulster, and bands of

"woodcairns," or simply "cairns," roamed the countryside conducting a kind of seventeenth-century guerrilla warfare upon the English, Scottish, and even Irish settlers. The London Company's lands in Londonderry were particularly hard hit by outlaw bands. George Canning, agent for the Ironmongers, complained in 1615 that "there were never sinthence I came hither soe many kernes out in the woodes as nowe; they are in five or six severall Companies, soe that men can travel no way, near anie woods, without great danger...."<sup>11</sup> Canning wrote from Aghadowey, a parish that provided the core of settlers for Londonderry, New Hampshire, a hundred years later.

At the beginning, the Ulster plantation was not meant to be a Scottish venture. If anything, English investors were given preferential treatment, and it was hoped that many if not most of the actual settlers would be English, not Scottish.<sup>12</sup> Yet Scotland was Ulster's next door neighbor, and Scottish farmers made better tenants than did the unemployed of London. As early as 1610, Chichester had become disenchanted with some of the English participants in the plantation, noting that "the Scottishmen came with greater port [show], and better accompanied and attended, but it may be with less money in the purses."<sup>13</sup> By 1611, 81,000 acres of land had been granted to Scottish investors, many of whom came from Ayrshire and other Lowland counties located nearest to Ireland.<sup>14</sup> It was not long before Scottish tenants began pouring into Ulster



to settle under English and Scottish landowners. In time, only Monaghan of Ulster's nine counties remained predominantly in the hands of the native Irish.

Scotland's participation in the Ulster plantation was not strictly a matter of proximity. One of James' priorities as King of England and Scotland was to establish the kind of control over the Scottish Kirk that he had over the Church of England. By 1610, James had won the right to install bishops within the Kirk. The result was that a number of Presbyterian ministers felt obligated to leave the Lowlands and flee to the more relaxed religious climate of Ulster. The resulting early church in the Ulster plantation was a blend of Presbyterian, Puritan, and Anglican. Many of Ulster's early bishops were Presbyterians at heart and ordained ministers known to be Presbyterian sympathizers in order to care for a population that was becoming more Scottish every day. In addition to church reform in Scotland, James moved to stop the age-old border wars along the Scottish border with England as well as to bring the Scottish Highlands under more direct crown control. The result of these church and civil reforms in Scotland, which continued throughout the seventeenth century, was that both Lowland and Highland Scots looked to Ulster for refuge.<sup>15</sup>

The ebb and flow of Scottish settlement reinforced the "Scottish" nature of Ulster, to the point that some regarded Ulster as a Scottish colony filled with unbending

Presbyterians. Yet Scottish predominance in Ulster was never complete, and during troubled times, more Scots returned to Scotland than immigrated to Ulster. By the 1630's, Scots and English together were firmly rooted in the new plantation. Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy under Charles I, estimated that there were about 100,000 Scots alone in Ulster while he was in Ireland. And they brought their Presbyterian ministers from Scotland as well. The Presbyterian Church gave much greater cohesiveness to the Scottish population of Ulster than could be found among the English or Irish residents. Wentworth and Charles' Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, were concerned by the strength of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster, both because it threatened royal absolutism and because it was winning converts among the English. In Laud's efforts in the late 1630's to get Presbyterian ministers to conform to the Church of England, the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster were deprived of their livings. By 1640, most Presbyterian parishes in Ulster were without clergy; some Scots worshipped secretly, and crossed over to Scotland twice each year to take Communion. Others contemplated leaving Ulster for America. In 1637, a shipload of would-be emigrants, led by their Presbyterian ministers, sailed for New England. The Fagle Wing was turned back by leaks and bad weather, however, and no other voyages were attempted for several decades.<sup>16</sup>

In October 1641, the Scots of Ulster, along with their English neighbors, found their situation even more troubling. In the midst of Charles' problems with both Parliament and Scotland, Catholics in Ireland decided to strengthen their bargaining position by taking over key English castles and fortified towns. The "Old English" Catholics failed in their attempt to take Dublin Castle, but the Irish to the north were more successful. Irish bands surprised the Protestant settlers in Ulster and captured several fortified towns. The "atrocities" associated with the Irish takeover, while true in some cases, were greatly exaggerated by Puritans and Presbyterians alike.<sup>17</sup> Several thousand Protestants lost their lives as a result of the uprising, and numbers of Scottish settlers fled to Scotland. The arrival of these refugees stirred the sympathy and ire of Scottish authorities. In spite of the fact that Scotland was maintaining an army in England at the time, a force of 2,500 soldiers was sent to Ulster to protect Scottish settlers. The plan worked well. Not only did the Scottish troops push the worst of the Irish rebellion out of Ulster, but the presence of Scottish troops strengthened Ulster's association with its eastern neighbor. Perhaps as a direct result of this presence, the Presbyterian Church in Ulster moved closer to the Scottish Kirk and began corresponding directly with the general assembly in Scotland.<sup>18</sup>

When peace finally came to Ireland in 1652, Scots in Ulster found the situation somewhat improved. The Presbyterian Church had suffered under Wentworth; it was tolerated under Cromwell. Trade improved as well. To protect English interests, Wentworth had outlawed woolen manufacturing in Ireland, although he softened the blow by encouraging the manufacture of linen. Since Ulster farmers raised sheep and depended upon the woolen trade, they were hurt by Wentworth's action. Cromwell reversed the Wentworth plan. Wool could once more be manufactured in Ireland, and as an added bonus, the linen trade, encouraged by Wentworth, did well also. As a result, Scots began migrating once again to Ulster in the 1650's. The counties of Northern Ireland became an attractive haven for religious dissidents of Calvinist persuasion, and throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, Puritan dissenters in England and French Huguenots (after 1685) immigrated to Ulster. Many of these were skilled weavers.<sup>19</sup>

Yet while Ulster's economy flourished, religious problems returned with the Restoration of Charles II. It was the crown's policy to bring the churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland into a greater degree of conformity with the Church of England. As a result, sixty or seventy Presbyterian ministers lost their positions in Ulster.<sup>20</sup> Charles' policy was enforced more leniently in Ireland than in Scotland and England, however. Dissenters sought refuge

in Ulster as the least of three evils. Since some of those fleeing to Ulster were among the most radical Calvinists, the Presbyterian interest in Ulster probably gained ground as a result of crown policy.<sup>21</sup>

The Restoration proved more troublesome when it came to Ulster's economy. A number of navigation acts passed during the reign of Charles II not only prohibited Irish farmers from exporting cattle, sheep, swine, and most animal products to England, but virtually excluded the Irish from the colonial trade. The policy crippled any hopes Ireland had of being a trading nation, and it led Jonathan Swift to conclude at a later date: "The conveniency of ports and harbours which nature bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."<sup>22</sup> The one item Irish farmers could send to England for profit was wool. Yet even this profitable trade was taken from them as the century came to a close. By 1700, Ulster farmers had overseas outlets for almost nothing raised on their farms or made in their households. The one exception was linen, and it was upon linen that the Ulster economy survived during the eighteenth century.

The plantation in Ulster had to endure one more severe trial before its success could be guaranteed. During the final years of Charles' reign, the king and his Catholic brother, James, Duke of York, tried to subdue Presbyterian interests in both Ulster and Scotland. The resulting

persecution led to the emigration of a handful of ministers from the Presbytery of Laggan to America in the 1680's. When James succeeded his brother Charles in 1685, things got worse for Presbyterians in both Ulster and Scotland. In both places, James II turned to military men for a solution. While James Graham of Claverhouse terrorized the Scottish countryside, Richard Tyreconnel, an Irish Catholic, was made commander of the army in Ireland. Tyreconnel replaced his Protestant officers with Irish Catholics, and before long, Protestants in Ireland began to fear a repeat of the atrocities of 1641.<sup>23</sup>

James' ouster in the "Glorious Revolution" made things even worse for the Presbyterians in Ulster. Knowing that his Catholic subjects in Ireland would prefer him to a Calvinist monarch like William of Orange, James brought a French army to Ireland in 1689. Tyreconnel had already eliminated Protestant opposition, with the exception of a few Protestant strongholds in Ulster. James' Catholic army marched north and laid siege to the Ulster towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen. His plan was to quickly capture these two towns and then to take part of his army to the Scottish Highlands, where he expected to find enthusiastic support.

Yet the Ulster colonists refused to cooperate. To everyone's surprise, Londonderry and Enniskillen risked complete starvation and held out for three months.<sup>24</sup> When the besieged town of Londonderry was finally relieved

by a supply ship, James lifted the siege. The next year, his army was defeated decisively by William's army at the Battle of the Boyne River. The plantation of Ulster had passed its final test, and the heroics of the Presbyterian defenders of Londonderry became larger than life in the Protestant literature of both Ireland and the United States (see Chapter II).

In the immediate aftermath of William's victory over James, Ulster became more Presbyterian and more Scottish than ever before. Between 1690 and 1700, approximately 50,000 Scots came over to Ulster. By 1715, out of a total Irish population of 2,100,000, approximately 200,000 were Scots living in Ulster.<sup>25</sup>

One obvious reason for the move to Ulster was the availability of cheap land. In the wake of war, and given the uncertainty of Ulster's political situation, rents were extremely low. Better still, settlers in Ulster could obtain long-term leases lasting either twenty-one or thirty-one years. Another advantage of living in Ulster as opposed to Scotland was the possibility of advancing one's economic and social status. Whereas Scotland had yet to shed its feudalism, in Ulster, a Scot could move his residence, change his job, and even hope to become a substantial citizen.

A final advantage to Ulster living, at least to some, was the strong position of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster. By 1717, the Synod of Ulster was divided into

eleven presbyteries and 140 congregations--most of which were led by a Scottish Presbyterian minister of good standing. There is even evidence to suggest that Ulster's brand of Presbyterianism was more rigid than that practiced in Scotland. As a haven for religious refugees, Ulster had attracted some of the more outspoken Presbyterian leaders, including the "Covenanters" chased from Scotland by Claverhouse during James' brief reign.<sup>26</sup> In time, the Presbyterian Church in Ulster rivaled the authority of government leaders and landlords combined. The established archbishop in Ulster complained that the Presbyterian ministers "marry people, they hold synods, they exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as is done in Scotland, excepting only that they have no assistance from the civil magistrate, the want of which makes the minister and his elders in each district stick the closer together, by which means they have almost an absolute government over their congregations, and at their communions they often meet from several districts to the number of 4,000 or 5,000, and think themselves so formidable as that no government dares molest them."<sup>27</sup> Bolstered by the heroics of Londonderry, which was interpreted as a "Presbyterian" victory, Scottish church leaders in Ulster were confident, even to the point of complete arrogance toward other Protestants and missionary work among the native Irish.<sup>28</sup>

Ulster emerged from the seventeenth century a very different place than the remaining three provinces of



Ireland, and its people were different as well. One key difference was the emergence of the linen trade. An observer noted that in 1760, "the north of Ireland began to wear an aspect entirely new; and, from being (through want of industry, business, and tillage) the almost exhausted nursery of our American plantations, soon became a populous scene of improvement, traffic, wealth, and plenty, and is at this day a well-planted district, considerable for numbers of well-affected useful and industrious subjects."<sup>29</sup> Yet others noted differences between Ulster and the rest of Ireland at a much earlier date. Lord Molesworth, writing in 1723, observed that "in the north of Ireland, the inhabitants holding small farms which did not furnish them with labour through the winter, nor with necessaries through the year, set their women to spin and their young lads to weave when they could be spared from other work." The linen that resulted from their efforts "became the support of the nation. Thus the women, who in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught are scarce of any other use than to bear begger children, in the north gave birth to all the wealth of the kingdom, and bear a race of brave and able-bodied men to defend that wealth from all invaders."<sup>30</sup> While Molesworth's comments were a bit extreme, he was one of many who saw in the Ulster linen trade the one element of prosperity in all of Ireland. Skilled weavers from France and the Netherlands had joined with weavers from Scotland, and by the middle of the

eighteenth century, Ireland became synonymous with fine linen. In Ireland, the linen trade was centered in Ulster (see Chapter X).<sup>31</sup>

During the plantation years, Scottish farmers had learned a few other tricks to give the Ulster landscape a slightly different look. Much of their early efforts were devoted to eliminating Ulster's forests and draining swamps. Both activities were learned from the English. The Scots in Ulster also began to plant potatoes as a field crop, and their newly-cleared fields were kept clear by large flocks of sheep. The Scots were also expert fresh-water fishermen; great catches of salmon and eels came out of the Bann and Foyle rivers in Ulster. Although some observers were critical of the unkempt appearance of Scottish farms, records indicate that many Scots in Ulster built substantial homes of stone which contrasted very favorably with the "huts" of the native Irish. And these homes were likely to be clustered together in small villages. Observers noted the ever-present Presbyterian churches and even schools in these farm villages; the Scots in both Ulster and Scotland developed a system of primary education that was superior to that in England.

Yet in spite of numerous villages, Ulster remained a rural, agricultural region early in the eighteenth century. Its port cities of Belfast, Londonderry, Portrush, and Larne had populations well below five thousand and were so underdeveloped as trading centers that much of Ulster's

overseas trade and emigration, particularly the linen trade, went through Dublin.<sup>32</sup> In spite of the lack of amenities of city life, virtually all travelers and administrators alike agreed that Ulster was the most advanced and prosperous of the four Irish provinces. It seems somewhat ironic, therefore, that the first mass emigration from Ireland--at least the first voluntary mass emigration--should have taken place in Ulster.

To some degree, Ulster's prosperity was its own undoing, or at least the undoing of its tenant farmers.<sup>33</sup> By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the twenty-one year leases acquired in the aftermath of the Williamite wars were expiring. Ulster's numerous landlords, many of whom were absentees, realized that peace and a prosperous linen trade meant higher land values, hence, higher rents. In Aghadowey parish, for instance, rents began going up in 1717.<sup>34</sup> Instead of simply renewing the leases of old tenants, landlords adopted a policy of "rack renting," whereby leases would go to the highest bidder. Unfortunately for Scottish tenants, they might not only lose a farm they had worked most of their lives, but they might even lose it to the Irish. In the words of Archbishop William King in 1719, "the Papists...will always outbid a Protestant....This is that which forces Protestants of all sorts out of this kingdom...."<sup>35</sup> The Irish sometimes outbid Protestants by pooling their resources. Some landlords actually preferred

Irish tenants; not only were they willing to pay a higher rent, but they were regarded by some as being less troublesome than the Presbyterians.<sup>36</sup>

Protestant farmers in early eighteenth-century Ulster encountered a number of other problems as well. In the years between 1714 and 1719, normally rainy Ireland suffered from drought. In addition, flocks of Irish sheep were decimated by a disease called "rot" in 1716, and crops suffered from heavy frosts that same year. Finally, Ireland was hit by an outbreak of smallpox in 1718. This combination of factors was enough to bring even the most prosperous of agricultural regions to its knees. The Presbytery of Tyrone lamented the impact of various economic problems upon its churches, claiming that "the bad seasons for three years past, together with the high price of land and tyths, have all contributed to the general run to America, and to the ruin of many families, who are daily leaving their houses and lands desolate."<sup>37</sup>

It is ironic that in explaining the emigration, an Ulster presbytery should have mentioned economic factors ahead of "tyths," for religious discrimination is often listed as the central cause behind the emigration of 1717-1718.<sup>38</sup> In 1703, in reaction to the growing strength and confidence of the Presbyterian Church, a "Test Act" was passed requiring all officeholders in Ireland to take sacraments according to the laws of the Church of England. Not only did the act bar Presbyterians from

holding civil offices, but Presbyterian ministers were deprived of their livings and forced to defend their marriages.<sup>39</sup> Since Presbyterian ministers were among the leaders of the emigrants, it only seemed logical to assume that religious discrimination was the motivating factor.

Yet the ministers would have been among the leaders of the emigrants no matter what the cause. The Presbyterian ministers of small parishes scattered around Ulster were sensitive to their parishioners' economic needs--particularly since the ministers themselves could barely earn a living wage. In addition, the Test Act was not enforced rigidly in Ulster, and its repeal (accomplished in 1719) was seen as inevitable. In the words of Archbishop Hugh Boulter, "it is not the tythe but the increased rent that undoes the farmer."<sup>40</sup>

Beginning in 1717, and lasting only until about 1720, the first "wave" of Protestant emigrants left Ulster for America. Contemporaries noted the event. In 1718, a Presbyterian minister feared that "there is likely to be a great desolation in the northern parts of the Kingdom by the removal of several of our brethren to the American plantations. No less than six ministers have demitted their congregations, and great numbers of their people go with them."<sup>41</sup> In all, approximately five thousand emigrants left Ulster in 1717 alone. Many went to New York and Pennsylvania. Yet between 1714 and 1720, at least

forty-five vessels from Ireland entered Boston Harbor, most of them carrying Presbyterians from Northern Ireland.<sup>42</sup>

In the years before the American Revolution, there may have been as many as five waves of emigration from Ulster, occurring roughly in 1717-1718, 1725-1729, 1740-1741, 1754-1755, and 1771-1775. In all, approximately 200,000 Scotch-Irish came to America before 1775.<sup>43</sup> Whereas high rents, agricultural setbacks, and to a lesser extent, religious discrimination caused emigration from Ulster between 1714 and 1720, new sets of circumstances were behind the waves that followed. Most important was the growing linen industry. As time passed, Ulster depended increasingly upon linen for its economic livelihood. It was linen that made the Protestant North more prosperous than the rest of Ireland, yet it was linen that caused problems in Ulster as well. With prosperity came higher rents. Farmers frequently worked themselves out of their own farms. This problem was magnified by the failure of wages in Ulster to keep pace with rents. Linen also placed Ulster farmers and weavers in an international market. Since linen was regarded as more of a luxury than woolen cloth made in England, the linen market was more subject to fluctuations. Whenever the market for linen dropped, Ulster was devastated. Fortunately, the manufacture of linen also provided for its own relief. Depending on when flax is harvested, it is good for either its seed or its stalk--but not for both. Hence, when Ulster farmers pulled

their flax for the manufacture of thread, they lost most of the seeds. More was needed for the next growing season. The increasing number of Scotch-Irish farmers in America solved the problem. Flax was grown in America largely for its seed. Ships left New York and Philadelphia every year for Ireland, bringing the much needed flaxseed. On their return voyage, they brought Ulster's two best known exports: Irish linen and Irish immigrants.<sup>44</sup>

Although emigration from Ulster slowed after 1720, it picked up again by 1725 and was heavy for the next four years. The thirty-one year leases, taken out in the aftermath of the Williamite wars, were beginning to expire in the 1720's. As was the case ten years earlier, the "rack renting" of the late 1720's was accompanied by bad harvests. Worse still, the linen market slumped in the late 1720's, and general poverty resulted. Archbishop Boulter may have exaggerated when he claimed in 1728 that the problem "affects only Protestants and rages only in the North," but Ulster was clearly devastated.<sup>45</sup> Even the British Parliament was concerned by the loss of Protestants in Ireland, but there was little anyone could do. Again in 1728, Boulter summed up the sorry spectacle:

The humor 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.<sup>46</sup>

By 1740, Ulster was upon hard times once more. Ireland was hit by famine, and an estimated 400,000 people may have died as a result in 1740 and 1741. Edmund Burke figured that approximately twelve thousand people left Ireland each year following the famine, although other sources indicated that mass emigration may have tapered off by late 1743. Jotham Odiorne, a New Hampshire merchant, apparently tried to bring over Irish immigrants, but his business contact in Cork wrote back in September 1743: "The great Plenty of Provisions in general in this Country prevents the midling kinds of people from having the least thoughts of going abroad, Capt. Baxter carries about half a dozen being all he could get."<sup>47</sup>

Beginning in 1754, emigration from Ulster once again picked up, this time as a result of drought. In addition, Ulster farmers were being encouraged to emigrate by those already in America. Letters from friends and relatives convinced many in Ulster that pastures were greener in Pennsylvania and Virginia.<sup>48</sup>

Emigration from Ulster slowed during the Seven Years War and did not really pick up again until 1771. In this year, the linen market fell apart. In the words of one analyst, the depression of 1771 resulted from the "too rapid recovery from the Depression after the Seven Years War." By 1772, there was a glut in the London linen market. As linen poured in from Germany, exports from Ireland fell by half between 1771 and 1773. Approximately



thirty thousand emigrants left Ulster in 1772 and 1773, and at least ten thousand of these may have been weavers. Even so, it was estimated that one-third of Ulster's weavers were unemployed in 1774.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to problems in the linen market, there was general unrest throughout the Ulster countryside in the years prior to the American Revolution. Both rack renting and the policy of enclosure resulted in displaced farmers, which in turn led to vandalism and riots in the Belfast area in November 1770. American agents took advantage of the problems in Ulster by sending recruiters into the countryside in search of potential indentured servants.<sup>50</sup>

There is no way of knowing how many Scotch-Irish immigrants came to America as a result of problems in Ulster. Secretary James Logan exaggerated when he complained from Philadelphia in 1729 that "it looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither...."<sup>51</sup> Prior to the beginning of hostilities in 1775, the number of Ulster immigrants to America was probably around 200,000.<sup>52</sup> Approximately half of this number may have come to America as indentured servants, serving terms of indenture of from four to seven years. In addition, another 100,000 Scotch-Irish immigrants may have come to America in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution.<sup>53</sup>

The vast majority of Scotch-Irish immigrants to America landed in Philadelphia. By the time the thirteen colonies declared independence in 1776, about 90% of the

Scotch-Irish in America lived in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Although about seventy communities in New England at this time had a substantial Scottish or Scotch-Irish population, only about twenty thousand Scotch-Irish had migrated to New England from Ulster in the years between 1650 and 1776.<sup>54</sup>

Any attempt to estimate numbers of Scotch-Irish immigrants is likely to encounter problems with the smaller but significant migration of Lowland Scots to America. For the most part, Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants have similar names. Like the Scotch-Irish, many Lowland Scots came to America as indentured servants. Yet the total number of Scots immigrating to America before the Revolution was much smaller than that of Scotch-Irish--perhaps only as much as 20 to 25% as great.<sup>55</sup> The most authoritative account of eighteenth-century Scottish immigration to America rejects any dramatic "waves" or "swells" of Scottish immigration. Instead, the Scottish migration to America is depicted as a small but steady "stream," from the 1680's until 1768, when the rate of flow increased. From the end of the French and Indian War to the beginning of the War of Independence, about eight thousand Lowland Scots came to America, yet in the brief period from 1771 to 1773, 28,600 Scotch-Irish settlers came to America.<sup>56</sup> A further ingredient for confusion is added when Highland Scots began immigrating to America after 1746, but these Scots were usually

Gaelic-speaking Catholics, and stood apart from the Presbyterians from Ulster and the Scottish Lowlands.<sup>57</sup>

For a variety of reasons, it is also difficult to determine what percentage of the American population could be considered "Scotch-Irish" at any one time. Census figures for the colonial period are incomplete and unreliable. In addition, Scotch-Irish names are not only indistinguishable from the names of Lowland Scots, but at times, they have names commonly found in England, Highland Scotland, and other parts of Ireland. When assimilation is added to the equation, it becomes hopelessly complex. By 1775, many of the so-called "Scotch-Irish" were one and two generations removed from Ireland. They no longer lived in towns that were exclusively Scotch-Irish, and, at least in New England, they may well have married into an English family and abandoned the Presbyterian Church. Therefore, it would not be out of line, given a figure of 200,000 Scotch-Irish immigrants and a total American population estimated at between two and three million people in 1775, to assume that at least 10% of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies were "Scotch-Irish" at the time of the American Revolution.<sup>58</sup>

Even this general estimate for the thirteen colonies does not take assimilation into account, nor does it say anything about the regional nature of Scotch-Irish immigration. Even within New England there was regional variation. The Scotch-Irish presence was stronger in

northern New England, as immigrants from Ulster moved quickly to the frontier areas of New Hampshire, Maine, and the New Hampshire Grants (Vermont). Although population estimates for the various ethnic groups in the American colonies vary greatly, it seems reasonable to assume that approximately 10% of New Hampshire's population was Scotch-Irish at the time of the Revolution.<sup>59</sup>

When the Scotch-Irish began emigrating from Ireland in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, they had no designated haven in which to immigrate. Unlike the English, some of the Lowland Scots, and the Quakers before them, no proprietors had carved out a "plantation" for the Scotch-Irish. The Ulster Scots had, at best, a limited knowledge of the American colonies; a few individuals had migrated from Ulster to America in the years since the Restoration, and from them, relatives and friends learned something of life along the Atlantic seaboard. Others in Ulster learned of America through publications, direct correspondence with English officials and land speculators, and finally, word of mouth. Yet the general level of understanding was limited. Even the best informed and wealthiest Scotch-Irish immigrants were likely to be disillusioned; the first to immigrate to New England frequently went through extreme discomfort and several moves before settling in towns in southern New Hampshire.

Some of the earliest contacts between Ulster Scots and America took place in seventeenth-century Maryland.

Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, commissioned William Stone to be Maryland's governor in 1648, ordering him among other things, to "procure five hundred people of British or Irish descent" for settlement in his colony. Calvert further offered three thousand acres of land to anyone bringing thirty settlers into Maryland.<sup>60</sup> A number of English Presbyterians settled along Maryland's Eastern Shore around mid-century, possibly as a result of Calvert's inducement.<sup>61</sup> Exactly how many "Scotch-Irish" migrated to Maryland as a result of these moves is impossible to say. Calvert wrote in 1677 that "three-fourths of the inhabitants [of Maryland] are Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers." A year later, while admitting he had no idea how many indentured servants were in the colony, he guessed that most were either English or "Irish."<sup>62</sup> Some of those coming to Maryland at this time were clearly Presbyterian Scots from Ulster. Others were Lowland Scots, who at least by name and religion, were easily confused with the Scotch-Irish.<sup>63</sup> At least one contemporary source suggests the number of emigrants, or the potential number of emigrants from Ulster, was quite high. George Scot, Laird of Pitlochrie, and a leader of Scottish colonial efforts in East Jersey, noted in 1684-85:

I had an account lately from an acquaintance of mine, that the Province of Ulster, where most of our nation [Scotland] are seated, could spare forty thousand men and women to an American plantation, and be sufficiently peopled itself. The gentleman who gave me this information is since settled in Maryland.<sup>64</sup>

The Ulster Presbyterians coming to Maryland in the waning years of the reign of Charles II were probably part of a general exodus of Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, and other "dissenters" from Britain--an exodus that sent settlers to Virginia and Barbados as well.<sup>65</sup> Included among the Ulster immigrants to Maryland at this time were a number of Presbyterian ministers. As early as 1669 there was at least one Irish Protestant minister on Maryland's Eastern Shore.<sup>66</sup> One of the early promoters of settlement in Somerset County, Maryland, was Colonel William Stevens. Stevens sought out Presbyterian ministers in Ulster's Laggan Presbytery in 1680, and his efforts probably led to the emigration of the Reverend William Traill and his better known colleague, the Reverend Francis Makemie.<sup>67</sup> Traill had been ordained by the local presbytery at Lifford, Ireland, in 1672, but in 1681, he was imprisoned as a nonconformist. Released a year later, Traill sailed for Somerset County, and is credited with founding the Presbyterian Church at Rehoboth. His tenure in America was brief, however, for in 1690, he returned to Scotland.

Francis Makemie has been called the "father of the Presbyterian Church" in America.<sup>68</sup> He was a native of

Ireland, possibly educated at the University of Glasgow, and licensed to preach in the Presbytery of Laggon in 1681. Shortly after being licensed, he is thought to have emigrated to Barbados. By 1683, he was in Somerset County, Maryland, where he founded the Presbyterian Church at Snow Hill. Following his marriage in 1690 to the eldest daughter of a wealthy Virginia merchant, he seems to have made his official residence in Virginia.

In the years that followed, Francis Makemie championed the Presbyterian Church in America, and particularly the right of Presbyterian ministers to preach openly under the stipulations of the Toleration Act. He traveled widely for his cause, including two trips to England and one to Boston, and he was imprisoned briefly in New York by Lord Cornbury in 1707 for preaching without a license. In 1705, he returned to Maryland following his second trip to England. Accompanying him were two Presbyterian ministers from Ireland: George McNish and John Hampton. A few months later, Makemie, McNish, Hampton, and four other ministers founded the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Makemie was chosen moderator in December 1706.<sup>69</sup> There is evidence that several other Presbyterian ministers might have joined Makemie in Maryland as early as 1684, but with the death of Charles II, they changed their minds.<sup>70</sup>

By 1692, the Eastern Shore county of Somerset contained several natives of Ulster. Edward Randolph complained in that year that Somerset was "pestred with

Scotch & Irish." He estimated that about two hundred families had come over during the previous two years, joining approximately one hundred families already there. He went on to say that these settlers had begun to manufacture linen cloth.<sup>71</sup> This was confirmed by Sir Thomas Laurence, Secretary of Maryland, who reported in 1695: "In the two counties of Dorchester and Somerset, where the Scotch-Irish are most numerous, they almost clothe themselves by their linen and woollen manufactures...."<sup>72</sup>

Yet there is no evidence that more than a few hundred Ulster Presbyterians migrated to Maryland's Eastern Shore in the seventeenth century, and this would have constituted the largest concentration of Scotch-Irish immigrants in America prior to 1718. It is true that a number of "Presbyterians" immigrated to the Middle Colonies in the 1680's, but these were generally Scots, English, Welch, and French Huguenots.<sup>73</sup> In general, Ulster Scots trickled to America throughout the late seventeenth century, making themselves as comfortable as possible among English neighbors. It fell to New England to accept the first "wave" of Scotch-Irish settlers to America.

Aghadowey's minister, the Reverend James MacGregor, along with his parishioners, were among those who chose to settle among the people of Massachusetts. Others from the Bann Valley joined their Aghadowey neighbors--Presbyterians from Coleraine, Ballymoney, Balleywillan, Ballywatick,



Kilrea, and Macosquin. Most were of Scottish descent, some even natives of Scotland. They had never assimilated with their "Irish" neighbors, choosing instead to think of the Irish as enemies. MacGregor and many of his fellow emigrants from Londonderry County had been within the walls of Londonderry during the famous siege of 1689. Yet if they were not "Irish," they could not escape the simple fact that they were from Ireland. Home was a village in Ulster; Scotland was not even a memory for most. Over the years, life in the plantation of Ulster had developed along different lines than life in Scotland and southern Ireland. The citizens of Boston did not understand this; they did not even know what to call this new wave of immigrants except "Irish." In time, the immigrants and their descendants would sort out the various pieces of their identity--reassembling themselves as a whole new "race" called the Scotch-Irish.

NOTES

1. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 87.
2. The Irish like to twit the Scots by claiming that the latter descend from Irish tribes who migrated to Scotland. However, the Scottish Lowlands have been much-traveled over time, and by 1600, a Lowland Scot might well have been a mix of nine or ten different racial groups. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 65-66; Henry Jones Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1915), 555-75.
3. For an account of the early plantations in Ulster, see Charles A. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, 2 vols. (New York, 1902), I: 486-95; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 87-88.
4. The plantation as a Scottish venture is covered in detail in M. Perceval-Maxwell, The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1973). For a detailed older study, see George Hill, An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster... 1608-1620 (Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, 1877).
5. See Hill, Ulster, 60-64, for the removal of the Irish landowners in 1607-08.
6. Technically, the land was "escheated" to the King; it reverted to the crown.
7. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 24.
8. Hill, Ulster, 73-74.
9. Hill, Ulster, 78-88. Actually, it is more correct to say that the Irish were discouraged, but not completely excluded. Some landlords preferred Irish tenants. Hill, Ulster, 96n.
10. Hill, Ulster, passim; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 88-91; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 17-32.
11. Quoted in Hill, Ulster, 440-41. See also Ford, Scotch-Irish, 114, 125.
12. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 91; Hill, Ulster, 136-44; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 26-33, 548-54.
13. Quoted in Hill, Ulster, 446.

14. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 92; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 2: 344.

15. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 84-90, 105-14; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 99-107, 116-19.

16. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 120-22; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 127, 139, 140, 167; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 1: 559-63.

17. S. R. Gardiner estimated that approximately five thousand Protestants were killed in the initial raids, with perhaps another ten thousand deaths resulting from "ill usage." Ford, Scotch-Irish, 144. For an exhaustive study of the sensationalism surrounding the October 1641 uprising, see W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1887-1888), 2: 140-68. This is the American edition of Lecky's work and appears in various forms. It is usually cited as his History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. Either title is misleading; Lecky had quite a bit to say about Ireland in the seventeenth century.

18. J. C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland: 1603-1923 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 87, 113-14.

19. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 115, 121, 127-28; Lecky, England, 2: 228-29.

20. Beckett, Modern Ireland, 125; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 126.

21. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 154; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 127.

22. Swift quoted in Lecky, England, 2: 227. See also Lecky, England, 2: 226-27; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America: 1718-1775 (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1966), 6.

23. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 128-30.

24. The story of the siege has been told and retold in various Protestant accounts. See, for example, Thomas Witherow, Derry and Enniskillen in 1688-1689 (Belfast, 1885). New Hampshire audiences would probably have learned of the episode through town histories, and most notably, in Edward L. Parker, The History of Londonderry, comprising the Towns of Derry and Londonderry, N.H. (Boston: Perkins and Whipple, 1851), 7-29.

25. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 3; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 131; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 1: 614.

26. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 140-43; Hanna, Scotch-Irish,

1: 617-20.

27. Quoted in Lecky, England, 2: 438.

28. On Presbyterian intolerance, see Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 69-76.

29. Quoted in Lecky, England, 2: 362.

30. Quoted in Lecky, England, 2: 275n.

31. Lecky, England, 2: 231-32, 234-36, 375.

32. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 115-16, 151-52; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 51-52; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 1: 616; Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 7-9; Lecky, England, 2: 323, 358-60.

33. The best study of Protestant emigration from eighteenth-century Ireland is Dickson, Ulster Emigration. See also Edward R. R. Green, "Scotch-Irish Emigration, An Imperial Problem," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 35 (December 1952): 193-209.

34. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 29-30.

35. Quoted in Lecky, England, 2: 264.

36. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 9-13; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 186; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 19-20, 55-57; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 160-64.

37. Quoted in Ford, Scotch-Irish, 195. See also Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 43; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 164; Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 28-29.

38. Parker, Londonderry, 32-25; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 1: 154n.

39. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 164-68; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 60-77.

40. Quoted in Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 65-66. See also Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 27-28; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 194. The local historian of Aghadowey parish felt that emigration resulted from a variety of factors, not merely the religious discrimination cited by Aghadowey's Reverend James MacGregor. T. H. Mullin, Aghadowey: A Parish and its Linen Industry (Belfast: Century Services, 1972), 54.

41. Quoted in Ford, Scotch-Irish, 188-89.

42. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 317-23.

43. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 169-74. For a different view of the various waves, see Green, "Scotch-Irish in America," 36; Ian Charles Cargill Graham, Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, for the American Historical Association, 1956), 20. Actually, to be fair to Graham, Ulster immigration is a sideshow for his central interest in Scottish emigration. There have been various estimates of the volume of the migration, although 200,000 is the most generally accepted figure. See Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 179-83.

44. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 7-12; Mullin, Aghadowey, 40; Francis G. James, "Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century," The William and Mary Quarterly, 20 (October 1963): 574-84.

45. Quoted in Ford, Scotch-Irish, 194.

46. Quoted in Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 67. See also Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 170-71; Green, "Imperial Problem," 198-99.

47. Calwell, Lawton, & Carlton (Cork) to Jotham Odiorne, 15 September 1743, Shipping Miscellany, New Hampshire Historical Society (NHHS). See also Ford, Scotch-Irish, 198; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 172.

48. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 172; Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 15-18.

49. Green, "Imperial Problem," 203-04; Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 77-79, which quotes a source indicating that all of the 30,000 emigrants were weavers; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 202-04; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 175.

50. Green, "Imperial Problem," 205; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 173-74.

51. Quoted in Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 171.

52. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 23, 34, 59, 64, feels the number may be closer to 102,000 to 125,000.

53. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 176-77, 179-83; Maldwyn A. Jones, "Ulster Emigration, 1783-1815," in E. R. R. Green, ed., Essays in Scotch-Irish History (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1969), 46-68.

54. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 185-86, 241; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 2: 2.

55. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 235; Graham, Colonists from

Scotland, 185-86.

56. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, 19-20, 185-86.

57. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 235. William R. Brock, in his book Scotus Americanus (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), 13, implies that the numbers of Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants were approximately the same, although his source is the 1790 federal census, and his estimate lacks precision. See note 59.

58. The various population estimates may be found in Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 6-7.

59. For more on ethnic population in early America, see American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," American Historical Association, Annual Report for the Year 1931, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1932): 107-441; Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790," The William and Mary Quarterly, 37 (April 1980), 179-99; Thomas L. Purvis, "The European Ancestry of the United States Population, 1790," The William and Mary Quarterly, 41 (January 1984), 85-101; Donald H. Akenson, "Why the Accepted Estimates of the Ethnicity of the American People, 1790, Are Unacceptable," The William and Mary Quarterly, 41 (January 1984), 102-19.

60. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 170-71.

61. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 247.

62. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 179-80.

63. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 247-48.

64. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 177. George Scot was a leader in the province of East Jersey, but died during his passage to America.

65. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 212.

66. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 171. See also Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 2: 6-7.

67. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 175; William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. 3, (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1860), 1.

68. Sprague, Annals, 3: 4. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 248, points out that Makemie was certainly not the first to

organize permanent churches.

69. Sprague, Annals, 3: 2-3.

70. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 172-78; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 21; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 1: 74-76. Francis Makemie's position on religious liberty, as outlined at his trial in New York, may be found in Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 2, Appendix D, 150-54.

71. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 25.

72. Quoted in Ford, Scotch-Irish, 180, and Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 248. This may be the first official use of the term Scotch-Irish in America.

73. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 242-43.

## Chapter II

### The Development of the Scotch-Irish Myth in New Hampshire

We are surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish people, when we so frequently ventured our all for the British crown and liberties against the Irish papists; and gave all tests of our loyalty, which the government of Ireland required and are always ready to do the same when demanded.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly the Reverend James MacGregor had no love for the term "Irish" when he wrote the above lines to Samuel Shute, governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in the winter of 1719/20. At the very least, being designated "Irish" implied questionable loyalty to the British crown and adherence to the Roman Catholic faith. Neither attribute was desirable in early eighteenth-century New England.

Yet while MacGregor and his fellow immigrants from Northern Ireland may have disliked being called Irish (the label "romans" was even more detestable), they were apparently unable or unwilling to come up with a better name for themselves. The immigrants from Ulster were generally Presbyterians of Scottish descent, but they rarely chose to be called Scots or Presbyterians. Since most came from the northern counties of Ireland, they might have designated themselves Ulstermen or Ulster Scots, but



these terms have more recent origins. In their petitions, and in other contemporary documents, clumsy phrases were used to indicate their ethnic identity. They were styled "Passengers Lately Arrived here from Ireland"; "Numbers of People, that are transporting themselves hither from the North of Ireland"; settlers "originally from north Britain but Last from Ireland"; "people lately arrived from Ireland"; "inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland...being Protestants." Since convenient labels were hard to come by, most "Irish" immigrants simply styled themselves as inhabitants of a particular New England town or province, leaving their ethnic identity unspoken. Their English neighbors, however, particularly those from Massachusetts, found it convenient to refer to the newcomers as "presbyterians," or simply as "Irish."

The settlers "lately arrived from Ireland" would have been both surprised and amused at nineteenth-century efforts to redefine them as a distinct ethnic group in New Hampshire, and in so doing, to arrive at a convenient ethnic label. Yet throughout the century, a "Scotch-Irish myth" developed among the descendants of the Ulster emigrants. The New Hampshire version of this myth was similar to versions developed in Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and elsewhere, although it had a few regional twists. By the end of the century, a reasonably standardized account of the "Scotch-Irish" was being repeated in town histories and patriotic speeches. It

survived the heated criticism of Irish nationalists at the turn of the century, and it has traveled relatively unscathed into the present day. In order to sort out fact from fiction it is important to know something about the development of the Scotch-Irish myth in New Hampshire.

Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ethnic nomenclature seemed unimportant; the emigrants from Ulster had generally assimilated with their New England neighbors. In any case, the American Revolution, the struggle for state and federal constitutions, and the subsequent war with Britain all called for national unity, not ethnic squabbling.

By the 1820's, however, the immigrants from Northern Ireland resurfaced as a distinct ethnic group--in literature and lore, if not in reality. The occasion for this reincarnation was a series of centennial celebrations which took place in the various "Scotch-Irish" towns in south-central New Hampshire between roughly 1820 and 1850. The local celebrations, accompanied by some sort of learned "address," "discourse," or sermon, honored the centennials of both church covenants and town charters--thus allowing each town to have at least two celebrations. Yet these parochial affairs did not operate in a vacuum. The various centennial celebrations gave descendants of the original settlers an opportunity to study and glorify their beginnings at the same time that American history was ready for a minor reinterpretation.

A number of early nineteenth-century trends colored the nature of the centennial discourses, addresses, and sermons. The literary style, and not a little of the content, was shaped by the belief that history ought to be a literary art. The poet and the historian were to provide Jacksonian America with moral lessons in artistic form. Whereas many local historians prepared their centennial speeches with exaggerated literary flair, others of more limited ability simply presented facts and "truths," stepping aside on occasion to allow one of the town poets to recite (or sing) a few delightful lines.

Through devious ways, and paths unknown,  
Through forests dark and drear,  
Our fathers sought these mountain streams,  
To plant their offspring here.<sup>2</sup>

Accompanying this historiographic trend was the discovery in America of the novel as a form of literature. Whereas the Revolutionary generation thought novels frivolous, by the 1820's, Americans were both writing and reading novels as never before. Most of the novelists popular in America were English, yet Scotland was important as well, both for its Scottish writers and as subject matter. Jane Porter, an English woman raised in Edinburgh, published her novel, The Scottish Chiefs, in 1810. This immensely popular, five-volume work is a romantic account of Scottish patriot William Wallace and his defense of the Scottish "nation" against the English armies of Edward I. It came out in various European and American editions

throughout the nineteenth century. Yet the most popular novelist of the day was Jane Porter's childhood acquaintance, Sir Walter Scot. Scot's name became synonymous with romantic novels that unfolded in exotic settings. Highland chiefs in colorful tartan appealed to America's romantic impulses and became identified with Scottish national pride. Not only was Scot the writer most read and quoted in America, but more than any other writer, he made fiction an acceptable art form.<sup>3</sup>

Scot was important in America, both as a writer and as a native of Scotland. As Americans lined their bookshelves with Scot's Waverly novels, they could not help but notice other Scottish works as well. Robert Burns, Adam Smith, David Hume, William Robertson, and Thomas Carlyle were all giants in their respective fields. Scottish philosophy had penetrated American colleges as well, and its optimistic, "common sense" approach was well suited for the expanding United States.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the University of Edinburgh was world-renowned in the early nineteenth century for its advances in the study of medicine. All of these factors helped to give Americans a greater appreciation of Scotland. Whereas Scotland had always been regarded as a poor, weak country with little heritage to speak of and no cultural pretensions, Americans viewed Scotland by the 1820's as the center of the cultural universe. Scotland's age-old animosity to English tyranny simply reinforced America's love affair with the romantic land of Burns and

Scot. It was a rare American who could not identify the lines:

Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled,  
Scots whom Bruce has often led.

In short, it became popular, even fashionable, for Americans to rediscover their Scottish heritage.

Hence, by coincidence, participants in the centennial celebrations of New Hampshire's "Scotch-Irish" towns found themselves in the right place at the right time. By hastily skipping over the Irish "interlude," local historians could emphasize the Scottish origins of the various towns and church fathers.

As expected, the first centennial celebration held among the Scotch-Irish in nineteenth-century New Hampshire took place in Londonderry, the original Scotch-Irish town in the province. In honor of the first settlement of the town, the Reverend Edward L. Parker delivered a "Century Sermon" in 1819.<sup>5</sup> The heart of the sermon is a historical narrative which formed the basis for Parker's later history of Londonderry. His narrative says almost nothing about Ireland or the Catholic Irish. In his traditional Whig account, heavily indebted to New Hampshire historian Jeremy Belknap, Parker simply states that the ancestors of Londonderry's settlers were natives of Scotland, living in Ireland, who had been delivered from the "persecutions" of Charles II and James II by the ascent of William and Mary. This "subjugation of the Popish

party" did not relieve the Presbyterian Scots from "many embarrassments" in Ireland, including high rents. Therefore, several of the Scots, led by their "Moses," the Reverend James MacGregor, decided to migrate to the savage wilds of America. In Londonderry, "they lived to see many of their descendents settled around them; and the forest, into which they had penetrated, converted into a fruitful field."<sup>6</sup>

Parker reassured his readers that these settlers were of "Scotch origin...and are not, therefore, to be blended in their character with the original inhabitants, who are of Celtic origin..." Virtually nothing else is said about the Catholic Irish, nor is there more than the briefest reference to the seventeenth-century Irish uprisings or the famous sieges of Londonderry and Enniskillen. The tone is positive. Parker dwelled upon the virtues of being Scottish. His readers are told that the Scotch "are by no means inferiour to their southern neighbors," and that "few nations have given more undeniable proofs of genius, adopted to scientifick and literary pursuits; or that have supported a higher degree of moral and political respectability."<sup>7</sup>

Over the next thirty years, other local "historians" followed Parker's lead in extolling the Scottish heritage of the eighteenth-century immigrants. John M. Whiton, another Presbyterian minister and a close friend of Parker, wrote both state and local history in the 1830's. In his

1838 sermon, commemorating the first half century of the Antrim Presbyterian Church, he was sure to let his readers know that the early settlers of Antrim--the Irish name of the town notwithstanding--were descended from people coming from "West of Scotland; some of them from the Orkney Islands." The fathers of Antrim had also "been educated in the Presbyterian faith and discipline."<sup>8</sup> At the 1839 centennial of Peterborough, New Hampshire, the president of the ceremony reminisced about "the sufferings and hardships of our fathers," noting that Peterborough's early town meetings often closed with the singing of "old Scotch songs."<sup>9</sup> The town of Bedford had been settled for just over one hundred years when the Reverend Thomas Savage prepared his Historical Sketch in 1841. Borrowing heavily from the earlier writings of Parker and Whiton, Savage reminded his audience that the "Scottish emigrants" who passed through Ireland to settle in America were "warmly attached" to the Presbyterian Church of John Knox. They were a "well principled people, frugal, hardy, industrious, a people that brought with them a sacred attachment to religious institutions." Savage went on to compare the Scotch-Irish with the Pilgrims of Plymouth Plantation, "as respects the motives which led them to emigrate."<sup>10</sup>

One of the most unabashed promoters of Scottish culture was state historian George Barstow. His History of New Hampshire, published in 1842, extols the virtues

of Londonderry's "Scottish" settlers. Their ardent Presbyterianism is emphasized, while almost nothing is said of their stay in Ireland. Instead, the reader is told that "they felt the blood of the ancient Scots swelling in their veins, and though far removed from them by time, and far distant from home, they still remembered Scotland, and cherished as household words the local names of Moray and Caithness, Galloway and Strath Clyde. It was natural for men to feel some pride of country, whose ancestors had been led to battle by such heroes as Wallace and Bruce."<sup>11</sup>

Romantic references to Wallace and Bruce, to Falkirk and Bannockburn, surely aroused the pride of Scottish-named residents in nineteenth-century New Hampshire towns. Yet not all were willing to relegate their ancestors' Irish experience to virtual oblivion. In fact, some were so conscious of their ancestral home in Ireland that they revised, or revived, a peculiar ethnic title to honor the Irish interlude.

At Peterborough's centennial celebration in 1839, the Reverend John Hopkins Morison--a Peterborough native, Unitarian minister, and later, biographer of Peterborough's Jeremiah Smith--delivered the keynote address.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the positive tone taken by Parker and Barstow, Morison's oratory rings with a combative chauvinism that is decidedly anti-Irish in tone--so much so that he had to offer a disclaimer when the speech was published. Instead of playing down the Irish experience, Morison reinterpreted



the years in Ireland as a time of character-building. The result was a entirely different national breed: the Scotch-Irish.

Much of Morison's account of Peterborough's settlement is painfully devoted to defining the Scotch-Irish. Although he claimed that Peterborough's early pioneers "were usually called Scotch-Irish," it appears the practice was not usual in 1839, nor was the term much understood. He defined the Scotch-Irish in two ways: historically and racially. Historically, the Scotch-Irish were the "Scotch and English subjects" of James I who settled in "the north of Ireland" early in the seventeenth century. Morison's brief historical summary focuses on the "Popish rebellion of 1641," and, more important to the lore of the Scotch-Irish "race," the siege of Londonderry by the Catholic armies of James II in 1689. Verbal accounts of this ordeal had passed down to Peterborough residents, including Morison. The author reminded his audience that knowledge of the events at Londonderry in 1689 was essential "in order to understand the character of the emigrants from the north of Ireland."<sup>13</sup> If the events of 1641 and 1689 do nothing else, they serve to emphasize the difference between the "Scotch-Irish" and the native, or Catholic Irish. Although the Scotch-Irish were "often confounded with the Irish...at the time of their emigration, there were perhaps no two classes in the United Kingdom more unlike, or more hostile."<sup>14</sup> The

Scotch-Irish settlers of seventeenth-century Ireland thought of themselves as "a branch of the Scotch Presbyterian church." Rather than assimilate in Ireland, "the original strong traits which separate the Scotch and Irish, had been gathering strength through more than a century of turbulence and bloodshed, in which they had been constantly exasperated against each other by their interests, by secret plots and open rebellions, by cruel massacres, by civil wars carried on through the most black and malignant of all passions, religious hatred."<sup>15</sup>

Morison's "racial" or "class" definition of the Scotch-Irish as people is not entirely compatible with his historical narrative. The grim realities of 1641 and 1689 make an unusual backdrop for Morison's contention that the Scotch-Irish settlers of Peterborough had acquired lightness and levity while living in Ireland. The same Irishman, who in 1641 was guilty of "the most cruel destruction of lives and property...that has ever stained the bloody pages of history," and who in 1689 forced two-thirds of the besieged Protestants of Londonderry into starvation, somehow infected his neighbors with his contagious good humor.<sup>16</sup> The result was a new character. "It was the sternness of the Scotch covenanter softened by a century's residence abroad amid persecution and trial, wedded there to the comic humor and pathos of the Irish, and then grown wild in the woods among these our New England mountains."<sup>17</sup> Morison was quick to add, however,

that the Irish heritage--"the disposition to humor, rioting and laughter"--was superficial, "while the strong granite features of Scotland were fixed deep in the soul." The author was not above blaming defects in Scotch-Irish character on the Irish as well, and his listeners were reminded that the Irish were best known for "the use of ardent spirits."<sup>18</sup>

Morison was not the first of his generation in New Hampshire to write about the essential differences between the Protestant immigrants from Ulster and the majority of native Irish. In a state history published in 1834, John Whiton noted that the immigrants of 1718 were frequently confused with "the proper Irish, from whom they essentially differed in language, manners, and religion."<sup>19</sup> Yet Morison is notable as one of the first nineteenth-century writers to use the term "Scotch-Irish" in New Hampshire. The term appeared sparingly between Morison's speech in 1839 and the arrival of the Irish immigrants fleeing from famine in the late 1840's. Amos Hadley's speech before the Dunbarton Lyceum in 1845 differs little in tone from Parker's early sermon on Londonderry, except that he referred to the early Dunbarton settlers as "Scotch-Irish." Stephen Allen's centennial speech in Merrimack also follows Parker's lead. In the text of his address, some of Merrimack's early settlers are styled "Scottish," yet in his appendix, he refers to one William McClure as "one of the Scotch-Irish settlers."<sup>20</sup>

Beyond these fragments, the actual term "Scotch-Irish" and its usage in New Hampshire remain a mystery. The nomenclature Scotch-Irish (sometimes Scots-Irish) has a history almost as fascinating as that of the people it designates.<sup>21</sup> Although the expression "Scotch-Irish" is known to have appeared a couple of times in English usage, it is generally recognized to be an American invention. The term is known to have been used in Maryland as early as 1695, probably as a means of distinguishing the Scotch-Irish from the Lowlands Scots.<sup>22</sup> As Scotch-Irish immigration picked up in Pennsylvania and Delaware in the 1720's, the term appears infrequently in documents, with the implication that the immigrants themselves may have used the designation. Other sources indicate, however, that neighboring Quakers and Episcopalians may have used the term "Scotch-Irish" in derision, much to the displeasure of the immigrants from Ulster.<sup>23</sup> All of these generalizations are based upon a mere handful of sources, and none refers to use of the term Scotch-Irish in New England. In fact, there is surprisingly little evidence that the term came into popular use at all in the eighteenth century, and virtually no reliable evidence that it was ever used by, or in reference to the Scotch-Irish settlers of south-central New Hampshire.

The scarcity of the term Scotch-Irish among eighteenth-century records lends credence to charges by Irish nationalists in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries that the term was nothing more than an invention used by American nativists in the 1850's and beyond to create false distinctions between the Irish of northern and southern Ireland.<sup>24</sup> Yet while this charge has merit, some qualification is necessary. For one thing, there was both a perceived and real difference between the Presbyterians of Northern Ireland and the native Irish in the eighteenth century. For another, the term Scotch-Irish was used, albeit sparingly, well before the famine. Although the early state historians like William Smith of New York, Robert Proud of Pennsylvania, and Jeremy Belknap of New Hampshire did not use the term, it had apparently worked its way into the language by the 1830's--probably as a result of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sympathies.<sup>25</sup> Charles Hodge, for instance, used the term at least once in his 1839 history of the Presbyterian Church.<sup>26</sup> Throughout the 1840's, the term is used with increasing regularity.

The flood of immigrants in the wake of Ireland's potato famine of the late 1840's resulted in the increased popularity of the term Scotch-Irish. Morison's use of the term, as well as his derogatory remarks about the Catholic Irish and his insistence upon the uniqueness of the Scotch-Irish "class," all served New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish apologists and nativists alike throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. While nativist reaction to Irish immigration may have been less outrageous

in New Hampshire than in Boston during the 1850's, it was sufficiently persuasive to put an avowed Know Nothing in the governor's office in 1854. In this light, the term Scotch-Irish served a dual purpose. Descendants of the eighteenth-century Scotch-Irish settlers could not only use the term to distinguish themselves from the "wild Irish" currently building New Hampshire's railroads and working in New Hampshire textile mills, but they could use the term for its historic associations. Local historians compared the Scotch-Irish with the Pilgrims, Londonderry with Plymouth. Descendants of the Scotch-Irish settlers, like those descended from the Pilgrims, were native Americans--"true Americans."

By mid-century, town historians in New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish towns had begun to assemble a Scotch-Irish "myth" that survives today. The principal architects of this myth were the Reverend Edward L. Parker and Isaac O. Barnes.

Parker served as the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Londonderry, later Derry, for forty years--from 1810 until his death in 1850.<sup>27</sup> Since his "Century Sermon" in 1819, Parker had dabbled in town history, but most of his time was devoted to his parish duties. Late in life, however, the church relieved him of some of these duties, with the understanding that he would write a history of Londonderry. Although he died before the job was finished, his son edited his father's manuscript and

had it published in 1851. The resulting History of Londonderry remains the standard account of Scotch-Irish settlement in New Hampshire.<sup>28</sup>

Whereas Parker's 1819 sermon was largely based upon town and church records, local tradition, and a thorough reading of Jeremy Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, his mid-century History reflects additional sources. Macaulay's History of England had been published since the 1819 sermon, as had John Graham's account of the siege of Londonderry. Parker relied on these two sources to write about the years in Ireland. On the local scene, Parker used William Willis' History of Portland and Morison's centennial address in Peterborough in his History. In addition, his section on ecclesiastical history was shaped in part by a growing body of American Presbyterian literature. The result was a town history substantially different from that outlined in 1819.

The most obvious difference between Parker's 1819 and 1851 histories is the importance given to the Irish experience. The first of Parker's five chapters is devoted to Ireland, and in particular, the siege of Londonderry. Like Morison before him, Parker used Irish history to define the "Scotch Irish," a term he did not use in 1819. Largely through the efforts of James I, Scots from Ayrshire were encouraged to settle in Ulster early in the seventeenth century. Yet the key to understanding Scotch-Irish character is the much later siege of

Londonderry, where "undaunted bravery, unwavering firmness, and heroic fortitude" were shown by the defenders.<sup>29</sup>

Unlike his earlier sermon, Parker's History attacks Irish "Papists." He described the siege as "an event, in which are displayed, in striking contrast, the cruelty, perfidy, and oppression of Papacy, and the resolute, determined, unyielding spirit of Protestantism."<sup>30</sup> The siege and subsequent deliverance by William of Orange are covered in sickening and triumphant detail, not so much for the sensationalism, but as a lesson. According to Parker, the defense of Londonderry belongs in "the annals of freedom," and he lamented that "few comparatively, of the descendants of the brave defenders of the place, in this country, are familiar with the history of that event, upon which was suspended the rich inheritance they have received from their fathers, and which they are to transmit to future generations."<sup>31</sup> Parker took pride that the first two ministers of Londonderry, New Hampshire, were veterans of the infamous siege, and, almost as if the walls of Londonderry had been ethnic as well as military barriers, he boasted that the early settlers "retained unmixed the national Scotch character."<sup>32</sup> In addition, Parker thought of the siege as a trial which helped to prepare the Scotch-Irish immigrants "to encounter the hardships and endure the trials of forming a new settlement, and to lay the foundation of a community."<sup>33</sup>



Most of Parker's History dealt with the settlement and growth of Londonderry, and it is here that he touched upon a number of other themes that made up the Scotch-Irish myth in New Hampshire. One obvious theme mentioned throughout the book was the rugged determination and strength of the Scotch-Irish as they subdued the wilderness. The Scotch-Irish pioneer is physically and morally strong, motivated by the ardent Presbyterianism of John Knox, literate (but not literary), frugal, industrious, witty without being frivolous, and sober--usually. In discussing the Scotch-Irish who moved on to settle neighboring Peterborough, Parker noted "the hardships...were severe, far more so than those now experienced by the pioneers in our western territories. Being recently from a foreign country, unaccustomed to the axe, and by no means acquainted with the best method of clearing away the timber, they were here in the midst of an unbroken forest and exposed to acts of Indian cruelty."<sup>34</sup> Yet, before long, "the wilderness and solitary place was made glad."<sup>35</sup> The Scotch-Irish pioneer of provincial New Hampshire adapted quickly to the unfamiliar wilderness; the land was subdued and so were the Indians. Parker's Scotch-Irish settlers quickly turned Londonderry into the province's second largest town, while Londonderry native Robert Rogers became America's most famous Indian fighter. Rogers and his rangers, many of whom were Scotch-Irish

neighbors, epitomized Scotch-Irish resourcefulness and courage.

Another element in the New Hampshire Scotch-Irish myth was the unflinching patriotism of the settlers during the American Revolution. Neither their Scottish blood nor their Presbyterianism led them to be favorably inclined toward the English. Parker even proposed that "the form of their church polity" was a factor in their decision to fight for independence.<sup>36</sup> The Londonderry farmers were "prompt to repair to the scene of action," and General John Stark, a native of Londonderry, was the perfect, heroic leader for the occasion. Like Rogers in the previous war, Stark was a symbol of Scotch-Irish character, helping the once detested "Irish" gain the respect of their English neighbors and provincial leaders.

In describing the Scotch-Irish settlers of Londonderry, Parker also borrowed some themes from Belknap's History of New-Hampshire. The Scotch-Irish were stigmatized as "Irish" by their English neighbors, although the prejudice had virtually evaporated by the end of the eighteenth century. The first Scotch-Irish settlers had also introduced the potato as a field crop in New England, and they were renowned for their skill in growing flax and making linen. According to Parker, linen made in Londonderry was famous throughout the American colonies, and some Londonderry merchants made modest fortunes in the local linen trade.

Edward Parker's History of Londonderry has yet to be superceded as a community history for the period, and Parker remains one of the most quoted authorities on Scotch-Irish history and culture in America. Isaac O. Barnes, on the other hand, is less well known today. Yet his contribution toward the Scotch-Irish myth, as understood in New Hampshire and commonly used in town histories, is no less significant than that of Parker.

In 1850, the town of Bedford--located across the Merrimack River from Londonderry and settled by a mixture of English and Scotch-Irish pioneers--used the occasion of its one hundredth anniversary to publish, not just a historical address, but a full scale town history. While the town history is filled with valuable information, the historical address by Isaac Barnes is fascinating for what it says about the Scotch-Irish.<sup>37</sup> Barnes was a native of Bedford living in Boston at the time of his address. He had apparently reached his conclusions about the Scotch-Irish independently of Parker, using as one of his sources the Scotch-Irish studies of William Henry Foote in Virginia and North Carolina. Being somewhat more cosmopolitan in both his sources and outlook, Barnes gave a new dimension to the Scotch-Irish settler portrayed by Parker.

Barnes let his audience know that the Scotch-Irish came originally from Scotland, not Ireland: "they were no more Irishmen, than is a Connaught or Munster-man, who

works upon our Rail-ways, a yankee."<sup>38</sup> Both the siege of Londonderry and the Presbyterian Church of John Knox have helped to form Scotch-Irish character and differentiate it from the Irish. "The Scotch are zealous Protestants, and Presbyterians. The Irish as zealous Roman Catholics. The Scotch were the besieged, and the Irish the besiegers at Londonderry."<sup>39</sup> Unlike Parker, however, Barnes returned to an earlier reverence for Scottish culture--a reverence that is appropriately romantic. Ignoring old differences between Highland and Lowland Scotland, Barnes noted that Bedford's early Scotch-Irish settlers could "claim a common father-land with Bruce and with Burns; that they could speak of the wild highland chiefs as of their own 'kith and kin'--that they could talk of John Knox, as the founder of their church...."<sup>40</sup> He further invited his audience to dream with him of inspecting the ramparts of Stirling Castle, of walking the halls of Holyrood House to "find the blood-stains of Rizzio," or to dance "with witches and warlocks," to consort "with Brownies, Kelpies, and Water-wraiths," and to behold the ghost of Banquo. It is a Scottish folk culture ringing with songs like "Bruce's Farewell," "Banks and Braes of Bonny Doon," and "Flow gently, sweet Afton."<sup>41</sup>

Like Parker, Barnes dwelled upon the siege of Londonderry when discussing the years in Ireland. Yet Barnes had more to say about the process of emigration, even mentioning the Eagle Wing episode of 1636. By

focusing upon emigration from Ireland, as opposed to immigration to New England, Barnes' account includes the Scotch-Irish story in the Middle Colonies and the South, with particular emphasis on the work of Francis Mackemie.

His work is less parochial than that of Parker. The Scotch-Irish settlers of little Bedford, New Hampshire, had cousins in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Parker's Scotch-Irish settlers were rugged individuals, hardened by the siege of Londonderry and uplifted by their Presbyterian faith. Barnes' Scotch-Irish settlers comprised a nation of pilgrims--a lost tribe of Scots and a "division of the Presbyterian Church"--whose culture, faith, and ordeals bound them together in spite of being scattered around the United States.

Together, Edward Parker and Isaac Barnes gave New Hampshire readers a fully-developed Scotch-Irish myth--one that was generally copied in other states with a Scotch-Irish past, but with a few ingredients peculiar to the Granite State. At the national level, the myth goes like this. Upon the encouragement of King James I of Scotland and England, a substantial number of Presbyterian Scots, steeped in Scottish lore, migrated to Ulster early in the seventeenth century to occupy lands deserted by Irish "rebels." Throughout the century, the Scots retained their separate identity, and did not mix with others, particularly the native Irish. After suffering through two bloody uprisings by Irish "Papists," and virtually saving

William of Orange's crown in their stout defense of Londonderry, the Scots were "rewarded" by their English masters by religious discrimination and high rents. Hence, in 1717 and 1718, they began migrating to America in large numbers, bringing their church with them. They were sturdy Scots, toughened by the siege of Londonderry, yet softened at times by a mixture of Scottish romanticism and Irish wit. As pioneers they were hardy and prolific. They were effective Indian fighters and foremost among the patriots during the American Revolution. By the end of the eighteenth century, they had assimilated with their English neighbors to become "Americans," and among their descendants were some of America's leading political and intellectual leaders. As with most myths, part of this was true, part was distorted.<sup>42</sup>

At the state or provincial level, the Scotch-Irish settlers of New Hampshire were frequently confused with Irish "Papists," a charge hotly denied by their first spiritual leaders. New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish were also credited with the introduction of the potato and the creation of a commercially successful linen trade. Finally, the Scotch-Irish myth in New Hampshire is punctuated by the heroics of Robert Rogers and John Stark. These "embellishments" satisfied the parochial leanings of state and local historians throughout the nineteenth century, yet were incidental enough to allow New

Hampshire's Scotch-Irish settlers to remain safely within the national myth.<sup>43</sup>

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, a number of New Hampshire town histories borrowed from the accounts of Parker and Barnes without question.<sup>44</sup> Windham's Leonard Morrison was one of the most ambitious New Hampshire town historians in the late nineteenth century. Not only did he write a substantial town history, but he traveled to Ulster and Scotland in search of the "roots" of Scotch-Irish culture. His findings were published in three separate books, but most notably in a Supplement to his earlier town history.<sup>45</sup> Yet even this account adds virtually nothing to the earlier works of Parker and Barnes, except to assure his readers that their veins are free of "the blood of the Celtic-Irish." The Scots of Ulster have retained their "clannish" ways, and according to Morrison, have yet to assimilate with the natives of the Emerald Isle.

As New Hampshire's version of the Scotch-Irish story moved into the twentieth century, little was altered. Some of Parker's anti-Catholicism was purged, his Presbyterianism was moderated, and the list of famous Americans of Scotch-Irish descent continued to grow.<sup>46</sup> The basic authority for the Scotch-Irish story in Ireland continued to be Macaulay, not the more balanced and scholarly studies of W. E. H. Lecky.<sup>47</sup> The bias was clearly Protestant and Whig in tone. The story of

Scotch-Irish immigration to New England was researched thoroughly by Charles K. Bolton early in the century, and his book, Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America, first published in 1910, is still the best regional study of Scotch-Irish settlement.<sup>48</sup> Like some of the town histories, Bolton's work tends at times to be genealogical. He had much more to say about conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than was common among "Scotch-Irish" histories, and he gave little attention to the 1689 siege of Londonderry--though he did occasionally use the word "Papist" in referring to the native Irish. In spite of some welcome corrections and additions, however, Bolton's study does little to alter the basic Scotch-Irish myth. His chapter on Londonderry, New Hampshire is taken largely from Parker.

It would be incorrect to assume that the myth developed by Scotch-Irish historians won universal approval. Even among descendants of the Scotch-Irish there were dissenters. For instance, at the fiftieth anniversary of Derry's Pinkerton Academy in 1866, guest speaker James McCollum startled his audience when he announced that the founders of the Academy "were Scotchmen; not Scotch-Irish, as they were called, but Scotchmen."<sup>49</sup> McCollum disliked the term Scotch-Irish because it implied that his ancestors might be partly Irish. According to the eminent speaker, the founders of the school "never intermarried with them [the Irish]; never, if they could well avoid it, admitted



them to their society, but held them aloof as if of an inferior race."<sup>50</sup> Yet McCollom's dissent was more a matter of degree, or perhaps merely semantics, and the other speakers at the occasion, somewhat uncomfortably, glossed over the apparent break in ranks.

Of greater interest was the reaction of the native Irish to the developing Scotch-Irish myth. As Catholic Irish immigrants came to America throughout the nineteenth century, the entire concept of a Scotch-Irish "race" must have seemed to be just another peculiarity of their adopted country. The term "Scotch-Irish" was unknown in Ireland; it was as "foreign" to the ears of an Irish immigrant as were the names of American Indian tribes. When Thomas D'Arcy McGee prepared A History of the Irish Settlers in North America at mid-century, he did not even take the term Scotch-Irish seriously. He dismissed it casually in a footnote. The "inaccuracy of certain New Hampshire orators and others, in inventing a mixed race, whom they call 'Scotch-Irish'" is absurd, since Ireland and Scotland have a common heritage. "We are the same people. Our original language is the same. Our fathers, speaking a common Gaelic tongue, fought, intermarried, and prayed together."<sup>51</sup> Hence, by virtue of the fact that the Irishman and Scot came of common stock, any immigrant from Ireland was "Irish," even those who might have sojourned for a few centuries in Scotland. America's Scotch-Irish and Irish heroes alike are lumped together, although the

Protestantism of the former is played down, while the Catholicism of the latter is praised.

Two champion "debunkers" of the Scotch-Irish myth came from New Hampshire. The first was an Irish immigrant named John C. Linehan. Arriving in America in 1849, Linehan settled shortly thereafter in Penacook, where he spent the rest of his life. He was active in the Catholic Church, the Grand Army of the Republic, a number of local civic organizations, and most importantly, in state government, where he served for several years as the state insurance commissioner. Throughout his life he took an active interest in history, and particularly Irish history. He published a number of articles about the Irish of New Hampshire, some of which were gathered together and reissued in 1902 by the American-Irish Historical Society in a book entitled The Irish Scots and the "Scotch-Irish."<sup>52</sup>

Linehan debunks the Scotch-Irish myth through a number of arguments similar to those mentioned briefly by McGee. Just as the "germ theory" of American history would ask descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans to search for their true origins in the German forest, Linehan suggests that descendants of the Scotch-Irish settlers look back to their Irish origins. Although settlers of towns like Londonderry, Antrim, and Peterborough considered themselves "Scottish," they were originally Irish--even if it was necessary to go back to Roman times to make the connection.

"From Ireland to Arth-Gaehdal (Argyle) the Scots went in 503. To Ireland from Argyle returned the Scots in 1612-'20; and to America their descendants sailed away in 1719."<sup>53</sup> Linehan contends that a study of language, names, and even art reveals that Scots and Irish are one people, and their real homeland is Ireland. Nor should they be ashamed of this. "Prehistoric" Ireland had an advanced civilization for its time and was rich in culture: "In the darkest day of the dark ages, there was a bright fire of intellect in Ireland."<sup>54</sup> Linehan also noted that the term Scotch-Irish was a recent invention, one unused in eighteenth-century New England. The eighteenth-century settlers from Ulster frequently gave their communities Irish, not Scottish names. They formed the Charitable Irish Society in Boston and excluded Scots from membership.<sup>55</sup> Finally, an examination of military rosters from the eighteenth century revealed a surprising number of names common to southern Ireland, even though Scotch-Irish writers claimed many of these to be Scots from Ulster.

The second major Irish champion in New Hampshire was Peterborough native James F. Brennan. In spite of being a member of the Catholic Church and the Democratic Party, Brennan was a highly respected lawyer and won several terms as Peterborough's representative in the state legislature. Nor did he lack courage. In spite of considerable anti-Irish feeling in town, Brennan used the occasion of

Peterborough's 150th anniversary in 1889 to ridicule the Scotch-Irish myth.<sup>56</sup> In his speech, and in subsequent articles, his logic was simple. Since the settlers of Peterborough had been born in Ireland, and since most descended from several generations of Irish farmers, what could they be but Irish? Obviously they were "Irish" when they migrated to New England, just as people born in America and whose ancestors tilled American soil were to be called "Americans." The term Scotch-Irish was nonsense to Brennan. It has no historical origins; the "originators and promoters" of the Scotch-Irish myth were "strictly products of our own time and or our own country." The term was not used in the eighteenth century because "these Irishmen claimed no Scotch relationship."<sup>57</sup>

Brennan's last essay on this subject was published by the American-Irish Historical Society in 1910, eight years after the same group published Linehan's book. By debunking the Scotch-Irish myth and extolling the virtues of Ireland and the Irish, Brennan and Linehan were doing more than appealing to ethnic pride. There was a political motive as well. Their work was important to Irish nationalists who wished to portray Ireland as a unified nation in search of independence (or at least "home rule") from England. Irish apologists like Linehan and Brennan stressed the role of the Irish in helping America gain its independence from England in 1776, and they were equally

quick to note that Irishmen in general put religious differences aside in the ill-fated Irish rebellion of 1798.

Just as the term Scotch-Irish had been dusted off and put into use for reasons of ethnic pride and discrimination in the 1840's, it was being laid to rest for reasons of Irish national unity in the years before World War I. Yet the term survived in part, just as England's hold on Ireland survived in part. Histories of Scotch-Irish towns published in the twentieth century continue to depict the "Scotch-Irish" in the style of an earlier generation of town histories. Recent scholarly accounts continue to rest heavily upon Belknap (who said very little about the Scotch-Irish) and Edward Parker.

If nothing else, the Scotch-Irish myth has provided twentieth-century historians with a solution to the problem troubling the Reverend James MacGregor in 1720. The label "Scotch-Irish," in spite of its dubious authenticity, is at least convenient. It is now the generally accepted name for a group of roughly 200,000 immigrants, mostly Presbyterians of Scottish descent, who migrated from Ulster to America before the American Revolution, not to mention the many thousands of Ulster Scots who came to America after 1780.

It is important to be aware of the myth associated with the label when studying the Scotch-Irish of provincial New Hampshire. The factors in its development color Scotch-Irish literature and lead to a somewhat distorted

picture of the Scotch-Irish. Somewhere behind the tales of Wallace and Bruce, the bloody annals of the Londonderry siege, the ardent and uncompromising Presbyterianism, and the exploits of Rogers and Stark lies a real people, removed from us in time, whose story forms a crucial chapter in New Hampshire history.

NOTES

1. James MacGregor to Samuel Shute, 27 February 1719/20; quoted in Jeremy Belknap, The History of New-Hampshire, 3 vols. (Dover, N.H., 1812), 2: 260.
2. From an "Ode" written by Nathaniel H. Morison and published in John Hopkins Morison, An Address Delivered at the Centennial Celebration in Peterborough, N.H. (Boston: Isaac R. Butts, 1839), 64.
3. Russel Blaine Nye, Society and Culture in America: 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 89-91.
4. Nye, Society and Culture, 321-24.
5. Edward L. Parker, A Century Sermon Delivered in the East-Parish Meeting House, Londonderry, New Hampshire (Concord, N.H.: George Hough, 1819).
6. Parker, Century Sermon, 11.
7. Parker, Century Sermon, 12.
8. John M. Whiton, A Half Century Sermon, Delivered at Antrim, N.H. (Concord, N.H.: Asa McFarland, 1838), 13-14, 16. See also, John M. Whiton, History of the Town of Antrim, N.H. (Concord, N.H.: McFarland and Jenks, 1852).
9. Morison, Peterborough, 65.
10. Thomas Savage, A Historical Sketch of Bedford, N.H. (Manchester, N.H.: Emerson and Murray, 1841), 6-7.
11. George Barstow, The History of New Hampshire (Concord, N.H.: I. S. Boyd, 1842), 127-31.
12. See note 2. As with most of these published sermons and addresses of the period 1820-1850, Morison's address is appended with an account of the proceedings of the celebration, containing letters and speeches of various politicians and dignitaries.
13. Morison, Peterborough, 5-8.
14. Morison, Peterborough, 8.
15. Morison, Peterborough, 8.

16. Morison, Peterborough, 5-7, 52-53.
17. Morison, Peterborough, 52.
18. Morison, Peterborough, 52-53.
19. John M. Whiton, Sketches of the History of New Hampshire, From Its Settlement in 1623 to 1833 (Concord, N.H.: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1834), 66-67.
20. Amos Hadley, Two Addresses...before the Dunbarton Lyceum (Concord, N.H.: Asa McFarland, 1845), 19. Also known as The Literary Hours of the Laboring Man: Early History of Dunbarton. Stephen T. Allen, An Address, Delivered in Merrimack, April 3, 1846, at the Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town (Boston: S. N. Dickerson & Co., 1846), 28-29, 62.
21. See Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 327-34, for a brief history of the term Scotch-Irish.
22. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 180; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 248, 329-30.
23. Wayland F. Dunaway, The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 7-8.
24. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 332-33; Donald Harmon Akenson, The United States and Ireland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 90-91.
25. Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade: 1800-1860 (New York: Macmillan, 1938), passim; Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation, second edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), passim. For anti-Irish and anti-Catholic violence in the decade before Morison's speech, see Billington, Protestant Crusade, 70-76; Handlin, Boston's Immigrants, 186-90.
26. Charles Hodge, The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1839), 63.
27. Parker's church was actually not Presbyterian, but a "union" church resulting from an earlier split and reunion within the community. Parker was Presbyterian, however. Although the church was originally located in Londonderry, the community was partitioned in 1828, leaving the church in the town of Derry. The meetinghouse stands today in the village of East Derry.
28. Information on Parker and the writing of the History of Londonderry may be found in the book's "Memoir,"



written by Parker's son-in-law, Samuel H. Taylor, and located on pp. ix-lv. By "Londonderry," Parker meant both Derry and Londonderry, although he appended the book with short histories of some other Scotch-Irish towns, including Windham, most of which had been a part of the original Londonderry grant until 1742.

29. Parker, Londonderry, 7.

30. Parker, Londonderry, 9.

31. Parker, Londonderry, 28.

32. Parker, Londonderry, 68.

33. Parker, Londonderry, 28.

34. Parker, Londonderry, 184.

35. Parker, Londonderry, 101.

36. Parker, Londonderry, 102.

37. History of Bedford, New-Hampshire (Boston: Alfred Mudge, 1851). The Barnes address is on pp. 17-51. Barnes' address was also published separately: Isaac O. Barnes, An Address Delivered at Bedford, New Hampshire, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town (Boston: Alfred Mudge, 1850). Citations are taken from the version of the speech published in the 1851 town history.

38. Isaac Barnes in Bedford, 23.

39. Isaac Barnes in Bedford, 23.

40. Isaac Barnes in Bedford, 24.

41. Isaac Barnes in Bedford, 24-25.

42. One of the best versions of the national Scotch-Irish myth may be found in Samuel Swett Green, "The Scotch-Irish in America," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, 10 (Worcester, Mass.: by the Society, 1896): 32-70.

43. In 1889, the Scotch-Irish Society of America was formed for the avowed purpose of "the presentation of Scotch-Irish history, the keeping alive the esprit de corps of the race, and promotion of social intercourse and fraternal feeling among its members, now and hereafter." Although a few local historians from New Hampshire joined the group, they were somewhat out of place. The real purpose of the Society was to correct the biases of New England historians, who, in the opinion of the Society's

predominantly southern and Pennsylvania members, had slighted the achievements of the Scotch-Irish in favor of the Puritan. The Scotch-Irish in America: Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Columbia, Tennessee (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co., 1889).

44. Most notably: C. E. Potter, The History of Manchester (Manchester, N.H.: C. E. Potter, 1856); Elliott C. Cogswell, History of New Boston, New Hampshire (Boston: Geo. D. Rand & Avery, 1864); J. L. Merrill, ed., History of Acworth (Acworth, N.H.: by the Town, 1869); Albert Smith, History of the Town of Peterborough, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1876), which reprinted Morison's centennial address; W. R. Cochrane, History of the Town of Antrim, New Hampshire (Manchester, N.H.: Mirror Steam Printing Press, 1880); Leonard A. Morrison, The History of Windham (Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883); and History of Bedford, New Hampshire, from 1737 (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Printing Co., 1903) which reprinted Isaac Barnes' speech at the Bedford centennial celebration in 1850.

45. Leonard Allison Morrison, Supplement to The History of Windham in New Hampshire (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1892).

46. See, for example, Jonathan Smith, "The Scotch-Irish Settlers of Peterborough," The Granite Monthly 29 (1900): 251-68; Gordon Woodbury, "The Scotch-Irish and Irish Presbyterian Settlers of New Hampshire," Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society 4 (Concord, N.H.: by the Society, 1906): 143-62.

47. Samuel Swett Green, "Scotch-Irish in America," did turn to Lecky's work, and as a result, his account of the Presbyterians in Ulster has less in the way of polemics than the work of Macaulay or Froude.

48. Technically, Bolton's study is not regional; there are three chapters devoted to Scotch-Irish settlement in Pennsylvania and the South. However, virtually all of his primary research regards settlement in New England, and most of his text is New England in scope.

49. Commemorative Services at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of Pinkerton Academy, Derry, N.H., September 12, 1866 (Concord, N.H.: McFarland & Jenks, 1866), 17.

50. Commemorative Service...Pinkerton Academy, 18.

51. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, A History of the Irish Settlers in North America, From the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980; originally in 1852), 36.

52. John C. Linehan, The Irish Scots and the "Scotch-Irish" (Concord, N.H.: The American-Irish Historical Society, 1902). His principal work on the Scotch-Irish originally appeared in The Granite Monthly II (1888) in three installments. It was revised slightly for the book-length publication in 1902.

53. Linehan, Irish Scots, 17.

54. Linehan, Irish Scots, 35.

55. Actually, the charter excluded any but former residents of Ireland and their descendants. It also excluded Catholics at first.

56. Quoted in Linehan, Irish Scots, 101-03. For a better sample of Brennan's thinking, see James F. Brennan, "The Irish Settlers of Southern New Hampshire," Journal of the American Irish Historical Society 9 (1910): 247-57.

57. Brennan, "Irish Settlers," 251, 254.

### Chapter III

#### The Great Migration in Massachusetts

How Strange, O God that reigns on high,  
That I should come so far to die!  
And leave my friends where I was bred,  
To lay my bones with strangers dead!  
But I have hopes, when I arise,  
To dwell with them in yonder skies.

Gravestone inscription of  
Hugh Cargill, Concord, Mass.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Scotch-Irish who had "come so far to die" among the "strangers" of New England began their American adventure in Boston Harbor. There, huddled upon small vessels, they stared curiously at the town before them. Boston stared back with equal curiosity.

The immigrants must have been impressed by the size, beauty, and certainly the commercial activity of the largest town in British North America.<sup>2</sup> Though the passage through Boston's outer islands was narrow, the harbor itself was a vast body of water holding scores of ships and boats of every size and description. Next to large ships, carriers of Boston's imports and exports, were sloops used in the coastal trade along with woodboats bringing much-needed firewood to Boston's homes and shops. During the busy summer months, the naked masts of many

vessels appeared as "a kind of Wood of Trees," floating upon the harbor waters.<sup>3</sup>

In August, 1718, many of these vessels were tied to merchants' wharves. It was here that manufactured goods from England, along with wine from Madeira and sugar from the West Indies were unloaded, while the same ships were reloaded with lumber, dried fish, naval stores, candies, pipe staves, and even horses, cattle, and pigs.<sup>4</sup> There were over fifty of these wharves in Boston Harbor. Most extended outward from a merchant's warehouse or perhaps his home. In addition, there were at least a dozen shipyards in and around the harbor, producing about two hundred ships each year.<sup>5</sup>

The most conspicuous element of Boston Harbor was Long Wharf. Planned in 1709, Long Wharf was reaching its proposed length of 1600 feet by 1718.<sup>6</sup> Its northern side was lined with warehouses, and anywhere from thirty to fifty ships could be moored at the wharf at one time. Long Wharf was perpendicular to the rapidly crumbling "Old Wharf," and was aimed directly at the commercial and political center of Boston.

As Long Wharf emptied onto King Street, the weary traveler might stop at the Bunch-of-Grapes Tavern, located across the street from Andrew Faneuil's warehouse. Beyond lay the town of Boston.<sup>7</sup>

Eighteenth-century Boston sat entirely upon a small peninsula attached to the mainland by a strip of land,

forty yards in width, known as the "Neck." It was apparently an attractive town from the harbor--a "very agreeable Prospect," in the words of one contemporary--for while the town arched around the busy harbor, the undeveloped slopes of Beacon Hill rose in the background.<sup>8</sup> Beacon Hill was bare of trees as well as houses in 1718, as Bostonians were reported to be "enemies of trees," and few grew anywhere on the peninsula.<sup>9</sup>

There were probably just over ten thousand people living in this attractive town in 1718, although some contemporary estimates went as high as twice that number.<sup>10</sup> They lived in approximately three thousand dwellings, one third of which were made of brick, and which lined approximately one hundred streets and alleys.<sup>11</sup> Boston's main streets were remarkable for the day; they were wide, paved with stone blocks, and in some cases, had an underground sewer system. The town's eight scavengers kept the streets clean, and privies were located at least forty feet away from any street.<sup>12</sup> Yet Boston's streets were congested as well as clean. Private coaches, horsemen, pedestrians, children, carts, and occasional stray animals all fought for the same right of way, only to be thwarted by loads of timber stored in the streets by Boston shipwrights.<sup>13</sup>

The somewhat refreshed traveler, emerging from the Bunch-of-Grapes Tavern and proceeding westward on King Street, would see before him the proud, brick walls of the

Town House, recently rebuilt following the fire of 1711. Merchants and politicians worked in the same temple; the Town House contained a "Walk" for merchants, along with chambers for the Massachusetts General Court and the provincial courts of justice. The Town House shared its central location with the First Church of Boston--another replacement necessitated by the 1711 fire--and a number of bookstores and small shops.<sup>14</sup>

From the Town House, travelers could move easily throughout Boston's streets and alleys, visiting its taverns and "victualling houses," its four coffeehouses, its retail grocers, its dry goods stores, its five printing houses, or the shops of its various craftsmen.<sup>15</sup> Being a shipbuilding center, Boston boasted several ropewalks. Travelers might also encounter bricklayers and bakers, coopers and carpenters, and almost any form of skilled labor imaginable, with the possible exception of weavers--for Boston made little cloth.<sup>16</sup> The prospects could be unpleasant as well, for Boston had its share of butchers and tanners.

For the immigrants waiting in vessels anchored along Long Wharf, however, Boston retained an impressive aura. To the right was Boston's crowded North End. North Church, long associated with Increase and Cotton Mather, dominated the North End skyline. Also visible were the homes and wharves of merchants like William Clark and Thomas Hutchinson. Several three-story brick houses could be seen

from the harbor. These homes were often owned by North End merchants, who in manners and taste differed little from merchants in London. According to one contemporary, "a Gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the Number of People, their Houses, their Furniture, their Tables, their Dress and Conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy, as that of the most considerable Tradesmen in London." Nor was Boston's culture skin deep: "Humanity and the Knowledge of Letters flourish more here than in all the other English Plantations put together." In short, the North End was American society in its most sophisticated form.<sup>17</sup>

To the left, or south of the Town House, was Boston's South End. The Irish immigrants anchored at Long Wharf in 1718 would have noticed Fort Hill, South Battery, Old South Church, and the recently completed New South Church as they looked to the South. Beyond the South End lay the 45-acre Common, site of Boston's military musters. While the North End was more prestigious, the South End was not without its elegant buildings. The homes and shops along Cornhill Street were made of brick and recently constructed (the 1711 fire again). The old Province House on Marlborough Street and the Faneuil House on Tremont Street were worthy of any building in the North End. Yet the South End was the newer, less developed half of Boston in 1718. Its gardens, pastures, and open fields distinguished it from



the crowded North End, and gave the South End a pleasing appearance to those entering Boston from the Neck.<sup>18</sup>

Behind its impressive architectural facade, however, lay a town with problems. In the closing years of Queen Anne's War, Boston had twice run short of food, leading to street riots in 1710 and 1713.<sup>19</sup> Sandwiched in between was the fire of 1711, a conflagration which burned the heart out of the business district, including many homes and shops. The war led, directly and indirectly, to a substantial number of widows, inflation and the corresponding decrease in real wages, and finally, an increase in the percentage of workers forced to rent rather than own their homes.<sup>20</sup>

Following the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Boston experienced a variety of typical postwar problems. Inflation continued while unemployment rose and trade declined. Predictably, Boston politics focused on the economic issues of the day. The leader of the "popular party," Elisha Cooke, Jr., proposed a private land bank, in order to generate the needed currency for Boston's economy. Conservative, pro-government leaders defeated Cooke's land bank, but quickly gave him another "popular" issue when they proposed to reorganize Boston's traditional town government. Cooke capitalized on the issue, winning election to the Massachusetts General Court in 1718. In the following years, he was a regular choice for moderator of town meeting. Boston's printing houses emerged

victorious. The Cooke and pro-government factions tore away at each other in pamphlet warfare. More than ever before, Boston's inns and victualling houses came alive with stirring political debate.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile unemployment remained high in Boston in 1718, and food shortages over the coming winter seemed very possible. It is not surprising that Boston regarded the sudden appearance of Irish immigrants with suspicion and fear.<sup>22</sup>

The Irish vessels began appearing in the harbor near the end of July. Surveyor General of the Customs Thomas Lechmere had this to say one July evening: "Shippes are comeing in hourly, but no news; Irish familys enough; above 200 souls are coming in allready, & many now hourly expected...."<sup>23</sup> By the first week in August, Lechmere was voicing a common concern when he wrote:

I am of opinion all the North of Ireland will be over here in a little time, here being a third vessell with Irish familys come in & 5 more, they say, expected; & if their report, as I this day heard, of the encouragement given to these be liked in Ireland, 20 ministers with their congregations will come over in Spring. I wish their coming so over do not prove fatall in the end.<sup>24</sup>

By the second week in August, Lechmere's tone had hardened. "These confounded Irish will eat us all up, provisions being most extavagently dear & scarce of all sorts."<sup>25</sup> On August 13, the selectmen of Boston appointed an agent to appear before the Suffolk County Court of General Sessions to outline a plan "to Secure this

Town from Charges which may happen to accrue or be imposed on them by reason of the Passengers Lately Arrived here from Ireland and else where." By October, the selectmen had begun to warn the Irish out of town; by December, Boston was running short of grain.<sup>26</sup>

As many as eight hundred immigrants from Ireland may have come into Boston Harbor in 1718.<sup>27</sup> Never before had the Irish come to America in such numbers. Most of the immigrants came from Ulster, the northern province of Ireland. While some were "men of Estates" who had "paid their passage with Sterling in Ireland," others had paid their passage with the only thing they could bargain with--the promise of future labor--and they were sold at dockside along with the rest of the cargo.

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.<sup>28</sup>

New England leaders were confused and frustrated by the sudden exodus from Northern Ireland. They were ignorant of affairs in Ireland and of Irish history in general. They assumed most Irishmen to be backward people clinging superstitiously to the Catholic Church. They were relieved to hear that the "Irish" who sat in Boston Harbor in 1718 were Protestants, yet their relief was mixed with misunderstanding. "I cant but ask out the meaning of such Persons in Such Numbers," wrote Gurdon Saltonstall to Cotton Mather, "come, and coming from the North of Ireland,

where the Government has Stood more firmly for the Protestant Interest then in Britain It Self."<sup>29</sup>

Prior to 1718, New England's experience with Ulster Scots had been limited. For that matter, New England's English population had shared the land with virtually no other ethnic group than the various tribes of Algonkian Indians, and these had been systematically pushed aside in a series of Indian wars. In 1652, about 250 Scottish prisoners, captives of the brief encounter with Cromwell, were sent to Boston; as many as thirty of these were sent to New Hampshire's Great Bay area as indentured servants. Yet this was an insignificant number, even in sparsely populated New Hampshire. In addition, a small number of Catholic Irish servants were to be found in New England from the late seventeenth century on.<sup>30</sup>

The most substantial contact between New England's English settlers and the Scots in Ulster had come with the ill-fated Eagle Wing episode of 1636. This venture was part of the general flow of dissenters to Massachusetts Bay in the 1630's, and it began when a number of Ulster ministers, principally Robert Blair and John Livingston, made "Enquiries" about possible settlement in the Bay Colony following a meeting with John Winthrop, Jr.<sup>31</sup> Apparently the response was satisfactory, for on September 9, 1636, the ship Eagle Wing, loaded with about 140 people, set sail from Lough Fergus, Ireland. The vessel

made it half way across the ocean before being forced to turn back--much to the delight of sceptics who ridiculed the attempt.<sup>32</sup>

Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, lines of communication were kept open between New England settlers and Protestants in Ireland. During King Philip's War, a shipload of provisions was sent to Boston from Dublin. Some of these provisions made their way to Plymouth, resulting in a day of Thanksgiving. The provisions came largely from the efforts of Increase Mather's older brother Nathaniel, who was pastor of the Congregationalists in Dublin in 1677.<sup>33</sup> When equally hard times fell upon Irish Protestants in 1689, English settlers in New England were sympathetic to the plight of their brothers in religion. The Plymouth congregation spent a day in prayer and fasting, partly in response to the "Distresse of Ireland," while Samuel Sewall donated money for the relief of Protestants in Ireland.<sup>34</sup> On January 31, 1691, the church at Plymouth joined others in calling for a day of Thanksgiving to commemorate the victory of William's forces in Ireland.<sup>35</sup>

Between the Orange victory in 1690 and the first "wave" of Scotch-Irish immigration to Boston in 1718, probably no New England leader had more contacts in Ireland than Cotton Mather. Unlike his much-traveled father Increase, Cotton Mather never left New England. Yet his cosmopolitan and virtually global interests, his many

overseas contacts, and his belief in a "Christian Union" comprised of "true" Christians led him to keep abreast of activities throughout the Western world. His Irish associations were particularly strong. His uncles, Nathaniel and Samuel Mather, although natives of New England, had both migrated to the British Isles as young men, and both served for a time as dissenting ministers in Dublin.<sup>36</sup> At various times in his life, Cotton Mather prayed that "true" Christianity would sweep away the "High Flyers" (i.e., High Church Anglicans), Catholics, and other non-believers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Through his many letters he kept a constant vigil, "that England, Scotland, and Ireland, might speedily undergo, mighty and happy Changes." To help speed up these changes, he sent religious tracts to his various overseas contacts.<sup>37</sup> More interesting were his never-recognized plans to establish "Scotch Colonies to the Northward" of Boston in 1706, as a haven for "Persons of Honour both in Scotland and in England."<sup>38</sup> If a reformation could not be transported from New England to Europe, perhaps the best people in Europe could be brought to New England. Hence, when Presbyterians from Northern Ireland began pouring into Boston Harbor twelve years later, Cotton Mather was both receptive and full of suggestions and advice.

In 1714, two forerunners of the coming "wave" of Scotch-Irish arrived in New England. The Reverend William Homes and the Reverend Thomas Craighead were

brothers-in-law when they arrived in Boston with their families in October aboard the Thomas and Jane.<sup>39</sup> They were greeted almost immediately by Judge Samuel Sewall and Lt. Gov. William Taylor, "in order to know what was best to be done as to the ship's coming up." Apparently there was some concern as early as 1714 about the disposition of "the Irish." Homes and Craighead were given some turnips and cabbages by Judge Sewall, and Homes was later invited to dinner by Sewall and the lieutenant governor.<sup>40</sup> Yet aside from their Presbyterianism, their Irish background, and their family ties, William Homes and Thomas Craighead seem to have had little in common. No sooner had they landed in Boston than they began to part ways.

Less is known of Thomas Craighead than of William Homes, and Craighead's contribution to Scotch-Irish settlement in New England is limited. By 1723 he had moved to Delaware, and from there to Pennsylvania.<sup>41</sup> Craighead began his troubled New England interlude with the best of contacts. Not only was he introduced to such prestigious figures as Sewall and Taylor upon arrival in Boston, but in the following April he preached in place of the Reverend Benjamin Coleman at the Brattle Street Church.<sup>42</sup> In the interim, he had made the acquaintance of Cotton Mather, acting as an intermediary in Mather's attempt to woo Lydia George for his third wife. Craighead must have done his part well, for at the time of Mather's wedding to Lydia

George in July 1715, Mather thanked Craighead by letter.

In his diary, Mather later recorded:

Mr. Craighead has been so near to me on many occasions, that I will assign him a Place in my Memorials among my Relatives. I will every Day mention him in my secret Prayers, that he may be Kept holy and made useful. I have thoughts of getting him transplanted into a comprehensive Service at the East-ward.<sup>43</sup>

Whether Mather helped his friend find a pulpit is not known; what is known is that Craighead did not go "East-ward," but south, to the Bristol County town of Freetown. Freetown had been incorporated in 1683 under the old Plymouth patent, but the town failed to obtain a minister until pressured by authorities in Boston. Existing evidence suggests that Freetown was a factious, unsettled community containing a number of Baptists, and the town's actions were unpredictable. To the surprise of many, for instance, the Freetown town meeting voted in 1707 to apply to the Bishop of London for a minister. In 1717, Freetown once again needed a minister. The town records of September 9, 1717, indicate that Thomas Craighead was approved as the new minister by a vote of twenty-five to three, although five people protested that another application should have been made to the Bishop of London. Craighead was to receive no formal salary, a stipulation that was bound to lead to problems. Seeking relief from his financial burdens, Craighead took the town to court, asking for an annual salary of L65. The town, angered by their minister's audacity, voted to declare Craighead's



election as minister void on June 19, 1719. Cotton Mather tried in vain to save his friend's job, writing to a town leader: "Mr. Craighead is a man of Singular piety and Humility & meekness, & patience & self denial and industry in the work of God."<sup>44</sup> One wonders, however, if Craighead was really patient and meek when looking at the diary of his brother-in-law William Homes. Less than two weeks after being formally called to the church at Freetown, Craighead visited Homes, where "he spoke...of going to Barmudas." Homes noted with relief that their meeting "was free without any heat or misunderstanding."<sup>45</sup> Regardless of his personal qualities, Craighead and his family moved south to Delaware and then to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1739.<sup>46</sup>

It was Craighead's brother-in-law, William Homes, who made a more lasting contribution to Scotch-Irish settlement in New England, if not by direct action, at least by good example. Homes was born in Ireland in 1663.<sup>47</sup> His exact birthplace is not known, and virtually nothing is known of Homes' first twenty-two years, except that he was sometimes styled "the meek." In 1686, he came to Martha's Vineyard, where he taught school until 1689, if not longer. In 1691, Homes returned to Ireland, and the following year was ordained a Presbyterian minister at Strabane. On September 26, 1793, he married Katherine Craighead, daughter of the Reverend Robert Craighead of Londonderry. In his diary, he recorded the birth of each of his eleven children,

beginning with son Robert in July 1694. Three of his children were baptised by brother-in-law Thomas Craighead. One of his children died as a small child, while nine of the remaining ten emigrated from Ireland with their parents in 1714. Robert Homes, frequently styled "Captain," probably came ahead of his family, and like his father, taught school on Martha's Vineyard. Samuel Sewall dined with Robert on April 6, 1714, and along with neighbor Thomas Mayhew and some unnamed others, held talks with a group of local Indians on Martha's Vineyard.<sup>48</sup>

Not surprisingly, William Homes returned to Martha's Vineyard shortly after arriving in Boston. There, he was welcomed by old acquaintances and ordained minister of Chilmark parish on September 15, 1715. He succeeded the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, who had died that summer of a hideous ailment called the "king's evil."<sup>49</sup> Homes remained at Chilmark until his death in 1746.

Unlike his brother-in-law Thomas Craighead, Homes seems to have been a soothing presence among his parishoners, not to mention a friend of Boston's most conservative spokesman, Samuel Sewall. The old judge began the relationship with a gift of turnips and cabbages, followed two years later by a Polyglot Bible and lots of advice about Catholicism in Ireland.<sup>50</sup> Sewall had a propensity for giving away copies of Homes' sermons in his travels. Homes had three religious tracts published during his lifetime, and Samuel Sewall made a point of getting

some of them into the hands of the right people. In 1720, for instance, Sewall handed out copies of Homes' Discourse concerning the Publick reading of the Holy Scriptures (Boston, 1720) to "the Council and Deputies, and many others."<sup>51</sup> Homes noted Sewall's death in a diary entry of January 11, 1729/30, although it is doubtful that Sewall would have distributed Homes' next publication had he been alive. Homes' Proposals of Some Things to be done in our administring Ecclesiastical Government (Boston, 1732) called for the creation of presbyteries throughout New England.

Along with his Presbyterianism, Homes seems to have brought a lasting interest in Irish affairs into the New World as well. Not only did he correspond with Sewall about Ireland, but he noted in his slim diary on August 24, 1729: "I understand that the poor in Ireland are in great distress thro' a famine of bread."<sup>52</sup> Of much greater interest is Homes' possible role in the Irish migration of 1718.

The events of 1717 and 1718 are somewhat sketchy at best, and Homes' level of participation is impossible to determine. He certainly did not act alone; his efforts were part of a building movement from Northern Ireland to America. It began with a trickle, even the hint of a trickle. In November 1713, for instance, three Presbyterian ministers in Ireland petitioned the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In stating the case for their

troubled church, they complained that their brethren entertained "thoughts of transporting themselves to America."<sup>53</sup> A few like Homes and Craighead did more than entertain thoughts of emigration. At the Boston selectmen's meeting of January 25, 1714-15, Javice Bethell, an Irish shoemaker, who with his wife had come to Boston from Newfoundland in August 1714, was admitted a resident of Boston.<sup>54</sup>

In the two years before the arrival of the "five ships" in 1718, as many as five to six hundred Scotch-Irish immigrants may have come to New England.<sup>55</sup> Some of the early Scotch-Irish immigrants to New England may have come over as indentured servants. John Winthrop complained in 1717 that he was having trouble with his "Irish" housemaid in New London, Connecticut.<sup>56</sup> Yet the number of indentured servants among the early Scotch-Irish immigrants was probably small. Samuel Shute reported that between July 1717 and June 1718, 126 indentured servants had come into Massachusetts--only twenty-three of these had come from Ireland.<sup>57</sup> Indentured or not, however, some of the early immigrants were poor. In September 1717, an Irishman by the name of James Goodwin won the dubious distinction of being the first of many Irishmen to be warned out of Boston for failure to show means of support.<sup>58</sup> Yet in spite of a mixed reception, the Irish kept coming. As many as five thousand Scotch-Irish may have emigrated from Ulster in

1717 alone.<sup>59</sup> Their beacon lights along the American shore were held by pioneers like William Homes.

On November 3, 1717, Homes was visited by John McClellan and James Jamison, later known for their roles in Scotch-Irish settlements in Worcester and Falmouth.<sup>60</sup> It is not known what was discussed, but it may well have been related to an entry made three weeks later in the minister's diary: "This day [November 24] I received several letters two from Doctor Cotton Mather one from severall gentlemen proprietors of lands at or near to Casco Bay."<sup>61</sup>

Although the contents of the letter from the Casco Bay proprietors is not known, the eventual removal of numerous Scotch-Irish immigrants to Casco Bay suggests that the "severall gentlemen proprietors" were looking for Homes' support for such a move. Cotton Mather was equally concerned about the fate of Scotch-Irish immigrants in the fall of 1717, although probably for more altruistic motives. Early in September, Mather had tried to find a position for an unemployed Scotch-Irish schoolmaster.<sup>62</sup> Yet the problems mounted, and on September 20, Mather went to "Gett the Story of the Difficulties and Deliverences attending the Ship from Ireland." The next day he lamented, "More of the poor Men from Ireland, want Employment."<sup>63</sup> A month later, on October 24, Mather was still plagued by the problem. "The Transportation of great Numbers of good People from Ireland hither, is a Concern,

whereto I would give my helping Hand."<sup>64</sup> Hence, Mather's two letters to Homes in November almost certainly had something to do with immigrants from Ireland.

In the spring of 1718, evidence suggests that both Mather and Homes had a direct hand in encouraging the largest Scotch-Irish immigration to date. On April 4, Cotton Mather sent some of his work to Ireland for distribution to "the Ministers of Londonderry and Parts adjacent." The mission was entrusted to "a young Gentleman going thither."<sup>65</sup> It is quite possible the young gentleman was Robert Homes. Homes was due to sail for Ireland in April, and he was certainly well connected with the Presbyterian ministry there. Not only had his father been a respected clergyman in Strabane, but his grandfather, Robert Craighead, was a prominent Presbyterian minister, serving as moderator of the Ulster synod a year later, in 1719.<sup>66</sup> At the time of Robert's departure, his father William Homes traveled to Boston from Chilmark and stayed with his oldest son, preaching on one occasion for Cotton Mather at North Church. On April 13, 1718, Robert Homes sailed for Ireland.<sup>67</sup>

There is no detailed account of Robert Homes' activities in Ulster. Jeremy Belknap, writing a half century afterwards, noted the "One Holmes, a young man, son of a clergyman, had been here [New England] and carried home a favorable report of the country." Belknap went on to say that "Holmes" convinced Presbyterian ministers

James MacGregor, William Cornwell, and William Boyd, along with members of their congregations, to come to New England.<sup>68</sup> Yet Belknap's information is sketchy, and in at least one detail incorrect. He felt that Robert Homes had convinced his father to emigrate while in Ireland; as noted above, the father was already in New England. It is possible that Robert Homes had been influential in persuading his father to return to New England, and Martha's Vineyard, back in 1714, but this is speculation.

Whatever his activities, Robert Homes' stay in Ireland was brief. In mid-October, he had returned to Boston aboard the ship Mary and Elizabeth, which had sailed from Londonderry and was filled with immigrants.<sup>69</sup> There, the Mary and Elizabeth joined other vessels from Ireland. William Homes was there to greet them. When he had first come to New England in 1686, he had been a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian in the land of the English Puritan--a lonely forerunner of the flood to follow. By 1718, he was among hundreds of his countrymen.

The famous "five ships" from Ireland that sat in Boston Harbor in August 1718 have had their story told and retold. Unfortunately, the story has not been told and retold very well, and it has a certain mythical quality. It is not known, for instance, why so much attention has been paid to these particular five ships, for a least ten

ships came to Boston from Ireland in 1718; between 1714 and 1720, Charles Knowles Bolton discovered approximately forty-five vessels coming from Ireland to New England ports, mostly Boston.<sup>70</sup> The five ships were not even the first Irish vessels to arrive in Massachusetts in 1718. An unnamed ship from Dublin landed at Marblehead in May carrying Scottish and Irish indentured servants. David Black was one of the servants. In February, he indented himself for three years to William Gibb, master of the vessel, "to serve in such service and Employment, as the said William Gibb or his Assigns shall there employ him...." In return, Gibb would pay for Black's passage, "and to find and allow Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging with other Necessaries during the said Term."<sup>71</sup>

Clearly the arrival of the "five ships" between July 25 and August 4 was perceived by Boston leaders as an unprecedented "wave" of Irish immigration, but their fears of famine, unemployment, and possible disease resulting from the sudden rush of immigrants were grounded upon experiences with Irish immigration over the previous three years, if not longer. For the record, there had been a "Paddy's Alley" along the Boston Waterfront since 1708--perhaps a haven for Irish immigrants who had strayed into Boston since the beginning of the century.<sup>72</sup>

Many, if not most of the Irish immigrants arriving in Boston in 1718 seem to have come from the Valley of the Bann. Theirs is the best known story, although many



essential details remain hidden.<sup>73</sup> On March 26, 1718, a group of 319 men from Ulster signed a statement to Governor Samuel Shute expressing their desire to "Transport our selves to that very excellent and renowned Plantation" of Massachusetts.<sup>74</sup> The "memorial" was sent to Boston by one of the signers, the Reverend William Boyd of Macosquin. Boyd arrived in Boston on July 25 aboard the William and Mary.<sup>75</sup> According to the memorial in Boyd's possession, the 319 signers wished to come to Massachusetts "upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable incouragement."<sup>76</sup> Considering that many of the signers and their families landed in Boston within a few days of Boyd's arrival, it is obvious that this "suitable incouragement" was little more than a formality, and Boyd was really acting as an advance scout.

Boyd wasted no time seeking out Ireland's best friend in Boston. On the day the William and Mary landed, Cotton Mather recorded in his diary: "A Minister arrived from Ireland, with Instructions to enquire after the Circumstances of this Countrey, in order to the coming of many more, gives me an Opportunity for many Services."<sup>77</sup> Mather was not only intrigued by the thought of a large-scale Irish immigration, but he seems to have been under the impression that the Irish would be poor. The next day he recorded this thought in his diary: "The many Families arriving from Ireland, will afford me many Opportunities, for Kindnesses to the Indigent."<sup>78</sup>

Neither Mather nor Boyd had long to wait for the "Irish," although if Thomas Lechmere is a reliable judge, the Irish families in Boston Harbor on July 28 were not "Indigent." Lechmere had been asked by his brother-in-law John Winthrop of Connecticut to find a good indentured servant. Lechmere, writing at "Eleven of the Clock at night" on July 28, reported that about two hundred Irish had come into port, but none was indentured. Instead, they all had paid their own passage, "upon some encouragement to settle upon some unimproved Lands...."<sup>79</sup> Little is known of this particular group of Scotch-Irish immigrants; they were probably aboard the William and Mary from Londonderry, John Wilson, master, but the possible affiliation of the group with William Boyd is unknown.

At this point, two of the "five ships" were in Boston Harbor, although Boyd's vessel may have carried few Scotch-Irish immigrants aside from Boyd.<sup>80</sup> On August 4 and 5, two of the remaining five ships came into Boston. The Robert and the William almost certainly carried settlers from the Valley of the Bann. These were Boyd's people, led by the Reverend James MacGregor and James McKeen.<sup>81</sup> The Mary Ann from Dublin came in on August 7, although there seems to be no way to associate this vessel with the Robert and William. It was at this point that Thomas Lechmere began to worry about the flood of Irish immigrants.<sup>82</sup>

No sooner had vessels from Ireland arrived in Boston Harbor than the immigrants began to disperse, or at least they tried to disperse. Those with means had more options; James McClellan, for instance, bought a seventy-five acre tract of land in the frontier town of Worcester on August 9.<sup>83</sup> Others were dispersed as indentured servants. In the News-Letter of August 4, merchant William Wilson advertised "Sundry Boys times for Years by Indentures, young Women and Girls by the year," as well as beef and linen and woolen cloth at his warehouse.<sup>84</sup>

Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather both took note of the five ships in Boston Harbor. On August 9, the same day James McClellan was buying land in Worcester, Judge Sewall invited MacGregor and Boyd to his home for dinner, much the way he had hosted William Homes four years earlier. While the dinner conversation went unrecorded, it is known that he gave the Scotch-Irish spiritual leaders each a copy of his "Proposals."<sup>85</sup> Cotton Mather's activities are not known, but some of his thoughts are. As the ships lay anchored in the harbor, he fretted about the welfare of the immigrants, not to mention the "Kingdom of God in these Parts of the World" and what might be done for it "by this Transportation."<sup>86</sup> He may have worried well into the night, for on the next day, he recorded in his diary: "A Variety of new Services to be done for the Kingdome of GOD among our Indians, now occur unto me."<sup>87</sup> This statement is open to a variety of interpretations, although cynics

might suggest that the intended "Services...among our Indians" were hostile in nature. Thomas Lechmere was more blunt. In his letter to Winthrop, dated August 11, he implies that the immigrants were being given land "gratis to settle our frontiers as a barrier against the Indians."<sup>88</sup>

Aside from a possible solution to Indian problems, various land speculators, like the "severall gentlemen proprietors" who had written to William Homes in November 1717, were in a hurry to find settlers for their holdings in Maine. Yet officials in Boston had more immediate concerns. The sudden rush of Irish immigrants into their town raised fears of famine, disease, and an increase in relief rolls. Starvation, along with its dreaded cousins, disease and civil disorder, threatened urban centers along the Atlantic seaboard throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>89</sup> Boston was hardly an exception. Scotch-Irish immigration into Boston during the second and third decades of the century coincided with a period of acute food shortages and the outbreak of smallpox. The coincidence did little to make the Scotch-Irish immigrants welcome. As early as 1714, the ship Elisabeth and Kathrin, with its Irish passengers, was forced to delay in Boston Harbor and put its sick on Spectacle Island. In 1716, the same island was used for the same purpose.<sup>90</sup> Smallpox became a problem in Boston by 1717, and in a May town meeting, it was decided to lease land for a hospital or pest house "for

the reception & entertainment of Sick persons coming from beyond the Sea...." The pest house, or "hospital," was apparently built by Col. Samuel Thaxter that year, although not completed until the fall of 1718.<sup>91</sup> While the hospital was being constructed, about seventy immigrants of unknown nationality were dumped on the island. The owner of Spectacle Island complained in November 1717 that they had "cut down several valuable Trees there, and spoiled the Grass...."<sup>92</sup> Two years later, in August 1719, Captain Philip Bass had his vessel stopped by Boston authorities because of smallpox on board. He carried approximately two hundred Scotch-Irish immigrants from Londonderry.<sup>93</sup> In November of the same year, Robert Homes' ship, the Elizabeth, arrived in Boston and was immediately quarantined for smallpox. The pest house on Spectacle Island was too small to handle all of the 150 passengers, so the house of representatives ordered the selectmen of Boston to find separate lodging for the rest.<sup>94</sup>

All of this took place before the vicious outbreak of smallpox in 1721.<sup>95</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that Cotton Mather, in the midst of his efforts to inoculate Bostonians against the dreaded disease in 1721, also offered his prayers on behalf of the "several Strangers arriving from Ireland."<sup>96</sup>

If the Scotch-Irish were thought to be partially responsible for the outbreak of smallpox, it was certain that they would place impossible demands upon Boston's

depleted granaries. Thomas Lechmere's fears that "these confounded Irish will eat us all up" was echoed by the Boston selectmen when they appealed to the Suffolk County Court of General Sessions in August 1718 for relief from the sudden rush of Irish immigrants.<sup>97</sup> The foundation of Boston's constant food shortages during these years was the inability of New England farmers, particularly during war years, to raise an agricultural surplus sufficient to feed an urban area of Boston's size. This problem was compounded by Boston's inability to establish a good market within city limits.<sup>98</sup> As immigrants began pouring into Boston, some of the town's food problems were reflected in the rising price of wheat. In three years, from May 1716 to May 1719, a bushel of wheat rose in price from four shillings, six pence to ten shillings.<sup>99</sup> Fearing that the price of corn would also become exorbitant following the arrival of the five ships, the selectmen voted on October 14, 1718, to open the town granary and to sell corn at four shillings, six pence per bushel.<sup>100</sup> Earlier, in September, Cotton Mather tried to help in his own small way by giving money to the Scotch-Irish through one of their ministers, but neither gesture solved Boston's food problems, and the selectmen were forced to open the granaries again in December--limiting each buyer to one bushel of corn.<sup>101</sup>

Had the five ships been the end of the year's flow of immigrants, the food shortages might have been less acute

in Boston in the winter of 1718-19. Unfortunately they were not. After a three week break, "the Irish" began sailing into Boston Harbor again on September 1 with the arrival of the Dolphin from Dublin. This vessel carried "Servants, boys, tradesman, husbandmen, and maids" for indenture.<sup>102</sup> Shortly thereafter, the Maccallum arrived from Londonderry. The twenty families aboard the Maccallum were probably from the Bann Valley and led by the Reverend James Woodside. Some or all of this group, along with their minister, apparently went to Maine later that month.<sup>103</sup> In October, the Beginning and the Return arrived in Boston carrying Irish immigrants, although the most notable Irish entry for the month was the Mary and Elizabeth from Londonderry, "full of passengers." The arrival of the Mary and Elizabeth marked the return of Robert Homes.<sup>104</sup>

The October arrivals were apparently too much for the Boston selectmen. Not only did they open the granaries that month, but they began to warn Irish immigrants out of town, beginning with three men and two women who had arrived in August.<sup>105</sup> In December, the selectmen held a meeting to discuss the options for buying additional grain from another province. They raised £1,500 in order to feed the poor by selling a piece of land at "Blue Hill," and at their March 1719 town meeting they took measures to buy additional grain.<sup>106</sup>

Exactly what proportion of Boston's difficulties were blamed on the Scotch-Irish is impossible to determine. There was only one recorded anti-Irish incident in Boston following in the wake of the five ships in 1718. On February 7, 1718/19, William Boyd was verbally assaulted while browsing in Gray's Bookstore by one Edward Ellis. The cause of the assault is uncertain, although Ellis made reference to Boyd's possible immoral conduct with a maid servant in town. Ellis was arrested, tried, convicted, and fined for verbally, if not physically attacking Boyd.<sup>107</sup>

In the remainder of 1719, three groups of Scotch-Irish immigrants were warned out of Boston by the selectmen, partly in response to at least seven vessels entering Boston Harbor from Ireland. The selectmen were particularly disturbed by the Scotch-Irish coming into Boston from "Eastward and Merrymeeting Bay."<sup>108</sup> Some of these immigrants were probably returning to Boston following a miserable winter in Maine, while others were coming to Boston for the first time by way of Maine. In January of the following year, over fifty Scotch-Irish farmers were warned out of Boston only two months after their ships had come into port, including a group of thirty who had been brought to Boston by Robert Homes in November 1719.<sup>109</sup> Some of the selectmen's actions may have been prompted by Governor Shute, who in November 1719 reported the following to the house of representatives.

I have lately with the Advice of the council, directed the Select-Men of Boston, to take the proper care, to



prevent the heavy charge, likely to arise to this town, by the coming of poor People from Abroad, especially those that come from Ireland, but I should think That, a matter of such weight, as to deserve the thought and care, even of the General Assembly.<sup>110</sup>

In all, at least 330 people were warned out of Boston between 1715 and 1720, and most of them seem to have been Scotch-Irish.<sup>111</sup> Yet the drastic action did little or nothing to relieve food shortages. Like the year before, in December 1719 the selectmen were forced to open the granaries, selling wheat, corn, and rye to a hungry populace.<sup>112</sup> It was perhaps with a sigh of relief that Governor Shute informed the New Hampshire assembly in late April 1720 that no ships had yet come in that year from Britain.<sup>113</sup> His relief was short lived, however. That very month a ship sailed into Boston from Cork. At least a dozen ships entered New England ports from Ireland in 1720; two of these landed in Salem, another at Marblehead, and the rest in Boston. Robert Homes arrived in Boston with his third shipload of passengers on August 28.<sup>114</sup>

The exact number of immigrants constituting the first "wave" of Scotch-Irish immigration is impossible to determine. Governor Shute reported in February 1719 that "within three years past" about five or six hundred Irish immigrants had come to Massachusetts, "to settle the Eastern parts of the Province, & Else where...."<sup>115</sup> Yet as the flow of immigrants from Ireland slowed after 1721 or 1722, the plight of many already in New England worsened.

A substantial number who tried to settle in the "Eastern parts" soon found themselves back in the crowded streets of Boston in 1722 (See Chapter IV). At a Boston town meeting in May 1723, it was reported that many Scotch-Irish had recently come into town "by Reason of the present Indian war and other Accedents befalling them...."<sup>116</sup> The Irish immigrants who had gone to Maine between 1718 and 1721 became the most pathetic victims of an Indian war known variously as Dummer's or Lovewell's War. Forced to flee their small farms with little more than the clothes on their backs, these refugees were certain to become town charges in Boston. The selectmen responded quickly to the emergency. They passed a town ordinance directing any "Irish" who had come into Boston within the past three years to register his name and occupation--if married, the age of his children and servants. Immigrants were given five days to comply.

Over the next few years, Irish immigrants coming into Boston Harbor faced a number of possible fates. Some were quickly warned out of town. In the case of the nineteen passengers aboard the ship Boottle in 1736, the selectmen refused to allow them ashore, choosing instead to send them to Virginia. That same year, 120 passengers aboard the ship Prudent Hannah from Cork were not allowed to disembark in Boston, but forced to move on quickly to their original destination of Philadelphia.<sup>117</sup> Yet it was more common for individuals and families to be warned out of

town, generally on grounds that they could not support themselves.<sup>118</sup> In some cases, the immigrants who registered with the selectmen were able to prove their worth. At a selectmen's meeting on 9 September 1730, for instance, two joiners from Ireland were admitted as residents.<sup>119</sup>

Aside from being warned out of town, at least two other possible fates awaited the poor Irish of Boston. An undetermined number came over as indentured servants; their indentures were sold at the docks in much the same way as any other import. It is impossible to say how many indentured servants remained in Boston, although the number was probably small. While indentured servants outnumbered Negro slaves, only one Boston family in one hundred had an indentured servant in the years between 1685 and 1745. Governor Shute counted only 126 indentured servants imported or sold in all of Massachusetts in 1717 and 1718.<sup>120</sup> A substantial number of Irish indentured servants appear throughout the Boston town records, although not always under the best of circumstances. At a selectmen's meeting in 1743, one Sarah Winslow "informs that Capt. Cunningham imported Ann Holden into this Town from Ireland & that She is now at her House big with Child..." The selectmen took Cunningham to court.<sup>121</sup> Gilbert Ashe, a Scotch-Irish immigrant, had an even more unusual experience as an indentured servant. Early in 1721, his indenture was purchased for £13 by Peter Greeley,

a cordwainer from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Shortly after arriving at his new home, Ashe was impressed by the Royal Navy. Greeley managed to get his servant back only to have Ashe enlist as a volunteer to fight Indians in Maine. The frustrated Greeley petitioned the governor and council of New Hampshire to have Ashe returned to Portsmouth, saying that it "will be much to my Prejudice if not Releeve'd by your Honors, and Incouragement to others to do the Like which will have an Evil Tendency."<sup>122</sup> The absence of many similar accounts indicates that the process of indenting servants probably worked well in most cases, however.

Another option for the poor Irish of Boston was the almshouse and the workhouse. At a selectmen's meeting in 1735, "Timothy Brown a Sick man that came from St. Martins, belonging to Ireland," was sent to the almshouse. Nine years later, one Sarah Magin, from Ireland and "in poor Circumstances," was also sent there.<sup>123</sup> Irish children found their way to the Boston Almshouse. In 1744, the selectmen sent three boys and sixteen girls to the almshouse; all had just arrived from Ireland.<sup>124</sup> Many of the Irish who wound up in the almshouse in the 1720's may not have realized just how poor they were until reaching Boston. Since Indian warfare in the frontier areas made it impossible or inadvisable to settle there, some Irish looked into lands closer to Boston. Unfortunately, due to rampant inflation, hence high real estate prices,

immigrants from England and Ireland were, in the words of Thomas Lechmere, "in a great measure debarred" from becoming landowners.<sup>125</sup> As inflated prices ate away at meager savings, the almshouse became the only solution for some.

By 1729, Boston's "Irish problem" had reached alarming proportions, with no end in sight. A second "wave" of Irish immigration coincided with another outbreak of smallpox. Provincial authorities, worried by an increase in the number of vessels from Ireland during the summer of 1729, met in September and drafted a bill to detain all Irish vessels at Spectacle Island. As for the Irish who slipped through, justices of the peace were to issue search warrants to find any Irish suspected of having smallpox.<sup>126</sup> Some Bostonians took more direct action. In July 1729, a mob tried to keep an Irish vessel from unloading its passengers.<sup>127</sup>

The situation continued to worsen. Whereas town poor charges were £800 in 1727 and £940 in 1729, they were up to £2,069 in 1735.<sup>128</sup> According to Boston's selectmen, two-thirds of the poor in the almshouse were not natives of Boston, but were "Poor Persons who have crept in amongst Us." Since the additional expenses of caring for the poor were not Boston's doing, city officials asked that the province take over some of the charges.<sup>129</sup> They put their case more succinctly in 1738, describing Boston as "being the Receptacle of almost all the Poor that come into

this Province, by reason that most Foreigners fix here, and cannot be prevented..." Local authorities would welcome them if they would "bring with them the value of Fifty Pounds, or be able bodied Trades-men, or Indentured Servants, or Sailors..."<sup>130</sup> Yet many of those coming into Boston had none of these assets.

Some "Foreigners" tried to help their own kind. The Charitable Irish Society was formed in 1737, composed of "several gentlemen, merchants, and others of the Irish nation, residing in Boston." They took pity upon their fellow countrymen "who may be reduced by sickness, old age, and other infirmities and unforeseen accidents."<sup>131</sup> The Society's constitution limited membership to Protestants at first, although by mid-century, some Catholics were tolerated. In spite of good intentions, however, the Charitable Irish Society's resources were limited.

In 1735, a number of leading Boston citizens came up with the idea of a "Workhouse." This workhouse was for the purpose of employing "the Idle and indigent belonging to the Town." It was to be built and outfitted for an estimated £3,500, and in May of that year, 121 subscribers pledged support. The two-story brick structure on the Common was opened in 1739. By 1741, there were ten men, thirty-eight women, and seven children employed there.<sup>132</sup>

From the start, the Scotch-Irish experience in Boston had been one of transience, uncertainty, and poverty. Boston had received the Irish grudgingly at best; the town

felt better once they had moved on. Most Irish immigrants to New England landed in Boston, and many returned to Boston again and again, each time looking for a new start--perhaps in Maine, New Hampshire, central Massachusetts, or even Pennsylvania. Throughout this experience, Boston remained a focal point without an identity. The Irish passed in and out of Boston at the mercy of generally unsympathetic officials, with no recognized spokesman of their own, and with no fraternal, religious, or political organization they might call their own. This changed in 1727 with the arrival of the Reverend John Moorehead. Until his death in 1773, Moorehead shepherded a scattered flock of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Boston area, and in so doing, gave the Irish of Boston an identity other than one of shiftless transient.

John Moorehead's life is not particularly well documented. He was born in 1703 near Belfast and later educated at the University of Edinburgh.<sup>133</sup> He migrated to New England in 1727, and in 1730, was ordained by a group in Boston calling themselves the "Church of Presbyterian strangers."<sup>134</sup> That same year he married an English woman named Sarah Parsons.

The "Church of Presbyterian strangers" lacked geographic definition; the "strangers" were scattered in and around Boston, and Moorehead spend much of his pastorate traveling to surrounding towns visiting the known Presbyterians. Nor did the "strangers" have a church

building of any formal dignity. Instead they worshipped in a barn on Long Lane. The barn and lot had been donated by a gardener named John Little. Only in 1744 did the congregation replace the barn with a real church.<sup>135</sup> The church's early benefactor never saw the new structure. John Little died in 1741. In his will, he made provision, in the event his sons died young or without issue, for the principal of a trust fund to be given to pay a schoolmaster for the "poor Protestant children whose Parents are of the Kingdom of Ireland and Inhabitants of Boston."<sup>136</sup> This provision never went into effect, but the sentiment is significant.

Although Mr. Moorhead could offer his scattered flock only a barn for their physical comfort, he seems to have met their spiritual needs admirably. Within six years of his ordination he had approximately 250 communicants in his church. Many of the communicants had come to Boston before Moorehead, carrying testimonials as to their worthiness. Typical of these is the testimonial of William Caldwell and family.<sup>137</sup>

The bearer, William Caldwell, his wife Sarah Morrison, 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 privilidges.

Given at Dunboe

April 9, 1718

Jas. Woodside, Jr.

Minister



These testimonials were important, as only proven church members could receive Communion in a Presbyterian church. Hence, one of Moorehead's first tasks was to locate potential church members in Boston and surrounding communities. This was no easy task, for the first wave of Scotch-Irish immigration had splashed into virtually every town in the Boston area. The "Irish" could be found in Concord, Lexington, Braintree, Charlestown, Cambridge, Malden, and a half dozen other communities near Boston. Many of these individuals eventually became part of Moorehead's fold.<sup>138</sup>

At least four times a year, the communicants would come to the barn, and later the church at Long Lane. There Mr. Moorehead would hold Communion in the Scottish way, usually assisted by another Presbyterian divine such as James MacGregor or Matthew Clark of Londonderry. Moorehead, who was not known for his scholarship and who published almost nothing in his lifetime, spoke to his parishoners in long, extemporaneous sermons. He later became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Great Awakening, welcoming George Whitefield into his crowded barn to assist in a Communion service. He remained the central figure among the Scotch-Irish of Boston and eastern Massachusetts until the Revolution; "virtuous strangers from North Britain and Ireland were sure to find a friend in him."<sup>139</sup>

At least three other Scotch-Irish ministers settled in eastern Massachusetts following the first wave of Irish immigration in 1718. In the case of the Reverend Robert Sturgeon, who was the settled minister in Watertown from 1721 until his dismissal a year later, the experience was brief and unpleasant. Sturgeon found greater happiness later on in Wilton, Connecticut, and Bedford, New York.<sup>140</sup>

The Reverend James MacGregor had an equally brief stay in the frontier town of Dracut, although considerably more agreeable. MacGregor chose not to follow many of his parishoners to Maine in the winter of 1718/19, but unlike William Boyd, he did not have the means to spend an idle winter in Boston. He needed work, and he turned to Cotton Mather for help. In early October, only two months after the arrival of the five ships, Mather wrote to Dracut in behalf of "our Friend and Brother Mr. MacGregore...." MacGregor's "very excellent character" was praised, and it was noted that "from a singular goodness in his Temper, he was usually called the peace-maker, in the countrey from whence he came." Less than two weeks later, MacGregor was formally approved as Dracut's minister at an annual salary of £65.<sup>141</sup> In Dracut, MacGregor lived near a small group of fellow immigrants spending their first New England winter in Andover. These people seem to have been transients; many later migrated to New Hampshire, where they were joined by MacGregor eventually.<sup>142</sup>

The Reverend John McKinstry, like MacGregor, had been aboard one of the five ships. After spending a brief period in Worcester, he was invited to preach in Sutton, where he was ordained in November 1720. Eight years later he was dismissed by his largely English (and Congregational) congregation over a fundamental disagreement about church government.<sup>143</sup>

There was one other dimension to the Scotch-Irish experience in Massachusetts; some immigrants migrated en masse to unsettled lands in the central and western parts of the province. Some of these ventures are not particularly well recorded.<sup>144</sup> The most substantial migration of Scotch-Irish stemming from the first wave of immigration came in the move to Worcester. In 1718, Worcester was a frontier community about forty miles west of Boston. Earlier attempts to settle the township had fallen prey to King Philip's War and Queen Anne's War. In 1713, however, the proprietors and a few hardy settlers were willing to try once more. By 1718, Worcester boasted approximately two hundred residents living in about fifty-eight crude dwellings.<sup>145</sup>

In the fall of 1718, the Scotch-Irish began to arrive in town. They were led by a Presbyterian minister named Edward Fitzgerald and James McClellan, the first Scotch-Irish settler to buy land in the area.<sup>146</sup> It is possible this group of immigrants came from the Valley of the Foyle River, and as such, had no prior association with

the MacGregor-Boyd group from the Bann. There is evidence to suggest they had less education and less money than some of the other Irish immigrants. Although McClellan was one of their leaders, he was probably illiterate, signing his will with a mark. Aside from McClellan, other Irish names do not appear in Worcester's proprietors records until the 1730's; most of the Scotch-Irish who came to Worcester came as tenant farmers.<sup>147</sup>

It is not known how many Scotch-Irish settlers followed Fitzgerald and McClellan to Worcester; the first town history suggests their numbers may have doubled Worcester's population.<sup>148</sup> It is known, however, that the reception was hostile. Although details are lacking, it appears that the English settlers invited Mr. Fitzgerald to preach in their vacant pulpit, and that the Scotch-Irish were invited to join with the English church. For whatever reasons, Fitzgerald was not invited to return to the English church, and he and his Scotch-Irish followers began the construction of their own Presbyterian church. The project did not get far. An English mob, possibly led by some of the more respectable men in town, demolished the partly-constructed building. In despair, a number of the immigrants moved on to Nutfield, or Londonderry, New Hampshire. Others stayed in Massachusetts, founding the town of Rutland or joining Mr. McKinstry in Sutton.<sup>149</sup> One of those who left Worcester was the Reverend Edward

Fitzgerald, although he returned occasionally to preach to the Scotch-Irish in town.

About thirty Scotch-Irish individuals or families stayed in Worcester. They joined the English church, and by 1724, James McClellan was a selectman in town. Another immigrant by the name of Robert Crawford served as the town's first physician.<sup>150</sup> Yet beneath the surface there was dissatisfaction. Around 1730, a number of the Presbyterians left Worcester for its namesake in New York.<sup>151</sup> A small faction in town brought in their own Presbyterian minister, one William Johnston. Finding it difficult to support Mr. Johnston as well as the town's regular minister, ten of the Scotch-Irish petitioned the town in 1737 to be excused from paying the parish tax. The town dismissed the petition. Massachusetts had laws exempting Anglicans, Quakers, and Baptists from parish taxes, but the Presbyterian faith was not considered separate and distinct from the "Congregational" town churches in the province.<sup>152</sup> Town leaders claimed they all believed in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and that the Scotch-Irish form of worship and church government was "not Substantially differing from our own professed principles." The town further added that this attempt by the petitioners to break away from the town church was "full of irregulaerity & Disorder."<sup>153</sup> The town's action sent another wave of immigrants out of Worcester--some to Pelham, Massachusetts, some to New Hampshire, and some to

New York. By 1747, William Johnston was preaching in Londonderry, New Hampshire.

The group migrating to western Massachusetts and the future town of Pelham contained a core of men particularly bitter about the Worcester experience and determined not to have it repeated. In 1738, shortly after the rejection of the "Irish petition" in Worcester, Robert Peoples and James Thornton, both of Worcester, concluded an agreement to purchase thirty thousand acres of land in the western part of the province. They agreed to settle the territory with those who "were Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland or their Descendents being Protestants and none admitted but such as bring good and undeniable Credentials or certificates of their being Persons of good conversation and of the Presbyterian Persuasion as used in the Church of Scotland and Conform to the Discipline thereof...."<sup>154</sup> Peoples and Thornton were each to settle twenty families on one hundred acre lots within three years. They did better than expected, at least on paper, for in less than a year they had divided their holding into sixty-one lots, and all had been selected by men with possible Scottish or Irish names.<sup>155</sup> This township was called Lisburn, although by 1743, it had been incorporated with the English name of Pelham.

As early as 1739 the first settlers began building a church--this time without fear of its destruction. Three years later they had secured at least the temporary

services of the Reverend Robert Abercrombie, a graduate of Edinburgh who had arrived in Boston from Ireland in 1740. Although some members of the community found fault with Abercrombie, he was formally ordained in 1744. The Reverend David MacGregor of Londonderry and John Moorehead of Boston were among the ministers present when Jonathan Edwards delivered the ordination sermon.<sup>156</sup>

Of all of the Massachusetts towns attracting Scotch-Irish immigrants, Pelham seemed to be the one most like Londonderry, New Hampshire, in composition. It was a rapidly growing frontier community, comprised almost entirely of Scotch-Irish farmers of moderate wealth. After a rough start among the English of Massachusetts, the settlers of Pelham had taken it upon themselves to find land for a township, where they began their own Presbyterian church and attracted the services of a well qualified Presbyterian minister from Ireland.

Yet Pelham remained a poor town, unable to support its minister. After a decade of service, Abercrombie and his parishoners parted company in a bitter controversy that went to court and involved New England's only presbytery. It took ten years to find a replacement for Abercrombie.<sup>157</sup> Like Londonderry, Pelham did spawn future Scotch-Irish settlement. Yet while Londonderry fathered a dozen or more New Hampshire towns, Pelham can claim only Salem, New York, for offspring.<sup>158</sup>

The Scotch-Irish experience in Massachusetts, whether in the crowded streets of Boston or the muddy lanes of frontier towns, had been one of frustration and disappointment. Although some of their early leaders were treated with civility, for both economic and social reasons, it was impossible for large numbers of Scotch-Irish settlers to live in eastern Massachusetts. They were regarded as undesirables and encouraged to move on. Yet even in frontier settlements, there were barriers that separated them from their English neighbors. In some cases, misunderstanding led to mutual antagonism. When given the opportunity, many left Massachusetts in bitterness, remembering the harsh treatment received at the hands of "the people of New England." Those remaining in Massachusetts lived to lament, along with Hugh Cargill, how strange and sad it was "To lay my bones with strangers dead!"



NOTES

1. Quoted in McGee, Irish Settlers in North America, 35.
2. On the growth of Boston in the early eighteenth century, see Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York: The Ronald Press, 1938), 146-47.
3. Daniel Neal, The History of New-England, 2 vols. (London, 1720), 2: 587.
4. Nathaniel Uring's account, "A Voyage to Boston in New-England and the West-Indies, in 1709..," is published in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 11 vols. (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1824-1915), 3: 143-44. Hereafter, NHHS Collections.
5. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 172, 184.
6. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 171-72; and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston (Boston: by the City, 1891), 62.
7. Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History, Second Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 26.
8. Shurtleff, Boston, 62.
9. NHHS Collections, 3: 144.
10. There are no accurate figures for 1718. The figure of 10,000 is estimated from Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 22n. For higher figures, Uring estimated a population of 18,000 in 1709, while Neal arrived at a figure of 20,000 in 1719: NHHS Collections, 3: 141; and Neal, History of New-England, 588.
11. Shurtleff, Boston, 63. One of the best ways of looking at Boston in the early eighteenth century is through the Bonner map of 1722. The Town of Boston in New England, by Captain John Bonner, engraved by Francis Dewing, was first issued in 1722, and revised in subsequent editions. The information on the Bonner map was probably two or three years old when the map was published in 1722,

- as some of Bonner's information is identical to that of Neal in the latter's 1719 account of Boston.
12. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 165, 239.
  13. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 155-56, 164, 168.
  14. Shurtleff, Boston, 62; Whitehill, Boston, 26-27.
  15. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 188, 190, 265. It was in 1718 that twelve-year-old Benjamin Franklin was just beginning his apprenticeship in the printing house of his brother James Franklin.
  16. Uring's account in the NHHS Collections, 3: 144; and Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 190-91.
  17. Bonner Map; Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 253; Whitehill, Boston, 27-28; Shurtleff, Boston, 64. Quotes from Neal, History of New-England, 587, 590.
  18. Whitehill, Boston, 31-35.
  19. See Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 77-79.
  20. Nash, Urban Crucible, 55-65.
  21. Nash, Urban Crucible, 76-88.
  22. Nash, Urban Crucible, 83, says there was an exodus of some workers from Boston to the countryside.
  23. Lechmere to John Winthrop, July 28, 1718, quoted in Charles Knowles Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America (Boston: Bacon and Brown, 1910), 133.
  24. Lechmere to John Winthrop, August 4, 1718, quoted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 55 (Boston: by the Society, 1892): 387n. Hereafter MHS Collections. See also Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 135.
  25. Lechmere to John Winthrop, August 11, 1718, quoted in MHS Collections, 5: 387n.
  26. A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Vol. 13, Records of Boston Selectmen, 1716 to 1736 (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1885): 41-42, 46, 47-48; Vol. 18, Boston Records from 1700 to 1728 (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1883): 133.

27. The estimates vary. See Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 154; and James G. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 238.

28. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 133, 139; and Boston News-Letter, August 5-12, 1718.

29. MHS Collections, 80: 322. The letter is dated 14 August 1718.

30. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 237; David E. Van Deventer, The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 1623-1741 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 115; Nathaniel Bouton, et al., eds., Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire, 1623-1800, 40 vols., (Concord and Manchester, 1867-1943), 31: 87-95, 245-52, 376-80 (Hereafter NHSP). For convicts sent to America, see James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, 2 (October 1896), 12-33. For mention of Irish servants, see Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), 336; Sidney Perley, The History of Salem, Massachusetts (Salem, Mass.: Sidney Perley, 1928), 3: 162-63. In addition, Irish prisoners were used in the army during Queen Anne's War, although they frequently deserted and went over to the French. See Lt. Gov. Vetch (Annapolis Royall) to the Earl of Dartmouth, 8 August 1712, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1738, 44 vols., (London, 1860-1969), 27: 21-22. See also CSP, CS, 28: 55.

31. James Kendall Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal: 'History of New England,' 1630-1649, 2 vols., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 1: 164.

32. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 236-37; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 7-11; Ford, Scotch-Irish, 165-67; Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Books I and II, Kenneth B. Murdock, ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 164, 416-17. Mather states that the leaders were from Scotland, but they were living in Ulster, having been deprived of their ministries in Scotland. The settlers were from Ireland. For more on the episode, see Robert Blair, The Life of Mr. Robert Blair (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848), 105.

33. M. Halsey Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729, 2 vols., (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 230n; Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859, 2 vols., (Cambridge and New York: The New England Society in the City of New York, 1920 and 1923), 153.

34. Plymouth Church Records, 267; Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 219. Sewall anxiously sought out news of Ireland after his contribution. See diary entries on pp. 229, 262, and 265.

35. Plymouth Church Records, 273.

36. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 16-17; Robert Middlekauff, The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1598-1728 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 35. On Increase Mather's brief stay in Dublin, where he earned an M.A. degree, see Michael G. Hall, ed., "The Autobiography of Increase Mather," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 71 (Worcester, Mass.: by the Society, 1962), 281-86. Cotton Mather's desire for a "Christian Union" is covered in Middlekauff, The Mathers, 209-230.

37. Mather, Diary, 1: 184, 188, 191, 207, 233, 2: 27, 287, 731.

38. Mather, Diary, 1: 570.

39. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 82, 317.

40. Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 771-72; Charles Edward Banks, The History of Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County, Massachusetts in Three Volumes, 2, Town Annals (Boston: George H. Dean, 1911): 49. Banks assumes William Homes was the "Mr. Homes" met on Martha's Vineyard in April 1714, but this was probably Robert Homes (1694-1727), William's eldest son.

41. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 89-90.

42. Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 791.

43. Mather, Diary, 2: 306-08, 321-22, 440.

44. On Craighead's problems in Freetown, and for a copy of Mather's letter see Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 87-89; J. M. Bumstead, "Orthodoxy in Massachusetts: The Ecclesiastical History of Freetown, 1683-1776," The New England Quarterly 43, (June 1970): 224-25, 227; Leonard Woolsey Bacon, "Church History," in A History of the Town of Freetown, Massachusetts (Fall River, Mass.: J. H. Franklin, 1902), 31, 34.

45. Charles Edward Banks, "Diary of Rev. William Homes of Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, 1689-1746," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, (1) 48 (October 1894): 446-53; (2) 49 (October 1895): 413-16; and (3) 50 (April 1896): 155-66. The original diary is located in the

Maine Historical Society.

46. Craighead apparently remained in Freetown some time after his dismissal, however, for he did not leave for Delaware until 1723. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 89.

47. Biographical information may be found in Banks, "Homes Diary"; Banks, Martha's Vineyard, 2: 48-52; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 79-86.

48. Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 750-51. Robert Homes married Benjamin Franklin's sister Mary in 1716. Their first child was baptised by Increase Mather. Banks, "Homes Diary," 1: 448.

49. Banks, "Homes Diary," 2: 413-14. Homes describes Mayhew's final illness and death in detail.

50. Samuel Sewall, "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall, Vol. II," MHS Collections, 52, (Boston: by the Society, 1888), 126-27.

51. Sewall, "Letter-Book," 127. See also, gifts mentioned in Sewalls, "Letter-Book," 129, 131, 175, 182; Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 955, 956, 962, 968, 971.

52. Banks, "Homes Diary," 3: 162.

53. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 2: 16.

54. A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, 11 (Boston, 1884), 220.

55. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 18; Bolton cites James Phinney Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. X, containing the Baxter Manuscripts, Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. 10, (Portland, Maine: by the Society, 1907), 106. (Hereafter cited as Baxter Manuscripts) Bolton lists sixteen vessels from Ireland to New England from 1714 through 1717. All but two of these landed in Boston, while the remaining ships landed at Piscataqua. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 317-19.

56. See Winthrop Papers, MHS Collections, 55, (Boston: by the Society, 1892), 353n.

57. Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 106-14.

58. A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, 13 (Boston, 1885), 29.

59. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 170.

60. Banks, "Homes Diary," 2: 416; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 85.
61. Banks, "Homes Diary," 2: 416.
62. Mather, Diary, 2: 473.
63. Mather, Diary, 2: 475.
64. Mather, Diary, 2: 482.
65. Mather, Diary, 2: 527.
66. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 86.
67. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 85-86.
68. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 192.
69. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 85, 320; Boston News-Letter (October 20-27, 1718).
70. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 317-23.
71. Indenture in the Warner Papers, NHHS. See also Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 319, where the master's name is given incorrectly as "Gibbs."
72. A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston (Boston, 1883), 8: 53. (Hereafter, Boston Record Commissioners)
73. Most secondary accounts rely upon the earlier secondary accounts of Parker, Londonderry, 35-36; and Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 192-93.
74. A transcript of the petition may be found in Parker, Londonderry, 317-21. The "original" of this petition is supposed to be in the New Hampshire Historical Society. However, this framed, parchment document may actually be a copy, as most of the signatures appear to have been written by the same hand.
75. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 85, 132-33, 319; Boston News-Letter (July 21-28, 1718). Naval Office Records indicate that the date of arrival was 29 July, but this must be a mistake.
76. Parker, Londonderry, 317.
77. Mather, Diary, 2: 548.
78. Mather, Diary, 2: 548.

79. Quoted in Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 133. See also the Boston News-Letter (July 28-August 4, 1718).
80. Bolton assumes it did not. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 135. Naval Office Records indicate that both vessels carried passengers.
81. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 135, 149, 319-20; Boston News-Letter (August 4-11, 1718). Dates are from Naval Office Records.
82. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 140, 320; MHS Collections, 55 (Boston: by the Society, 1892), 387n.
83. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 179.
84. Boston News-Letter (August 4-11, 1718); Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 134.
85. Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 899. The "Proposals" would have been Sewall's pamphlet, Proposals Touching the Accomplishments of Prophecies Humbly Offered (Boston, 1713).
86. Mather, Diary, 2: 549. The entry is dated August 7, 1718.
87. Mather, Diary, 2: 549.
88. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 139; MHS Collections, 55: 387n.
89. The two best studies of urban problems in eighteenth century America are Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness and Nash, The Urban Crucible.
90. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 160-63, 317. See also the petition of Samuel Bill in Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1: 104. (Hereafter, Massachusetts House Journals)
91. Boston Record Commissioners, 8: 126-27; Massachusetts House Journals, 1: 229 and 2: 65. The selectmen also assigned people to keep a watch over those suspected of having smallpox. See Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 47.
92. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 201.
93. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 219, 321; Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 59.
94. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 172; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 321. Many of these were

- subsequently warned out of town in January. See Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 63.
95. Nash, Urban Crucible, 103-04.
96. Mather, Diary, 2: 654. The prayer was offered on 4 November 1721.
97. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 63.
98. See Nathaniel Uring's 1709 account in the NHHS Collections, 3: 142-43; and Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 194-95.
99. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 4, 53.
100. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 45-46.
101. Mather, Diary, 2: 555; Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 47.
102. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 141, 320. Naval Office Records list thirty-four servants on board the Dolphin.
103. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 141-42, 145, 320. Naval Office Records list one hundred passengers on board the Maccallum.
104. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 85, 320; Boston News-Letter (October 20-27, 1718). Naval Office Records list one hundred passengers on board the Mary and Elizabeth.
105. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 46.
106. Boston Record Commissioners, 13, 48-49; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 158-60.
107. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 165-66.
108. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 52, 57, 61.
109. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 63-64.
110. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 175.
111. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 231.
112. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 62.
113. Shute to New Hampshire Assembly, 26 April 1720, in New Hampshire Archives I: 1: 20. For items located in the New Hampshire Division of Records Management and Archives (N.H.



Archives), numbers will stand for Record Group, Box Number, and Folder Number.

114. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 322-23. Since records were not kept for Maine ports, there may have been a number of unrecorded Irish immigrants in 1720.

115. Shute to Board of Trade, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 106, also in CSP, CS, 31: 561i.

116. Boston Record Commissioners, 8: 177.

117. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 311, 312-13; Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 410.

118. The records of the selectmen are filled with these actions during the 1720's and 1730's. See, for example, Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 101, 112, 167.

119. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 200. See also, 13: 164.

120. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 201; Nash, Urban Crucible, 105; CSP, CS, 31: 561i. David Galenson, in his White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 156, argues persuasively that New England had little need for indentured servants after the middle of the seventeenth century. While that is true for most years, the speculative efforts of various proprietary interests in Maine following the Peace of Utrecht created a new demand for servants. Galenson may have missed this because he studied English indentures. The Maine proprietors went after Irish and even German servants.

121. Boston Record Commissioners, 17: 19.

122. NHSP, 13: 246.

123. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 275 and 17: 37.

124. Boston Record Commissioners, 17: 84.

125. Thomas Lechmere and other customs officials to the Board of Trade, 30 April 1725, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 262.

126. Massachusetts House Journals, 9: 98-99.

127. Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 410.

128. Boston Record Commissioners, 12: 121-22; Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 393.

129. Boston Record Commissioners, 12: 121-22.
130. Boston Record Commissioners, 12: 207.
131. McGee, Irish Settlers in North America, 33-34; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 175 and 333-34 for names of members; Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 394.
132. Boston Record Commissioners, 12: 104-15, 180-83, 273; Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 393.
133. On Moorehead, see Sprague, Annals, 3: 44-46.
134. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 166, says he immigrated to Boston in 1727, although Sprague, Annals, 3: 44, dates the arrival at 1730. This account may have confused the date of immigration with that of ordination. Ethel Stanwood Bolton, "Immigrants to New England, 1700-1775," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, 64 (October 1930), 523.
135. Sprague, Annals, 3: 44-45; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 169-72. During the 1730's, the "Irish" Presbyterian Church was referred to as the Arlington Street Church. Richard D. Pierce, ed., The Records of the First Church of Salem, Massachusetts, 1629-1736 (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1974), 335.
136. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 172.
137. Quoted in Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 131; Sprague Annals, 3: 46.
138. See Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 155-56, for a partial list of Scotch-Irish immigrants living in eastern Massachusetts. See also Pierce, First Church of Salem, 72, 311.
139. Sprague, Annals, 3: 44-46; Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), 24, 59, 124, 128, 149. See also Moorehead's letter on the Awakening in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 53 (Boston: by the Society, 1920): 211-13.
140. For Sturgeon's case, see Richard D. Pierce, ed., The Records of the First Church in Boston, 1630-1868, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 39, Collections (Boston: by the Society, 1961), 236-239. Sturgeon "confessed" his errors in a pamphlet: A Trespass-offering, Presented unto the Churches of New-England (Boston, 1725).
141. Mather, Diary, 2: 558; Bolton, Scotch-Irish

Pioneers, 197-99.

142. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 199-202.

143. William A. Benedict and Hiram A. Tracy, History of the Town of Sutton, Massachusetts, from 1704 to 1876 (Worcester, Mass.: Sanford & Co., 1878), 26, 35, 428-32, 691-93.

144. See, for example, Sumner Gilbert Wood, Ulster Scots and Blandford Scouts (West Medway, Mass.: by the author, 1928); and Charles H. McClellan, The Early Settlers of Colrain, Mass. (Greenfield, Mass.: W. S. Carson, 1885); and petition in Massachusetts House Journals, 13: 51-52.

145. William Lincoln, History of Worcester, Massachusetts, From Its Earliest Settlement to September, 1836 (Worcester, Mass.: Moses D. Phillips and Co., 1837), 40-45.

146. See Franklin P. Rice, ed., Records of the Proprietors of Worcester, Massachusetts (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1881), 144, for mention of McClellan's land in November 1718.

147. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 186-95; Worcester Proprietors Records, passim.

148. Lincoln, History of Worcester, 191.

149. Lincoln, History of Worcester, 47, 191-92; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 180-81.

150. Lincoln, History of Worcester, 51, 253-54.

151. Lincoln, History of Worcester, 311.

152. William G. McLoughlin, New England Dissent, 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 214-243. For a similar petition, see Massachusetts House Journals, 13: 179.

153. Early Records of the Town of Worcester Book I: 1722-1739 (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1879), 106-08; Lincoln, History of Worcester, 192-93.

154. C. O. Parmenter, History of Pelham, Mass. from 1738 to 1898 (Amherst, Mass.: Carpenter & Morehouse, 1898), 13-16.

155. Parmenter, History of Pelham, 15, 31.

156. Parmenter, History of Pelham, 294-300.

157. Parmenter, History of Pelham, 300-19.
158. Parmenter, History of Pelham, 403-11.

## Chapter IV

### The "Eastern Parts":

#### Purpooduck, Merrymeeting Bay, and Georgia

On March 5, 1719, the Reverend William Boyd was invited to dine with Judge Samuel Sewall in the latter's Boston home. As the "advance scout" of many of the early Scotch-Irish settlers to come to Boston, Boyd felt a certain responsibility for their welfare. On this particular evening, he came to discuss an alarming rumor. According to street talk in Boston, Governor Vaudreuil of Canada had warned New Englanders that he could no longer "hold back" his Indian allies. The frontier regions of northern New England could once again run with blood.<sup>1</sup> To Boyd, the prospects were particularly disturbing. A substantial number of his fellow immigrants had departed for the coast of Maine, and it was certain that more would follow. In fact, it was the very presence of these immigrants in Maine that eventually led to open warfare.

For the Scotch-Irish constituting the first wave of immigration to New England, settlement in Maine seemed logical. Their initial reception in Boston had been less than cordial, and there seemed to be few prospects for settlement in eastern Massachusetts. Maine, on the other hand, was an entirely different story.

During Queen Anne's War, most of the English settlements along the Maine coast had been abandoned or largely depopulated. With peace in 1713 came the need to resettle towns and initiate new towns under a variety of proprietary and speculative arrangements. Some Scotch-Irish settlers had undoubtedly received encouragement to settle in the "eastern parts" while still in Ulster; others were made aware of Maine settlements in a less dignified manner on the wharves of Boston Harbor. Those under indenture had few options, but in the case of many settlers from the Valley of the Bann, the option for Maine was a conscious choice.

On October 31, 1718, the Reverend Archibald Boyd and the Reverend James MacGregor petitioned the Massachusetts house of representatives on behalf of twenty-six others for a "Tract of their wast Land, in such a Place as they shall think fit, where they may without Loss of Time, settle themselves & their Families...." In this petition, Boyd and MacGregor asked for no particular piece of land, but they did indicate that forty more families of their acquaintance would join them "as soon as they hear of their obtaining Land for Township...."<sup>2</sup> Two weeks later, one John Armstrong and thirty-four other Irish immigrants petitioned the house of representatives for a tract of land at Casco Bay.<sup>3</sup>

Their timing was good. Massachusetts leaders wanted to resettle some of the towns in Casco Bay which had been

deserted during the last war. On 19 November 1718, a committee of the house reported favorably on the general principles of both of the "Irish" petitions, but the specifics of Armstrong's petition needed revision; the requested tract of land was already inhabited. The committee went on to recommend that a township be set aside for the various petitioners. It would be six miles square, and eighty house lots of approximately one hundred acres each would be surveyed and marked. A committee was established for this purpose the following day.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, at this point the documentation begins to fail, and secondary accounts of the first winter at Casco Bay are sketchy and do not always agree. Several Scotch-Irish families apparently sailed immediately for Casco Bay upon receiving word that the house of representatives supported their venture. They probably sailed on the Robert, led by James MacGregor's brother-in-law James McKeen and the Reverend William Cornwall, one of the ministers mentioned by Belknap.<sup>5</sup> Numbers are harder to determine. Some secondary accounts place the migration to Falmouth at between sixteen and twenty families; a more recent account indicates that approximately one quarter of the Scotch-Irish in Boston went to Casco Bay for the winter.<sup>6</sup> The most substantial piece of evidence surrounding the migration to Falmouth and Casco Bay comes in the form of a petition for relief. On 2 December, the house received a petition from the town of

Falmouth, complaining that "there are now in town about 300 souls, most of whom are arrived from Ireland, of which not one half have provisions enough to live upon over the winter, and so poor that they are not able to buy any, and none of the first inhabitants so well furnished as that they are able to supply them." The house responded by voting "the Poor Irish People" one hundred and fifty bushels of Indian meal.<sup>7</sup>

Because they had arrived so late in the year, there was little the immigrants could do about either shelter or food. A few may have built crude huts at the "Purpooduck" section of Falmouth (modern South Portland) before winter came, but others spent an uncomfortable winter aboard the Robert. Miraculously, none died, although at least one complained. William Cornwall, and possibly another minister among the group, wrote to fellow minister Cotton Mather in late December or early January.<sup>8</sup> The contents of Cornwall's letter are not known, but the matter of salary was mentioned, as Mather later drafted a letter asking the General Court to consider a subsidy for "a very worthy, pious & Peaceful Minister whose name is Mr. Cornwall...."<sup>9</sup> Cornwall's problems were apparently never solved in New England, and by 1722, he was back in Ireland.<sup>10</sup>

As for the remainder of the Irish immigrants at Falmouth, the coast of Maine was at least as inhospitable as the people of Boston, and much of the group left the



area in spring. While some returned to Boston, others apparently sailed for Pennsylvania.<sup>11</sup> An unknown number of the Scotch-Irish who had wintered in Casco Bay chose a third alternative; they sailed for the mouth of the Merrimack River, in the hopes of finding good farm land along the Massachusetts or New Hampshire frontier. Only a few chose to stay on in Falmouth, including John Armstrong, one of the early leaders.<sup>12</sup> Yet the number staying behind was small. In 1725, there were only seventeen families living at Purpooduck and "Spurwink," and not all of these were known to be Scotch-Irish immigrants.<sup>13</sup>

More substantial and promising Irish settlements took place further east, in the coastal region between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers. These resulted from the speculative efforts of a number of proprietors of ancient claims to lands in Maine. Of particular interest to the Scotch-Irish were the so-called Pejepscot Proprietors and the Lincolnshire Company Proprietors.

In the years following Queen Anne's War, attempts to settle the frontier in western Massachusetts, central New Hampshire, and Maine reflected a variety of motives and methods. It is a complex story.<sup>14</sup> The Scotch-Irish appear at first as an army of pawns; only in New Hampshire did they begin to control their own fate.

Efforts to settle, or resettle, the lands around Casco Bay, and later, similar and more successful efforts at Londonderry, New Hampshire, resembled settlement practices

of the seventeenth century. A group of like-minded settlers petitioned a provincial authority, and in return, were allowed to move en masse to the designated territory. Yet the settlements at Casco Bay and Londonderry were atypical of most of the speculative, proprietary ventures of the eighteenth century. Settlement of frontier areas following the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 not only assured a measure of frontier defense, but relieved population pressures in older, demographically mature communities along the New England coast. Yet the frontier areas had financial and political dimensions after 1713 which accentuated the purely speculative nature of frontier settlement.

In a vague way, "land" had always been a measure of one's wealth. Yet during the Massachusetts "land bank" controversy in the period between Queen Anne's War and King George's War, land was offered, at least in debate, as a basis for currency. Suddenly, it became possible to think of land as having potential liquidity and a measurable value. Hence, investors in Boston, and to a lesser extent, Portsmouth, began looking for ways to acquire large tracts of frontier lands. They did not operate in a vacuum. Their efforts in New England were part of a much larger movement in Europe and the American colonies to speculate in land--a movement best remembered for the "South Sea Bubble" of 1720.<sup>15</sup>

Yet speculation in northern New England developed peculiar political tones as well as financial. Throughout the region, there was general uncertainty about boundaries, not just the boundary between New England and New France, but the boundaries between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, and later, New Hampshire and New York. One clear way to reinforce one's claim over a territory was to populate it with settlers of your choice. Government leaders in Boston, Portsmouth, and Quebec were all aware of the value of "possession."<sup>16</sup>

Hence, at the very time that frontier areas were relatively safe, when crowded communities could no longer stand additional growth, and when Boston and Portsmouth investors were most interested in acquiring land, provincial governments became infatuated with the necessity for territorial expansion. One means of satisfying political leaders, speculators, and potential settlers was the revival of a number of ancient patents for lands in New Hampshire and Maine.

In 1713, Massachusetts authorities re-established the Committee of Eastern Claims and Settlements to look into a number of old land claims in Maine and to enhance settlement in the "eastern parts."<sup>17</sup> The settlements in and around Casco Bay were only one of the committee's concerns; the Pejepscot and Lincolnshire Company proprietors were another.

On November 5, 1714, Thomas Hutchinson, Adam Winthrop, John Watts, David Jeffries, Stephen Minot, Oliver Noyes, and John Ruck of Boston, along with John Wentworth of Portsmouth, purchased a seventeenth-century claim for lands around Merrymeeting Bay for the sum of £140.<sup>18</sup> They called themselves the Company of Pejepscot Proprietors. The original claim dated back to 1632, but its various shares had passed through a number of hands over the next eighty years with no effect on settlement along the Androscoggin or Kennebec rivers. By 1714, the area was ripe for settlement, and the new proprietors began immediately to plan at least two townships within their territory. The proprietors asked the Massachusetts General Court to provide some protection for the settlers on their lands. They also asked that the settlers be exempted from taxes for seven years and that they be assisted in efforts to support a minister. In return, the proprietors would lay out three or four towns, settle fifty families in each, provide temporary funds toward a minister's salary, and spend at least £400 toward construction of a fort. The General Court approved the plan, and the towns of Brunswick and Topsham were off to a slow but well-planned start.<sup>19</sup>

Yet there remained the problem of enticing settlers to come to the Pejepscot Company lands in the vicinity of Merrymeeting Bay. The proprietors offered prospective settlers one hundred acres of land per family and free transportation to Merrymeeting Bay from Boston.<sup>20</sup> This

must have helped, for in a memorial dated 15 November 1716, the proprietors petitioned the house of representatives for a detachment of soldiers, stating that they had begun a small settlement and a fort at Small Point, near Georgetown.<sup>21</sup> There was some activity further inland as well, for Brunswick was made a township in 1717, and one John Cochran, probably an Irish immigrant, became one of the town's first selectmen.<sup>22</sup> At this point, the proprietors entered upon a new phase of development. They decided to entice Irish immigrants to the Kennebec region. For this task, they enlisted the services of the enterprising Robert Temple.<sup>23</sup>

Temple (1694-1754) was a native of the Emerald Isle; his family, or much of it, had apparently come from England as part of the Cromwellean settlement of Ireland.<sup>24</sup> In 1717, at the age of twenty-three, Temple arrived in Boston with "servants and effects." His plan was to become a landed proprietor of some sort, and toward that end he toured Connecticut upon arriving in New England. He seems not to have found what he wanted there, for a short while afterwards he toured lands along the Kennebec with Pejepscot proprietors Adam Winthrop, Oliver Noyes, and Stephen Minot. The proprietors agreed to give Temple one thousand acres of land if he would arrange for the passage of a number of Irish Presbyterians to the Pejepscot lands.<sup>25</sup>

Temple's activities over the next two years are not particularly well documented. He returned to Ireland for a short while, where he arranged for the voyages of two shiploads of immigrants in 1718 and three more in 1719.<sup>26</sup> He seems also to have been active in Boston. When the ship Maccallum arrived in Boston on 2 September 1718, Robert Temple was there to begin negotiations with the ship's master James Law. The vessel had come from Londonderry with "20 odd familys" led by the Reverend James Woodside of Garvagh in the Bann Valley. The group was apparently destined originally for Connecticut, and their leaders seem to have met with Thomas Lechmere as well as Temple. According to Lechmere, Temple rejected John Winthrop's proposal to have the Maccallum passengers continue to Connecticut; instead he persuaded them to sail for the Kennebec. On September 8, the Maccallum left Boston for Maine and Merrymeeting Bay.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1718 and 1720, Temple probably encouraged about one hundred families, or approximately five hundred people to settle on Pejepscot lands. Not all of these were Scotch-Irish, and some settlers to the region came independently of Temple's efforts. Some of the immigrants, 150 or more, settled upon Temple's one thousand-acre tract, located on the eastern side of the Kennebec, in an area known as "Cork." Others started farms in Brunswick, Topsham, Georgetown, and Swan Island. Nor was Temple an absentee proprietor. At some time before the outbreak of



Indian hostilities he moved to Cork, built a house, and began to raise cattle. He was also selective in allowing people to come to the Kennebec. Lechmere accused him of selling the indentures of less desirable immigrants to unsuspecting buyers in Boston: "No man who has fish to sell will say it stinks."<sup>28</sup>

The spiritual needs of the various settlers scattered around Merrymeeting Bay, most of whom were Presbyterians, were at least temporarily addressed on November 3, 1718. James Woodside, who had taken up temporary residence in Falmouth, was formally called by the townspeople of Brunswick to be their minister for a salary of £40 per year. Woodside and his sons built a garrison on the minister's lot, and like other residents in the area, began a small farm. Unfortunately, Woodside's brief stay in America was unhappy from the start. On 10 September 1719, the Brunswick town meeting voted to dismiss him: "whereas the conversation of the Reverend Mr. James Woodside is Displeasing to the most of us, which renders us unable to reverence him as our Minister, therefore we will shall not heare him any Longer as such."<sup>29</sup> The unhappy minister left his sons behind in Brunswick and returned to Boston, where, in the words of Cotton Mather, "poor Mr. Woodside, after many and grievous calamities in this uneasy country, is this week taking ship for London."<sup>30</sup>

By the time Woodside sailed for London, however, the settlers at Merrymeeting Bay were all about to experience



"many and grievous calamities in this uneasy country." The Indians of Maine, not to mention their French allies, quickly became alarmed at the various English settlements along the Maine coast. Governor Vaudreuil of Canada was premature when he claimed he could no longer hold the Indians back in 1719. Problems began in 1720, and it is doubtful Vaudreuil attempted to restrain his Indian allies.

The Indians were particularly upset by the English settlements at Cork, Swan Island, and "summerset"--a portion of Topsham. In July 1720, they came into Cork, where they harassed and terrorized the residents. The Irish immigrants "were threatened to be knocked on the head if they continued there any longer," and they hastily fled down river to Georgetown. Pejepscot proprietor Thomas Hutchinson heard of the episode in a letter written on July 13 by Georgetown leader John Penhallow. The panic-stricken immigrants fully intended to return in flight to Boston, but Penhallow stopped them, allowing only a few women and children to go on. He asked Hutchinson and Governor Shute for a troop of soldiers, as most of the men in Georgetown had recently been sent to defend Casco Bay. The Kennebec settlements, and not Casco Bay, had greater need of troops, as they were "more immediately exposed to the rage & malice of the Norridgewalk Indians, who have an insulting fellow of a Jesuit among 'em and is the Instigator of Disorder."<sup>31</sup> In the meantime, Penhallow sent a letter to the Topsham settlers, urging them to "stand their ground,"

while a number of Cork residents regained their courage and went back upstream to "Hill & secure their Corn." Shute was sufficiently alarmed by the episode to send a detachment of soldiers to Swan Island. In addition, he issued a proclamation forbidding settlers from abandoning their farms. One of those who returned to his home as a result of the governor's proclamation was Scotch-Irish immigrant Alexander Hamilton. He would live to regret his act of obedience.<sup>32</sup>

For the next two years, there was an uneasy peace over the Kennebec. Yet the peace was fragile at best, and the Massachusetts house of representatives was sufficiently upset by the Indians at Norridgewock to forbid further trade with them in September 1721.<sup>33</sup> Apparently the Scotch-Irish settlers at Merrymeeting Bay took the Indian threat seriously as well. In the spring of 1722, prior to the start of full-scale hostilities, authorities in Boston were being forced to warn out "Irish" refugees from Maine.<sup>34</sup>

On June 13, 1722, threats and rumors turned to all-out war along the northern fringes of New England. On that day, Indians came down the Kennebec, attacking settlements along the way. Cattle and oxen were killed and homes burned. Adam Winthrop's mill was burned as was Robert Temple's home. Alexander Hamilton was one of several to be taken captive.<sup>35</sup> John Penhallow, once again writing from Georgetown, informed Lt. Governor Dummer, in Shute's

absence, that settlers along the Kennebec and the shores of Merrymeeting Bay "are all flying for shelter, & that no arguments can persuade them to keep their houses."<sup>36</sup>

Some settlers fled to nearby fortifications. The six or seven families remaining in Topsham, for instance, fled to Fort George in Brunswick, although Brunswick itself was attacked at various times throughout the war.<sup>37</sup> The Brunswick garrison, manned by James Woodside's sons, was a target of one Indian assault, and Woodside lost both cattle and provisions.<sup>38</sup> Brunswick resident John Cochran experienced more than monetary losses. He was captured by a party of Indians, although his captors apparently underestimated their prey. He caught them sleeping one night, scalped them, and applied for a bounty on the scalps. Pejepscot proprietor John Wentworth was sufficiently impressed by Cochran's actions to suggest to Lt. Governor Dummer that "such actions should be bountifully rewarded, it would Animate our Captives and put em upon Desperate attempts which would Discourage our Enemies."<sup>39</sup>

A number of other refugees fled to the supposedly safer fortifications at Georgetown in the early days of the war. Safety here was illusory as well. In July 1722, when Shadrach Walton arrived in Georgetown to take command of troops along the Kennebec, he found the town under attack by at least five hundred Indians.<sup>40</sup>

Several young men among the Scotch-Irish immigrants enlisted in local regiments and fought during Dummer's War.<sup>41</sup> One of those who stayed behind to fight was Robert Temple, who commanded a garrison at Cork in 1722. Yet Temple soon tired of warfare in the Maine woods. His dreams of becoming a landed proprietor had been dashed, and in the spring of 1724, he abandoned the Kennebec and took up residence in the Ten Hills section of Charlestown. In these more civil surroundings, Temple lived until his death in 1754.<sup>42</sup>

The vast majority of Irish immigrants living at Merrymeeting Bay prior to the outbreak of hostilities chose to flee rather than fight. Bolton found the names of 223 Scotch-Irish refugees from Pejepscot lands.<sup>43</sup> Temple claimed that most went to Pennsylvania or Londonderry, New Hampshire, during Dummer's War.<sup>44</sup> Many others went to Boston, where they were forced to register with local authorities. The purpose of the registration was obvious. Those unable to show means of support would simply be warned out of town, and in 1722 and 1723, many were.<sup>45</sup>

Dummer's War came at a time when the Scotch-Irish were turning the area around Merrymeeting Bay into a Scotch-Irish "plantation." By the end of the war, however, the few remaining immigrants were scattered. Williamson, in his History of the State of Maine, probably underestimated the number of Scotch-Irish left in Maine when he stated that throughout the province in 1750, there

were only seventeen families that were "Scottish Hibernian, and all presbyterians...."<sup>46</sup> In the region between Kittery and the Kennebec alone, there were probably more than that. Following the war, some Scotch-Irish settlers lived in the Purpooduc area of Casco Bay. Others had settled at Biddeford and near the Saco Falls by 1727, for local officials complained that "Irish" nets were keeping fish from reaching their spawning grounds, and that in turn was upsetting the Indians further upstream.<sup>47</sup> Other Scotch-Irish settlers, including the Reverend Hugh Henry, lived in Scarborough, where the war had so decimated the population that Henry, like his Scotch-Irish predecessor, the Reverend Hugh Campbell, could not collect a living wage. While Hugh Henry's sad case dragged on in York County courts, other Scotch-Irish settlers trickled into Scarborough in the years after the war.<sup>48</sup>

In addition, some Scotch-Irish settlers remained around Merrymeeting Bay--at Brunswick, Topsham, and Georgetown. In the Brunswick area, for instance, James Woodside's son William was running a trading post at Pejepscot Falls at the end of the war.<sup>49</sup> The Presbyterian influence remained strong enough in Brunswick for the town to invite the Reverend Robert Dunlap, a Presbyterian native of Ireland, to be their town minister in 1747, although he had to travel all the way to Boston and John Moorehead in order to be ordained by a fellow Presbyterian.<sup>50</sup>

Yet the war ended efforts by the Pejepscoot Proprietors to encourage immigration to their lands west of the Kennebec. The proprietors seem to have run out of steam. With peace came renewed efforts to bring Scotch-Irish immigrants to Maine--but this time to settlements east of the Kennebec. Leading the charge was an Irishman named David Dunbar; close at his heels came Samuel Waldo and the Lincolnshire Company Proprietors.

By rights, there should have been little legal confusion over settlement east of the Kennebec. England had claimed this territory since the early seventeenth century, and the Peace of Utrecht had solidified that claim by eliminating French claims in Maine and the creation of an English Nova Scotia. There was some confusion as to whether the region between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, called "Sagadahock," belonged to Massachusetts or Nova Scotia, but the Bay Colony insisted the land was theirs to settle. The most persistent in this claim were a group of investors known as the Lincolnshire Company Proprietors.

Like the Pejepscoot Proprietors, the Lincolnshire Company originated with a land grant made in the 1630's, and like the Pejepscoot grant, it went through a long, dormant period until the Peace of Utrecht. The Lincolnshire Proprietors, sometimes referred to as the Waldo Patentees or the Muscongus Proprietors, claimed Maine lands between Muscongus Bay and the Penobscot River. The very few settlers attempting to move into this territory

had been quickly chased during King Philip's and King William's wars, although a stone fort had been built at Pemaquid in 1692. The Lincolnshire Proprietors moved slowly after the Peace of Utrecht, and not until 1719-20 did they begin to settle lands east of Pemaquid. They built a couple of forts along the St. George's River and erected a sawmill in the area. Portsmouth's Thomas Westbrook, a shareholder in the company, was in charge of Lincolnshire operations in Maine. He had been granted ten thousand acres of land by the proprietors in 1720, with the understanding he would reside there and encourage twenty-five families to live along the St. George's River. That same year, Robert Edwards of Castleburg, Ireland, was asked to populate two entire townships in Lincolnshire territory by bringing over Scotch-Irish families. Neither plan amounted to much, however, as Indian warfare virtually eliminated the possibility of settlement.<sup>51</sup>

Following the end of Dummer's War, the Lincolnshire Company proprietors--led by Westbrook, Elisha Cooke, Boston merchant Jonathan Waldo, and his son Samuel Waldo--began encouraging settlers to move back into Lincolnshire lands. It is impossible to say how successful they were, although one secondary source estimated that by the time of Jonathan Waldo's death in 1731, there may have been 150 families, or nine hundred to one thousand inhabitants, living adjacent to company lands between the Kennebec River and Muscongus Bay.<sup>52</sup> Clearly, peace was bringing settlers to Maine.

Lincolnshire efforts, however, ran into an obstacle of an extraordinary nature in the person of David Dunbar.

In 1728, Irishman David Dunbar, a former soldier, was made Surveyor General of the King's Woods "in America and Nova Scotia." His chief function was to encourage the production of naval stores and to protect white pine trees in the forests of Maine and New Hampshire which had the potential to be made into masts. In short, he was the central government official in northern New England's profitable timber trade.<sup>53</sup>

The role of the Surveyor General in northern New England had gained importance in the years following the Peace of Utrecht. Huge tracts of land in Maine became available for cutting, both legal and illegal. The Surveyor General, usually stationed in Boston, along with one or two deputies, had the impossible task of patrolling the forests of northern New England, marking the white pines suitable for masts and inspecting the region's many sawmills to see that no "mast trees" were being reduced to boards. Between 1706-1718, the thankless task had been performed diligently by Jonathan Bridger. Yet Bridger's zeal had alienated him from the most influential merchant and shipbuilding interests in Boston and Portsmouth. He was replaced by an absentee Surveyor General who never set foot in New England. While the change made life easier among sawmill operators in northern New England, it also



did little to stop illegal cutting and the destruction of the region's white pine forests.

Throughout this period, from 1718 to 1728, as efforts to stop illegal cutting proved ineffective, the timber economy of northern New England gravitated to two opposing camps. Numerous Massachusetts interests were associated with Colonel William Pepperrell, a wealthy timber merchant living in Kittery, Maine. Pepperrell's son, "Sir" William Pepperrell (styled "Sir" because of his capture of Louisburg in 1745) followed in his father's footsteps. His close friend and business associate was Samuel Waldo (styled "Brigadier General" because he served as Pepperrell's second in command at Louisburg), who was not only an owner of sawmills, but became the mast agent for New Hampshire and Maine responsible for supplying London merchant Ralph Gulston with masts for the Royal Navy. Waldo, in turn, subcontracted much of his work to friend Thomas Westbrook, operating out of Lincolnshire Company lands in Maine.<sup>54</sup>

William Pepperrell's major rival in the timber trade of northern New England was New Hampshire's lieutenant governor, John Wentworth. He had once worked for Pepperrell, but by roughly 1720, the ambitious lieutenant governor had gone into business for himself. Assisting him were his sons Benning and Mark Hunking, along with Portsmouth merchants Theodore Atkinson and John Rindge. Throughout the 1720's, Wentworth developed a reasonably

sophisticated plan to capture much of the mast and timber trade away from the Pepperrell family. Firstly, Wentworth wished to expand the territory he controlled as lieutenant governor; he wanted New Hampshire's boundaries with Massachusetts and Maine defined in ways that were generous to New Hampshire. This would place a considerable amount of rich timber land out of Pepperrell's reach. Secondly, Wentworth wanted New Hampshire's separation from Massachusetts to be complete, rather than relying on a common governor who was bound to favor Massachusetts interests. Thirdly, Wentworth wanted the crown to organize a company, comprised largely of New Hampshire and Connecticut merchants headed no doubt by Wentworth, that would provide naval stores to the Royal Navy. Finally, Wentworth wanted to be appointed Surveyor General.

Beginning in 1723, Wentworth started to enforce timber laws rigidly in New Hampshire, acting with the blessing of the absent Surveyor General. In his letters to the Board of Trade, he was quick to point out that he could do little more than watch helplessly as timber laws were openly violated by Pepperrell in Maine. "I know the Crowne is a great sufferer for want of that officer [Surveyor General] being on the spot." Since many of the best mast trees were on lands claimed by both Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Wentworth pleaded for favorable action by the Board: "The running the lines between the two Provinces and a sutable person for Survayer of the Woods, are the only two

expedients to make the pine trees a lasting advantage to the Crown." When the crown appointed David Dunbar as the new Surveyor General in 1728, Wentworth made the best of the situation. He courted Dunbar, becoming the Irishman's most powerful ally in America.<sup>55</sup>

Unlike his absentee predecessor, Dunbar was energetic, abrasive, and controversial.<sup>56</sup> Although he failed ultimately in his various personal goals, it is testament to his zeal that he further widened the gap between the Wentworth and Pepperrell factions, leading to a complete separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts by 1740, as well as the ascendancy of the Wentworth "clan" to a position of unprecedented power in New Hampshire politics. Somewhere, lost among the more spectacular incidents of Dunbar's brief stay in New England, is the story of "Georgia" and its Scotch-Irish immigrants.<sup>57</sup>

Upon receiving his appointment, Dunbar did not leave England immediately for Boston, but sent his brother Jeremiah ahead to gather information about New England's forests.<sup>58</sup> Jeremiah Dunbar concluded that the real battle to save the white pine would be in Maine. Of particular importance were the supposedly untouched forests beyond the Kennebec. Since London officials had yet to determine whether the territory of Sagadahock belonged to Massachusetts or the newly-acquired Nova Scotia, David Dunbar quickly offered a compromise--designate the territory between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers a

separate "province" and put the Surveyor General in charge. In this way, he could better protect his majesty's pines in the regions. To the surprise of many, Dunbar's suggestion won initial approval. By the time Surveyor General Dunbar arrived in Boston in 1729, he was also the nominal head of a new province called "Georgia."<sup>59</sup> The stage was set for a clash between Dunbar and his soon-to-be-acquired Wentworth friends on the one hand, and the Massachusetts government, the Lincolnshire Company, and the Pepperrell-Waldo merchant faction on the other.

Once in New England, Dunbar quickly discovered how little the Board of Trade understood about Maine. "Georgia" was hardly an untamed wilderness. Aside from the fort at Pemaquid and the people already living between the Kennebec River and Muscongus Bay, Dunbar found that extensive cutting had been going on in the Maine woods. He also was told by officials in Boston that "Georgia" was not recognized there. Dunbar's "Georgia" was considered a part of Massachusetts, and a small part of the territory in question, namely that part between Muscongus Bay and the Penobscot River, was considered property of the Lincolnshire Company Proprietors.

Undeterred by all of this, Dunbar wrote to the Board of Trade in October 1729, outlining his plan to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, naming it Fort Frederick. In his letter, he noted that "a great many hundred men of those who come lately from Ireland," not to mention some earlier

Scotch-Irish settlers, wanted to settle on these lands.<sup>60</sup> The recent immigrants he wrote of were apparently some of the same who had been the subject of mob abuse in Boston. According to Dunbar, "the greatest part of those who lately came from Ireland had removed themselves to Pennsylvania upon ill treatment they received here, where a very Numerous Mobb threatend and insulted them as foreigners...."<sup>61</sup>

Dunbar claimed that he was literally pressured into starting his new plantation by Scotch-Irish immigrants looking for a place to settle. He originally intended to offer each family between fifty and one hundred acres of land around Fort Frederick, saying in October 1729 that he already had about 250 men ready to migrate to the area. By August 1730, he was advertising for additional settlers. For every forty families, he would grant a township of twelve miles square. Each family would receive a home lot of forty acres and an additional one hundred acres nearby. In all he may have attracted about 150 families to Georgia.<sup>62</sup> A petition dated January 1730, which asked for land in Georgia, was signed by forty-four people, most of whom had Scottish names.<sup>63</sup> Some of those expressing interest in the area were not recent immigrants, however, but Scotch-Irish immigrants from earlier migrations. In June 1730, for instance, Dunbar received a petition from a number of Scotch-Irish settlers in Londonderry, New Hampshire. Encouraged about the possibility of a

"plantation" governed by a fellow countryman, these settlers, "originally from north Britain but Last from Ireland," asked Dunbar for a tract of land in Georgia. They needed time as well as land, however, in order to sell their lands in Londonderry, where real estate values were low due to a legal battle with nearby Haverhill and the uncertainty brought on by the Massachusetts-New Hampshire boundary controversy. (See Chapter V)<sup>64</sup>

Families moving to Georgia, however, faced one very serious problem; Dunbar did not have authority to grant title to land. At first, Dunbar tried to hide his weakness. He noted to the Board of Trade that there were a number of "Irish Protestants" who "have been very importunate for lands" in Maine. "If I declared to them my power and how I am limited, it would at once put an end to all proceedings here...." Since he wished to establish and maintain a certain momentum to his new venture, Dunbar stalled for time. "I am putting them off with promises in hopes of letters from England...." He came closer to success than most realize. In February 1731, the Board of Trade recommended to the Duke of Newcastle that Dunbar be allowed to lay out townships beyond the Penobscot River. He was cautioned, however, that title to lands between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers was presently being decided in the courts. If that land was determined to belong to the crown, or put another way, if the Lincolnshire Company claims were not recognized, than the Board virtually

guaranteed that Dunbar's Scotch-Irish settlers "will never be disturbed."<sup>65</sup>

Dunbar also had to be concerned with the people living in "Georgia" prior to his arrival. In Dunbar's view, these people were little more than squatters. Those who refused to recognize Dunbar's authority in the area (in spite of his inability to grant title to land) were, in some cases, evicted from their homes and threatened with imprisonment.<sup>66</sup> To make matters worse, Dunbar used some of the Scotch-Irish immigrants to help him carry out the dirty work. In September 1730, for instance, one Josiah Glover, who lived east of the Kennebec by virtue of an old Indian deed, complained to Massachusetts authorities that he was accosted by "Eight Irish Men Armed with Guns and Swords" while he and his crew were sailing out for a day's fishing. When Glover and his crew returned, "there came on board the Schooner five or six Irish men Armed with Guns and Clubbs, and in an hostile Violent Manner suprised & Seized upon the Informant & his Crew," taking them all to Dunbar's fort at Pemaquid.<sup>67</sup> To his credit, Dunbar defended the actions of his people at Pemaquid, particularly when it came to ethnic slurs. He complained to the Board of Trade that his people were "over and over stigmatized with the name of Irish...."<sup>68</sup>

The eager recipient of complaints about Dunbar was the new Massachusetts governor, Jonathan Belcher. Aside from wishing to pursue Bay Colony claims to Sagadahock, Belcher

was further motivated by his utter contempt for Dunbar. He once called the Irishman "the bull-frog from the Hibernian Ferns." What made Dunbar particularly obnoxious to Belcher was his association with New Hampshire's Wentworth family and that province's "anti-Massachusetts" party.<sup>69</sup>

As the sparks flew between Dunbar and Belcher, the Surveyor General felt compelled to send long justifications of the Georgia claim to the Board of Trade.<sup>70</sup> For his part, Belcher not only wrote in defense of the Massachusetts claim to Sagadahock, but he probably backed Samuel Waldo's mission to London to plea for the Lincolnshire Company claims in the area. Upon hearing that civil order was threatened in the region, Belcher sent an armed vessel to Pemaquid, arresting four of Dunbar's Scotch-Irish settlers, ostensibly in a move to preserve order.<sup>71</sup> Dunbar was incensed. He fired off a letter to the Board of Trade, complaining of the arrest and shabby treatment of his people, saying "this is the justice of this Country to Strangers and foreigners as all his Majestys European Subjects are called here...."<sup>72</sup>

Dunbar also had to worry about settlers being sent into the area by the Lincolnshire Company Proprietors. The company had been slow to recover after Dummer's War, but by 1729, perhaps stirred by Dunbar's activities in England and Maine, they began to move quickly. In December of that year, the Lincolnshire Company announced that they would grant 120 acres of land to each family settling upon their



lands as well as make provisions for paying a minister and providing regular transportation between the St. George's River and Boston.<sup>73</sup> As additional security for their claims, however, the company sent Samuel Waldo to London in the hopes of unseating Dunbar. In the meantime, Dunbar warned unauthorized persons to stay out of the 300,000 acres of Maine land that he was reserving for a "Nursery of Tree, for the Royal Navy."<sup>74</sup>

Samuel Waldo's mission to London addressed both personal and company needs. As a timber trader and mast agent, Waldo had encountered immediate problems with his majesty's Surveyor General of the King's Woods. The fiery Irishman, never one to let an insult or wrong go unnoticed, complained to the Board of Trade in 1729 that Waldo had been cutting illegally in the Maine forests, adding that Waldo was also "agent for a number of the Claimants for Vast Tracts of Land in Georgia."<sup>75</sup>

Dunbar, with the help of his ally John Wentworth, accused both Waldo and his associate Thomas Westbrook of sending some of their masts illegally to England's enemies, as well as engaging in illegal cutting operations in Maine. This was an old song for Wentworth; back in 1727, when he was vying for the Surveyor General position, Wentworth reported to the Board of Trade that some of those "employed, as Agents; to the Contractor for Masts (viz.) Mr. Gulston...have great Oppertunitys to make waste of pine trees here by falling more than they want...."<sup>76</sup> Since

these same men were also owners of sawmills, the "extra" masts were then cut up for boards. Later, Wentworth was more succinct when he wrote to Dunbar that "it is not consistent with His Majesty's interest that mast agents and factors should erect sawmills among the pines."<sup>77</sup> Wentworth's interest in Waldo and Westbrook is easy to understand; they were friends and business associates of rival William Pepperrell. However, Dunbar's charges against Waldo and Westbrook went unheard. To make matters worse, John Wentworth died in December 1730.

With powerful enemies like Belcher, Pepperrell, Waldo, Westbrook--even Boston's Elisha Cooke, not known for his alliances with Massachusetts governors--it is not surprising that London officials soon recognized Boston's claim over Sagadahock. To Belcher's delight, "Governor" Dunbar was forced to drop his plans for Georgia in 1732; to Belcher's shock and dismay, Surveyor General Dunbar had been appointed in 1731 to fill the shoes of the recently deceased Lt. Gov. John Wentworth in Portsmouth. Since Belcher was governor of both Massachusetts and New Hampshire, "the bull-frog from the Hibernian Ferns" was now Belcher's chief lieutenant in the latter province. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Belcher sputtered and fumed: "For how is it possible, My Lord Duke, that the King's service and the good of that Province [New Hampshire] can be carry'd on end with tolerable quiet, and satisfaction while I must have an officer under me

diametrically opposite to me." Belcher was so incensed at the appointment, and on such poor terms with Dunbar, that he refused to cooperate with the new lieutenant governor, choosing instead to work through the province's secretary of state and his own close friend, Richard Waldron.<sup>78</sup>

Yet while the feud between Belcher and Dunbar continued on a new front, the Scotch-Irish settlers of short-lived Georgia were left to fend for themselves. There were at least fifty or sixty Scotch-Irish settlers living on Dunbar-settled lands in the Pemaquid area in 1732.<sup>79</sup> Their major problem was simply that their land titles had never been confirmed and were generally regarded as worthless by the various claimants to land in the area. In spite of uncertainty, many chose to stick it out as fishermen and loggers in the old Dunbar townships at Pemaquid--where they battled elements, starvation, and those who would have them "dislodged" and "dispersed."

Most of the Scotch-Irish settlers who remained lived in the old Dunbar town of Townshend, or present Boothbay. Their plight was summed up pathetically in the 1772 deposition of Townshend resident Samuel McCobb, made to authorities in Boston.<sup>80</sup> The sixty-four-year-old McCobb recounted his migration with Dunbar and "more than 40 others," to Townshend in 1729. House lots were drawn and upon completion of a house "eighteen feet long" and the clearing of two acres of land, the immigrants were given forty-acre lots, with the promise of an additional one

hundred acres to follow. Yet Dunbar's departure laid their plans to rest. According to McCobb, most of his neighbors were "generally in low circumstances, and most of them (as being from Britain and Ireland) utterly unacquainted with the mode of managing lands in that state...." For a while, some earned a living by cutting wood and supplying Boston and other coastal towns with firewood. Yet life was poor, and in 1745, most Townshend residents fled the area when threatened by Indian attack. For unexplained reasons, many returned to Townshend in 1749, where, in spite of "peace" with the Indians, the settlers were attacked. Many were carried into captivity; others lived in a small fortress, surviving on a diet of clams and water. In a state of utter poverty, not to mention fear, they survived both King George's War and the French and Indian War, only to be threatened with "Law Suits, Ejectments, if not Imprisonments and Ruin," by "three or four opposite sets of claims...." It is little wonder that some of the other Dunbar settlers chose to throw in their lot with Samuel Waldo and the Lincolnshire settlements along the St. George's River.<sup>81</sup>

For successfully defending the Lincolnshire Company in England against the plans of David Dunbar, Samuel Waldo was awarded one half of the company's shares. When he purchased an additional 100,000 acres of Lincolnshire Company land in 1734, he held over two-thirds interest in the company, and many began referring to the Muscongus or

Lincolnshire Company Proprietors as the Waldo Patentees.<sup>82</sup> Of greatest interest to Waldo were the deposits of lime found along the St. George's River. By 1734, he had financed the construction of a lime kiln in the area at present Warren. His next step was to settle the area.

In spite of Lincolnshire Company problems with David Dunbar and his "Irish" settlers, Waldo wasted no time enticing the Scotch-Irish in Maine, Boston, New Hampshire, and Ireland to migrate to his proposed settlement along the St. George's. In April 1735, he reached an agreement with twenty-seven Scotch-Irish settlers, on behalf of their families and nineteen others. They would begin building homes along the St. George's by the end of the year, and within two years, they would clear four acres of land. In return, Waldo would give them each one hundred acres of land.<sup>83</sup>

In 1736, he was again active in bringing in the Scotch-Irish. In a petition to Governor Belcher, he boasted that he "expects a great number of Irish Protestants to arrive in these parts in a Month or Two having Engaged three ships for that purpose who Passengers your Petitioner has Contracted with to Settle on the Lands there."<sup>84</sup> By year's end, twenty-five to thirty Scotch-Irish families were living in the new settlement.<sup>85</sup>

If century-old secondary sources and genealogies can be trusted, the first Scotch-Irish settlers of what was to become Warren were not particularly good farmers. Most raised a few potatoes, and some had cattle, but the farms were generally small and crude. One explanation for the apparent lack of skill in farming stems from the settlers' expertise in other areas. Among the very first settlers, there was a weaver, a "physician," a surveyor, a tanner, a shoemaker, and several seamen. Only one was styled a farmer.<sup>86</sup>

There is no way of knowing how many Irish settlers Waldo brought to his lands along the St. George's River. Starting in 1740, he began to bring over German settlers as well, and by 1753, his son, Samuel Waldo, Jr., was actively recruiting Scottish settlers for a new settlement at nearby "Stirling."<sup>87</sup> What is known is that the early Scotch-Irish settlers in Warren suffered a plight common to most other Scotch-Irish immigrants in Maine. In 1745, the settlement was attacked by Indians, forcing virtually all of the settlers along the St. George's River to abandon their homes. Some returned after a few years in Boston or some other haven. Waldo is known to have personally given two families shelter in Boston in houses he owned. Other refugees left the area for good.<sup>88</sup> Yet the story was the same along the St. George's as it had been in "Georgia" and Merrymeeting Bay. The warning of Indian attack heard by

the Reverend William Boyd back in 1719 continued to plague the Scotch-Irish wherever they went in Maine.

By mid-century, the struggling coastal settlements of Maine were familiar with the potato and the "broad Scotch tongue" of Scotch-Irish immigrants. In some communities, only a scattered few were Scotch-Irish; in others, a small but visable minority occasionally clamored for a Presbyterian minister. During periods of peace, the Scotch-Irish came to Maine in large numbers; there was talk of a Scotch-Irish "plantation." During periods of war, the Scotch-Irish fled to Boston; there was talk of Pennsylvania. They were considered good settlers by provincial leaders in New England. Few would have disagreed with Governor William Shirley in 1746, when he wrote, "from the behaviour of the Irish coming out of the Northern Parts of Ireland hither, a Number of which is settled in the Eastern Parts of this Province, I should think they too might be safely trusted in Nova Scotia."<sup>89</sup>

Yet the closest the Scotch-Irish would come to a "plantation" in Maine came in 1768, when several residents on Londonderry, New Hampshire, became the proprietors and early settlers of Belfast, Maine.<sup>90</sup> By this time, the real promise of 1718 had been fulfilled, not in Maine, but in New Hampshire.

NOTES

1. Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 918.
2. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 65; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 240; Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 175.
3. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 83.
4. Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 91-92.
5. Parker, Londonderry, 36; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 205, 207; Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 192.
6. Parker, Londonderry, 36-37, says sixteen families went to Casco Bay. Woodbury, "Scotch-Irish and Irish Presbyterian Settlers of New Hampshire," reports that twenty families went to Casco Bay, but that they took another three hundred Scotch-Irish along with them. Woodbury's account stems from a misreading of William Willis, The History of Portland, 2 (Portland, Me.: Charles Day and Co., 1833), 17. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 238, says that one quarter of the group in Boston went to Casco Bay.
7. Willis, Portland, 2: 17; Massachusetts House Journals, 2: 104, 106; Parker, Londonderry, 37; and William Willis, "The Scotch-Irish Immigration to Maine, and Presbyterianism in New England," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 6 (Portland, Me.: by the Society, 1859), 11-12.
8. Mather, Diary, 2: 581.
9. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 207-08. It is not known if Mather's letter was sent; Bolton quoted from a draft in the American Antiquarian Society.
10. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 207.
11. Many who returned to Boston were warned out of town. For the Casco Bay episode, see Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 203-14.
12. Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 12; Willis, Portland, 2: 18. See his petition of 1729 in Massachusetts House Journals, 9: 134.



13. Willis, Portland, 2: 9/. There was a strong enough "Presbyterian" element left in the area, however, for a Presbyterian minister to settle in Falmouth. See Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 210-11.

14. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 111-24, 169-79.

15. Roy Hidemichi Akagi, The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1924), 176-83.

16. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 111, refers to this pattern of settlement as "strategic positioning."

17. William D. Williamson, The History of the State of Maine, 2 (Hallowell, Me.: Glazier, Masters, and Co., 1832), 81.

18. George Augustus Wheeler and Henry Warren Wheeler, History of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell, Maine (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1878), 21; Akagi, Town Proprietors, 245-46.

19. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 256-57; Williamson, Maine, 2: 87; Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 21-23, 27-30.

20. Williamson, Maine, 2: 90.

21. Massachusetts House Journals, 1: 140-41.

22. Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 104.

23. Douglas Edward Leach, The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 131, concludes that the Scotch-Irish were lured to America by land speculators.

24. For Temple and the Temply family, see New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 10 (1856): 73-77 (Hereafter NEHGR); Michael J. O'Brien, "The Lost Town of Cork, Maine," The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, 12 (1913): 176-79, 182, 184. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 233, says Temple was an officer in the English army, but gives no source.

25. Willis, Portland, 2: 17n; Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 14-16; O'Brien, "Cork," 177-78. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 218, says Temple came to Boston with his family in 1717. However, Temple married Mehitable Nelson, daughter of Boston's John Nelson, after his arrival. In a letter he wrote in 1753, he said he arrived with "servants and effects."

26. Willis, Portland, 2: 17n; Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 15; O'Brien, "Cork," 178; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 218-19.

27. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 142-45. Bolton states in his text that Temple tried to persuade the Maccallum passengers to go at first to Connecticut, but the Lechmere letters suggest that Temple never seriously considered the Connecticut option for either himself or other Irish immigrants. See also, NEHGR, 39: 184; and Akagi, Town Proprietors, 259-60.

28. MHS Collections, 55 (Boston: by the Society, 1892), 387n. For the settlement of lands at Merrymeeting Bay, see Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 215-38; O'Brien, "Cork," 178; Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 37, 42, 104. The reference to "wild Irish" comes from Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 205.

29. Quoted in Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 355.

30. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 220-27; Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 163-65.

31. Penhallow's letters to Hutchinson and Shute were both written on July 13 and may be found in NEHGR, 32 (1878): 21-22. For Sebastian Ralle's role as "the Instigator of Dissorder," see Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, "The Attack on Norridgewock," The New England Quarterly, 7 (September 1934): 541-78.

32. For more information on this incident, see O'Brien, "Cork," 180; and Williamson, Maine, 2: 104.

33. Douglas Edward Leach, Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763 (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 181.

34. Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 101; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 230.

35. Massachusetts House Journals, 5: 186.

36. NEHGR, 32 (1878): 23. See also O'Brien, "Cork," 181; and Leach, Arms for Empire, 181.

37. NEHGR, 32 (1878): 23; NEHGR, 24 (1870): 25.

38. Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 163-65.

39. Wentworth to Dummer, 21 April 1725, in William Blake Trask, ed., Letters of Colonel Thomas Westbrook and Others Relative to Indian Affairs in Maine, 1722-1726 (Boston:

- George E. Littlefield, 1901), 103; and Williamson, Maine, 134-35.
40. NEHGR, 32 (1878): 25. For a general account of Dummer's War in Maine, see Williamson, Maine, 2: 111-51; and Samuel Penhallow, The History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians.... (Boston: R. Fleet and Cornhill, 1726), *passim*.
41. Muster rolls are scattered for the war in Maine, but better than a dozen Irish immigrants fought in Captain John Gyles' company in 1723 and 1724. Trask, ed., Westbrook Letters, 171.
42. O'Brien, "Cork," 182, 184. His children married into the Shirley, Bowdoin, and Whipple families making the Temple family one of the most distinguished in the Boston area. NEHGR, 10 (January 1856): 73-77.
43. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 233-38.
44. Willis, Portland, 2: 17n; O'Brien, "Cork," 179.
45. See Chapter 3. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 229-33; Boston Record Commissioners, 13: 101, 112. The Boston town clerk apparently kept the registration lists, although their whereabouts is not known today.
46. Williamson, Maine, 2: 159.
47. Samuel Jordon to William Dummer, 8 June 1727, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 400.
48. On the Henry case, see Neal W. Allen, Jr., ed., Province and Court Records of Maine, 6 (Portland Me.: Maine Historical Society, 1975): 178-83; and William S. Southgate, "The History of Scarborough, from 1633 to 1783," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 3 (Portland, Me.: by the Society, 1853): 158-59. For subsequent Scotch-Irish immigration, see Southgate, "History of Scarborough," 208, 212, 220, among others.
49. Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 3 (Portland, Me.: by the Society, 1853): 443-45.
50. Wheeler and Wheeler, History of Brunswick, 729-30.
51. For Lincolnshire Company activities, see Akagi, Town Proprietors, 248-50, 257-58, 262; Cyrus Eaton, Annals of the Town of Warren (Hallowell, Maine: Masters, Smith and Co., 1851), 18-44; and Joseph Williamson, History of the City of Belfast in the State of Maine, From Its First Settlement in 1770 to 1875 (Portland, Me.: Loring, Short, and Harmon, 1877), 36-41.

52. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 45.

53. For a general discussion of British timber policy in New Hampshire and Maine, see Joseph J. Malone, Pine Trees and Politics: The Navel Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775 (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1964), passim, and especially 57-123; and Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 231-280.

54. Much of Waldo's trade was with Pepperrell. In 1727, he was the leading trader out of the Piscataqua; Pepperrell was third. David Van Deventer, The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 1623-1741 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 176.

55. Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 86-88; and Byron Fairchild, Mssrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, 1954), 71. For Wentworth's activities and views, see CSP, CS, 33: 806; 34: 309, 476.

56. Albion summed him up as "a second-rate Irish soldier of fortune." Albion, Forests and Sea Power, 253.

57. There are several secondary accounts of Dunbar and "Georgia." See, for example, John Johnston, A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremem (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1873), 265-75; and Francis B. Greene, History of Boothbay, Southport and Boothbay Harbor, Maine, 1623-1905 (Portland, Me.: Loring, Short and Harmon, 1906), 109-24; and Eaton, Annals of Warren, 45-46.

58. For Jeremiah Dunbar's role, see Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 92-94, 96.

59. Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 95-96.

60. Dunbar to Board of Trade, 9 October 1729, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 439. For more on the Dunbar episode, see Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 18-20; Williamson, Maine, 165-78; and Ford, Scotch-Irish, 245-47. Dunbar estimated that there might be six hundred Scotch-Irish families waiting to move to "Georgia." CSP, CS, 36: 589, 628.

61. Dunbar to Board of Trade, 9 October 1729, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 440; and CSP, CS, 36: 929. See also Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, 410.

62. Boston Gazette, August 10-17, 1730; Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 440; Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 18. Dunbar placed the figure somewhat higher. See CSP, CS, 38: 217.

63. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 129-30.

64. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 23-24.

65. CSP, CS, 37: 533; 38: 44, 49.

66. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 45-46.

67. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 44-46. For a similar complaint, see Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 21-23. See also Massachusetts House Journals, 10: 352, 353-54, 362, 385-87.

68. Dunbar to Board of Trade, 15 September 1730, Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 51.

69. Belcher to Richard Waldron, 5 June 1732, MHS Collections, 56 (Boston: by the Society, 1893): 145. Belcher would later turn his skill at name calling upon Benning Wentworth and Theodore Atkinson. See Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 225, for the beginning of the feud between Belcher and John Wentworth..

70. See, for example, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 453-68.

71. Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 101.

72. He further made his point by describing the problems encountered by a shipload of German settlers in the area. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 65. See also, CSP, CS, 39: 129.

73. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 257.

74. Boston Gazette, October 12-19, 1730.

75. Dunbar to Board of Trade, 29, December 1729, Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 1-5.

76. Wentworth to Board of Trade, 7 August 1727, Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 412.

77. Wentworth to Dunbar, 10 October 1729, quoted in Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 104. On problems between Dunbar and Waldo, see Malone, Pine Trees and Politics, 100-05.

78. CSP, CS, 157 and 38: 45. See correspondence in NHSP, 4: 866-80. Also, see Belknap, New-Hampshire 1: 226-28 and CSP, CS, 43: 401.

79. After an unhappy time in Portsmouth, Dunbar returned to Maine and the old town of "Walpole," where he built a fine house and started a farm. He stayed until 1737, when he returned to England and was jailed for bankruptcy. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 46; and Greene, History of Boothbay, 123-24; Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 184-85; Johnston, Bristol and Bremen, 276.

80. This and other Townshend depositions may be found in Johnston, Bristol and Bremen, 268-71; and Greene, History of Boothbay, 116-22.

81. Johnston, Bristol and Bremen, 285.

82. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 249-50.

83. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 49-50; Willis, "Scotch-Irish," 20-21.

84. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 169. The petition is dated 26 July 1736.

85. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 55.

86. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 74-75.

87. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 60-63, 76-78, 81-86.

88. Boston Record Commissioners, 17: 18, 57-58. Eaton, Annals of Warren, 66-72.

89. Shirley to Duke of Newcastle, 21 November 1746, Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 354.

90. Williamson, History of Belfast, 63-1221 and passim.

## Chapter V

### Nutfield and Londonderry:

#### Boundary Problems in New Hampshire

At our first Arrivall in New England altho' we came in Severall Vessels & Landed in Various parte's of this Country yet as soon as we had surmounted the difficulties of Our passages which were many & great we Assembled ourselves & petitioned the Governor & Council of New Hampshire for a Tract of Land Laying to the North West of Haverhill....<sup>1</sup>

The Scotch-Irish search for a "plantation" in New England climaxed in the spring of 1719 with the arrival of several of their leading families at a place called "Nutfield," located within the tiny province of New Hampshire. Three years later, Nutfield was incorporated as the town of Londonderry. By mid-century, Londonderry, and not Boston, had become the center of Scotch-Irish culture in New England. It was for good reason that New England's only presbytery was called the Londonderry Presbytery. The town became renowned throughout New England for the manufacture of linen cloth, and its Scotch-Irish farmers are generally credited for popularizing the potato in American farms and on American tables. Several thousand Scotch-Irish immigrants passed through this Scotch-Irish "haven" during the eighteenth century. Within a generation

of settlement, Londonderry was spawning new towns throughout southern New Hampshire.

On the surface, the Scotch-Irish settlement of Londonderry and surrounding communities appears to be an uncomplicated episode of no more than average importance in New Hampshire's provincial history. New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish farmers were a definite minority, they assimilated quickly, and as a distinct ethnic group, their political, social, and economic impact was minimal. This would seem to justify their relative neglect by state historians more interested in New Hampshire's predominantly English population. Most New Hampshire historians have followed the lead of Jeremy Belknap, who in his otherwise excellent History of New-Hampshire had very little to say about Londonderry's Scotch-Irish settlers. In spite of Edward Parker's History of Londonderry, published in 1851, state historians continue to treat Scotch-Irish immigration to New Hampshire as an incident of only minor importance.<sup>2</sup>

Beneath the surface, however, the arrival of the Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire touched off a hopelessly complicated chain of events crucial to the growth of both New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The immigrants from Ulster courted disaster wherever they went in New England: smallpox and starvation in Boston, ethnic discrimination in western Massachusetts, and Indian warfare in Maine. When they went to Nutfield in 1719, they stumbled into a



boundary controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. It was a controversy complicated by "ancient" town grants along with worthless and even forged Indian deeds.

For two decades, from roughly 1720 to 1740, Scotch-Irish fortunes in New Hampshire were tossed and battered by provincial leaders and land speculators in Boston and Portsmouth. It was a political chess game marked by court cases, ethnic slurs, mob actions, illegal arrests, even bloodshed--and it brought out the worst in everyone involved. For their part, the Scotch-Irish were both active and passive agents. In the end, they weathered the storm and won the right to live unmolested in the Merrimack Valley. New Hampshire weathered the storm as well. By 1740, the political map of New England had been altered, and New Hampshire laid claim to not only the rich Merrimack Valley, but the Connecticut Valley as well. The role played by the Scotch-Irish in the boundary dispute was important, although little understood today.

The New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary controversy became the most hotly contested affair of its kind in New England's colonial history. By law, the boundary between the two provinces was a line located three miles to the north of the Merrimack River. Throughout much of the seventeenth century, Boston authorities located this line to their advantage. It was discovered that the source, or northernmost point of the Merrimack was Lake Winnepesaukee,

in the center of present New Hampshire. By mid-century, Boston mapmakers had drawn the line due eastward from the source of the river. This gave Massachusetts legal justification for annexing virtually all of New Hampshire and the settled parts of Maine. The Massachusetts interpretation was eventually disallowed in London. New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts in 1679, and the boundary between the two provinces was understood to be a line running in an east/west direction and located three miles to the north of the Merrimack. For the next forty years, the issue was dormant. Massachusetts chartered and settled towns along the lower Merrimack while the valley of the upper Merrimack was left to the Indians and an occasional trading post.<sup>3</sup>

The boundary line controversy began heating up in the years following the Peace of Utrecht. The rich timberlands of Maine and New Hampshire beckoned investors in Boston and Portsmouth. While many Boston investors purchased seventeenth century patents, such as the Pejepscot and Lincolnshire claims in Maine, investors in Portsmouth looked westward to the valley of the Merrimack. Yet others had their eyes on the Merrimack's upper valley as well. Many speculators in Boston wished to invest in lands along the Merrimack and between the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers. In addition, farmers in crowded towns in eastern Massachusetts were looking for new townships in which to settle their offspring. Boston authorities tried to

accommodate the wishes of farmers and speculators alike by claiming that Massachusetts' northern boundary followed the entire length of the Merrimack to its source in Lake Winnepesaukee. This interpretation gave the Merrimack Valley and all of present western New Hampshire to Massachusetts. New Hampshire authorities in Portsmouth rejected this claim. Their understanding of the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary was more consistent with the intent of the language in the Massachusetts charter of 1691. According to officials in Portsmouth, the boundary line began at a point three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River and proceeded due westward until encountering another province--presumably New York. This interpretation left most of the Merrimack's lower valley in Massachusetts, while the upper valley and all lands to the west belonged to New Hampshire.<sup>4</sup>

The boundary line controversy was further complicated by a number of Indian "deeds" as well as some individual township grants. Lands supposedly purchased from Indian "sachems" had always caused problems in New England. Many of these transactions had never been registered with proper authorities. In addition, the bounds of these "deeds" were so badly defined that a variety of interpretations was possible. Massachusetts authorities had become so disgusted with Indian deeds that they declared them null and void in 1701, if not earlier.<sup>5</sup> Yet, when it suited one's purpose, Indians deeds remained a potential weapon to

muddy the waters of any land transaction or boundary dispute. At the very least, those holding lands by virtue of an Indian deed had to be bought off.

The "ancient" bounds of townships were a much more formidable consideration for authorities trying to sort out boundary disputes. Township grants were reasonably well defined, properly registered, and formed the basis for all of the individual land titles within the township. When provincial leaders began tampering with old township charters, farmers were faced with possible imprisonment or eviction. Provincial authorities were frequently asked to mediate between two or more communities within a province in order to determine the location of a town line. However, when township grants fell into lands disputed by neighboring provinces, the situation could become hopelessly complex. Farmers whose titles were recognized by one province would be considered "squatters" by another, and as such, might be arrested for trespassing or failure to pay taxes. In theory, mediation in these matters would come from London. In practice, this was expensive and cumbersome. When township bounds and provincial boundaries conflicted, there was potential chaos at the local level.

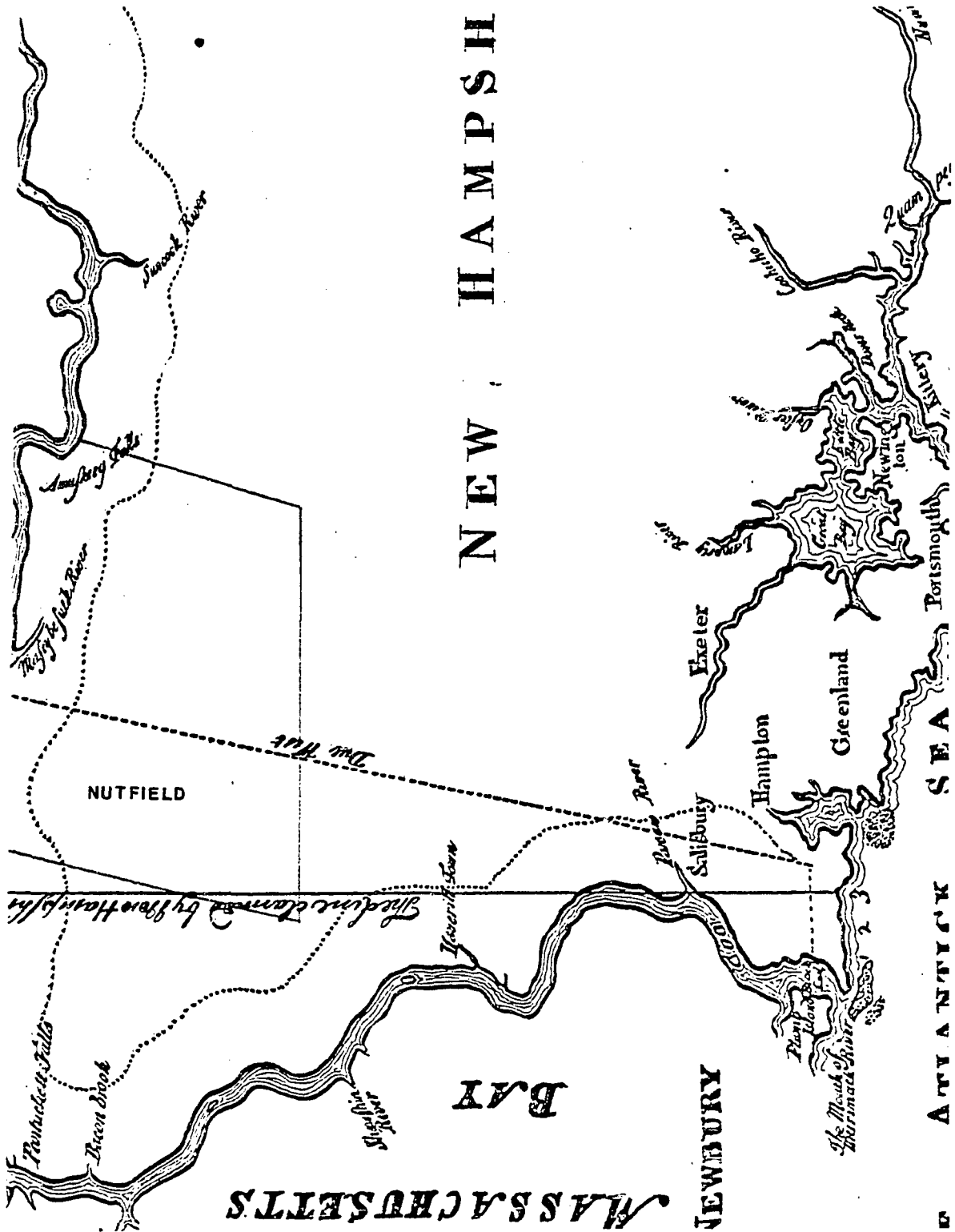
The Scotch-Irish settlers who came to Nutfield in 1719 quickly discovered the problems associated with Indian deeds and "ancient" township grants. At a council meeting in Portsmouth, held on 26 June 1719, it was noted that a number of families from Ireland, "of credit and

reputation," and the majority being farmers, had recently come to New Hampshire in quest of land for a township. The council encouraged them.<sup>6</sup> In the words of the Scotch-Irish settlers themselves, they had "come up from Cascobay to Haverel in order to setle Nutfield about the begining of Apriel 1719." By November, they had begun to keep "town" records, and they prefaced the records of their first meeting on November 9 with a brief account of "the first planting...Apriel the 11th anno Domini 1719."<sup>7</sup> This remains the best account of the settlement of Nutfield.

The settlers' account of their arrival in Nutfield reviews the landing in Boston in August 1718, mentions the MacGregor-Boyd petition for a tract of land in October, and recounts the migration from Maine the following spring. On their way up the Merrimack to Nutfield, the settlers apparently contacted the Reverend James MacGregor in Dracut, for on the day after their arrival in New Hampshire, on 12 April 1719, MacGregor delivered a sermon to his unsettled flock. The occasion of the sermon is part of Scotch-Irish lore, and a hint of its content was published in Parker's History of Londonderry. Standing beneath a large oak, located near the eastern shore of Beaver Pond, MacGregor took his text from Isaiah 32:2: "And a man shall be as 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."<sup>8</sup>

In the years ahead, however, the Scotch-Irish settlers of Nutfield, later Londonderry, were to discover that hiding from the wind was no easy trick. On 19 June, James MacGregor, James McKeen, and James Gregg, on behalf of their fellow settlers, petitioned the Massachusetts house of representatives, asking "that if upon settling the line between this Government and the Government of New-Hampshire, the said Tract of Land [Nutfield], shall fall within this Province, it may be quietly enjoyed to them."<sup>9</sup> The Massachusetts house turned down the "Irish" petition, according to Belknap, because there was question as to whether Nutfield straddled the Massachusetts-New Hampshire line.<sup>10</sup> They were right to be cautious. The Scotch-Irish had picked a spot that was clearly within New Hampshire according to the Massachusetts interpretation of the provincial boundary. Ironically, Nutfield only straddled the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary according to New Hampshire's interpretation of the line--a subtlety that was conveniently overlooked later on when Portsmouth officials chose to welcome the Scotch-Irish.<sup>11</sup>

Massachusetts may have had other reasons for turning down the Scotch-Irish petition. For one thing, land speculators in Boston were almost certainly irked by the Scotch-Irish move from Maine to Nutfield. Instead of settling the frontier lands owned by the various proprietary interests in Boston, the Scotch-Irish had abandoned these lands in favor of other territory. Such



The original location of Nutfield was indefinite in 1719, yet it almost certainly conflicted with Massachusetts claims along the upper Merrimack (dotted, curved line), and may even have represented lands south of New Hampshire claims (solid, straight line). (NHSP 19: opposite p. 628)

independence should not be rewarded. It was not only a dangerous precedent, but it forced land speculators in Boston to find more settlers for their holdings in Maine. In addition, even if Nutfield fell safely within Massachusetts, all or some of the area in question was already claimed by a number of Massachusetts people through Indian deeds or old township grants.

The earliest problem for the Scotch-Irish of Nutfield stemmed from an Indian deed. A number of Massachusetts speculators claimed that for the sum of five pounds, they had purchased a ten-mile-square tract of land west of Haverhill in 1701 from one "John an Indian, Heir of Penecook."<sup>12</sup> Most of the speculators came from the towns of Salem and Newbury, although they may have been joined by Haverhill men during one or more of their forays into Nutfield.<sup>13</sup> It is hard to say if authorities in Boston took the deed seriously. However, the Scotch-Irish, and possibly the general court of New Hampshire, were sufficiently intimidated by the deed from John to take evasive action.

Having failed to obtain a favorable response from Massachusetts to their June petition, the Scotch-Irish turned around and sought help from New Hampshire. The Nutfield settlers petitioned the general court in Portsmouth for incorporation in September 1719. The petition asked for a township ten miles square and for the privilege of making town laws and electing town



officers.<sup>14</sup> The petition also went on to say that the decision to settle at Nutfield was based upon the assumption that Nutfield was located in Massachusetts--hence, the earlier petition to authorities in Boston. Yet Massachusetts had given them no encouragement, and "three or four different parties" from Massachusetts, who claimed Nutfield "by virtue of Indian deeds," were beginning to worry the Scotch-Irish. These "different parties" seemed to have had no particular dislike for the "Irish," as long as they limited their numbers to twenty or twenty-five families. However, by the time of the September petition, the Nutfield settlers claimed that they were "already in number about seventy families and inhabitants, and more of their friends arrived from Ireland, to settle with them, and many of the people of New England settling with them."

Officially, the general court in Portsmouth suspended action on the Scotch-Irish petition until "his Excellency's next coming into this Province."<sup>15</sup> Since Governor Samuel Shute was not due in Portsmouth to handle his New Hampshire business until spring, the Scotch-Irish had time to make a stronger case for their "township" at Nutfield. Unofficially, the petitioners were given some advice. In the words of James MacGregor, "we were given to understand, that it was necessary for us to hold the soil by some right purchased from the natives." Specifically, the Scotch-Irish were told by New Hampshire officials "that it

was needful to make agreement with Coll John Wheelwright of Wells about the sail of nutfield...."<sup>16</sup> James MacGregor and Samuel Graves visited Wheelwright and obtained a deed for Nutfield, based upon the old Indian deed supposedly made out to Wheelwright's grandfather, the Reverend John Wheelwright, in 1629.<sup>17</sup> According to the deed from Wheelwright, Nutfield is defined as a township about ten miles square, bounded by Chester on the north, the Merrimack River on the west, Dunstable and Dracut on the south, and Haverhill on the east. For his cooperation in this venture, Colonel Wheelwright was given a tract of land in Nutfield abutting Beaver Pond and choice of an additional five hundred acres. Lt. Gov. John Wentworth was given a similar offer of land, and was further thanked by the Nutfield settlers for his very favorable treatment toward them.<sup>18</sup>

The Scotch-Irish were well pleased with their deed from Wheelwright and were confident it was a stronger instrument than the "deed" from John. In their own words, the Wheelwright deed, "being of ninety years standing, and conveyed from the chief Sagamores between the rivers of Merrimack and Piscataqua," was certainly more authentic than a deed "which is not twenty years old, of land which is not sufficiently butted and bounded, from an obscure Indian."<sup>19</sup> They were probably right. After 1720, little more is said about the Indian John and the deed on 1701. That was just as well for the Scotch-Irish, for they had

more serious problems involving the residents of nearby Haverhill and various political leaders in Boston.

Although the bounds of Nutfield were inexact when the Scotch-Irish first entered the area, they were known to be dangerously close to, if not overlapping, the "ancient" bounds of Haverhill, Massachusetts. In 1667, Haverhill's bounds were drawn in such a way that its northern "Peak" extended north of the Merrimack River by a good twelve to thirteen miles. Since New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts at this time, there was no inkling that Haverhill might eventually be bisected by provincial lines. Furthermore, the settled portion of Haverhill remained close to the Merrimack in the years following separation of the provinces. Yet with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Haverhill was ready for a new phase of expansion.<sup>20</sup> At the very time that the Scotch-Irish were settling in Nutfield, not only were they entering a boundary controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, but the town of Haverhill was in the process of making its "fifth division," encompassing all remaining common lands, including lands located in its northern peak. The resulting land dispute raged on for years, and it did little to endear the "Irish" to Massachusetts authorities.<sup>21</sup>

During the winter of 1719/20, while the Scotch-Irish settlers of Nutfield awaited word on their petition to the New Hampshire general court, a number of Massachusetts

claimants to lands at Nutfield began to take the law into their own hands. Reports on these raids are sketchy, and it is not known by what right the Massachusetts groups based their claims, although some were almost certainly Haverhill men. One band of Massachusetts claimants came up to Nutfield and destroyed a Scotch-Irish house. They also cut hay in some of the Scotch-Irish fields and threatened a number of settlers. It is a Londonderry tradition that one of these Massachusetts groups came upon a number of the settlers while Mr. MacGregor was delivering a sermon. After hearing some of the pastor's fiery Scottish oratory, they lost their courage and returned to Massachusetts.<sup>22</sup> According to MacGregor, at least one Scotch-Irish settler retaliated against Massachusetts incursions with threats. While the nature of these threats is not known, MacGregor did not deny their existence; he only asked that the actions of one person "not be imputed to the community."<sup>23</sup>

By February 1720, news of the activities in and around Nutfield had reached Governor Shute. Feeling that the governor was receiving a one-sided account, and knowing that the Nutfield settlers were being portrayed by their enemies as "romans," "papists," or simply "Irish," MacGregor fired off his now-famous defense of the Scotch-Irish people to Shute on 27 February.<sup>24</sup>

The minister attacked opponents of the Nutfield settlers for calling them "Irish." "We are surprised to

hear ourselves termed Irish people," he wrote, "when we so frequently ventured our all for the British crown and liberties against the Irish papists...." Moving away from ethnic slurs, MacGregor reminded Governor Shute that the Scotch-Irish had occupied a vacant tract of land in a non-violent manner. A number of English settlers who wanted to settle in the area were encouraged to do so, and "many of them are now incorporated with us." MacGregor then recounted their recent efforts to obtain the proper Indian deed to the territory, and in so doing, slighted the various weaker claims. It is the Scotch-Irish who have been wronged, according to MacGregor. For while groups have come up from Massachusetts and raided farms in Nutfield, "to the great terror of our wives and children," the Scotch-Irish had been patient and not retaliated. Even so, the Nutfield leaders had been accused of "violence, injustice, fraud, force, injuries and offences to the English." MacGregor declared their innocence of these slanderous charges, proclaiming loyalty to British rule: "If we be guilty of these disorders, we know we are liable to a legal trial, and are not so weak as to suppose ourselves to be out of the reach of your Excellency's government." Should future accusations be made against members of MacGregor's flock, let them receive "an equal hearing before they be condemned."

When the governor came to New Hampshire in April, he and the general court agreed upon a temporary solution to

the Nutfield petition of the previous September. James McKeen was made a justice of the peace, and a warrant was made out allowing the Nutfield settlers to choose a constable.<sup>25</sup> In short, Shute and the government of New Hampshire created two of the necessary links between government at the provincial and community levels, but they fell short of incorporation.

Despite absence of legal standing, the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield conducted "town" affairs in an orderly manner. Between the September petition and eventual incorporation two years later, the settlers of Nutfield held at least seventeen general town meetings, as well as several other recorded committee meetings.<sup>26</sup> During these meetings, they periodically chose a committee to run town affairs. James McKeen and John Goffe<sup>27</sup> were usually chosen to be moderator and clerk respectively, David Cargill was elected town treasurer, and, according to town business accounts, Robert Wear served as constable. Most of the business at the general town meetings and the special committee meetings pertained to the distribution of land--an issue that led to any number of individual and group complaints. Lt. Gov. Wentworth visited Nutfield in October 1720; he arbitrated one land-related dispute and authorized the still undefined and unrecognized community to lay out town roads. In addition, town leaders authorized a new sawmill and a new grist mill, established a site for a meetinghouse, set tax rates, tried in vain to collect the

minister's full salary, and paid town expenses for services rendered. In March of 1722, perhaps anticipating incorporation, the Nutfield "town" meeting elected a full slate of town officers, including hog reaves and fence viewers.

In June 1722, the settlers at Nutfield finally received what they had been seeking since their arrival in the area in 1719--a town charter. Briefly, the charter incorporated a New Hampshire town by the name of Londonderry; in size it was a town of "ten miles square or So Mutch as amounts to ten miles square...."<sup>28</sup> The 124 proprietors were obliged to settle their home lots; they had to have a house built and three acres of land cleared within three years, although they were given additional time in the event of an Indian war. They had four years to build a meetinghouse and plant crops. The Scotch-Irish could hardly complain about exorbitant fees or rents--they were obligated to pay an annual quit rent amounting, appropriately, to only one peck of potatoes. In addition, they were to obey parliamentary laws protecting mast trees. Not only were March town meetings specifically authorized, but Londonderry was granted a weekly market and two fairs, to be held in May and October. Finally, the proprietors were listed by name and number of shares. Certain town leaders were awarded additional land for their services, Governor Shute and Lt. Gov. Wentworth were given five hundred acres of land apiece, and members of the governor's

council in New Hampshire were each given a proprietor's share in the town. The list of proprietors was important in that it makes the first formal distinction between "proprietors" and "inhabitants."

The Londonderry charter recognized the existence of a boundary controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The charter was good only if it did not conflict with any prior claims "Falling within the line or boundaries of our said province of the Massachusetts...." In fact, the western fringes of the new town were close enough to the Merrimack River to conflict with Massachusetts claims, and this remained something of a problem until 1740. Of more immediate interest, however, was the question of Haverhill's claims in the area.

The Londonderry charter virtually denied the existence of Haverhill's 1667 grant to territory in New Hampshire. Prior to the Londonderry charter of 1722, both the Scotch-Irish and political leaders in Portsmouth understood, at least generally, that Haverhill had claim to lands extending several miles north of the Merrimack. The Scotch-Irish deed from Wheelwright, for instance, recognized the Haverhill line as the eastern boundary of Nutfield, and indicated that this line ran as far north as Chester. In addition, when the New Hampshire council agreed to survey the line between Nutfield and Chester, it appointed a committee to begin their survey at "the peke of Haverhill."<sup>29</sup> It was assumed as late as the spring of



1721 that the Haverhill claim extended between Londonderry and Kingston, and possibly into Chester. Yet in 1722, the Londonderry charter specifically states that Londonderry's eastern boundary begins at the southeast corner of Chester and runs south "on Kings town line." Haverhill's claim had been squeezed out of existence by Londonderry and Kingston. Haverhill is not mentioned in the Londonderry charter, and since the charter promises to respect only those claims within the recognized boundaries of Massachusetts, Governor Shute of New Hampshire and Massachusetts signed away Haverhill's northern claims. Whether he did so deliberately or unconsciously is impossible to say. In any event, the proprietors of Haverhill, backed by legislative leaders in Boston, never recognized the fact.

Proprietary interests in Haverhill felt that by virtue of their seventeenth-century grant, they had the right to parcel out land covered by the grant, regardless of which province claimed jurisdiction over all or parts of Haverhill. The fact that Haverhill Peak fell into New Hampshire in 1679 made no difference; the land outlined in Haverhill's 1667 grant still belonged to Haverhill's original proprietors and their heirs. Londonderry settlers, on the other hand, claimed that Haverhill had long since forfeited its rights to the Peak. The Peak had not been developed for several decades, a condition usually resulting in forfeiture. The Scotch-Irish had simply occupied and improved a wilderness area that otherwise

might have remained undeveloped for years to come. According to the settlers on Londonderry, Haverhill proprietors became interested in the Peak only when they jealously observed Scotch-Irish progress in the area.

Regardless of who got to the Peak first, leaders in Haverhill and Londonderry began granting overlapping lots located in Haverhill Peak. The result was a local "war" that took a variety of forms: petitions to Portsmouth and Boston, arrests and trials for trespassing, attachment of property for non-payment of town taxes, cutting hay in disputed fields, and mob violence. It was a controversy that was related to the larger issue of the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary, yet it had a life of its own as well.

Bits and pieces of the troubles between Londonderry and Haverhill surface as early as 1721. In a Nutfield town meeting of 25 March, one James McNeil complained of "the threatening that haveril people gave him with regard to the land which he is now settled upon...." At this time, the town committee chose to duck the issue; McNeil could either receive another, equivalent piece of land, or, if he decided to "defend the land" in question, the committee would reimburse him with one hundred acres of land.<sup>30</sup> Nothing more is heard of McNeil's troubles. Over the next three decades, however, the two communities picked away at each other, and the Scotch-Irish of Londonderry learned to be as aggressive as the Haverhill neighbors.

In September 1729, the leaders of the Massachusetts house of representatives expressed a fear felt in Portsmouth as well: "the Differences between the People of Haverhill and Londonderry do still continue, and there is danger lest they end in Bloodshed...."<sup>31</sup> These fears were apparently realized shortly afterwards when Massachusetts authorities tried to collect taxes from a number of Londonderry farmers. When they met resistance, the tax collectors "wounded 3 or 4 Londonderry Men so that it was feared they would die of their Wounds."<sup>32</sup> On the other side, one William Mudgett of Haverhill complained that a number of Scotch-Irish settlers had taken possession of his house in October 1727, "by force and Arms," and had "committed several Outrages on the Petitioner, and some workmen that were at work at the said house...."<sup>33</sup> Yet violence was minimal. The Scotch-Irish actions during the summer of 1723 were probably more typical of mob action. Several residents of Haverhill complained that "a great Number of Ill-minded Persons...from time to time in the Night with painted Faces, and under other Disguises, have pulled down and burnt several Thousands of Rails, and Board Fence, and some Hundreds of Rods of Stone Wall have been thrown down...."<sup>34</sup> Most Scotch-Irish action in the disputed territory was less colorful and more overt. They simply began building homes and clearing fields. In 1731, Haverhill petitioners complained about "the late Encroachments of the Irish people settled in the Province

of New Hampshire who have Cutt down and Carried away great Quantities of their Hay and Timber, & other ways disturbed them in the improvements of their Lands...."35

Both the Massachusetts council and house received the various Haverhill petitions. The governor and council sometimes appointed members to look into specific complaints, although they generally referred these matters to the courts in Essex County--a reasonable measure, since the petitions involved complaints by the governor's Massachusetts subjects against the same governor's New Hampshire subjects. House members were less cautious. While they also appointed committees to look into specific complaints, they frequently threatened direct action against the "Irish." In 1728, when the governor and council referred William Mudgett's complaint to the Essex County courts, the house officially protested that members of the council "were inclined to delay bringing to punishment such open and flagrant violatores of all the Laws of this Province...."36

Residents of Londonderry and neighboring Kingston expressed similar complaints against "trespassers" and "encroachers" from Haverhill.<sup>37</sup> In 1733, they petitioned the Board of Trade, asking for a speedy solution to the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary question. They felt the uncertainty of the provincial boundary encouraged Haverhill claimants to carry out bold raids into Londonderry. According to this petition, law-abiding Londonderry farmers

were "dragged out of their dwellings by the hair of their head, imprisoned, tried and condemned...." They even claimed that a church had been burned by a Haverhill mob.<sup>38</sup> The Scotch-Irish of Londonderry further complained that they were being stigmatized because they were immigrants from Ireland. Not only were they called "Irish" by their enemies, but "romans."<sup>39</sup>

While overt actions, at times bordering on mob violence, caused concern among town leaders in Haverhill, Londonderry, and Kingston, their greatest hardships resulted from arrests and expensive court cases. A number of Scotch-Irish residents living in the disputed Peak were jailed and held for trial in Salem.<sup>40</sup> If they lost one of these court cases, they could face eviction, at least legally, from homes and farms. Londonderry's James Adams had lived on his farm for ten years before being dragged off to court in Salem in 1732. After two years of trials, Adams lost his case to a Haverhill proprietor, who proceeded to take out "an Execution to take possession of [Adams'] house and lands notwithstanding upwards of ten miles north of merrimack river and Within his majtes province of new hampshire."<sup>41</sup> Since the average settler could not pay the necessary court costs, the burden fell to the town. At a Londonderry town meeting on 4 July 1734, the town agreed to give twenty pounds to Adams "to help him to defray his Lawshuts Commenc'd against him by Haverhill Claiming his land."<sup>42</sup> Exactly how much town money went

into these court cases is impossible to determine, although in 1732, Londonderry claimed, "by a moderate Computation," that it had spent eight hundred pounds in court costs defending its claim to date. In 1742, the town estimated that it had spent "near two thousand pounds" in court costs defending themselves against Haverhill claims.<sup>43</sup>

New Hampshire was slower to make arrests than Massachusetts. Not until the 1740 boundary decision placed Haverhill Peak, as well as a number of other disputed lands within the bounds of New Hampshire, did leaders in Portsmouth begin to make numerous arrests. Prior to the 1740 decision, however, Londonderry was not completely idle. Aside from night raids and overt farming operations upon lands claimed by others, Londonderry's actions included assessing Massachusetts people for payment of Londonderry town taxes. One William Bolton of Methuen, Haverhill's western neighbor, complained that he was being assessed by both Methuen and Londonderry, and that the constable of Londonderry "has made Distress on his goods."<sup>44</sup>

While the controversy over the New Hampshire - Massachusetts boundary was settled in 1740, the issue of Haverhill's seventeenth-century claims lingered on for another fifteen to twenty years, mostly in the form of court cases in Portsmouth.<sup>45</sup> Theoretically, these court cases should not have been necessary, as the 1740 settlement guaranteed existing private property. However,

since proprietors in neither Londonderry, Kingston, nor Haverhill could agree on who rightfully owned lots in Haverhill Peak, those on both sides of the border sought action against trespassers in the disputed area.<sup>46</sup> Encouraged by the favorable settlement of the provincial boundary, Londonderry proprietors were quick to bring action against their counterparts in Haverhill. Haverhill's principal defense lawyer at these trials was Richard Hazzen, who claimed in 1753 that he had made 130 separate trips to Portsmouth, "oftentimes in Rain & Snow heat & Cold," and spent in excess of one thousand pounds of his own money in order to defend Haverhill citizens against claims to their lands.<sup>47</sup> To the credit of the New Hampshire judicial system, Londonderry claims did not always hold up in Portsmouth courts. In 1744, for instance, Robert Boyes took a case of ejectment against a Haverhill defendant before the provincial Superior Court. Not only did Boyes lose, but the decision in favor of the Haverhill man was later upheld by the New Hampshire governor and council. Hazzen boasted in 1753 that "no one Haverhill man has lost his Estate..." in Portsmouth courts.<sup>48</sup> Much like the claims associated with the more famous "Bow Controversy," however, the court cases involving Londonderry, Kingston, Haverhill, and occasionally Methuen were very expensive. In addition, they did little to improve relations between the Scotch-Irish and their English neighbors.

In defending their homes and farms against rival claimants, the Scotch-Irish became embroiled in politics at the provincial level. As immigrants, they had stumbled into a political web involving rival groups of land speculators and political aspirants. Whereas the Scotch-Irish settlers in David Dunbar's ill-fated "Georgia" had become hopelessly tangled in this web, the Scotch-Irish settlers of Londonderry took steps to determine their own fate.

After they had failed to win recognition from Massachusetts authorities in 1719, the Scotch-Irish returned to Boston in November 1720 with yet another petition. They sensed that the various claimants to lands at Nutfield operated with the blessing, if not the encouragement of Massachusetts officials. Their petition to the Massachusetts house of representatives asked that the settlers be allowed to live at Nutfield "free and clear of any Disburse." The petition was rejected in hostile tones. The house noted that the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield had also been dealing with the government of New Hampshire, which in turn had given them legal recognition and authorized them to elect a town government. New Hampshire did not go this far until 1722. Nevertheless, New Hampshire's encouragement of the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield was regarded by the Massachusetts house of representatives as "a great and open breach upon the Jurisdiction of this Government, and may tend to deprive [the Scotch-Irish] of



their just Rights, and Properties, if not speedily prevented."<sup>49</sup>

The matter did not die here. On November 30, Nutfield sent two of its leaders to Boston to defend the Scotch-Irish position. The governor and council rejected Scotch-Irish requests to be left at peace on grounds "that it was doubtful, in which Province the Lands they were Settled on would fall."<sup>50</sup> This was the government's opinion as expressed a year earlier. The house of representatives was more bellicose, however. Its members voted on 1 December to warn the Scotch-Irish out of Nutfield, giving them seven months to leave the area or face prosecution from the attorney general. Unlike the more cautious and reasonable governor, who delayed action pending a solution to the provincial boundary question, the house threw caution to the winds. Nutfield was described in the house journals as "Lands belonging to this Province, lying Westward of the Town of Haverhill...."<sup>51</sup>

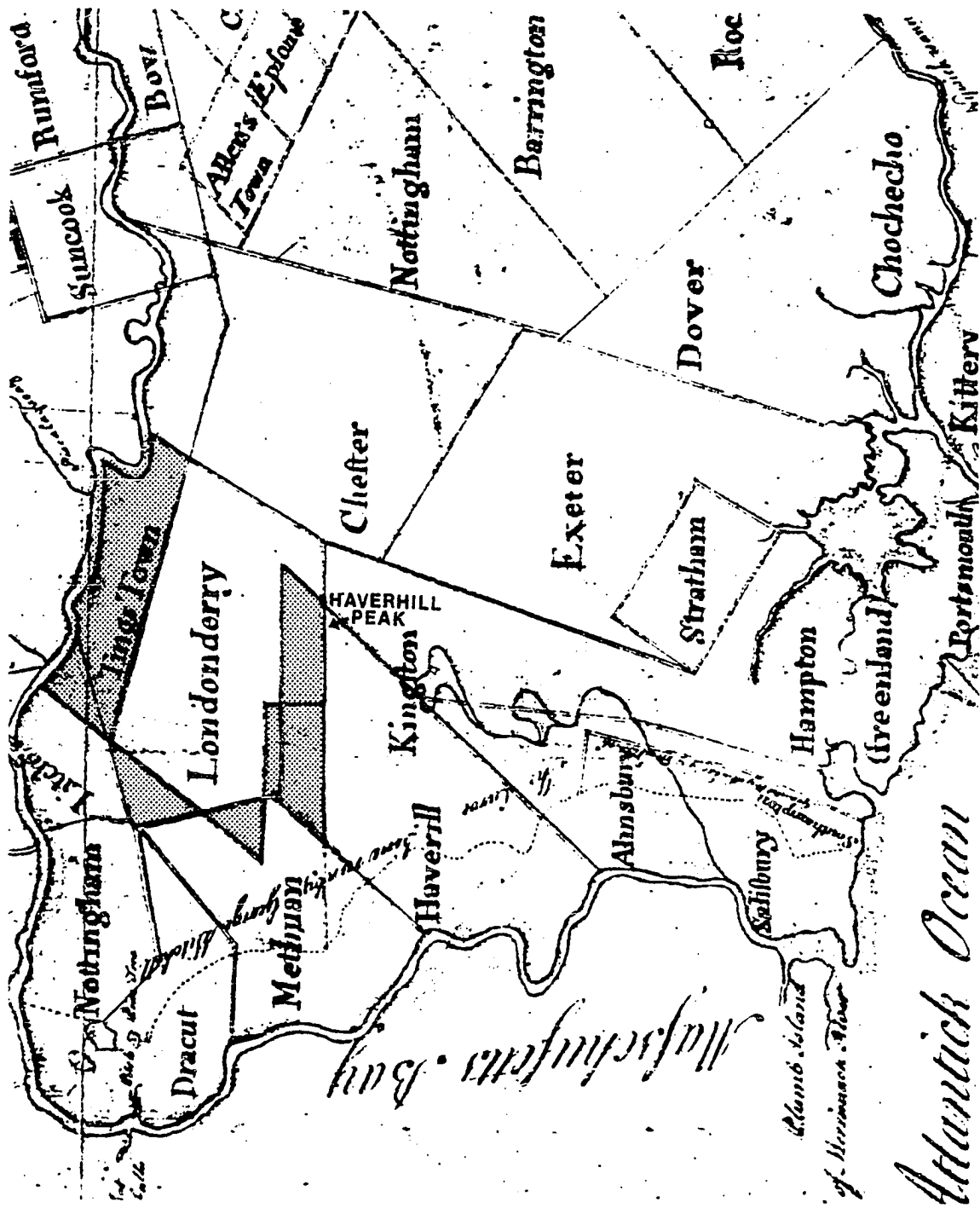
Nothing came of the house action, however, probably because the threats made by the house contained more bluster than truth. The heart of Scotch-Irish settlement in Nutfield lay approximately fourteen miles northwest of Haverhill, and a good five miles within the bounds of New Hampshire according to the most extreme Massachusetts claims in the boundary dispute.<sup>52</sup>

Clearly, the Nutfield settlers were going to find more sympathetic ears among the political leaders in Portsmouth.

In November, while the Massachusetts house was reacting unfavorably to the petition of the Scotch-Irish "trespassers" in Nutfield, James McKeen sent a letter to Lt. Gov. Wentworth complaining that he and his fellow immigrants were "much threatened with molestation and disquiet from the Massachusetts Government." Wentworth and his council responded with a letter of support. McKeen was urged to "exert the Justiciary powers which he is vested with for the supressing any disorders that might happen in their district...."<sup>53</sup>

By the summer of 1722, political leaders in both Portsmouth and Boston were beginning to grasp the complexities of the provincial boundary controversy.<sup>54</sup> Each camp mapped out strategies in what was to be provincial New England's most serious inter-provincial power struggle. At stake was the rich Merrimack Valley, the lands between the Merrimack and New York, and much of northern New Hampshire. Should New Hampshire lose, it would remain a tiny coastal province. Its bounds would be within a forty-five mile radius of the ocean, and its economic, social, and political life would never stray far from the shores of Great Bay and the Piscataqua River.

Both provinces carried their arguments to London, where the issue was finally decided in favor of New Hampshire in 1740. In the interim, however, the boundary controversy was fought at the provincial, county, and community levels. Massachusetts leaders inflamed the



George Mitchell's 1745 map of New Hampshire reveals the complexities of the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary controversy. The dotted line represents the final survey of the boundary following the 1740 boundary solution. However, the various disputes among towns continued. The shaded portions show disputed areas associated with the original Nutfield grant. Disputes were most severe in Haverhill Peak. (Courtesy of the Public Record Office, London)

controversy at the local level by supporting the old Haverhill claim of 1667; this resulted in occasional violence and expensive court battles at the Essex County courthouse in Salem. As a province, Massachusetts sponsored a string of townships throughout the disputed territory and sent settlers far north of its eventual border. On the other side, New Hampshire leaders supported the claims of Londonderry, Kingston, and Chester against Haverhill's "encroachment," while trying, less successfully, to grant townships along the Merrimack.

New Hampshire faced an obvious problem in the battle of townships, however. While its leaders eyed the rich lands of the Merrimack Valley jealously, the sparsely-populated province was not yet ready to populate the area. In 1722, after one hundred years of settlement, New Hampshire had just begun to push beyond the bounds of its original four seventeenth-century towns. Meanwhile, eastern Massachusetts was bursting at the seams. While New Hampshire could do little more than sponsor a trickle of settlers to the disputed lands, Massachusetts was opening its floodgates out of necessity.

The arrival of the Scotch-Irish, however, presented leaders in Portsmouth with a solution to their "people problem." Since New Hampshire could not generate enough settlers to move into the western lands, they would simply adopt the prolific Scotch-Irish newcomers as their own. By

1722, the adoption was formalized, and Massachusetts authorities were concerned.

Hints of this concern appear in the journal of the Massachusetts house of representatives. In June 1722, a committee to survey lands along the Merrimack from the Massachusetts town of Dunstable to Amoskeag Falls, at present Manchester, reported their findings to the Massachusetts house. The committee concluded that "there is a great deal of poor Pine Land, and a considerable Quantity of good, and sufficient for a Township, if the Irish do not Interrupt their Settlement...."<sup>55</sup> Instead of spearheading Massachusetts settlement in Maine, the Scotch-Irish were impeding Massachusetts settlement along the Merrimack.

Three years later, Massachusetts leaders made their boldest move yet in a effort to claim the Merrimack Valley, and coincidentally, stem the spread of Scotch-Irish settlement in the area. In December 1725, the house considered granting a township at "Pennycook," a particularly promising spot along the Merrimack River, Located about twenty-five miles north of Londonderry.<sup>56</sup> They tried to hurry the proceedings for fear that "others than the Inhabitants of the Province" might settle at Pennycook, "as it hapned in the Case of Nutfield."<sup>57</sup> The petitioners, most of whom were from Haverhill, were more blunt. Unless Massachusetts moved quickly to Pennycook,

"it is highly probable that a parcel of Irish people will obtain a grant from New-Hampshire for it."<sup>58</sup>

Massachusetts authorities granted the requested township, and the following May, a committee of the proprietors left Haverhill for Pennycook. They arrived at Pennycook without incident, although no sooner had they begun surveying house lots then they were confronted by a delegation representing the government of New Hampshire. The New Hampshire delegation was "attended with about half a score Irishmen, who kept at some distance...."<sup>59</sup> New Hampshire officials failed to stop Massachusetts from proceeding with their township at Pennycook. They retaliated instead by granting a New Hampshire township on top of the Massachusetts township, opening up a bitter proprietary struggle known as the "Bow Controversy."<sup>60</sup>

In December 1726, having tested the political winds with Pennycook, the Massachusetts house moved to survey and lay out townships all along the Merrimack, as well as in the lands between the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers. Some of the new townships resulted directly from petitions. Residents from Ipswich, Newbury, and Amesbury had asked for a township or townships along the Merrimack between Dunstable and Pennycook. Massachusetts authorities decided these towns had sufficient numbers to spawn a new township, if they were given proper authority, and "if the Irish People do not prevent them...."<sup>61</sup> In January 1726, a number of Massachusetts proprietors who had been granted

land near Dunstable complained that the government of New Hampshire had given the Scotch-Irish permission to settle on their lands.<sup>62</sup> That same month, the Massachusetts house was warned that "great Strip and Waste is made by divers persons on the Lands next Merrimack River, lying and being on the East side thereof...." A committee was established to investigate these "trespasses," some of which were undoubtedly the work of Scotch-Irish settlers on the western side of the Londonderry grant.<sup>63</sup>

Clearly the Scotch-Irish settlers living in and around Londonderry were perceived by Massachusetts officials to be a threat to their plans of possessing the valley of the upper Merrimack. Petitions and minutes of meetings reflect a certain urgency necessitated by the aggressiveness of the Scotch-Irish. Nor was this mere paranoia in Massachusetts. The Scotch-Irish were prolific and eventually spread from Londonderry to settle several other towns in the area. Yet while Scotch-Irish expansion along the Merrimack may have worked in favor of New Hampshire's interests in the region, there is no proof that the Scotch-Irish ever acted as agents for the government in Portsmouth. Their aggressiveness and eventual territorial expansion stemmed from internal pressures brought on by natural population growth and continued immigration from Ulster (See Chapter VI). In short, the Scotch-Irish acted in their own best interests out of necessity.

The Scotch-Irish of Londonderry took very little for granted during the messy boundary controversies. Although New Hampshire championed their cause throughout this period, at least twice during the troubles Scotch-Irish settlers made overtures to other governments for protection. One of these attempts was probably not a serious request; it was certainly not taken seriously in Boston. In March 1736, while both the provincial boundary controversy and that between Londonderry and Haverhill raged, the Scotch-Irish asked the Massachusetts house of representatives for a favor. Robert Boyes, James Robers, and Samuel Barr, in behalf of eighty other Scotch-Irish settlers, and by virtue of their skill at making linen cloth, asked to be given a township in Massachusetts. Specifically, they asked for a tract of land, six miles square, located among the strip of townships being laid out by Massachusetts between the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers. The petition was turned down unceremoniously at its first reading, although many of the petitioners soon migrated across the Merrimack to the Massachusetts town of Souhegan East, or Bedford.<sup>64</sup>

At a somewhat earlier date, however, the Scotch-Irish of Londonderry considered much more drastic action. In 1729, Londonderry and New Hampshire's boundary problems were not going well. At least two Londonderry "trespassers" were known to be in the Essex County jail in September 1729.<sup>65</sup> Town and proprietary meetings were



held in late 1729 and throughout 1730 in an effort to prepare a defense against Haverhill claims, and at least five town delegations were sent to Haverhill, Portsmouth, or Cambridge during this period to present petitions and defend the Scotch-Irish claims. It was at this time that David Dunbar arrived in Boston. He was not only going to begin his duties as Surveyor of the King's Woods, but he had also received tentative authorization to settle the Sagadahock region of Maine as the new province of Georgia.

New Hampshire's lieutenant governor John Wentworth wasted little time in getting Dunbar involved in the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary controversy. Wentworth convinced Dunbar that Massachusetts speculators violated the timber laws in lands they controlled. Should New Hampshire's views prevail in the boundary controversy, a substantial portion of the King's woods would fall under the care of John Wentworth, known to be an enforcer of timber laws (See Chapter IV). In order to better understand the problem, Dunbar visited Londonderry.

In May 1730, Dunbar reported his findings to the Board of Trade.<sup>66</sup> On the subject of the boundary controversy, Dunbar sided with New Hampshire. He also took pity on the plight of his fellow countrymen in Londonderry, who, he noted, had been forced to "put to seven hundred pounds law charges for arrests and trespasses, tho' 16 miles N. from the river." Many, if not most of the Londonderry settlers were so upset by the recent arrests that they were willing

to leave the area. As early as 1728, some of the settlers had petitioned the crown for a tract of land in Nova Scotia.<sup>67</sup> In October 1729, possibly after an initial meeting with Dunbar, 150 Scotch-Irish settlers from Londonderry petitioned Dunbar for a tract of land in Dunbar's proposed province of Georgia. Before long, other petitions followed.<sup>68</sup>

Londonderry settlers were apparently divided on this matter; some felt they had invested too much time, money, and effort in Londonderry to move to the Maine coast.<sup>69</sup> Yet a look at the petitions for land in Georgia suggests that had Georgia succeeded, much of Londonderry might have relocated in Massachusetts' "eastern parts." Petitioners included Robert Boyes, James McKeen, James Gregg, David Cargill, and John MacMurphy--the richest and most influential community leaders. Robert Boyes' future in Londonderry was so uncertain, that when a town committee was chosen in September 1729, an alternate was selected to fill in for Boyes, lest he "go to Ireland, or Remove any other part out of town...."<sup>70</sup>

The main body of settlers remained in New Hampshire, however. A few may have followed Dunbar to Georgia, but most were still in Londonderry when Dunbar's settlement of Georgia was disallowed in London.<sup>71</sup> To the Scotch-Irish of Londonderry, Georgia was an unfulfilled promise, yet one that helped to measure the level of discontent brought

about by boundary disputes with Haverhill and Massachusetts.

The settlement of the boundary controversy in 1740 gave New Hampshire more territory than it had claimed. Lawmakers in London agreed with Massachusetts authorities that the boundary should run parallel to the Merrimack, but only where the line of the river flowed in an east/west direction. At the point where the Merrimack takes a right angle turn, the boundary was to continue due west until meeting the boundary of New York. In short, Londonderry and Haverhill Peak, not to mention Pennycook, all fell into the greatly enlarged province of New Hampshire.

In retrospect, the boundary controversies of the 1720's and 1730's proved to the Scotch-Irish that given sufficient numbers, strong leadership, well-placed friends, and a little luck, it was possible to make a go of it in New England. They had not backed down when faced with apparently superior political muscle. Instead, they held their ground by using the same array of legal and illegal tactics as their rivals. Their partnership with the Wentworth and Dunbar "faction" was mutually beneficial. The Scotch-Irish settlers of Londonderry gave the tangled boundary picture a human element, one that New Hampshire leaders portrayed in touching tones when addressing officials in London. In turn, Portsmouth merchants, with the able assistance of New Hampshire agent John Thomlinson,

gave the Scotch-Irish something they could never have acquired on their own--a strong voice in London.

Yet beneath the dusty cloud of border warfare, behind the cloak of friendliness with provincial leaders in Portsmouth, lay the very real problems and potential discord associated with town settlement and growth. Londonderry's Scotch-Irish were to discover that not all of their problems lay without; they could be their own worst enemies as well.

NOTES

1. Petition of Londonderry residents, 17 March 1729/30, Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 18-19.

2. See Belknap, New-Hampshire, especially 1: 192-94, 244; 2: 198, 260-62. The most recent history of provincial New Hampshire is Jere R. Daniell's Colonial New Hampshire: A History (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981). Daniell mentions the Scotch-Irish briefly throughout the book, emphasizing their proliferation, the linen trade, and their Presbyterianism. Charles Clark, in The Eastern Frontier, 175-76, 189-90, 195-97, 206-08, 227-28, 230, and 257, makes good use of Parker's History of Londonderry. As a result, the Scotch-Irish contribution to the settlement of northern New England is given a slightly more prominent place than in Belknap.

3. Van Deventer, Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 72-75; Daniell, Colonial New Hampshire, 68-69, 77, 133-34.

4. Van Deventer, Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 75-76; Daniell, Colonial New Hampshire, 134-35; Jonathan Smith, "The Massachusetts and New Hampshire Boundary Controversy, 1693-1740," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 43 (1909-10), 77-88.

5. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 27.

6. NHSP, 2: 718.

7. The original records are now located in the New Hampshire Division of Records Management and Archives (N.H. State Archives). Quotations are taken from George Waldo Browne, ed., Early Records of Londonderry, Windham, and Derry, N.H., 1719-1762 (Manchester, N.H.: Manchester Historic Association, 1908). Hereafter Londonderry Records. This is Volume 5 of the Manchester Historic Association Collections. Quotations in this paragraph are found in Browne, Londonderry Records, 17.

8. Parker, Londonderry, 40.

9. Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 134.

10. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 193-94. It is interesting to note that in the town's own account of their settlement

at Nutfield, they do not even mention the June 1719 petition to Boston. Browne, Londonderry Records, 17-18.

11. Because the Merrimack dips southward in the vicinity of Methuen, there is a gap between the boundary line claimed by Massachusetts and that claimed by New Hampshire. Parts of Nutfield were safely within New Hampshire by either the New Hampshire or the Massachusetts interpretation of the line.

12. Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 288-89. See also, 2: 212.

13. Local histories imply that holders of the deed may have come from "Haverhill, and its vicinity," but give no source for this assumption. George Wingate Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, From Its First Settlement, in 1640, to the Year 1860 (Haverhill, Mass.: by the author, 1869), 297n; Parker, Londonderry. 58.

14. The text of the September petition may be found in Parker, Londonderry, 53-54. See also NHSP, 3: 764-65.

15. NHSP, 3: 764-65.

16. MacGregor to Samuel Shute, 27 February 1719/20, found in Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 260-62; and NHSP, 3: 770-71; Browne, Londonderry Records, 18-19.

17. The 1629 Wheelwright deed has long been regarded as a forgery, although Wheelwright did obtain a deed for much of New Hampshire in 1638. For an argument in favor of the 1629 deed, as well as a transcript of the deed, which would have been the text read by MacGregor and Graves, see Charles H. Bell, The Wheelwright Deed of 1629; Was It Spurious? (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, 1876).

18. Browne, Londonderry Records, 18-20; Parker, Londonderry, 46, 321-22.

19. MacGregor to Shute, 27 February 1719/20, in Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 260-62.

20. Haverhill was also badly divided during this period between "commoners," or proprietors, and later residents. For an account of Haverhill's problems, see Akagi, Town Proprietors, 126-29.

21. On Haverhill's boundaries and the fifth division, see Chase, Haverhill, 101-06, 254, 256.

22. The tradition is told in Parker, Londonderry, 59.

23. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 261.

24. Transcribed in full in Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 260-62; and NHSP, 3: 770-71. This letter, and particularly its reference to the "Irish," was quoted by Scotch-Irish apologists throughout the late nineteenth century. See Chapter II.

25. NHSP, 3: 777; Parker, Londonderry, 327.

26. Browne, Londonderry Records, 21-38.

27. John Goffe, Esq. (1679-1748) was English, not Scotch-Irish, although he threw in his lot with the Scotch-Irish at an early date. He is sometimes confused with his son, Col. John Goffe (1701-1781), who came to Londonderry with his father, but who later moved to nearby Bedford. The son, in turn, is frequently confused with his son, Major John Goffe (1727-1813), also of Bedford. See History of Bedford (1903), 931-938.

28. Transcripts of the charter may be found in Parker, Londonderry, 322-26; Browne, Londonderry Records, 38-43. See also NHSP, 4: 2. The town, as finally surveyed in 1742 by Walter Bryant, was anything but square. See Miscellaneous Londonderry Town Records, N.H. State Archives.

29. NHSP, 2: 738.

30. Browne, Londonderry Records, 29.

31. Massachusetts House Journal, 9: 110.

32. Henry Newman to the Board of Trade, February 1729/30. Copy in Jonathan Warner Papers, NHHS.

33. Massachusetts House Journal, 8: 14.

34. Petition of 14 August 1723, Massachusetts House Journal, 5: 116. See also the Haverhill petition of April 1729, Massachusetts House Journal, 8: 409.

35. Chase, Haverhill, 291; Massachusetts House Journal, 10: 193-94. In 1735, one Jonathan Woodbury of Methuen complained of similar encroachment. However, his claim to the land in question was based upon an unrecognized Indian deed of 1636. The house of representatives quietly and judiciously tabled the petition. Massachusetts House Journal, 13: 209.

36. Massachusetts House Journal, 8: 130.

37. See, for example, NHSP, 4: 538.

38. CSP, CS, 40: 183. The quote is from the abstract of the petition. The identity of the meetinghouse is not known. See also, petition of Samuel Graves to David Dunbar, 23 December 1736, CSP, CS, 42: 413.

39. Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 19; CSP, CS, 37: 211i.

40. See, for example, NHSP, 4: 617, 636; Massachusetts House Journal, 15: 170-71.

41. Adams to Jonathan Belcher, 26 June 1734, N.H. State Archives, Record Group III: Petitions.

42. Browne, Londonderry Records, 165.

43. NHSP, 4: 617; Petition of Samuel Barr, 25 February 1741/42, New Hampshire State Archives, Record Group III: Petitions.

44. Massachusetts House Journal, 17: 69.

45. Chase, Haverhill, 296-301. Chase concludes that the last of the various settlements came in 1759.

46. Chase, Haverhill, 296.

47. Chase, Haverhill, 299-300.

48. Chase, Haverhill, 298-300.

49. Both mention of the petition of 17 November 1720 and the above statement may be found in Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 293. Some of the erroneous information about Nutfield had been given to the house by a Captain John Gardner, who had apparently visited Nutfield prior to the Scotch-Irish petition. Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 307.

50. Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 315, 316, 321.

51. Massachusetts House Journal, 2: 318.

52. As it turned out, Nutfield's center, now the village of East Derry, is sufficiently north and east of the Merrimack to be outside of Massachusetts jurisdiction by any definition. Massachusetts authorities were not the only ones to suffer from faulty geography, however. In January 1723/24, the Scotch-Irish authorized a surveyor "to run the towns south line between us and Haverhill." Haverhill was not south of Nutfield. Browne, Londonderry Records, 48.

53. NHSP, 2: 735-36. The McKean letter was read before the council on 24 November 1720. Quotations used here are from the minutes of the council.



54. The best summary of this controversy may be found in Van Deventer, Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 72-77.

55. Massachusetts House Journal, 4: 30.

56. Pennycook later became Concord, New Hampshire. For its settlement, see Nathaniel Bouton, The History of Concord (Concord, N.H., 1856), 57-140.

57. Massachusetts House Journal, 6: 428.

58. Quoted in Jacob B. Moore, Annals of the Town of Concord (Concord, N.H.: by the author, 1824), 3. This also appears as Jacob Bailey Moore, "Historical Sketch of Concord in the County of Merrimack, N.H.," Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1 (Concord, N.H.: by the Society, 1824), 153-218.

59. Journal of John Wainwright, 14 May 1726, quoted in Moore, Annals of Concord, 9.

60. NHSP, 4: 11, 220; Akagi, Town Proprietors, 165-74. There is a local tradition that the Massachusetts proprietors of Pennycook closed their ranks to outsiders in order to keep out the Scotch-Irish. See Moore, Annals of Concord, 7.

61. Massachusetts House Journal, 7: 146-49.

62. Massachusetts House Journal, 7: 214-15.

63. Massachusetts House Journal, 8: 140.

64. Massachusetts House Journal, 13: 290. Samuel Barr became one of Bedford's leading citizens.

65. For the cases of James Wallace and William Hogg, see Browne, Londonderry Records, 100-01, 102, 109, 110, 112, 118.

66. CSP, CS, 37: 211.

67. CSP, CS, 37: 211ii.

68. CSP, CS, 37: 438i; and Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 439, where the date is incorrectly transcribed as 1 August 1729. For other petitions, see Baxter Manuscripts, 11: 23-24; and CSP, CS, 37: 211ii, 211iii.

69. CSP, CS, 37: 211.

70. Browne, Londonderry Records, 100.

71. CSP, CS, 37: 533.

## Chapter VI

### Nutfield and Londonderry:

#### The Formative Years

When the Scotch-Irish first came to Nutfield in April 1719, they entered one of His Majesty's least significant provinces. Most of New Hampshire's nine thousand inhabitants lived within a distance of twenty-five miles of the sea. The majority were farmers, although about four hundred "seafaring men" worked on the province's one hundred fishing vessels and twenty merchant vessels.<sup>1</sup> Exports included fish to Portugal and Italy, timber to the West Indies or Madeira, and occasionally some naval stores to the British Isles. Since New Hampshire manufactured virtually nothing, it imported almost anything--wine from Madeira, linen and woolen cloth from England and Ireland, salt from Portugal and Italy, and food from colonies to the south.

Politically, New Hampshire was a royal colony with an elected assembly, an appointed council, and, as a consequence of its lack of importance, a governor "shared" with Massachusetts. In fact, the governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were residents of Boston who usually made an annual trip to little New Hampshire for the sake of formality. Most executive functions were

carried on by a lieutenant governor residing in Portsmouth. This official was appointed by the crown and was, at least in theory, the governor's chief deputy in New Hampshire. Together, the lieutenant governor, council, and assembly watched over a tiny province whose boundaries were poorly defined, whose interior regions were largely unexplored, and whose existence as a separate political entity was occasionally threatened.<sup>2</sup>

Over the next twenty years, however, New Hampshire's population better than doubled. In spite of Indian troubles in the 1720's and a nagging boundary controversy with Massachusetts, New Hampshire had gained new importance in the eyes of British officials by 1740. While most inhabitants still lived within a day's walk of the provincial capital of Portsmouth, thirty-four new townships had been granted in the province's interior. Some of these had been granted by Massachusetts. A favorable settlement of the boundary question had placed these plus portions of a dozen or so other Massachusetts towns within New Hampshire. Domestic manufacturing increased dramatically over this twenty-year period, the timber economy tapped new markets, and provincial farms created a growing surplus, as seen by the increasing numbers of town stores. New Hampshire's most rapid growth took place in the "second tier" of townships granted between 1720 and 1722, and in the townships granted by Massachusetts in the Merrimack Valley after 1726. In 1741, New Hampshire's 23,000

inhabitants welcomed their very own governor to Portsmouth. To the delight of the Scotch-Irish living in the second tier town of Londonderry, the new governor was Benning Wentworth, son of former Lt. Gov. John Wentworth, an ally during the boundary problems with Haverhill and Massachusetts.

No aspect of New Hampshire's rapid growth between 1719 and the arrival of Benning Wentworth was more spectacular than the growth of Londonderry. The Scotch-Irish were aggressive and prolific. From a handful of settlers, Londonderry had become New Hampshire's second largest town. It had been divided into three parishes and it had spawned new settlement on both sides of the Merrimack. The Scotch-Irish settlers of Londonderry had distributed land; built roads, bridges, and public buildings; created a reasonably efficient town government; and usually found the means to pay the town minister and occasional school masters. Yet success had not come without problems. Aside from Londonderry's problems with its Massachusetts neighbors, it struggled internally. In time, the road to Portsmouth became well known to those taking petitions and court cases to a higher authority. By the time Benning Wentworth became governor of New Hampshire, judges and politicians at the provincial level had been called in to solve a variety of Londonderry problems.

Numbers tell part of the story of Londonderry's growth and development. Unfortunately, some of the numbers are

hard to find. Existing records are incomplete and possibly unreliable. Prior to 1767, there was no census taken of either the province or the town. Estimates can be derived from tax invoices, although these are not necessarily reliable, and they still leave the problem of deriving a population figure from a list of "taxables."<sup>3</sup> In other cases, contemporaries arrived at their own estimates of population. These estimates appear in petitions and particularly in official reports, where they served as a basis for determining the strength of the militia.<sup>4</sup> From the various sources, it is possible to appreciate Londonderry's unusually rapid growth.

Depending on the source, either sixteen or twenty families first settled at Nutfield in the spring of 1719.<sup>5</sup> They were soon joined by others, and by the time the settlers petitioned for a township in September of that year, they described their numbers as "about seventy Families & Inhabitants." They also claimed that they were about to be joined by more from Ireland, and that "many of the people of New England" were joining them as well.<sup>6</sup>

Nutfield remained unincorporated until 1722, but the lack of recognition failed to slow the community's growth. In a town petition, dated April 18, 1721, the settlers noted they were "in a Growing condition having already Exceeded the number of three hundred and sixty souls...."<sup>7</sup> The growth of the community is also reflected in church records. There were 160 communicants

attending services conducted by James MacGregor in 1723; a year later, the number was up to 230.<sup>8</sup>

As early as 1725, the general court had asked that Londonderry start paying its share of the province tax. The Scotch-Irish tried to stall the action, but in 1727, the general court prevailed. Without benefit of invoice, Londonderry was assessed for £40.<sup>9</sup> This prompted the town to elect a committee to prepare an invoice for 1728. The committee of John Goffe, Esq. and John Moor prepared Londonderry's first tax invoice in December 1727, submitting it to the general court in March 1728. The document not only contains the names and property of household heads, but the names of transients as well.<sup>10</sup>

The Londonderry tax invoice of 1728 lists 162 names of household heads, with a count of 190 polls, or taxables--defined as males, sixteen and older. Since most of Londonderry's proprietors were already living in town at incorporation, it is not surprising to find their names on the invoice of six years later. Seventy-six of the original proprietors were listed on the 1728 invoice.<sup>11</sup> That would indicate that forty-one of the town's original 117 proprietors either never became residents, or stayed in town for a very short time. However, at least ten of the "missing" proprietors were represented in the 1728 invoice by widows or sons. Considering that at least six names on the list of original proprietors were officials who had been given shares in town on a gratuitous basis, that

leaves only about twenty-five original proprietors, or 21% of the total, who are unaccounted for in December 1727. Town records indicate that most of these men lived in town about the time Londonderry was incorporated, but for various reasons, had decided to move on, leaving the remaining proprietors to cope with the problem of what to do about the "delinquent" proprietors.

The 1728 invoice reveals that Londonderry's proprietors were not only well represented among residents in town, but were wealthier as a group than the "non-commoners"--those residents who did not hold a proprietary share. The average real estate assessment in town was £2 7s. per household; among proprietors it was £3 11s., among non-commoners £1 3s. Thirty-five of the non-commoners had no real estate worth assessing; at least ten of these men were designated by the invoice as being transients or suffering from "infirmity of body." Most of these transients were "strangers that come in to this town to inhabit the last fall from Ireland." The voters of Londonderry decided to excuse them temporarily from having to pay a town tax.<sup>12</sup>

On the surface, the 1728 tax inventory appears to be a reliable document. Yet five months after taking the inventory, Goffe and Moor sent a letter to the house of representatives which casts doubts upon their efforts of the previous December.<sup>13</sup> After talking with people from other towns, Goffe and Moor realized that they had probably



"set to high a valuation upon our estates." In addition, Goffe and Moor claimed that "a considerable number" of the families listed in the 1728 inventory no longer lived in town. This last point was almost certainly true. That same year, when household heads were asked to sign a routine oath in support of the crown, only 135 Londonderry signatures appeared on the document.<sup>14</sup> Because of their errors, Goffe and Moor asked that Londonderry "not be raised above the real value according to what other towns are raised in the province...."

Their plea probably went unheard, for based upon the return of town inventories, Londonderry was asked to pay a bigger share of the provincial tax than the older towns of Rye, New Castle, Stratham, and Newington. Londonderry's share of the provincial tax was not only higher than that of neighboring Kingston, but the other second tier towns of Rochester, Nottingham, Barrington, and Chester were excused from paying a tax altogether.<sup>15</sup> Put another way, Londonderry was asked to pay 6.8% of New Hampshire's province tax. Since the 1728 inventories from other towns have not survived, and no tally for the province is known to exist, it is impossible to say for sure if this is too high. Yet estimates put New Hampshire's population at approximately ten thousand.<sup>16</sup> Even if Londonderry's 162 household heads were assumed to represent families of four people (the ratio of total population to taxables would actually be less than four-to-one in a frontier community

containing a number of transients), Londonderry's population would be 648, or roughly 6.5% of the population of New Hampshire. The town's portion of the tax should have been less, not more, than this figure. After all, Londonderry's farms were all less than ten year old, and the town's Scotch-Irish farmers were only beginning to acquire livestock. Since assessed value of farms was based upon improved acreage, income, and numbers of livestock, Londonderry's farms would have been relatively poor. In short, Goffe and Moor were justified in the fears. Their honesty, or perhaps misunderstanding, meant that Londonderry was asked to pay a disproportionate share of the province tax in 1728.

In order to accommodate the rapidly growing population, the original proprietors of Londonderry had to survey and distribute the land in a way that pleased everyone. That proved to be virtually impossible. At least two divisions of land, as well as a survey and allotment of meadows took place before Londonderry was incorporated. In theory, each early settler would be a proprietor and would receive a sixty-acre house lot, a piece of available meadow land, and equal rights in regard to common and undivided lands. Should anyone receive a very poor piece of land, the town committee might give them another, "equivalent" piece of land. Additional lands were given to the first twenty settlers, to residents who had performed services as "agents" of the town, to political

leaders in Portsmouth, and to those who would build sawmills and gristmills. In all, the proprietors made at least four general divisions of land in Londonderry, although when the proprietors voted to make the fourth division of thirty-acre lots in 1733, they were not sure if there was enough common land available to give each proprietor his fair share.<sup>17</sup>

In all, a proprietor could expect to receive approximately 180 acres of land through the four divisions, and this would not include a couple of small grants of meadow land. Proprietors were expected to improve each of these pieces of property. In the case of those second division lands located in the disputed Haverhill Peak, proprietors were instructed to have an actual homestead on their lots to serve as a deterrent to "encroachers" from Haverhill. Proprietors were also encouraged to be aggressive about harvesting hay in their meadowlands in order to discourage farmers from Dunstable and Haverhill from taking the much-needed crop. Since it was impossible for proprietors to take care of all of their various scattered lots and meadows, they began selling or leasing some of their lots almost as soon as they got them. Town leaders favored these sales and leases. Scotch-Irish immigrants of good standing arrived in Londonderry during the years of early settlement in search of good farm land. Upon purchasing land from one of the original proprietors, they joined the growing ranks of non-commoners in town.<sup>18</sup>

The geographic distribution of Londonderry's lots is complex, to say the least. By 1738, if not earlier, Londonderry had been divided into a number of recognized "ranges," which did not always bear much resemblance to recognized neighborhoods or "quarters" of town.<sup>19</sup> The first twenty families in town laid out their sixty-acre lots in "Double Range." The individual lots were roughly thirty rods wide and 320 rods long, and they ran both north and south from the banks of an inconsequential little stream appropriately named West-Running Brook--immortalized two centuries later by Robert Frost:

Fred, where is north?

North? North is here my love.

The brook runs west.

West-Running Brook then call it.

(West-Running Brook men call it to this day.)<sup>20</sup>

It is quite possible that the first settlers thought the Double Range to be somewhere near the geographic center of the poorly-defined township of Nutfield. They built their meetinghouse at the northern end of one of the lots. It is also quite possible that the particular configuration of lots was for the purpose of creating a village, or in the words of town historian Edward Parker, for "the advantage of near neighborhood."<sup>21</sup> Yet the Double Range is curious because the house lots fronted an unnavigable stream rather than a road--the more common New England practice. The choice was not a particularly happy one either, for in order to connect the various house lots, the

settlers were forced to build two roads, one along each side of West-Running Brook.

Shortly after surveying the Double Range, the first settlers began surveying additional lots. The town records refer to "one hundred and five lotts" as early as December 1719, and proprietors records describe a number of lots being granted in 1720. These sixty-acre lots constituted the first division. In the summer of 1721, the settlers began to make their controversial second division. These lots, averaging forty or fifty acres each, were made throughout town, but many were made in the northeastern part of town in Haverhill Peak.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the first settlers, who sometimes styled themselves proprietors, had laid out two divisions of meadows. By the time Londonderry was incorporated, a variety of ranges were already on the map, including the Double Range near the meetinghouse (2,000 acres); the English Range near Beaver Pond (1,300 acres); Aikens Range, located northwest of the Double Range (500 acres); Eayers Range, abutting Aikens Range on the west (650 acres); and the Three Quarter Mile Range, located in Haverhill Peak (700 acres). In addition, dozens of other lots, usually totalling forty to sixty acres in size, had been laid out around town. Although land transactions are poorly recorded throughout the town records, it appears that well over six thousand acres of land had been distributed to the proprietors before they became officially recognized as such in the charter of June 1722.

Much of this land, including the rest of the second division, was given out just three months prior to incorporation.

The outcome of Londonderry's rapid land distribution was a town that lacked any kind of center or plan.<sup>23</sup> Most of the lots given out at first were located in the eastern half of town. The meetinghouse was well positioned to serve this "older" portion of town. Yet by the 1730's, the center of population began to shift toward the Merrimack as land in the western part of town was distributed and settled. Some of the leading proprietors took up residence west of the traditional east/west dividing line, Beaver Brook, and in time, they joined with proprietors and non-commoners living near the Merrimack to ask for a meetinghouse of their own.

The distribution of land in Londonderry had social and political implications as well. The first of many disputes over land came in 1720. When the town committee voted to give extra lots of land to the original twenty settlers, a majority of voters at the next town meeting "manifested their Displeasure" by voting the committee out of office and appealing their case to the general court in Portsmouth.<sup>24</sup> Instead, the matter was apparently settled by John Wentworth when he visited Nutfield three months later.

Over the next two years, the proprietors began to break down into two opposing camps. The majority party was

led by James Gregg, surveyor David Cargill, James McKeen, John McMurphy, Alexander Todd, and Robert Boyes. They almost certainly had the blessing of McKeen's brother-in-law, the Reverend James MacGregor. The minority party was led by John Goffe, Samuel Graves, Robert Wear, John Barr, and William Humphrey. When the minority party apparently took over a town meeting in July 1722, they had James Gregg dismissed as a selectman and appointed some of their own members to be a committee to lay out new lots. The majority party recovered, and clerk John McMurphy simply noted in the town records that the meeting of July 9 was "wholey void."<sup>25</sup>

In 1727, thirty-one Londonderry proprietors lodged a formal complaint against the committee responsible for laying out the town's second division. According to the complaint, the committee had exceeded its authority by granting "very great tracts of lands to themselves Contrary to the minds of the town and to their benefit."<sup>26</sup> The minority group next petitioned the lieutenant governor and general court, saying that the irregular and arbitrary proceedings of the majority group of proprietors was resulting in chaos in Londonderry: "so a proprietor that this Day had a part Interest thro out the whole town, tomorrow has not half the Interest & the next Day regains his said Rights & Interest & the day following is stript of the same & all this done without any act of his own but a majority Vote Pretended...."<sup>27</sup> The petition was followed

a year later by a similar petition from the minority faction of proprietors. They claimed that "the Major part of said Proprietors [had] taken their choice of the land and also Voted to themselves Large Tracts for Amendments and past severall other Votes to the prejudice of the rest."<sup>28</sup> There was apparent merit to their petition, for the majority of proprietors agreed to grant the twelve petitioners almost six hundred acres of land.<sup>29</sup> The strength of these complaints almost brought town government to a standstill in 1727. Bitter protest continued; in a meeting held in May 1728, no less than four official complaints concerning land policy were recorded in the town records.<sup>30</sup>

One of the unfortunate consequences of these early difficulties was the loss of some of Londonderry's most promising community leaders. The two leading English proprietors of Londonderry almost certainly became disenchanted with the bickering. Samuel Graves, a native of Andover, had been one of the town's first twenty settlers; he had gone to Maine with James MacGregor to purchase Nutfield from John Wheelwright; and he had built the first sawmill in town. He served on the first town committee in 1719, was a regular choice for selectman through 1727, and according to the 1728 tax inventory, was one of the ten wealthiest men in town that year. Yet Graves was a member of the minority faction of town proprietors, and according to his own petition to the New



Hampshire general court, he was both a proprietor and resident of neighboring Kingston by 1731, living in the western part of town (present Hampstead). In that year, and again in 1734, he petitioned the general court for relief from Haverhill authorities who claimed that Kingston's western portions were part of Haverhill Peak.<sup>31</sup> The move to Kingston, a town settled by Hampton, New Hampshire, people, is significant in Graves' case. His wife, a Hampton woman by birth and upbringing, would have been among friends and neighbors in Kingston--and away from the fractious Scotch-Irish of Londonderry. Between 1734 and 1740, Grave seems to have returned, at least on a part-time basis, to Londonderry. Following the conclusion of the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary controversy, Graves petitioned the general court from Londonderry, asking for "a Tract of land or other allowance for his great Expence & Imprisonment occasioned by the Controversy between the Provinces."<sup>32</sup> He never again assumed his former position in Londonderry town politics, however, and in 1742, he left Londonderry, sold his Kingston homestead, and moved to Haverhill, where he died in 1747.<sup>33</sup>

The loss of the services of John Goffe, Esq. was an even greater blow to Londonderry. Both John Goffe, Esq. and John Goffe, Jr. were original proprietors of Londonderry. The father, sometimes styled "Squire," came to Nutfield with the first Scotch-Irish settlers in 1719.<sup>34</sup> He became the first town clerk that year and was

elected to the first town committee. Throughout the 1720's, he held a number of positions in town and was elected to represent Londonderry in the legislature.

In the meantime, Goffe's son and son-in-law, Benjamin Kidder--also a proprietor of Londonderry--along with another son-in-law, Edward Lingfield, began to clear land near the mouth of Cohas Brook, just beyond the bounds of Londonderry. The three young men all survived Capt. John Lovewell's ill-fated expedition against the Eastern Indians in 1725, and shortly thereafter, Kidder and Lingfield moved permanently to "Cohas." They were soon to be followed by the two John Goffes--first the son, then the father.<sup>35</sup>

Like Samuel Graves, John Goffe, Esq. had fallen into the minority faction of proprietors by the mid-1720's. His opposition to the majority of proprietors does not seem to have immediately diminished his social standing in the community. He represented the town in the general court in 1729; that same year he went to the superior court in Salem to defend two Londonderry farmers against charges made by Haverhill proprietors.<sup>36</sup> Yet Goffe had apparently always been dissatisfied with his home lot in Londonderry. The town had given him additional land because of his early efforts to win incorporation, but this land was as bad if not worse than his home lot, being located in the "most barren part" of town, and in 1728, the general court forced Londonderry officials to give Goffe and three others lands

"of a Middling quality (ie) Neither of the best or worst but midway between both."<sup>37</sup>

Goffe encountered more serious problems with the majority of proprietors in 1730, when his son tried to recover a piece of land in town that he claimed had been granted to him some time before. The proprietors express ignorance of any such grant. However, when they checked the town records, they apparently found the grant--written in the hand of John Goffe, Esq. when the father was serving as town clerk. At a March 1731 town meeting, a committee was chosen "to prosecute Captain John Goffe for Recording land to himself when he was Town Clerk that he ought not to have done...."<sup>38</sup> Specifically, the proprietors accused Goffe of granting lands to his son in an unauthorized manner. John Goffe, Sr., disgusted with both the poor quality of his Londonderry farm and the attitude of his fellow proprietors, left town and spent the remainder of his life living with family members along Cohas Brook. The proprietors gave up on the father. Instead, they decided to make no further grants of land to John Goffe, Jr., in spite of his proprietary status.

The younger John Goffe decided to take the proprietors to court. The case dragged on for over six years, and before it was settled, the inferior court of common pleas, the superior court, the governor and council, and the house of representatives had all gotten into the act. After several twists and turns, including the loss of certain

vital documents in a fire, the courts decided in favor of John Goffe, Jr. In 1738, the proprietors agreed to set aside a lot for Goffe, although by that time, Goffe's interests were in Souhegan East, on the western side of the Merrimack, while the proprietors were facing the possible loss of the entire western half of town in a move to set up a new parish.<sup>39</sup>

There were two lasting results of the difficulties between the Goffes and the proprietors. First, the town lost the services of two of its most enterprising proprietors. Second, beginning in 1732, the town decided to elect a committee each year for the sole purpose of defending the town proprietors against lawsuits.<sup>40</sup>

Of course there was more to Londonderry's development than the crucial matter of distributing land. The town's economy also depended upon the construction of sawmills, gristmills, highways, and bridges. The settlers had not been in Nutfield more than two months when they contracted with four of their number--Samuel Graves, Robert Boyes, Joseph Simonds, and James Gregg--to build a sawmill on Beaver Brook. In addition, James Gregg had full privileges on the stream to build a grist mill. Early in 1721, the town responded to a petition by six proprietors wanting to build another sawmill on Aiken's Brook, which, its name notwithstanding, runs through the Eayers Range, not the Aikens Range. The town committee, recognizing that it was "to the publick good of this town to have more sawmills,"

granted the right to what became known as Wilson's Mill, located a little over two miles west of the town's first sawmill.<sup>41</sup> By 1728, if not earlier, David Cargill, a town proprietor, had built a fulling mill in the northeastern corner of town; two years later the town put the rights to Cohas Brook, located in the northwestern corner of town, up for bid.<sup>42</sup> A number of other unidentified sawmills and gristmills are mentioned in various contemporary documents, although little is known of any of the town's mills. As seen in one case, however, it is clear that Londonderry's proprietors sometimes placed protective provisions upon mills when granting sites. When Benjamin Wilson was given permission by the proprietors to build a grist mill in 1730, he had to agree to "not detain any proprietor that Comes to said mill any Longer than the Corn that is or may be in the Hopper at the proprietors Entering the mill is Ground out...."<sup>43</sup>

One of the consequences of Londonderry's rapidly growing and widely dispersed population was the need for an intricate system of roads and bridges throughout town. In recognition of this fact, Lt. Gov. Wentworth authorized the still unrecognized settlement of Nutfield in 1720 to lay out "highways" of a least four rods width.<sup>44</sup>

At first, road authorization, layout, and maintenance was handled at the town level and discussed at town meeting. As the town grew, however, the road network was divided by neighborhood. "Highways" supplanted land

distribution as the crucial issue in town politics. The town elected only six surveyors of the highways in 1722; in 1742, Londonderry elected eight surveyors for the roads east of Beaver Brook and eleven surveyors for the western part of town.<sup>45</sup> For the first twenty years or so of settlement, the town policy on highways was to reimburse landowners for lands taken away by a new town road. The town would also pay all or some of the costs of fencing the new road. However, by 1740, this was getting too expensive. The town decided to pay for no more fences, and farmers whose land was crossed by a new road would be reimbursed in rare cases only.<sup>46</sup>

As early as 1726, Londonderry's Scotch-Irish settlers officially recognized the need to reach markets in other towns. A committee was chosen that year to link Londonderry's existing road system to that of its neighbors, although the town's primary concern, as stated in its town records, was to run good roads to markets in Massachusetts. It was particularly important to have a good highway "from our settlement to Boston by the majority of our town...." In addition, the town signed ten-year contracts with two men in 1738 to "keep up two Good sofisiant Bridges" over Cohas Brook so that roads to Amoskeag Falls would remain open.<sup>47</sup> According to tradition, the main highway between the meetinghouse and Amoskeag Falls was located by a rather ingenious method. The Scotch-Irish built a huge bonfire at the falls, and

sighting the smoke from the general vicinity of the meetinghouse, they began to lay out a road.<sup>48</sup>

The fishing grounds at Amoskeag were of vital concern to the Scotch-Irish. It was not only important to build good roads to the falls, but the selectman were authorized by the town in 1723 "to take what methods they shall think fit for the securing the fishery at ameskeeg." The selectmen's methods have gone unrecorded, although the proprietors of neighboring Chester complained in 1726 that the Scotch-Irish had "artfully contrived" to interpret Londonderry's charter to include the falls.<sup>49</sup>

The residents of Chester had another reason to complain about their Scotch-Irish neighbors. While Londonderry's road network helped to make it easy to travel between Amokeag Falls and Boston, there were few good roads running to Chester. Since Chester offered Londonderry little in the way of markets, Londonderry made no effort to run good highways to its northern neighbor.<sup>50</sup> In 1742, the selectmen of Chester petitioned the governor and council for a highway to Londonderry, saying that "there has Never been a Road Opened between the Body of the Town of Chester and Londonderry." The house of representatives eventually sent a committee to view the situation. To Chester's chagrin, the committee determined that existing town roads were sufficient for travel between the two towns.<sup>51</sup> Yet a provincial road system based upon economic factors alone could work against the Scotch-Irish

as well. While Londonderry's markets may have been in Massachusetts, its center of government was in a different direction. As early as 1736, one of the Scotch-Irish selected to serve jury duty in Portsmouth complained of the lack of good roads between Londonderry and the seacoast area, and particularly between Chester and Kingston.<sup>52</sup>

Naturally the same road system that enabled Londonderry's Scotch-Irish farmers to reach markets in other towns could be used to bring outsiders into Londonderry--where it was hoped they would spend money. Some of those coming to Londonderry from surrounding communities came for the express purpose of buying things at the Londonderry fair. Londonderry's 1722 charter specifically authorized semi-annual fairs in October and May. The town decided to hold its fairs and weekly markets at the meetinghouse.<sup>53</sup>

Little is known about the early fairs. They attracted people from surrounding towns as well as merchants from Haverhill, Salem, and Boston. The grounds around the meetinghouse were covered with tents and pens, and one might expect to find anything from imported manufactured goods to local livestock for sale.<sup>54</sup> As the center of Londonderry's population began to shift westward, there was talk of moving the site of the fair to a more central location in town. However, the majority of voters in town decided to keep the fair at its original site in 1731 and again in 1741.<sup>55</sup>



On a more regular basis, travelers stopped at Londonderry's various taverns and "tipling houses." While this brought in needed revenue, it caused problems as well. The town tried to discourage the proliferation of taverns, and in a 1731 town meeting, it was decided to give the tythingmen badges so they might "surpress the Disorder that might hapen at Tavern, or Tipling Houses." Again in 1751 the town tried to do something about "amultiplicity of taverns" in Londonderry.<sup>56</sup> Finally, in 1758, the town petitioned provincial authorities for help, saying that the community's taverns had become "a Snare to the Youth, & of Evil Tendency, to every Age of Injudicious persons, & if they are All Continued (or which is worse Increased) we fear they will More & More Debase, & Debauch, the Manners & Morals of All such person as Abovesaid."<sup>57</sup> The Londonderry petition proved to be too effective. When the general court licensed only three Londonderry taverns later that year, the town was forced to petition the general court "to have three taverns More...."<sup>58</sup>

Londonderry's concern for the morals of its citizens went well beyond diatribes against taverns and "tipling houses." From the outset, the Scotch-Irish had been committed to the moral and intellectual welfare of the community. As with other New Hampshire towns, settling a worthy minister and building a meetinghouse came first. Schools and schoolmasters came second--town funds permitting.

The Scotch-Irish who migrated to Nutfield wasted no time in finding a town minister. The Reverend James MacGregor, who had been pastor to some of the town's first settlers in Ireland, delivered a sermon to the early arrivals in April 1719. He returned to Dracut, where he had spend the previous winter, and shortly thereafter received a formal call to join the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield. He and his family moved to Nutfield in May. Since he had been ordained previously, and since there was no presbytery in New England to perform a formal installation, MacGregor simply began his ministerial duties at Nutfield with an opening sermon.<sup>59</sup> Each settler agreed to pay twenty shillings per lot toward the minister's salary and to give one day's work to help the minister and his family get settled. This was more than an idle promise; the town came down swiftly on those who were slow to pay their share of the ministerial tax. For the minister's comfort, the town built the first two-story residence in town.<sup>60</sup>

The settlers of Nutfield were almost as quick when it came to building a meetinghouse. At a town meeting on June 1, 1720, it was decided to build a meetinghouse near the center of settlement. By the end of the month, the town had selected a spot near James MacGregor's house lot. In January 1720/21, voters decided to build a meetinghouse fifty by forty-five feet, and high enough "for one set of Galeryes."<sup>61</sup> Not much is known about the first

meetinghouse. It took about a year to build the frame, although town records indicate that finishing touches, and particularly the interior seating, was much slower in coming. The pulpit was on the north side of the church; the town cut windows on either side of the pulpit in 1728. As for the gallery, the original stairway leading to these seats was located outside the building. The town brought them inside in 1728 at the same time they cut new windows. The main entrance to the meetinghouse was on the south side of the building, opposite the pulpit. There was thought of putting two doors on the south side in 1731, but the town decided instead to put iron latches on the various doors and to install a good lock on the south door.<sup>62</sup>

Londonderry's methods for funding the construction of the meetinghouse and supporting the town minister were not typical. While the proprietors of other eighteenth-century New Hampshire towns were legally responsible for building meetinghouses, few actually did. Most New Hampshire meetinghouses were built by the actual residents of a town, who counted themselves lucky if they got much help from absentee proprietors. Not so in Londonderry. The construction of the meetinghouse was handled entirely by the proprietors. Aside from a generous gift by John Wentworth and "the Gentlemen at the bank," the proprietors raised all of the funds for the construction of the meetinghouse. The provision in Londonderry's charter that a meetinghouse be built "within four years" was hardly

necessary; the proprietors had completed the building's exterior by 1722.<sup>63</sup>

Subsequent decisions about repairs and alterations to the meetinghouse were made at town meetings. Yet these town meetings were controlled by the proprietors during Londonderry's formative years--non-commoners were a small minority who held none of Londonderry's important town offices.

The funds used for building repairs and the minister's salary came from the annual rent paid for seats in the meetinghouse. Once built, these seats were drawn by lot by the various proprietors. The proprietors were at their worst on this score. They could not arrive at either a satisfactory seating plan or a fair way of drawing lots. The result was the James McKeen was sent to Portsmouth in 1729 "to have the method agreed upon by our proprietors with Respect to our Seats in our meetinghouse Confirm'd...."<sup>64</sup> By town law, the annual rent for a meetinghouse seat was not to exceed thirty shillings. In 1730, the proprietors decided to build more seats in the meetinghouse. These would not be drawn by lot, however. They would be sold "by Cant to the Highest Bidder." The general public was invited to participate.<sup>65</sup>

While Londonderry may have been successful in caring for souls, it had a rather spotty record in nurturing young minds. Efforts to build schools and pay teachers were uneven and not very successful. There was apparently no

mention of schools in town until 1724, when the town decided to build a log schoolhouse, twelve by sixteen feet. A year later, the town got even more ambitious, agreeing to hold school in "each quarter" of the town.<sup>66</sup> When it comes to schools, however, town records are not particularly reliable. Taken at face value, town records indicate that dozens of schools were built in Londonderry during the town's first two decades. However, there is no evidence that any of these schools were actually built.

Until roughly 1732, Londonderry tried a variety of methods for keeping schools open to everyone's satisfaction. During many of these years, a schoolmaster named John Harvey ran a seasonal school at the meetinghouse, and apparently held school in other parts of town when time permitted.<sup>67</sup> Yet provincial law dictated that towns in New Hampshire also pay in proportion to their rates to support a grammar school in Portsmouth. Because of the "Infancy of the Town," Londonderry was excused from paying this rate in 1732 and again in 1733, as long as the town maintained two "writing and Reading" schools.<sup>68</sup> Londonderry responded in two ways. First, when negotiating with the Reverend Matthew Clark to be James MacGregor's replacement, the ministerial committee asked him to be both town minister and master of a town grammar school. He apparently tutored some Londonderry youths over the next few years.<sup>69</sup> The town also responded to the provincial request by establishing two regular schools--one at the

meetinghouse and one west of Beaver Brook. Only forty pounds toward the support of these two schools would come from the town treasury; the rest would be "paid & Rais'd by the Schoolers that Shall be taught at said Schools."<sup>70</sup> In 1735, Londonderry switched over to three schools, with the districts corresponding roughly to the eventual parishes of the town.

By roughly 1731 or 1732, Londonderry was a clearly established town in New Hampshire, on paper and reality. When James MacGregor died in 1729, there were 375 full members in his Presbyterian church.<sup>71</sup> Governor Belcher reported in 1731 that New Hampshire's total population had grown by four thousand over the past ten years, and that approximately one thousand of the new residents were from Ireland.<sup>72</sup> The town's proprietors and early residents had been one and the same, and they had distributed land, started farms, and established their town church with almost unbelievable speed. The proprietors had been aggressive and unified in defending their claims against the "encroachers" from Haverhill. They had been divided and contentious in solving many of their own problems at home. Although most of their quarrels had been either settled internally or with a little help from Portsmouth, some lingered on, only to be rekindled by divisive issues in the 1730's and 1740's. While virtually all of the Scotch-Irish proprietors weathered the factiousness of Londonderry life in the 1720's, the same could not be said

for many of the town's English proprietors. Perhaps the latter felt that they had more mobility in "Puritan" New England than the "Irish." In any event, some of Londonderry's English proprietors either drifted away or shied away from public life, only to resurface in the troubled times ahead.

NOTES

1. Council of Trade and Plantations to the King, 8 September 1721, CSP, CS, 32: 656.
2. In 1731 there was some talk of a union of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, although Gov. Belcher, in a letter to Richard Waldron, wrote, "I am afraid the Irish party wou'd oppose it manibus pedibusq." MHS Collections, 56: 7, 10.
3. For some of the problems associated with censuses and tax invoices, see Russell R. Menard, "Five Maryland Censuses, 1700 to 1712: A Note on the Quality of the Quantities," The William and Mary Quarterly, 37 (October 1980): 616-626.
4. For a summary of population estimates of provincial New Hampshire, see Greene and Harrington, American Population, 70-73.
5. Parker, Londonderry, 44, gives the names of sixteen household heads, but George Waldo Browne, ed., Early Records of Londonderry, Windham, and Derry, N.H., 1719-1745 (Manchester, N.H.: Manchester Historic Association, 1911), vi, gives twenty names based upon names given in the original town records. (Hereafter, Browne, Londonderry Proprietary) See also, Browne, Londonderry Records, 11,22.
6. NHSP, 9: 480.
7. NHSP, 9: 481; and Browne, Londonderry Records, 381.
8. Parker, Londonderry, 131.
9. NHSP, 4: 172-73, 208, 209, 244-46; Browne, Londonderry Records, 63.
10. The inventory is located in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group IV (Secretary of State), Inventories: Londonderry. John Wallace was also a member of the committee, but his signature does not appear on the document. Browne, Londonderry Records, 64.
11. Lists of Londonderry proprietors may be found in Parker, Londonderry, 325-26; Browne, Londonderry Records, 41-43; NHSP, 9: 484-85.



12. Brown, Londonderry Records, 75-76.
13. The letter is dated 20 May 1728 and is located in the N.H. State Archives with the 1728 tax inventory.
14. NHSP, 9: 489-91.
15. NHSP, 4: 306.
16. Greene and Harrington, American Population, 71; Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), 756.
17. Browne, Londonderry Records, 137, 147.
18. Town land policy is scattered throughout Browne, Londonderry Records. The actual grants may be found in Browne, Londonderry Proprietary. Actually, the town and proprietary records were kept together. The original records, once located at the New Hampshire Historical Society, are now located at the N.H. State Archives. A convenient summary of lands given to the various proprietors may be found in the N.H. State Archives: Court Records: John Goffe, Jr. v. Proprietors of Londonderry (#21140).
19. See named ranges in Browne, Londonderry Records, 201. The most thorough study of Londonderry's various ranges was done by Jesse G. McMurphy near the end of the nineteenth century. Many of his manuscripts and transcriptions are in bound volumes and found with the Londonderry town records in the N.H. State Archives. See also his material in George F. Willey, comp., Willey's Book of Nutfield (Derry Depot, N.H.: George F. Willey, 1895), 7-12, 59-63, 93-97, 159-64, 213-17, 233-37, 253-55, 323-24, 347-50, 360-62, 391-92. Some of this material also appears in Browne, Londonderry Proprietary, v-xxxvi.
20. Robert Frost, "West-Running Brook," in Edward Connery Lathem, ed., The Poetry of Robert Frost (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 257.
21. Parker, Londonderry, 44.
22. Browne, Londonderry Records, 22-23, 31-32, 36.
23. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 263-64, says that dispersed settlement was common in Scotch-Irish towns throughout the American colonies.
24. Browne, Londonderry Records, 21-24.
25. Browne, Londonderry Records, 44.

26. Browne, Londonderry Records, 64-66.
27. NHSP, 9: 486-88.
28. NHSP, 9: 491. See also the petition on pp. 492-93.
29. NHSP, 4: 299-300.
30. Browne, Londonderry Records, 66, 82.
31. NHSP, 4: 592, 675. The petition of 1731 may be found in NHSP, 12: 333-34. Graves claimed he had spent seventeen weeks in the Ipswich jail.
32. NHSP, 5: 608.
33. Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire (Portland, Me.: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1929-39), 283; NHSP, 33: 500.
34. Good accounts of Goffe may be found in Clark, Eastern Frontier, Second Edition, 235-37; Potter, Manchester, 178-80; History of Bedford (1903), 932-33, 935; William Howard Brown, Colonel John Goffe: Eighteenth Century New Hampshire (Manchester, N.H.: Lew A. Cummings, 1950), 21-26; Gordon Woodbury, "Col. John Goffe," Manchester Historic Association Collections, Vol. 1 (Manchester, N.H.: Manchester Historic Association, 1899), 243-48.
35. It is impossible to say when these men moved to "Cohas." Their presence or absence from Londonderry tax inventories means nothing, since town authorities were confused as to whether the Cohas Brook settlement was within town lines or not.
36. Browne, Londonderry Records, 100, 102.
37. NHSP, 12: 431.
38. Browne, Londonderry Records, 113-14, 126.
39. The files of John Goffe, Jr. v. Proprietors of Londonderry are in the N.H. State Archives: Court Records (#21140). See also the petition of John McMurphy to the governor and general court, 1736, in N.H. State Archives, Record Group III (General Court Records), Petitions; Browne, Londonderry Records, 129-30, 131-33, 197-98, 202-06; NHSP, 4: 690, 725-26. The best secondary account of the case is Brown, John Goffe, 26-28. Additional documentation may be found among the deeds in the John Goffe Papers, NHHS.
40. Browne, Londonderry Records, 137.

41. Browne, Londonderry Records, 18, 22-23, 25-26.
42. Browne, Londonderry Records, 88, 114, 174, 181.
43. Browne, Londonderry Records, 113.
44. Browne, Londonderry Records, 25. Many of Londonderry's early highway records may be found in Volume 5 of the manuscript town records located in the N.H. State Archives.
45. Browne, Londonderry Records, 37, 129, 227, 249.
46. Browne, Londonderry Records, 231-32.
47. Browne, Londonderry Records, 59, 85, 133, 212.
48. Chase, Chester, 201.
49. Browne, Londonderry Records, 47; Chase, Chester, 62-63.
50. One road built in 1738 between Chester and Londonderry was only half the standard road width. NHSP, 12: 440-41.
51. See two Chester petitions in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group III (General Court Records), Petitions. Also, NHSP, 5: 172, 195, 210-11; 9: 103-04; 12: 443-44.
52. Chase, Chester, 193.
53. Browne, Londonderry Records, 40-46.
54. Parker, Londonderry, 62.
55. Browne, Londonderry Records, 127, 242.
56. Browne, Londonderry Records, 109, 138, 301.
57. NHSP, 12: 444-45.
58. NHSP, 6: 686; Browne, Londonderry Records, 350.
59. Parker, Londonderry, 39-42.
60. Browne, Londonderry Records, 18, 32; Parker, Londonderry, 88.
61. Browne, Londonderry Records, 23, 25; Parker, Londonderry, 81. This meetinghouse was eventually torn down in 1769 and replaced by the present East Derry church.

62. Browne, Londonderry Records, 66, 68, 84, 86, 90-91, 96, 103, 127-28.
63. Parker, Londonderry, 82; Browne, Londonderry Records, 33, 34, 40, 106.
64. Browne, Londonderry Records, 90-91, 96, 103, 104, 106, 107.
65. Browne, Londonderry Records, 90-91, 107.
66. Browne, Londonderry Records, 52, 55.
67. Browne, Londonderry Records, 62, 63, 76, 95.
68. NHSP, 4: 268, 391.
69. Parker, Londonderry, 137.
70. Browne, Londonderry Records, 100, 139.
71. Parker, Londonderry, 136.
72. Belcher to the Board of Trade, 25, March 1731, CSP, CS, 38: 87. Belcher gives no source for this statement.

## Chapter VII

### Londonderry:

#### The Proprietary Town

From the beginning, Londonderry had been a proprietors' town. Its early town leaders had all been proprietors. Its early town meetings were indistinguishable from proprietors' meetings, and its early political factions had been two opposing groups of proprietors whose bone of contention was land distribution policy--a traditional proprietary matter. Town roads, town bridges, town schools, and the town meetinghouse were the concern of committees of proprietors. Throughout the 1720's, the "town" as a corporate body politic and the "township" as a real estate venture were virtually one and the same. Town and proprietary records were kept in the same book by the same clerk. The town saw fit to elect a committee to defend the proprietors against lawsuits and another to distribute the proprietors' lands. The proprietors built the town meetinghouse and paid the town minister's salary by giving him land and charging themselves for seats they held in the meetinghouse.

Of course, the proprietors had also been active in forcing their own members to live up to the terms of the town charter. Their little "plantation" at Nutfield would

thrive only if the proprietors were aggressive in their dealings with their New Hampshire neighbors, their enemies in Massachusetts, their leaders in Portsmouth, and most of all, with themselves. Those proprietors who chose not to develop their lands faced forfeiture. Hence, diligence to the terms of the charter meant that proprietors sought outsiders, or non-commoners, to buy or lease some of their holdings. A steady flow of Scotch-Irish "transients" in the 1720's and 1730's meant that the non-commoners would be fellow countrymen to most of the proprietors. Yet the growing number of non-commoners also meant that Londonderry would in time cease to be a proprietary town. It meant that political and social divisions in Londonderry would become more complex. Whereas politics in the 1720's had been a proprietors' squabble between the "ins" and the "outs," town politics in the 1730's and 1740's would be colored by neighborhood, kinship, social status, and even religious persuasion. It was with a mixture of pride and consternation that the old proprietors watched their thriving town slip in pieces from their benevolent control.

Londonderry's tax invoice for 1732 captures the town between two storms. The worst of the difficulties with Haverhill had peaked; the collapse of David Dunbar's "province" of Georgia meant that the Scotch-Irish would not retreat to the coast of Maine. They were going to make their stand against the Massachusetts "encroachers" in Londonderry. The stormy relations between the two factions

of proprietors had subsided as well. Most of the minority faction had been appeased. The loss of some of the English proprietors like Samuel Graves and John Goffe, Esq., and the residual court battle with John Goffe, Jr. had seemed like a small price to pay for community harmony. Ahead of the 1732 invoice lay parish divisions, complicated by the uncertain role of the non-commoners and the religious differences brought about by the Great Awakening.

When preparing the tax invoice of 1732, committee members William Humphrey and Alexander McNeal were careful to avoid the pitfalls which plagued Goffe and Moor in 1728. They were more cautious in their count, reporting 144 individual names and 160 polls. Transients were not listed.<sup>1</sup> Sixty-six of the original proprietors were still around in 1732. Six others had been replaced by family heirs, while three--John Shields, Benjamin Kidder, and Samuel Graves--had left town.

In the four-year gap between the 1728 and 1732 invoices, boundary problems with Haverhill and Massachusetts persuaded many in Londonderry to consider leaving town (see Chapter V). This may have held back population growth during this period. Only thirty-three new names appear on the 1732 inventory, and most of these are widows or sons of household heads listed in the 1728 inventory. Only twelve new families appear on the 1732 inventory.

Unlike the case in 1728, the 1732 tax inventory for the province has survived. As in the earlier inventory, Londonderry was the only second tier community assessed. The town reported 5.4% of the province's rateable polls. Londonderry's underdeveloped condition is seen in the fact that the town contained only 1.2% of the improved farm land, 2.3% of the two-story houses, and 4.6% of the horses in New Hampshire. At least the town had the means to improve its farms; better than half of Londonderry's farmers owned a team of oxen. The Scotch-Irish must have been happier with the tax resulting from the invoice. In 1732, the town was asked to pay 5.3%, or approximately its fair share, of the province tax.<sup>2</sup>

The 1732 inventory would not seem at first to be consistent with Jonathan Belcher's claim a year earlier that there were one thousand "Irish" in New Hampshire. Yet Belcher may have been close to the mark. In neighboring Chester, a community excused from the 1732 inventory, there were a large number of Scotch-Irish immigrants by 1732. While the exact number of Scotch-Irish settlers in Chester is not known, their numbers were sufficient for them to bring in their own Presbyterian minister at some time between 1729 and 1734. The Presbyterian minority in Chester later protested the necessity of having to support the town's Congregational minister. In a petition received by Governor Belcher early in 1737, no less than fifty-four "Inhabitants of Chester" who "formerly belonged, most of



them, to the Kingdom of Scotland & Ireland," asked to be excused from Chester's ministerial tax.<sup>3</sup> In addition to those who settled in Chester, a number of Londonderry residents and transients had begun to settle beyond Londonderry's boundaries, particularly in the vicinity of Amoskeag Falls. Records here are almost non-existent, and mere hints of settlement appear in various sources (see Chapter VIII).<sup>4</sup>

Although there are no extant tax inventories for the decade between 1732 and 1742, it is obvious from other sources that Londonderry not only grew during this period, but experienced unprecedented pressure from within. By the time of the 1742 inventory, Londonderry had been split into three parishes, one of which had been given town privileges, and as the parish of Windham, ceased for all practical purposes to be a part of Londonderry. In addition, Londonderry's Scotch-Irish Presbyterians watched helplessly as church harmony fell victim to outside forces.

Londonderry's sheer size was bound to have an adverse effect on the community's social and political cohesiveness. Residents in the town's various "quarters" became outspoken between roughly 1728, when the proprietors opened a large range near Cobbetts Lake, and 1736, by which time most of the available land in the western part of town had been granted. Town leaders were not unresponsive to the growing sectionalism. At town meetings, the interests of the various sections were met by appointing separate

officers for the different parts of town. By 1735, there was a separate constable for the eastern and western halves of town, and surveyors of the highways came from the different neighborhoods. In addition, the town meeting that year agreed to support three schools--one near the old town center, one in the western half of town, and one in the growing southeastern section of town. Each school would have its own school committee.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of these good intentions, however, some people living in outlying areas wanted more--particularly when it came to having a church of their own. The proprietors responded to this pressure in 1729 when they set aside land for two new churches in town. One of the new churches was to be in the far northwestern corner of town, in an area known locally as "Canada." A Baptist church was eventually built on this site. The other new church was to be located in the southeastern part of town near Cobbetts Lake, or present Windham.<sup>6</sup> Yet the majority of proprietors was not ready to consider setting these areas off as separate parishes. When a number of proprietors in the western half of town asked in 1731 to be given the status of a separate parish, the request was soundly denied.<sup>7</sup> This proved to be little more than a delaying action. The western half of Londonderry was growing more rapidly than the older, eastern half. It would only be a matter of time before the proprietors

living west of Beaver Brook would be joined by a sufficient number of non-commoners to demand parish status.

A number of people living in the western half of town decided to take matters into their own hands following the town's rejection of their petition in 1731. At some time prior to 1734, they built a meetinghouse just west of the Eayers Range and asked David MacGregor, the son of the late James MacGregor, to hold services at their newly-constructed but unrecognized church.<sup>8</sup> East side residents on the other hand, had finally obtained the services of an Edinburg-trained minister names Thomas Thompson to replace James MacGregor, who had died in 1729. Robert Boyes had gone to Ireland in 1733 to find someone of Thompson's caliber, and evidence suggests he did very well. In 1734, there were seven hundred communicants in the Londonderry church.<sup>9</sup>

Residents in the western parts of town remained dissatisfied with the inaccessibility of the old meetinghouse, however. In November 1735, a number of them called for a meeting to discuss having a separate minister for their half of town. The result was a chain of events that not only split Londonderry in two, but substantially weakened proprietary control of town affairs.

The meeting was held on the first day of December, and judging from the choice of moderator, the "west side" residents were in the majority--so much so that most of the "east side" residents left in disgust. A vote was taken

anyway, and 120 of those present said they wanted a new parish in the western half of town. Five men, including Robert Boyes, formally protested against the vote, while twenty-five residents of the western half of town protested "against our being Sett off or Disanex'd from under the Reverend Mr. Thomson's Ministry...."<sup>10</sup>

The new west parish created by this town meeting still needed the recognition of authorities in Portsmouth in order to begin collecting its ministerial tax. The first known petition went to the general court in 1736, accompanied by a counter petition from the old parish asking that the town not be divided.<sup>11</sup> The general court delayed approving the west parish's request for several years. Undoubtly representatives were concerned about the lack of consensus in town.

By 1735, if not earlier, Londonderry had become divided into three political factions. Two of these factions could not be easily reconciled. The "old parish" faction, led by Robert Boyes, resented the idea of a separate parish in town. Boyes not only wanted to see the town's geographic center stay where it was, but he lamented the inability of the proprietors to control the situation. Instead, the proprietors were divided, and as a result, they sought non-commoners and even transients to get needed votes. Opposed to the old parish faction was the west parish faction, led by proprietor John McMurphy and non-commoner George Duncan. Coincidentally, these were only

two justices of peace in Londonderry. This group wanted the new parish, and many of them had been responsible for building the west meetinghouse and hiring David MacGregor.

A third and very powerful faction lived anywhere from two to four miles west of the old meetinghouse, in or near the Eayers and Aikens ranges. Since they lived west of Beaver Brook, they were technically west parish people. Yet they were close enough to the old meetinghouse to find it convenient, depending upon other circumstances. In 1731, when Londonderry was without the services of a regular minister, leaders of the "middle" group had joined with others in asking for a new parish. In 1735, when Thomas Thompson was performing his duties admirably in the old meetinghouse, this same group objected to "being Sett off or Disanex'd." Most of these men were proprietors. Their leaders--Andrew Todd, John Wallace, Abraham Holms, David Bogle, Samuel Morison, and others--were among the most prestigious men in town. Any final resolution of the parish problem would have to take this group into account.

Over the next two years, leaders of the various factions could not even agree upon the definition of a legal voter. It seems proprietors in the west parish, sensing they were in the minority, became rather liberal when granting the franchise. Boyes and the more conservative old parish faction complained of this and other "Eregular" measures. When a number of "transients" from the west parish appeared at the March 1736 town

meeting, and when the selectmen agreed to let these men vote, the old parish voters, and possibly the middle faction, boycotted the meeting. The west parish voters held the meeting anyway and elected an entire slate of officers. They even recorded the votes. John Blair was elected moderator "by one Hundred and twenty three votes and no Contrary"; John McMurphy was elected town clerk "by 98 votes and no Contrary"; and so on. Robert Boyes paid for his opposition to the proceedings. He was unanimously elected to the unpopular position of constable for the "Easterly Side of Beaver Brook." He refused to serve and was later fined.<sup>12</sup>

As a result of this most unusual town meeting, Boyes and a few others from the east side sent an official protest to the general court in Portsmouth. They claimed that the March meeting "was not legal in it Self, neither was it legalee Carried on, for a great maney of them that was voters was only trangent persons and paid no rates in this town...."<sup>13</sup> When the full town met at a special meeting the following November, the old parish people must have been in the majority, for Boyes was elected moderator. Ironically, Boyes could not serve because he felt the meeting had not been called legally. For a meeting to be legal, it had to be called by the constable. Since Boyes had refused to perform the constable's duty among his own parishoners, the November meeting was, at least in his mind, a meeting with no legal standing.<sup>14</sup>

The regular town meeting of March 1737 was called properly, although the outcome was just as unsatisfactory as the meeting of the previous March. The old parish faction was in the majority and promptly informed the west parish faction that only residents who paid town taxes would be allowed to vote. The west parish people objected and presented a list of men who "should be voters only." The selectmen, who were the west parish men elected the previous March, agreed with their west parish neighbors. At this point, the meeting broke into two groups. The old parish voters, along with most of the middle faction, elected one slate of officers, while the west parish voters, along with a minority of the middle faction, elected another slate of officers. However, since the only two justices of peace in town were west parish men, only the west parish officers were sworn in. John McMurphy, who was not only one of the justices of the peace, but town clerk as well, then simply recorded the proceedings in the town records. No mention was made of the rival slate.<sup>15</sup>

Boyes and ninety-three others sent a petition off to the general court in Portsmouth asking that the old parish slate of officers be approved. Instead, the general court ordered Londonderry to hold the meeting over again. Nathaniel Weare, delegate to the general court from Hampton Falls, was appointed moderator of the meeting. The result was a victory for Boyes and the old parish faction. The selectmen, clerk, and constables were from either the old

parish or the farms around the Eayers and Aikens ranges.<sup>16</sup>

Even before the disputed town meeting of March 1737, there had been a number of significant developments in the west parish. These developments surrounded the person of the Reverend David MacGregor. In many respects, he was the logical choice for west parish minister. The memory of his father was revered by the Scotch-Irish farmers of Londonderry, and the son, who had been tutored by his father and the Reverend Matthew Clark--both veterans of the siege of Londonderry in 1689--possessed a fiery spirit compatible with a frontier parish. Since David MacGregor was an ardent Presbyterian with no college training, he would have had problems finding almost any other church position in New England. Of course, the west parish had no legal standing and an unproven ability to support a regular minister; it was in no position to look for an Edinburgh-trained minister. In short, the minister and the parish answered each others' needs and qualifications perfectly. David MacGregor served the west parish faithfully until his death in 1777.

Between MacGregor's talents and the reverence felt for his father, a number of proprietors living in the Eayers and Aikens ranges, as well as a few living east of Beaver Brook, decided to attend his services, rather than those of Thomas Thompson in the old meetinghouse. In order to accommodate these potential converts, the majority of west



parish voters decided to move their meetinghouse further east, to within a mile and a half of the old meetinghouse. A vocal minority of west parish residents, most of whom lived along Londonderry's western fringes, were upset by this move. The whole purpose behind the creation of the separate parish had been to have a meetinghouse that was accessible to people in the western half of town. The minority claimed that the original west parish meetinghouse was centrally located, but the move to a site near the old meetinghouse "hath Defated our Good Desgn in Praying to be Set of as a Parish...."<sup>17</sup> Their pleas went unheard, however, and MacGregor was installed at the newer meetinghouse, although he gave occasional sermons at the first west parish meetinghouse. Some of the west parish people were so upset by the move that they asked to be readmitted to the old meetinghouse. Their numbers were matched by east parish people who preferred David MacGregor's preaching. All in all, it was a good move for the west parish people. By moving their meetinghouse to a more central location, they pulled in many wealthy proprietors from the "middle" faction in town. Not only did this give them more political clout, but it made it easier to provide their minister with a regular salary.<sup>18</sup>

MacGregor became more of a factor in Londonderry's parish problems as he fell increasingly under the spell of the Great Awakening. Whereas Thomas Thompson, and his Edinburgh-trained successor William Davidson, gave the east

parish solid but uninspiring leadership, MacGregor gave his west parish listeners evangelical preaching at its best. Although details of MacGregor's "conversion" to evangelical preaching are not known, it is known that there were theological differences between east and west parishes as early as April 1737. In that month, eighty west parish residents prepared a "proposal of peace" to "our Christian friends and Brethren of the old Congregation."<sup>19</sup> Speaking of the "Eccliseastick part of our divisions," the authors of the peace proposal noted that this sort of difference was usually settled in a synod. However, there was no synod in New England, and the region's presbytery, small as it was, was suffering from "a Schism among the Members." The authors, therefore, suggested bringing in neighboring ministers "of the Congregational perswasion" to arbitrate the differences. Beyond this, however, there is no hint at what theological issues separated the two parishes. However, the Scotch-Irish of the west parish reminded their fellow immigrants that they were all "Strangers" in New England, "which ought to excite us to a stricter amity and unity among our Selves."

By 1742, David MacGregor was a recognized leader of the Great Awakening in New England. From his published works, it is clear he was influenced by George Whitefield as early as 1740, although he may well have taken an interest in the "Secession" movement that began a few years earlier in the Scottish Kirk. Two of the leaders in this

evangelical movement were Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, both of whom were cited frequently by MacGregor. MacGregor's style of evangelism was marked by a strong dislike for the "Arminians" who opposed the Awakening. In his sermon The Spirits of the Present Day Tried (1742) he states that "the principal and most inveterate Opposers" of the Great Awakening "are Men of Arminian and Pelagian Principles," while their followers "are only Deputy or second Hand Opposers....Some hatch the Lies, and others labouring under the malignant Influence of a prejudiced Mind do too easily believe them and report them for Truths." MacGregor, who rarely spoke with his east parish rival William Davidson, then added, "does not the Conduct of some of them give too much Ground to suspect that they envy the Success of the Lord's Work in the Hands of their Brethren."<sup>20</sup> MacGregor's forceful speaking style made the west parish a center for the revival in New Hampshire. When George Whitefield came to Londonderry's west parish, he had to speak to the overflow crowd in an open field.<sup>21</sup>

Although by 1737 David MacGregor and the west parish faction were well on their way to establishing a viable parish in the western half of Londonderry, they still lacked official recognition from Portsmouth.<sup>22</sup> As a result, they had no reliable means of paying MacGregor's salary. Worse yet, many proprietors living in the west parish, by virtue of the seats they still held in the old

meetinghouse, had to pay an annual rent used for the maintenance of the east parish minister.

The final chapter in the creation of the west parish began in late 1738, when a number of west parish proprietors tried to "give back" their seats in the old meetinghouse. The move was a gamble, for east parish voters were in the majority, and they could easily refuse--hence putting the west parish proprietors in a difficult position. The town decided in a November meeting to appoint a committee to look into the matter and to "treat or agree with the people of Mr. MacGregor's society...."<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, the result of the committee's deliberations was bound to cause problems. While it was agreed that the west parish proprietors could give back their seats, it was also decided to change the means for assessing the ministerial rate. Beginning in 1739, the town would collect the ministerial rate as part of the town tax. Proprietors and non-commoners alike in the west parish would be forced to pay the expenses of the east parish. No less than 114 west parish residents responded to this decision by petitioning the general court, asking that they "may be freed & exempted from paying to any other ministers salary than their own...." They also asked that either they be made a separate parish, or that the whole town be assessed for the benefit of both ministers.<sup>24</sup>

The selectmen of Londonderry, speaking for the east parish, issued a counter petition of their own.<sup>25</sup> They had switched over to the new method of supporting the town minister because it conformed with province law. As for the new parish, they would go along with this as long as the west parish moved its meetinghouse back to its original location. The close proximity of two churches so theologically different from one another "will tend more to the fomenting of our present Debets and the destroying of Religion than any thing Else...."

The west parish countered this petition by saying that the present location of their meetinghouse was decided a few years ago by the majority of people living in the west parish. The east parish had no business telling the west where to put its meetinghouse. According to the west parish petitioners, the east parish was motivated by "a rooted antipathy against our Minister....Had we an opportunity of letting your Honor Into some passages of the Secret History of our Town we could make it manifest that this is no ground-less inuendo."<sup>26</sup>

The general court agreed with the west parish petitioners. In February 1740, the west parish of Londonderry was incorporated as a parish having the authority to raise tax money to pay its church and school-related expenses. Residents of the west parish would pay no school or church fees in the east parish. In addition, forty people from each parish could cross over

and attend church in the other parish, as long as they formally registered their preference with town authorities. The new parish did not have any town privileges, however. Residents of the west parish still attended town meeting in the old meetinghouse, located in the old parish. Nothing was said in the act of incorporation about the location of the west parish meetinghouse.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the noisy difficulties between the east and west parishes, residents in the Cobbetts Lake area, located in the southern portion of the east parish, remained loyal to their fellow parishioners. In February 1740, these southern members of the old parish even petitioned the general court in the hopes of blocking the incorporation of the west parish.<sup>28</sup> However, their motives were somewhat selfish. In this brief petition, they admit that "by the blessing of God in a few years" they hope to be made into a separate parish. They were afraid that the creation of the west parish would hurt their chances.

Upon hearing that the west parish had been incorporated, the residents living in the Cobbetts Lake area met, agreed upon parish boundaries, and submitted a petition for incorporation. The general court received the petition, and in January 1742, gave the old parish residents a chance to respond. For unknown reasons, the selectmen of Londonderry let the southern parish go without the slightest complaint.<sup>29</sup> Two days after hearing from the selectmen of Londonderry, the general court

incorporated a parish in Londonderry by the name of Windham. Unlike the west parish, however, Windham was "invested with all the powers and authorities that the severall Towns in the Province are invested with...."<sup>30</sup> Although Windham was technically a parish within the town of Londonderry, in fact it was a separate town. It held town meetings, prepared separate town tax inventories, and in time, sent its own representatives to the general court.<sup>31</sup>

The ease of Windham's separation from Londonderry's old parish suggests that theology and perhaps a number of unrecorded social factors had greatly hindered east-west relations during the 1730's. Windham contained very few proprietors in 1740, its center of population was far removed from that of the old parish, and it had neither a settled minister nor a meetinghouse. On the other hand, the west parish, depending upon where the dividing line was drawn, contained almost half of Londonderry's proprietors. Some of the strongest personalities in town were represented on both sides. The west parish had not one but two meetinghouses, one of which was built dangerously close to the homes of east parish residents. Finally, the dynamic minister of the west parish held views that were at odds with the ministry of the old parish. In short, the west parish and its church were not seen as a good neighbor, but as a rival and a threat to the old parish.

It was a rivalry that lasted through the American Revolution.

In spite of the loss of its southern parish, Londonderry was much more populous in 1742 than in 1732. The number of polls in the 1742 inventory was 295--up from 160 in the 1732 inventory.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to tell if sons had replaced fathers in some cases, but it appears that fifty-four of the original proprietors were still Londonderry residents in 1745, while an additional five to ten proprietary shares were held by widows of the original proprietors or sons with their father's first names. Overall, 107 of the 242 names given also appear on the earlier inventory. Many of the newcomers to the inventory were sons who had reached adulthood in the decade after 1732; of the 135 new names on the inventory, only fifty-eight represent last names not found in the 1732 inventory.

For the first time, New Hampshire's 1742 tax inventory not only included the second tier towns of Rochester, Chester, and Nottingham, but some of the various "districts" which fell into New Hampshire by virtue of the 1740 boundary decision. Yet in spite of these additions to the total, and in spite of the loss of the southern parish of Windham, Londonderry's population increased faster than that of the province as a whole. Whereas in 1732 Londonderry reported 5.4% of the polls, in 1742, the town reported 5.7% of the polls. Londonderry residents still



lived in only 2.3% of New Hampshire's two-story houses, although this percentage would have been higher had not portions of older, more developed Massachusetts towns been added to the 1742 inventory. Clearly the Scotch-Irish farms were developing. Whereas Londonderry contained only 1.2% of New Hampshire's improved farm land in 1732, by 1742, 3.4% of the province's improved farm land was in Londonderry's two remaining parishes.

After twenty-three years of settlement, or roughly a generation, the Scotch-Irish town of Londonderry was, at least by poll count, New Hampshire's fourth largest town, ranking just ahead of the century-old town of Hampton. It had already spawned the small town of Windham, and Scotch-Irish farmers, many of whom had lived for some time in Londonderry, were living in the towns of Chester, Kingston, and Litchfield; the districts of Methuen, Dracut, Haverhill, and Dunstable; as well as unincorporated townships along the Merrimack (see Chapter VIII). When Governor Belcher visited the area in 1737, he was impressed "with the fine soil of Chester, the extraordinary improvements at Derry, and the mighty falls at Skeag."<sup>33</sup>

Londonderry's Scotch-Irish proprietors were undoubtedly central figures in the town's success story. Unlike most townships in eighteenth-century New Hampshire, Londonderry was settled according to the earlier Massachusetts plan. The community's first settlers and the township's original proprietors were closely correlated.

In addition, a body of proprietors, amounting to almost half of the original number, were still living in town and controlling most town affairs two decades later.

The stability of the "proprietary" element, when compared with non-commoners arriving in town after the 1722 incorporation, is quite striking. When comparing the 1728 and 1742 town inventories, for instance, only five family names from among the seventy-six proprietors in 1728 have disappeared from the list of residents in 1742. Four of these five names are English. The only Scotch-Irish proprietary family name absent from the list of residents in 1742 is the Cargill family--although three sons-in-law of proprietor David Cargill were known to be in town. Of the fifty-four proprietors listed in the 1742 inventory, only one is known to be English. A total of 149 household heads, or roughly half the town population, had a proprietary family name. Meanwhile, the attrition rate was greater for the families of non-commoners listed in the 1728 inventory. Of the thirty-one family names, eleven are not to be found in the 1742 inventory. And, only forty household heads, representing approximately one-seventh of the polls in town, had one of the remaining twenty non-commoners names. In short, the proprietors--and particularly the Scotch-Irish proprietors--stayed in town, managing to provide farms for at least some of their sons and daughters within town limits. The early residents who were not proprietors had a greater tendency to move on, and

virtually no opportunity to settle their offspring within the town.

The strength of the proprietary interest in Londonderry can be appreciated by comparing the town with Concord, or Pennycook. Londonderry and Concord were settled within seven years of each other. Both were large communities geographically--roughly ten miles square--and both were situated on promising sites offering better-than-average economic potential. Finally, both were townships settled by a substantial number of their proprietors in the best seventeenth-century Massachusetts tradition. The two communities contrast sharply with the many "speculative" townships being granted by Massachusetts west of the Merrimack in the 1730's.<sup>34</sup>

Concord began as the Massachusetts township of Pennycook in 1726. By 1732, it had become the legally incorporated Massachusetts town of Rumford. Following the New Hampshire-Massachusetts boundary settlement in 1740, it became a district within New Hampshire. Later on, the settlement became a parish in the New Hampshire town of Bow by the name of Concord. It became the legally incorporated town of Concord near the end of the Revolution.

As the early "plantation" of Pennycook, Concord was very successful. Like Londonderry, it grew rapidly, thanks largely to the direct role played by its proprietors. Modern historians have recognized the unusual diligence of

Concord's original proprietors in personally fulfilling the terms of the grant.<sup>35</sup>

By comparing a 1746 list of household heads in Concord with a 1726 list of the township proprietors, it is possible to estimate the degree of direct proprietary involvement during the community's first twenty years. The 1746 list was made for the purpose of placing Concord's families in the community's seven garrisons in the event of Indian attack. The one hundred names represent a virtually complete list of household heads for the time.<sup>36</sup>

The percentage in Table I reveal that Concord's original proprietors were much less in evidence twenty years after the township grant than were the proprietors of Londonderry after a similar lapse of time. Twenty years after settlement, only 10% of Concord's original proprietors were residents of the town. Sons and cousins of the original proprietors were scattered throughout Concord, however, and together with the proprietors, they made up 50% of the town's population. Yet even this figure has to be qualified; half of the household heads listed in 1746 were members of only three prolific families--the Eastmans, Abbotts, and Walkers. The fact is that 90% of the original proprietors and over three-quarters of the proprietary family names had fallen by the wayside within a span of twenty years.

On the other hand, after twenty-three years of settlement, and after a portion of town had been taken

TABLE I  
Proprietary Influence

Londonderry (1719-1742) and Concord (1726-1746)

	Londonderry (in 1742)	Concord (in 1746)
% of Original Proprietors living among residents:	46	10
% of Household Heads who are Proprietors/non-commoners:	22/78	10/90
% of Proprietary family names listed among household heads:	65	23
% of Household Heads with a proprietary family name:	62	50

Sources: Londonderry: Proprietors list (n=117) in Parker, Londonderry, 325-26. Inventory of 1742 (n=242) found in N.H. State Archives, Record Group IV (Secretary of State), Census and Inventory Returns.

Concord: Proprietors list (n=100) in Bouton, Concord, 122-24. List of residents in 1746 (n=100) found in Bouton, Concord, 154-56.

away, Londonderry still had 46% of its original proprietors living in town. In spite of Londonderry's rapid growth (it had 295 polls to Concord's 83 in 1742), 22% of the town's residents were proprietors in 1742. Almost two-thirds of the old proprietary names could still be found in town, and thanks to some prolific proprietary families, 62% of the town's residents had a family name found among the list of original proprietors. In short, Londonderry's proprietors played a more direct role in town settlement and town affairs than their counterparts in Concord.

As events in the 1730's had proved, however, even a strong proprietary interest was not invulnerable. When divided by distance, not to mention theology, the proprietors were quick to seek the support of outsiders, whether those outsiders be "transients," non-commoners, Portsmouth officials, or ministers from neighboring towns. Worse yet, Londonderry's strong proprietary element made it something of a freak among New Hampshire towns. In the late 1730's Londonderry was the only settled town in the province whose proprietors paid all parish and highway expenses. In both cases, non-commoners who felt left out of crucial town affairs pointed out that Londonderry's method for paying these expenses was not only unusual, but contrary to province law.<sup>37</sup> Yet old ways died hard. After the loss of the west parish, the east parish continued to pay the minister's salary through funds raised

on the rental of seats. Non-commoners were allowed to lease some of the seats deserted by west parish proprietors, but only after they had been approved by a committee of proprietors.<sup>38</sup>

Along with their tenacity, however, the proprietors of Londonderry encouraged their fellow Scotch-Irish to move into southern New Hampshire. In time, the Scotch-Irish had not only filled out the bounds of Londonderry, but they were pouring into frontier townships along the Merrimack, Piscataquog, and finally the Contoocook rivers. Unlike the situation in Londonderry, these new settlers would not be proprietors; they would be farmers in towns where the proprietary element was virtually invisible. In Londonderry, the Scotch-Irish had either fought among themselves or against outside forces. In towns like Goffstown, Peterborough, Antrim, and Acworth, the Scotch-Irish would struggle to maintain ethnic barriers in the presence of English neighbors. In the end, they would fail.

Notes

1. The inventory is in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group IV (Secretary of State), Census and Inventory Returns, Census of 1732. In the Londonderry return, the few names reporting neither a house nor property seem to be related to others in town, and their names appear in other invoices and on various petitions. Hence, it is assumed they are not transients.
2. See tax figures given in Chase, Chester, 263.
3. Chase, Chester, 83-85, 618; NHSP, 4: 727-29.
4. Browne, Londonderry Records, 121-22; Potter, Manchester, 168-71, 180; Chase, Chester, 62-63.
5. Browne, Londonderry Records, 170-72.
6. Browne, Londonderry Records, 96; Morrison, Windham, 42-43.
7. Browne, Londonderry Records, 120-23; Parker, Londonderry, 91.
8. Parker, Londonderry, 92.
9. Parker, Londonderry, 140-42; Browne, Londonderry Records, 143-44, 153.
10. Browne, Londonderry Records, 175-78.
11. NHSP, 4: 704, 811-13, 817, 821, 823.
12. Browne, Londonderry Records, 178-80.
13. Browne, Londonderry Records, 180; NHSP, 4: 817; 12: 432.
14. Browne, Londonderry Records, 184.
15. Browne, Londonderry Records, 187, 387-88; NHSP, 12: 433-35.
16. Browne, Londonderry Records, 189-92, 387-89; NHSP, 4: 731-32, 817, 823-24; 12: 433-35.
17. NHSP, 12: 435-36.



18. Parker, Londonderry, 147-48.
19. NHSP, 12: 437-40; Browne, Londonderry Records, 389-91.
20. David MacGregor, The Spirits of the Present Day Tried (Boston: D. Fowle for D. Henchman, 1742), 19, 20, 22.
21. Parker, Londonderry, 149-51.
22. In a petition dated 12 October 1737, a number of west parish people claimed that they had indeed been given recognition by the general court, but before the action of the general court had been written up formally, the paperwork was lost when the house of Richard Waldron, Secretary of State, was destroyed by fire. Journals of the house and general court do not support this theory, although east parish people were willing to admit it was true. NHSP, 12: 436-37. See also, NHSP, 9: 499.
23. Browne, Londonderry Records, 210-11.
24. The petition may be found in NHSP, 9: 495-97. See also, Browne, Londonderry Records, 210-13. The issue in 1739 was whether or not the town should raise money for the minister's widow; Thomas Thompson died 28 September 1738.
25. NHSP, 9: 499-500.
26. NHSP, 9: 501-02.
27. NHSP, 9: 502-03.
28. NHSP, 9: 498.
29. The petition and Londonderry response may be found in NHSP, 9: 504-05; 5: 142; Morrison, Windham, 47-48.
30. Morrison, Windham, 49-50.
31. It also kept its own distinct town records, beginning with the first town meeting in 1742. The first town record book was labelled the "town" book. See Windham Town Records, N.H. State Archives.
32. The 1742 town inventory is in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group IV (Secretary of State), Census and Inventory Returns.
33. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 244.
34. See Akagi, Town Proprietors, 189-96.

35. See, for example, Akagi, Town Proprietors, 166; Clark, Eastern Frontier, 184n, 200, 202. Clark also recognized Londonderry's peculiar success along these lines. See p. 203.

36. The list of one hundred proprietors and the list of one hundred residents may be found in Bouton, Concord, 122-24, 154-56.

37. For the highway issue, see Browne, Londonderry Records, 228.

38. See records of the east parish, 1740-1808, in the NHHS.

## Chapter VIII

### Scotch-Irish Expansion

Just as Londonderry's rapid growth forced the community to break up into separate parishes, so to did it force residents and transients alike to seek opportunities elsewhere. Some moved to neighboring towns like Chester and Kingston, where New Hampshire proprietors welcomed these settlers to their previously unoccupied holdings. Others moved just beyond Londonderry's western boundary to live along the Merrimack. Yet as Londonderry continued to grow, it became necessary to look beyond the Merrimack to the various townships begun by Massachusetts speculators in the 1720's and 1730's. Before long, the Scotch-Irish of Londonderry had created satellite communities throughout western New Hampshire. Unlike the situation in Londonderry, however, these newer communities contained a genuine ethnic mixture. The Scotch-Irish were generally not the proprietors of these communities, and in many cases, they were not even in the majority.

Even if few transients and immigrants had come to Londonderry during the 1720's, the town's natural increase would have caused problems. The Scotch-Irish had come to Nutfield as families, and by roughly 1740, the last names of some of the proprietors were becoming common. In 1742,

there were fifty-eight household heads with the last names of Cochran, Thompson, Wallace, Wilson, Morison, Anderson, and Moor. All were Scotch-Irish, and all seven names are found among the proprietors.

Another obvious reason for Londonderry's growth is immigration. There are no figures describing migration to and from the town--only bits and pieces of information, much of it genealogical in nature. One of Londonderry's proprietors and most substantial citizens is known to have brought boatloads of Scotch-Irish settlers to New England, although the evidence is sketchy. At a time when Portsmouth merchants were opening up channels of trade with Ireland, Londonderry's Robert Boyes became actively involved in recruiting settlers and servants from the Bann Valley in Ulster. Prior to 1738, Boyes is known to have been of "good usuage to Passengers in Sundry voyages," including his voyage in 1733 to bring back a new minister for Londonderry.<sup>1</sup> Only one of his voyages is documented, however, and this is because the venture went badly and resulted in a lawsuit.

At a meeting of the New Hampshire house of representatives on November 2, 1738, the town of Londonderry was asked to select a new representative; their current representative, Robert Boyes, "is gone beyond Sea."<sup>2</sup> Had his plans not gone astray, Boyes would not have been "beyond Sea" in November 1738, but home in New Hampshire. In November 1737, Boyes and his Londonderry

partners, Samuel Todd and John Mitchell, signed an agreement with Portsmouth merchant Joshua Pierce, Jr., whereby the three Scotch-Irishmen would sail on Pierce's ship Lime to Northern Ireland and bring back "good effects and passengers."<sup>3</sup> In June 1738, Boyes, Todd, Mitchell, and the Lime were at Portrush, Ireland. Boyes signed up 123 "passengers & Servants" to make the trip back to New England. Unfortunately, the Lime leaked badly. After several false starts, the death of the captain, and delays necessitated by extensive repairs, the Lime began its voyage eight weeks late and minus twenty-five of the original passengers. The vessel arrived in Boston on November 16, 1738, whereupon Boyes was sued by Pierce for losing much of the cargo. As for the passengers, even some of those who jumped ship before the voyage seem to have finally made their way to Londonderry in time for the 1742 tax invoice.<sup>4</sup>

The 1742 Londonderry tax invoice lists no less than forty-one transients. Some of these people may have come to America in the so-called "starved ship." In 1740, a group of immigrants, trying to escape starvation in Ireland, found themselves on a vessel carrying insufficient provisions. Before the ship finally landed in Boston, the passengers had had to resort to cannibalism to stay alive. Future Londonderry settler Samuel Fisher was probably the happiest passenger on board to see Boston Harbor; by luck of the draw, he was next in line to be eaten.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond these two voyages, however, almost nothing is known about Scotch-Irish migration to the Londonderry area. Town records are filled with references to transients, particularly in the 1720's and 1730's, but the details of their arrival have been lost.

An unknown number of Scotch-Irish settlers began farms along the Merrimack at places called "Harrytown," Tyngstown, "Naticook," and Dunstable--the future towns of Derryfield, Litchfield, and Hudson. Until the provincial boundary controversy was settled in 1740, these Scotch-Irish farmers shared the rich Merrimack Valley somewhat uneasily with a number of Massachusetts settlers.<sup>6</sup> In at least one instance, hostility between English and Scotch-Irish residents in the area resulted in bloodshed. Robert Butterfield of Chelmsford was assaulted by a group of Scotch-Irish from Londonderry and Litchfield as he rode through the latter town one July evening in 1739. The incident apparently stemmed from a standing feud between Butterfield and the Scotch-Irish. According to the official record of the trial, the Scotch-Irish assailants "did willfully wickedly and maliciously with a Desire to Murder and take away the Life of the said Robert, Did Assault Cutt Stab and wound the said Robert...." A number of others heard his cries for help, came to his rescue, and dragged him to safety. Upon examining the victim, they "found his thighs Cutt Cross rear or Quite half off, Several Stabs in and abot the waistband of his Britches,

One stab in his face and Several in his head...." As a result of this assault, several of the Scotch-Irish were jailed and eventually fined.<sup>7</sup>

Both Scotch-Irish and English settlers were among the first inhabitants of what became the town of Derryfield. Beginning in the late 1720's, John Goffe, Jr., and his brothers-in-law Benjamin Kidder and Edward Lingfield began clearing land near the mouth of Cohas Brook, where they were joined by others from Massachusetts. John Goffe, Esq., moved permanently to this neighborhood, sometimes styled "Cohas," around 1731 at the invitation of his son (see Chapter VI). Shortly after his death in 1748, his son began to push for the incorporation of the area.<sup>8</sup>

Yet most of the early residents of the future town of Derryfield lived north of Cohas, in the vicinity of Amoskeag Falls, and most of these were Scotch-Irish. John McNeal, for instance, had been one of the early Londonderry settlers in 1719, and was named proprietor in 1722. Yet by 1733, he had settled near the falls at Amoskeag. He was followed by others from Londonderry, including Archibald Stark, father of General John Stark. Archibald Stark was somewhat out of place in the remote reaches of New Hampshire. He was a native of Scotland and a graduate of the University of Glasgow. He probably moved to Amoskeag Falls, or the region known as Harrytown, in 1736, shortly after his house in Londonderry burned.<sup>9</sup> Still others

from Londonderry settled in lands claimed by Chester, but which eventually fell into the bounds of Derryfield.

Scotch-Irish settlement on both sides of the Merrimack was complicated by the boundary controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts (see Chapter V). Until roughly 1726, Massachusetts authorities claimed the Upper Merrimack Valley as a part of their province, but they were timid about creating townships in the disputed territory. In 1723 and again in 1725, groups petitioned the Massachusetts house for the right to have a township along the eastern side of the Merrimack at Amoskeag Falls. Both requests were denied.<sup>10</sup> By 1727, however, Massachusetts authorities changed their tactics and agreed to start granting townships throughout western New Hampshire to veterans of Indian wars. Veterans of King Philip's War were given the so-called "Narragansett Townships." Narragansett No. 4 (Goffstown) and Narragansett No. 5 (Bedford), granted in 1734, were located just across the Merrimack from Cohas and Harrytown.<sup>11</sup> That same year, a number of veterans of a winter campaign against the Indians in 1703 asked for a township along the eastern side of the river. A year later, Massachusetts granted the group a township named Tyngstown, which included the farms at Cohas, Harrytown, and the western fringes of Chester and Londonderry. The proprietors, led by one Ephraim Hildreth, promised to settle sixty English families in the township, and they further promised that "People claiming a



right under New Hampshire will be hindered from encroaching thereon."<sup>12</sup>

Upon receiving the grant, the Massachusetts settlers managed to build a sawmill and meetinghouse near Cohas Brook. In addition, when Massachusetts authorities heard of difficulties between the various groups of fishermen at Amoskeag Falls, they sent a legislative committee to Tyngstown in 1738 in order to "regulate the fishery there" and to "lay a small duty on the first fish taken there...." Yet from the beginning, the Scotch-Irish presence was sufficiently strong in Tyngstown to undermine the Tyngstown grant, and when the provincial boundary line was settled in favor of New Hampshire in 1740, Tyngstown slipped into obscurity.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of the failure of Tyngstown, and in spite of the presence of a number of former Londonderry residents living at Cohas and Harrytown, the area was not incorporated until 1751. King George's War undoubtedly interfered with formal recognition for the area. By 1751, however, John Goffe, Jr., was willing to join forces once again with some of his old Scotch-Irish neighbors, including those living within the northwestern corner of Londonderry and the southwestern corner of Chester. As a group they petitioned for incorporation in July. The predominantly English and Congregational town of Chester was only too happy to be rid of the troublesome Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The latter had shattered town

and church harmony in the 1730's by refusing to support the town minister. As for Londonderry, its west parish let go of its northern corner reluctantly, even though this neighborhood was remote and far removed from either west parish meetinghouse. In September, authorities in Portsmouth granted the new town of Derryfield. The Scotch-Irish and English settlers living along the eastern side of the Merrimack River near Amoskeag Falls were finally pulled together into one corporate body.<sup>14</sup>

Things were somewhat different on the western side of the Merrimack, where Scotch-Irish settlers from Londonderry settled in the future towns of Bedford, Goffstown, and Merrimack. In the case of Bedford, the Scotch-Irish were excluded from the early proprietary history of the township, yet from the start, they constituted the majority of residents. As in the other "Narragansett" townships, Narragansett No. 5--later Souhegan East and finally Bedford--was granted to veterans of King Philip's War and their heirs. Of the 120 original proprietors of Narragansett in 1734, most lived in Boston, Roxbury, Hingham, and neighboring communities. Only twenty were actually veterans of the war. The early proprietary meetings were held in the Boston area, a reasonable measure, since almost none of the original proprietors took up residence in the township.<sup>15</sup>

Although the original proprietors were obligated to settle sixty families in Narragansett No. 5, evidence

suggests that the township's early settlers moved into the area without any encouragement from the proprietors. In 1737, two Scotch-Irish brothers from Londonderry, Robert and James Walker, built a crude hut on the western side of the river within the bounds of Narragansett No. 5. The next spring, they shared their lodgings with two other Scotch-Irish brothers, Matthew and Samuel Patten. The Pattens had come from Ireland with their father in 1728, and for the next ten years, the family apparently lived in Chelmsford. Over the next five years, the Walkers and Pattens were joined by a number of Scotch-Irish settlers, including John Moor, Hugh Riddle, John Bell, Richard McAllaster, and John Orr. A few of the Scotch-Irish settlers actually bought shares held by the original proprietors, although most were simply residents without proprietary interests. In addition to the Scotch-Irish, a number of English settlers came to Narragansett No. 5 as well. These included John Goffe, Jr., and his brother-in-law Benjamin Kidder--both of whom had been original proprietors of Londonderry. Goffe had purchased ninety acres of land in Narragansett No. 5 in 1739, and by 1740, if not earlier, he was a proprietor of the township.<sup>16</sup>

The proprietors of Narragansett No. 5 did little to develop their township. Evidence indicates they may have built a road running north and south, parallel to the Merrimack, and they at least voted to help build a bridge over the Souhegan River. Beyond this, however, they built

few roads or bridges.<sup>17</sup> It was not until 1743 that they agreed to build a meetinghouse, and in the end, they never came through. The residents built the first meetinghouse in 1755. The proprietors were also expected to hire a minister for the township. Several half-hearted efforts failed, and the residents finally brought Londonderry's John Houston to settle with them on a permanent basis in 1756.<sup>18</sup> The proprietors were so inactive that they apparently did not hold a proprietors meeting between 1749 and 1763. On the latter date, the resident proprietors, led by John Goffe, Jr., and Matthew Patten, met in Bedford and demanded that the proprietors records, then in Boston, be brought up to Bedford.<sup>19</sup> In spite of their lack of interest in their township, however, the absentee proprietors of Narragansett No. 5 decided to hang on and fight for their shares. When Narragansett No. 5, or Souhegan East, became a part of New Hampshire in the 1740 boundary dispute, the proprietors chose not to ask for equivalent lands in Maine. Instead, they reached a settlement with New Hampshire's so-called Masonian Proprietors in order to have the original 1734 grant confirmed.<sup>20</sup>

Narragansett No. 5 grew slowly at first. After better than ten years of settlement, the community's residents complained to authorities in Portsmouth that "they were without any township or District, and had not the privilege of a town in choosing officers for regulating their

affairs, such as raising money for their ministry...." As a temporary measure, Governor Benning Wentworth gave the residents of Souhegan East permission to hold town meetings and elect officers.<sup>21</sup> Two years later, in response to a petition from residents of Souhegan East, the township was incorporated as the town of Bedford.<sup>22</sup> Yet according to the town tax invoice of 1750, there were only fifty-six families in town. All but about twelve of these were Scotch-Irish.<sup>23</sup>

Residents were scattered around the township. When the proprietors made one of their ill-fated attempts to find a minister for the township in 1749, they agreed that preaching would be divided among residents of "the upper end of Town," "the lower end of Town," and those living around "strawberrie-hill."<sup>24</sup> Most of the early residents lived close to the Merrimack. When John Goffe, Jr., came to Narragansett No. 5 in 1745, he settled near the mouth of Crosby's Brook and began an iron forge, a grist mill, and later, a sawmill. Yet no substantial village developed around Goffe's mills. The lack of any village center helps to explain why it took the residents of Bedford four years of constant deliberations before they could agree upon a location for their first meetinghouse.<sup>25</sup>

Merrimack, located south of Bedford, was a different story again for the Scotch-Irish. Like Derryfield, Merrimack was made up of different grants, and its early residents, at least in those portions north of the Souhegan

River, were both English and Scotch-Irish. Originally, Merrimack was a part of the old town of Dunstable, Massachusetts. Following the boundary decision of 1740, portions of Dunstable falling into New Hampshire were divided into various New Hampshire towns, townships, and districts. Merrimack's town charter came in 1746. Yet the size of the town was too small, and its residents complained that "said Land is Very mean and Ordinary and therefore Incapable of Supporting such a number of Inhabitants as will Enable them to Support the Charges of a Town Without a further Addition of Land and Inhabitants...." They got their wish, and in 1750, authorities in Portsmouth added a portion of Narragansett No. 5, located just north of the Souhegan River, to the now enlarged town of Merrimack.<sup>26</sup>

The division of old Narragansett No. 5 was unfortunate for the Scotch-Irish settlers who fell into Merrimack. For one thing, they became an ethnic minority. When Merrimack finally got around to hiring a minister in the 1770's, it was a Congregational minister. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians could do little more than protest in vain.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the enlarged town of Merrimack was bisected by the Souhegan River. By 1754, if not earlier, the residents were stuck with the expenses of building and maintaining three bridges over the river. Finally, both halves of Merrimack suffered from absentee proprietors and non-resident landowners. As a result, in 1754 the

selectmen petitioned authorities in Portsmouth for the right to tax non-resident landowners in order to raise the necessary funds to build a meetinghouse. The petition was approved, and the meetinghouse was erected just south of the Souhegan and over two miles west of the Merrimack.<sup>28</sup> Although the site was not particularly accessible to the Scotch-Irish settlers living north of the Souhegan and close to the Merrimack, it is doubtful they would have been interested in attending Congregational services anyway. The absence of many Scotch-Irish names in the nearby Turkey Hill Cemetery suggests that Merrimack's Scotch-Irish settlers worshipped elsewhere. The scarcity of Scotch-Irish names among Merrimack's early town officers suggests that the town's ethnic minority was no better off in civil affairs than in ecclesiastical.<sup>29</sup>

To the north of Bedford, the future town of Goffstown, located directly across the Merrimack River and Amoskeag Falls from Derryfield, began as just another Massachusetts township. In 1734, the area was designated Narragansett No. 4. Unlike Narragansett No. 5, its southern neighbor, No. 4 proved so disappointing to its proprietors that they asked for and received an equivalent township in western Massachusetts. Yet others in Massachusetts showed great interest in the area. Throughout the 1730's, dozens of petitions flooded the Massachusetts house of representatives asking for land west of the Merrimack near Amoskeag Falls. Some of these were apparently dismissed,

others were approved, but lost in the shuffle, and at least one was approved and recognized in subsequent grants.<sup>30</sup> Following the boundary decision of 1740, however, the territory west of Amoskeag Falls not only fell to New Hampshire, but after 1746, it became the property of the Masonian Proprietors.<sup>31</sup>

In 1748, the Masonian Proprietors granted the still-unnamed township to one of the most diverse groups of proprietors ever assembled in New Hampshire. The original proprietors consisted of Massachusetts investors from the towns of Haverhill, Dracut, Brookline, Chelmsford, and Dunstable; English and Scotch-Irish farmers from Londonderry, neighboring Souhegan East, and Litchfield; as well as nine men who were already living in the township. This somewhat incompatible group held their first proprietors meeting in Portsmouth in the presence of the Masonian Proprietors, a group of wealthy Portsmouth merchants who added still more diversity to the situation.<sup>32</sup>

The township grants offered by the Masonian Proprietors differed little from earlier grants offered by provincial authorities in Boston and Portsmouth. Lots were to be set aside for the first minister, the general support of the ministry, the meetinghouse, and a school. Proprietors were given reasonable time limits in which to have a house built upon their lands and to have a certain number of acres "enclosed cleared and fitted for Mowing or



tillage...."<sup>33</sup> In addition, the proprietors had to build a meetinghouse, settle a minister, and promise to protect the King's white pine trees. There was one peculiarity of the Goffstown grant; the proprietors had to promise not to block the Piscataquog River, but to let the salmon reach their spawning grounds. In all, there was only one feature that made Masonian grants much different from grants handed out by government authorities in Boston and Portsmouth. When the Masonian Proprietors made a grant, they became actual proprietors of the township. They would receive equal shares and be entitled to all of the benefits of proprietorship, while being exempt from any of the payments, restrictions, or other liabilities. In Goffstown's case, seventeen of the sixty-eight shares were reserved for the proprietors. Put another way, the rather generous outlay of land to absentee proprietors who had no obligations served to reduce the tax base of the township and later the town.<sup>34</sup>

By 1750, the township had acquired the name Goffstown, perhaps in recognition of the active role played by John Goffe, Jr., in early proprietary affairs. Over the next dozen years, the area experienced measured but unspectacular growth. In 1761, the township was given a temporary town charter. Two years later, the town of Goffstown became a permanent reality.<sup>35</sup>

Like Bedford and Merrimack, Goffstown consisted of a mixture of Scotch-Irish and English settlers scattered

around the countryside. As in the case with Merrimack, the Scotch-Irish were a minority who tended to live in one section of town. In Goffstown, the Scotch-Irish lived in the farms located south of the Piscataquog River. Because of the dispersed nature of settlement as well as religious differences between the two major ethnic groups in town, Goffstown had a terrible time building its meetinghouse and hiring a regular minister. After much debate, the meetinghouse was begun in 1768. The first minister was more of a problem.<sup>36</sup>

The residents of Goffstown had apparently tried to acquire a regular minister throughout the 1760's. In 1769, they tried unsuccessfully to woo one Joseph Currier to the pulpit in Goffstown. The town's poverty may have dissuaded him. Goffstown officials offered him a salary of "thirty pounds Starling money of Grate Brittain or Equivalent there to in Such Bills or Species as is Commonly passing between man & man in this province...." In addition, he was to receive ten pounds in "Corn and labour."<sup>37</sup> Yet Currier was a Congregational minister and may have been upset by the unwillingness of the town's Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to accept him. When the English majority in town tried once again to hire Currier in 1771, the Scotch-Irish minority formally protested. They were "Presbyterians by Proffession" who had vowed to "Maintain the Doctrins Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland" and

were opposed to having the town support a minister "of Another Proswasion...."38

Currier decided to accept this second call, however, "notwithstanding the uneasiness of some whose dispositions [were] arising merely from the form of governing the church...."39 No sooner had Currier been ordained than the Scotch-Irish sent a petition to Portsmouth asking to have their part of town made into a separate parish. The thirty-three Scotch-Irish petitioners were joined by three English residents, each of whom had been "Bread a Congregational," but now claimed allegiance to the "Presbyterian Persuasion."40 The town countered this petition, saying that their town was too small to support two ministers. According to the English counter-petition, Goffstown "Subsists of about ninety Families; Some of which are under very poor Circumstances, not able to raise their own Bread Corn--or Scarcly to clothe themselves and Children in any comfortable & decent Manner." As to the supposed ardent Presbyterianism of the Scotch-Irish in town, the English claimed that many of the Scotch-Irish "have had their Children baptized by congregational Ministers & without the least dissatisfaction...."41

In the end, the English majority won. The Scotch-Irish were not allowed to establish their own parish, although they apparently set up their own "society" for awhile, in order to bring in an occasional Presbyterian minister. In addition, the town excused the Presbyterians

from having to pay the ministerial tax in 1772. As for the English, they got what they paid for. Within three years, the Reverend Mr. Currier was officially described by the town as "our unworthy Pastor" who had "manifestly shown himself to be infamous, often infatuated...." The town dismissed him on grounds of intemperance, and in cooperation with the Presbyterian minority, brought in a number of irregular, compromise candidates until formally calling a regular minister in 1781.<sup>42</sup>

The spread of New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish did not stop with the towns located immediately to the west of Londonderry. During the third quarter of the eighteenth-century, the Scotch-Irish pushed westward and even northward in an effort to satisfy recent immigrants and the next generation alike. The story in each new community varied. In towns like New Boston, Dublin, Dunbarton, and Henniker, the Scotch-Irish figured heavily among the proprietors. In some cases, the Scotch-Irish interest in new townships was purely speculative. In 1753, a group of Scotch-Irish investors, including Londonderry's Robert Boyes and Matthew Thornton, petitioned to receive a township at present Plymouth. They indicated that their township was "for the Encouragement of this Province & Driving our Enemies Further Back into the Woods."<sup>43</sup> The petition was turned down, and Plymouth was not granted as a township until 1763, when it went to a group of English speculators. That same year, the Scotch-Irish tried once

again for a township and this time they were successful in receiving the township of Thornton, located a few miles north of Plymouth. Clearly they had no intention of personally "Driving our Enemies Further Back into the Woods;" although most of the proprietors were Scotch-Irish, the early settlers were English.<sup>44</sup>

Generally, however, the Scotch-Irish sought out new territory for the purpose of living there. Not only did the Scotch-Irish migrate to New Boston, Dublin, Dunbarton, and Henniker, but towns like Antrim, Deering, Frankestown, and Peterborough were thought of as Scotch-Irish towns by the time of the American Revolution. In addition, the Scotch-Irish were heavily represented in Acworth and Temple, while scattered Scotch-Irish settlers found their way into communities like Amherst, Epsom, Greenfield, and Bennington. In the case of Peterborough, some of the Scotch-Irish settlers came from Londonderry, while others migrated from towns in Massachusetts that had a substantial Scotch-Irish population.<sup>45</sup> In the Connecticut Valley town of Acworth, most of the early settlers were from Londonderry. Yet the Scotch-Irish had to share their town with English settlers from Connecticut. The result was a town church that was considered Congregational by contemporaries, but had a "modified" form of church government to appease the Presbyterians.<sup>46</sup>

In most cases where the Scotch-Irish were in the majority, however, they formed Presbyterian churches. The

Scotch-Irish settlers of Francestown formed a Presbyterian church in 1772, the same year the town was incorporated. Three years later, the Presbyterians in town were honored when the aging David MacGregor brought one of his fiery sermons to "Dea. Hopkins' barn."<sup>47</sup> Presbyterian churches were started in Litchfield, Antrim, Peterborough, and New Boston, while in the town of Deering, the town church fluctuated between Congregational and Presbyterian forms of government.<sup>48</sup>

In 1767, New Hampshire welcomed its first new governor in twenty-five years. Gov. John Wentworth took an active interest in his native province, and he had the courage and strength of character to take on the most difficult problems. The same year he took office, he began pushing leaders in the house and council to agree upon a plan to divide New Hampshire into counties. At about the same time, for reasons that remain obscure, New Hampshire conducted its first provincial census. There was a new tax inventory taken that year as well. Since the returns of both the census and the inventory have survived, it is possible to test one against the other, and for the first time, compute a ratio of the total population to rateables.<sup>49</sup>

Londonderry's 455 polls in 1767 amounted to 3.8% of the province total. Its census figure of 2,389 made it the second largest town in the province and gave Londonderry 4.5% of the total population. Put another way,

Londonderry's polls represented more actual people than did province polls on the average. Londonderry's ratio of total population to rateables was 5.25 in 1767; New Hampshire's ratio was 4.4. This was not peculiar to 1767. In 1773, Londonderry's ratio of total population to rateables was 5.45; New Hampshire's in 1773 was 4.77.<sup>50</sup> It can not be assumed that Londonderry's high ratio had anything to do with its size, age, or demographic maturity. Only four towns in New Hampshire had higher ratios in 1767: The 144-year-old community of Rye, the tiny frontier communities of Monson and Lyndeborough, and Windham--a Scotch-Irish community that was still technically a parish of Londonderry in 1767. In the predominantly Scotch-Irish communities of Londonderry, Windham, Derryfield, Bedford, Peterborough, and New Boston, the ratio of population to rateables in 1767 averaged 4.95--well above the average of the province.<sup>51</sup>

One plausible explanation for this disparity is that the Scotch-Irish towns, and particularly those east of the Merrimack, were continually plagued by transients in the years before the Revolution. While town authorities were willing to count these people in a census, they were unwilling to give them the right to vote in town affairs or count them for the purpose of being rated for the provincial tax. Hence, while the population soared, the number of polls rose at a more conservative rate. In the census of 1767, for instance, Londonderry reported 592 men

in town, sixteen years of age or older. In that same year, they listed only 455 polls.<sup>52</sup> Put another way, only 76.8% of those eligible to vote and pay taxes in Londonderry were allowed to do so. In the province as a whole, 91.3% of those eligible to pay taxes and vote by virtue of sex, race, and age were given the privilege. Even in a port city like Portsmouth, which would be expected to have more of a transient problem than a back-country town, 79.7% of its potentially eligible voters were enfranchised.

Authorities in Portsmouth were somewhat puzzled by Londonderry's apparent discrepancies between eligible voters and polls. In the census of 1775, which was conducted for the purpose of raising an army, Londonderry reported a total of 627 men above the age of sixteen. Yet two years later, Londonderry reported only 514 polls on its tax inventory. Apparently, state officials felt the figure was too low; they sent the invoice back to the Londonderry selectmen with instructions to try again. The selectmen returned the original invoice with a letter stating that "it was not out of any contemp of your authority that we Did not Take it over again," but since it was "so ably Done" the first time, "we think you have got the Substance of what you Required."<sup>53</sup>

If Londonderry's Scotch-Irish leaders spoke with confidence, even arrogance, during the Revolution, it was for good reason. From meager beginnings, their little town



had become New Hampshire's second largest community. Londonderry could boast that it had had a substantial hand in populating an additional fourteen New Hampshire communities reporting in the 1777 tax inventory. Its early Scotch-Irish leaders had carved out a small haven for their own kind, one that attracted Scotch-Irish immigrants but was less than cordial to "the People of New England." The experiment could not be repeated in New Hampshire. The Scotch-Irish as a group were not sole proprietors of other Scotch-Irish towns in the province. Yet this did not stop the Scotch-Irish from moving quickly into some of the speculative townships established on paper by Massachusetts, where in many cases they simply bought out absentee proprietors, or at the very least, bought their own lots of land. Yet their impact should not be exaggerated. The Scotch-Irish never numbered more than 10% of New Hampshire's total population.

Nor is it easy to determine who was really "Scotch-Irish by the time of the Revolution. A variety of factors indicate that the second generation of Scotch-Irish, particularly those living outside of Londonderry, were assimilating with their English neighbors by mid-century. Some of this ethnicity and subsequent assimilation can be seen when looking at the agricultural economy of New Hampshire's provincial Scotch-Irish farmers.

Notes

1. The quote is from Ezra S. Stearns, "Contributions to the History of Londonderry, N.H.," NEHGR, 51 (1897), 467-72, and particularly p. 469.
2. NHSP, 5: 2.
3. For thorough documentation of the contract and subsequent voyage, see N.H. State Archives, Court Records, Pierce v. Boyes (#25350).
4. Thomas Jameson, William Dickey, Thomas Boyes, George Robinson, John Carr, and William Cox were all aboard the Lime and also appear in Londonderry's 1742 tax invoice. The last three men were listed as transients.
5. Parker, Londonderry, 218-19; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 172.
6. Potter, Manchester, 167-87; Chase, Chester, 68-69.
7. An account of this assault may be found in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group I (Executive Records), Box 2. Also, see NHSP, 5: 392.
8. Potter, Manchester, 170-71, 179-81.
9. Potter, Manchester, 167-68, 181, 185-87.
10. Massachusetts House Journal, 5: 8, 431.
11. Akagi, Town Proprietors, 190-91.
12. Potter, Manchester, 201-08. The quote is from the group's petition to Massachusetts authorities on 13 December 1734. See also NHSP, 24: 178-84.
13. Potter, Manchester, 206-08, 212; Chase, Chester, 68-69. The Massachusetts proprietors asked for and received equivalent lands in Maine to make up for their loss of Tyngstown. NHSP, 24: 186-88.
14. Potter, Manchester, 258-66; Chase, Chester, 81-86, 111-12; Parker, Londonderry, 95; Browne, Londonderry Records, 302; NHSP, 6: 12.
15. History of Bedford (1903), 90-95. The actual proprietors records are transcribed on pp. 118-213. See

also NHSP, 24: 13-15; History of Bedford (1851), 100-02.

16. History of Bedford (1903), 85-86, 198. For a list of residents in 1743 who also held a proprietary share in town, see pp. 654-55. For Goffe's 1739 deeds, see Goffe Papers, NHHS.

17. History of Bedford (1903), 214-15.

18. History of Bedford (1903), 193-94, 198-200, 279-81, 326-28. According to the early entries in Matthew Patten's diary, Houston had been giving occasional sermons in Bedford since 1754.

19. History of Bedford (1903), 201-02.

20. NHSP, 24: 16-20; History of Bedford (1903), 95-104, 200.

21. NHSP, 5: 119-120; History of Bedford (1903), 108-09.

22. History of Bedford (1903), 109-13.

23. History of Bedford (1903), 656-57.

24. History of Bedford (1903), 201; History of Bedford (1851), 110.

25. History of Bedford (1903), 238-39, 326-28.

26. The History of Merrimack, New Hampshire, Vol. 1 (Merrimack, N.H.: Merrimack Historical Society, 1976), 30-33; NHSP, 25: 334-38.

27. History of Merrimack, 46-47.

28. NHSP, 9: 548-50.

29. History of Merrimack, 68-76, 81-92.

30. George Plummer Hadley, History of the Town of Goffstown, 1733-1920, 2 vols. (Goffstown, N.H.: by the town, 1922, 1924), 1: 51-57; NHSP, 24: 105-126. The approved grant was the so-called Medford Farm, which appears in Matthew Patten's original survey of Goffstown.

31. For background on the Masonian Proprietors, see Akagi, Town Proprietors, 233-41.

32. Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 58.

33. For details, see Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 58-61.

34. Actually, there were twelve Masonian Proprietors and fifteen shares. Two additional shares were reserved for their attorneys. For a discussion of Masonian grants, see Akagi, Town Proprietors, 239-41; Clark, Eastern Frontier, 313-14.
35. NHSP, 25: 30-33; Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 102-04.
36. Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 372-73, 378.
37. Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 278-79.
38. There were actually three formal protest by the Scotch-Irish, although one was restricted to the legality of the town meeting which decided upon Currier. See NHSP, 12: 28-30.
39. Currier to inhabitants of Goffstown, 1771, in Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 379-80.
40. NHSP, 9: 307-08; 12: 27-28.
41. NHSP, 12: 27.
42. Hadley, Goffstown, 1: 381-83.
43. The petition is located in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group III (General Court Records), Petitions.
44. NHSP, 13: 566-70.
45. George Abbot Morison, History of Peterborough, New Hampshire, Vol. 1 (Rindge, N.H.: Richard R. Smith, 1954), 58. Ten families came from Lunenburg, Massachusetts.
46. J. L. Merrill, ed., History of Acworth (Acworth, N.H.: by the town, 1869), 120-23, 145.
47. W. R. Cochrane and George K. Wood, History of Francestown, N.H. (Nashua, N.H.: James H. Barker, 1895), 226-27.
48. Robert F. Lawrence, The New Hampshire Churches; Comprising Histories of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in the State (Claremont, N.H.: by the author, 1856), 162-63.
49. The inventory and the census are published in NHSP, 7: 166-70. Londonderry's manuscript returns have been lost.
50. The 1773 figures are taken from Greene and Harrington, Population, 72, 76. See also NHSP, 7: 326-29.

51. Londonderry (5.25), New Boston (4.11), Peterborough (4.43), Derryfield (4.9), Bedford (4.21), Windham (5.5).

52. NHSP 7: 169. "Polls" were defined in 1767 as recognized voters, sixteen years of age and up. NHSP, 7: 143.

53. For the census of 1775, see NHSP, 7: 750. The Londonderry invoice and the selectmen's cover letter of 17 September 1777, may be found in the N.H. State Archives, Record Group IV (Secretary of State), Invoices, Londonderry, Box 20.

## Chapter IX

### Potatoes and Pumpkins:

#### Ethnic Foods in Provincial New Hampshire

Being a Scotch-Irish farmer in eighteenth-century New Hampshire had a few drawbacks. He might, for instance, on any given day, find an English neighbor in his yard, dressed as a sorry peddler or tinker and riding a sorrier excuse for a horse. The "peddler's" saddlebags might be filled with potatoes and a jug of buttermilk, and with "affected blarney" the Englishman would sell his wares: "Buttermilk and peraties! Buttermilk and peraties! Paddy, will you buy?" The insult was followed by a hasty retreat--as hasty as the poor nag allowed--until the next Scotch-Irish farm was reached and the insult repeated. Not to be outdone, the Scotch-Irish farmer rode to the "Puritan's" house in similar disguise, and, pinching his nose "in true Roundhead style," yelled to his English neighbor, "Pumpkins and Molasses! Pumpkins and Molasses! Barebones, will you buy?"<sup>1</sup>

Yet "Paddy" and "Pumpkin" lived side by side in eighteenth-century New Hampshire, constituting the two major ethnic groups in the province. They did not always get along; differences in dialect, religion, social customs, and diet forced the English and Scotch-Irish to

eye one another suspiciously. Over time these differences shrank. By the end of the century, if not earlier, Ulster and England were at peace on the rocky slopes of New Hampshire.

The mere mention of potatoes and pumpkins suggests a way of studying this process of assimilation. No sooner had the Scotch-Irish farmer begun to plant his potatoes than his English neighbor observed the act in derision. Food was perceived as a genuine distinguishing characteristic in both groups, and the gastronomic peculiarities of both were scrutinized and scorned. Yet they were also copied. In time, Paddy grew pumpkins in his garden, and Pumpkin, after some misgiving, discovered that potatoes were not so bad after all.

As soon as the first wave of Scotch-Irish settlers began combing ashore, the "Puritans" of New England began noting some of their peculiarities. The Scotch-Irish spoke with a heavy accent; they did not eat pork (at first); their communion service was too long and their ministers too long winded; they ate a dirty little grub in the ground called a potato; their weddings and funerals were often drunken, boisterous affairs; and some of the possessions, particularly their funny looking spinning wheels, were like nothing the English had ever seen before.

Adjectives for the Scotch-Irish ranged from industrious, frugal, and sober, to dirty and drunken. New Hampshire's historian, Jeremy Belknap, took a positive view

of the Scotch-Irish as he looked back over the years: "These people are industrious, frugal and hospitable. The men are sanguine and robust. The women are of lively dispositions, and the native white and red complexion of Ireland is not lost in New Hampshire."<sup>2</sup> More than their complexion seems to have been in order, as one nineteenth-century historian noted that the Scotch-Irish men had "splendid bodies and perfect digestion."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Connecticut's John Winthrop, writing from New London in 1717, was hardly taken by the "lively dispositions" of Scotch-Irish women. His "Irish" housemaid "was fitt to live nowhere butt in Virginia, and if she would not mend her ways I should send her thither; tho I am sure no body would give her passage thither to have her services for 20 years, she is such a high spirited pernicious jade."<sup>4</sup>

One obvious factor working against the first Scotch-Irish immigrants was a matter of mistaken identity. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were often confused with the hated Irish Catholics. According to Belknap, this confusion led many English farmers in New Hampshire to react coolly to the first Scotch-Irish immigrants.<sup>5</sup> The early historian of Worcester, Massachusetts, was more blunt. "Differences of language, habits, and ceremonial, laid the foundation of unreasonable hatred...." The Scotch-Irish "were not treated with common decency by their English neighbors. Their settlements...were



approached by bodies of armed men, and their property, in some instances, wantonly destroyed. They were every where abused and misrepresented as Irish...."<sup>6</sup>

Most contemporary and secondary accounts of the Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire agree that the Ulster migration resulted in two material developments: fine linen cloth and the potato. Jeremy Belknap is the most commonly quoted source. "These people (Scotch-Irish) brought with them the necessary materials for the manufacture of linen; and their spinning wheels, turned by the foot, were a novelty in the country. They also introduced the culture of potatoes...."<sup>7</sup> The potato became popular in Ireland after the English Civil War, it is said, because it was not easily burned like wheat and could not be driven off like cattle.<sup>8</sup>

While there is nothing wrong with the accounts of Belknap and others, they do not go far enough. For one thing, they fail to mention other Scotch-Irish dietetic habits. For example, being something of a teetotaler, Jeremy Belknap would not have approved of that element within the "culture of potatoes" resulting in potato whiskey. Even stranger than the Scotch-Irish love for potato whiskey was their unfamiliarity with pork. Of all of the European domestic animals brought to America, the pig made the easiest and most thorough adjustment to the wilderness. Hogs were a standard farm animal in New England at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. Yet they were

virtually unknown on Ulster farms at the same time. In addition the Scotch-Irish may have had one other peculiarity when it came to food. Samuel Johnson once remarked that oats were fed to horses in England and to men in Scotland. The English apparently had no taste for oat-based cereals and breads. The Scots in both Scotland and Ireland did, however. Archbishop Hugh Boulter of Ireland once referred to oatmeal as the "bread of the north," meaning Ulster. Unfortunately, while it is known that Scotch-Irish farmers in New Hampshire raised oats, it is not known whether they fed man or beast.<sup>9</sup>

Another shortcoming of traditional accounts of the coming of the Scotch-Irish to New England is that they say nothing of Scotch-Irish reaction to English food. Sometimes the results were humorous, such as this incident in Warren, Maine, in 1739. A Scotch-Irish immigrant, upon being made a captain in the militia, bought a jug of rum for the men of his neighborhood; for the women, he suggested his wife prepare some tea. Both the tea and the rum were in the best of New England's English traditions. While the rum was taking its effect upon the men, the newly-appointed captain looked in upon the ladies, only to discover that his wife was serving the buttered tea leaves as food. When asked about the tea, the wife replied: "That is good for nothing, for I poured it out, and the very pigs would not drink it."<sup>10</sup>

The Scotch-Irish, of course, were not totally unfamiliar with Englishmen and English customs. They had shared the Ulster countryside with English farmers. Yet the "English" they encountered in New England were somewhat different than the "English" they had left behind in Ulster. While the Scotch-Irish represented a new wave of immigration, their English neighbors in New England were three and four generations removed from England. English farms had made substantial adjustments in order to be compatible with the American wilderness.

English farms were "foreign" to the Scotch-Irish for a number of reasons. Besides the ever-present and sometimes annoying hogs, English fields contained a number of crops unknown in Ulster. Most obvious was Indian corn. From the very first winter spent in New England, Indian corn had been the standard, staple grain of English farmers in the region. It was not that the early English settlers had given up European grains like wheat and rye, it was just the Indian corn grew better in New England during early settlement. Not until the 1650's a full generation after first settlement in Massachusetts, do the records say much about wheat and rye. By this time, Indian corn had become New England's favorite.<sup>11</sup>

Indian corn certainly predominated in New Hampshire from the outset. A 1635 inventory of food and supplies at Captain John Mason's settlements in the Great Bay area reported a total of 332 bushels of corn, but only 13

barrels of oat meal, 47 barrels of "meal," 27 barrels of "malt," and 32 barrels of peas. New Hampshire province tax laws after 1680 generally list a number of commodities which could be paid in lieu of cash. While the items vary from year to year, corn always heads the list. By 1750, the best firsthand travel account available states that although oats and barley were grown in New Hampshire's seacoast area, corn was the province's chief grain. Little wheat was grown; instead, flour was brought in from New York and Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup> A final testimony in favor of corn comes from the diary of Stratham tanner Samuel Lane in 1748: "We had a terrible Draught in the Summer, which cut Short our English corn & grass verry much: and threatened our Indian Corn; but that Stood it wonderfully."<sup>13</sup>

If corn was the most obvious feature of an English farm in the eighteenth century, it was not the only item to raise Scotch-Irish eyebrows. English farms featured pumpkins; squash; and beans, which when combined with corn resulted in a dish called "succotash." English farmers also extracted sap from maple trees in spring, spent portions of each summer fishing or picking nuts and berries, and, in fall, went hunting for a variety of animals, some of which were native to only North America. Finally, the English farmer quenched his thirst with a couple of drinks unfamiliar to the Scotch-Irish farmer: cider and New England rum.<sup>14</sup>

Much of what the Scotch-Irish found peculiar about English farms in New England originated with the Indians. Since the early seventeenth-century, English farmers had made substantial adjustments to the American wilderness, and their teachers in this learning process had been the very natives whose culture was deemed to be inferior. Indian tribes in New England not only grew corn, beans, pumpkins, and squash, but they had developed a wide variety of ways to prepare these items for consumption. Corn might not only be mixed with beans to make succotash, but it might be made into "samp," a cornmeal porridge, or made into cornbread, using a variety of nuts and berries for flavor.<sup>15</sup>

From the woods and fields, Indians gathered beechnuts, chestnuts, hickorynuts, cherries, plums, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, cranberries, gooseberries, elderberries, blueberries, and even wild rice and wild onions. They also ate a native grape but did not make wine. They had no domestic animals, save for their dogs, but hunted for their meals, eating all except carnivores. They fished for both salt water and freshwater fish, with the former providing them with the salt needed in their diet.

Indians also ate virtually all parts of animals they killed. Jeremy Belknap records such culinary delights prepared by the Indians as the lip of moose, beaver tail, and broth made with boiled bass heads. They usually cooked

meats, either by boiling, broiling, roasting, or even barbecuing. Indians also had ways of preserving flesh, either by packing it in snow or smoking it.<sup>16</sup>

Although the Indian farmer of seventeenth-century New England may have employed simple and crude techniques, some worked and were quickly adopted by the English. When English settlers started growing corn, for instance, they also began using fish as fertilizer. Belknap admits that the Indian method of timing the spring planting was still used in the late eighteenth century. Corn was to be planted "when the leaves of the white oak are as big as the ear of a mouse."<sup>17</sup>

Hence, when Scotch-Irish farmers came to New Hampshire in 1719, one recorded process of agricultural assimilation had already taken place. The English farmer in New England had mixed his domestic livestock, along with some of his grains and fruits, with a strong, native agricultural tradition. It now remained for Paddy and Pumpkin to bring their farming traditions together.

English farmers were quick to note both the potatoes and the flax of the Scotch-Irish. In the Londonderry grant of 1722, the Scotch-Irish were even allowed to pay off their annual quit rent in potatoes.<sup>18</sup> The English soon became interested in both commodities, although they approached the potato with caution. In Worcester, for instance, relations between the Scotch-Irish and English had started so poorly, that when the Irish gave their

English neighbors some potatoes as a gift, the latter suspected the offer to be poisonous. They tossed them into a convenient swamp on the way home.<sup>19</sup> In Andover, Massachusetts, the English were more trusting. They planted potatoes, but knowing nothing about them, tried to eat the blossom.<sup>20</sup>

A quick look at English farm journals, however, indicates that the English farmers began to learn from their Irish neighbors. The diary of Concord's Timothy Walker mentions spreading flax in the year 1746. Walker also grew his own tobacco, made his own cider, and raised corn, hay, rye, wheat, barley, oats, peas, cabbages, cucumbers, turnips, squash, beans, parsnips, as well as apples and plums in his orchard. His farm animals consisted of hogs, sheep, oxen, cattle, and horses. In the years prior to the Revolution, Alton's Ephraim Robert mentions flax in his diary, along with corn, hay, rye, wheat, peas, and turnips. Roberts went on to mention a potato crop in 1774. James Birket noted in his 1750 journal that English farms in the Portsmouth area supply the port with a variety of meats, including mutton and veal, along with a wide variety of garden crops, fruits, wild berries, and "English, or whats commonly called Irish Potatoes also the Sweet Potatoe." In 1753, William Douglass in his Summary, noted that Irish potatoes of several varieties grew well all over New England by 1753.

By mid-century, potatoes were being exported from Salem and Boston to ports in Virginia.<sup>21</sup>

Yet if the Scotch-Irish were successful in getting their English neighbors to raise flax and potatoes, they seem to have given ground in some other areas. Upon first arriving in Londonderry, Scotch-Irish settlers supplemented their European diets with Indian samp and bean porridge. They arrived in New Hampshire with very little livestock. By 1723, however, a variety of farm animals were reported in Londonderry, including the once-detested pig. The area proved excellent for orchards as well, and before long, potato whiskey had given way to apple cider.<sup>22</sup>

In one respect, the Scotch-Irish found New England very much like home in Ulster. Soon after arriving in Nutfield, the Reverend James MacGregor was led to Amoskeag Falls by a local Indian. In Ulster, the Scotch-Irish had been skilled freshwater fishermen, catching salmon, shad, and eels in the Bann and Foyle rivers. Before long, Scotch-Irish farmers began spending summer days at hand-picked fishing spots at Amoskeag.<sup>23</sup> Some fishing spots were so choice, that local people would remain at the falls over the Sabbath in order to claim the best location on Monday morning. In 1764, the New Hampshire assembly passed a law forbidding this practice.<sup>24</sup> The Scotch-Irish fished in other New England rivers as well. There is at least one recorded incident in Maine where an Indian tribe, living upstream from a favorite Scotch-Irish



fishing spot, threatened hostilities unless the Scotch-Irish let more fish through their nets.<sup>25</sup>

Scotch-Irish interest in the fishing grounds at Amoskeag, and particularly their love for eels, led to some ethnic humor on the part of their English neighbors. Some went so far as to refer to eels as "Derryfield beef," after the Scotch-Irish town nearest the falls. The English spread the word that the Scotch-Irish in Derryfield ate nothing but eels, and added in poetic jest:

That the marks of eels were so plain to trace  
That the children looked like eels in the face  
And before they walked, and it is well confirmed  
That the children never crept but squirmed.

Such a mighty power did the squirmers wield,  
O'er the goodly men of old Derryfield  
It was often said that their only care,  
And their only wish and their only prayer  
For the present world and the world to come,  
Was a string of eels and a jug of rum.<sup>26</sup>

The most complete account of a New Hampshire Scotch-Irish farm may be found in the diary of Bedford's Matthew Patten.<sup>27</sup> Patten's diary runs from 1754 through 1788, and covers a vast range of rural activities: farming, logging, hunting and trapping, fishing, surveying, collecting maple sap, and even a brief fling at beekeeping. Potatoes and flax appear at the outset of Patten's accounts, yet so too do Indian corn and hogs. By 1763, Patten was growing pumpkins. He fished regularly at Amoskeag Falls for shad, salmon, and eels. While fishing was serious business to Patten, he admits in June of 1759 of having "went a frolicking to Namaskeag with my wife...."

He hunted and trapped for native game as well, catching forty pigeons in September 1759. More often, he went hunting for deer. There were even days devoted to gathering nuts and berries, such as October 15, 1761, when "my wife and I went Chestnuting but made a poor hand of it." Like his English neighbors, Patten quenched his thirst with cider and rum, admitting in August 1784 that "...we drank 3 1/2 Quarts of Rum this week...."<sup>28</sup> Not every entry in Patten's diary rings of pure truth. In September 1768 he recorded: "in the morning a great Frost it killed the Corn potatoes pumpkins etc and I killed 18 pigeons at two Shots and we worked at the Meadow."<sup>29</sup>

By the time the first and second waves of Scotch-Irish immigrants were passing from the scene, it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish an English from a Scotch-Irish farm. Instead, farms in New Hampshire differed from one another on grounds of age, terrain, and location more than upon grounds of ethnic origin. Stratham's Samuel Lane summed up a complete New Hampshire farm when he wrote a note of Thanksgiving in his diary in 1793. He gave thanks "for my Corn, Wheat, Rye Grass and Hay; Wool, Flax, Syder, Apples, Pumpkins, Potatoes, Cabages, turnips, Carrots, Beets, peaches and other fruits...Wood, Water, Butter, Cheese, Milk, Port, Beefe, & fish, etc....for Tea, Sugar, Rum, Wine, Gin, Molasses, pepper, Spice & Money for the (to?) by other Necesseties and to pay my Debts & Taxes etc."<sup>30</sup> With the possible

exception of port, gin, and wine, Bedford's Matthew Patten would have shared Lane's feelings on all of the above. Scotch-Irish and English farmers had been quick to learn from one another. The resulting blend of foods retained its native American flavor, while also consisting of the best of the European diet. Only in the Scotch-Irish farms in and around Londonderry might a late eighteenth-century traveler have seen an inordinate number of fields of flax. For it was the linen trade that most distinguished the early Scotch-Irish from their English neighbors.

Notes

1. Story told in Elliott C. Cogswell, History of New Boston, New Hampshire (Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery, 1864), 96.
2. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 198.
3. Green, "Scotch-Irish," 64.
4. M.H.S. Collections, 55: 354n. See also p. 353n.
5. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 195.
6. Lincoln, Worcester, 48.
7. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 193.
8. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 152.
9. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 231; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 262; Robert R. Walcott, "Husbandry in Colonial New England," The New England Quarterly, 9 (June 1936): 218-252, especially 236; Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860 (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1925), 14. The Boulter quote is in Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 47.
10. Eaton, Warren, 57.
11. Bidwell and Falconer, Agriculture, 9-12; Walcott, "Husbandry," 232.
12. NHSP, 1: 115-117; Albert Stillman Batchellor, et al., eds., Laws of New Hampshire, 10 vols. (Manchester and Concord, 1904-1922), 1: 39, 40, 46, 52, 64; James Birket, Some Cursory Remarks Made by James Birket in His Voyage to North America, 1750-1751 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1916), 10.
13. Samuel Lane, A Journal for the Years 1739-1803, Charles Lane Hanson, ed., (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1937), 68. Hereafter, Lane, Diary.
14. For New Hampshire farming in the provincial period, see Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 87, 99-107.

15. For Indian agriculture and foods, see Howard S. Russell, Indian New England Before the Mayflower (Hanover, N.H.: Univ. Press of New England, 1980), 72-95; Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 69-70.
16. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 70.
17. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 2: 70.
18. Browne, Londonderry Records, 40.
19. Lincoln, Worcester, 49n.
20. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 193; Parker, Londonderry, 49.
21. Timothy Walker, "Diaries of the Rev. Timothy Walker," Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. 9 (Concord, N.H.: by the Society, 1889), 123-91; Ephraim Roberts, Mss. diary, 1773-1776, in the NHHS. Lane, Diary, 21; Birket, Some Cursory Remarks, 9; William Douglass, A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North America, 2 vols. (Boston: D. Fowle, 1749, 1753), 2: 181; Howard S. Russell, A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England (Hanover, N.H.: Univ. Press of New England, 1976), 138.
22. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 233; Parker, Londonderry, 49.
23. Patten, Diary, 16, 37-38, 51, 64-65, 83, and passim.
24. Parker, Londonderry, 48; Batchellor, N.H. Laws, 3: 340-41.
25. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 51-52.
26. Traditional poem found in William Little, The History of Weare, New Hampshire, 1735-1888 (Lowell, Mass.: S. W. Huse, 1888), 95-96.
27. The original of this diary is in the NHHS.
28. Patten, Diary, 51, 87, 489.
29. Patten, Diary, 221.
30. Lane, Diary, 21.

## Chapter X

### The Fabric of Change: Scotch-Irish Linen Trade in 18th Century New Hampshire

The Scotch-Irish came to New England with a variety of skills. While most were farmers, many were styled weavers, cordwainers, tailors, traders, and coopers. Women styled as "spinsters" were being identified by their skill as much as their marital status. Many Scotch-Irish skills involved the manufacture and distribution of linen cloth. Whereas the English population of New England, in spite of various bounties, had generally failed to produce enough linen to satisfy local demand, the Scotch-Irish made linen a commercial success. Their combined skills in the linen trade constituted an ethnic trait that was admired, even envied, by their English neighbors. In time, the linen trade ceased to be a strictly Scotch-Irish activity. Just as the two groups borrowed from one another's fields and gardens, they also began to work together in the household. By the time that water-powered machinery killed off New England's linen trade, English weavers, spinsters, and farmers were as skilled as the Scotch-Irish in making linen thread and cloth.

The ability of New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish population to make superior qualities and quantities of linen cloth has been more lauded than studied. Nineteenth century town histories, particularly those written by descendants of Scotch-Irish settlers, look back in awe at the supposed skill of Scotch-Irish farmers, spinsters, weavers, and traders. At the time these histories were written, homemade linen was but a memory, a victim of the Industrial Revolution. Yet the linen trade was a memory invariably identified with the Scotch-Irish, and particularly the Scotch-Irish farms of Londonderry.

The actual process of making linen cloth by hand is well known. New Hampshire's Scotch-Irish made no brilliant or innovative changes here. There were several basic steps necessary to "get out the flax," whether the operation took place in New Hampshire, Ulster, Russia, or the Middle East. In New Hampshire, flax ground was usually plowed and flax seed sown in late April or early May.<sup>1</sup> In June, the flax would blossom, turning New Hampshire flax fields into waving sheets of blue. The flax was ready to be pulled at some time between the last week in July and the first or second week in August. After drying for a few days, the pulled flax would be brought to the barn where it was threshed, often by using a ripple comb. The threshing operation would remove the seed, a valuable commodity in its own right.

What remained was the flax stalk. The process of "getting out the flax" was simply a matter of separating the flax fibre from the unwanted part of the stalk. This required a number of steps. First, the stalk had to be rotted, or rhetted, a smelly operation necessary to soften the stalk and make the fibre more easily removable. The stalk could either be placed in water ("water rotted"), in which case it would be ready in about three weeks; or it could be spread on the ground ("field rotted"), and be ready in about four weeks.<sup>2</sup> Bedford's Matthew Patten may be a good guide here; he usually field rotted his flax, starting in the last week of August.<sup>3</sup> The rotted flax was then gathered up, dried, and placed in a barn until the next year.

The remaining steps did not depend upon nature. At any time between February and April, the flax would be broken, swingled, and hackled. In the breaking operation, the stalks would be drawn across a flax "brake," which would break up the core of the stalk, but leave the fibre intact. The swingling, or scutching operation, was a more delicate operation whereby a wooden swingling knife was used to remove the broken pieces of core. Swingling took more talent than some of the other steps, and specially trained men might travel from farm to farm to perform the task.<sup>4</sup> Matthew Patten usually brought in extra help for swingling, an annual task that would take from one to three days. The next step, variously called combing, hackling,



or hetchelling, was simply a matter of running the swingled fibres through the teeth of a hackle, or hetchel. This would separate the longer flax fibres from shorter fibres, called "tow." Tow came in various grades (fine, course, and swingle) and was spun and woven into coarse, utilitarian cloth--used for everything from work shirts to meal bags. Tow was also used to make twine.

The long fibres of flax were tied into knots, or "hanks," and hung somewhere in the house. These hanks would be taken down when needed and spun into fine linen thread. The spinning operation was done almost entirely by women, and might take place at any time of the year. Spinning took place on any given month at Matthew Patten's Bedford farm, although he generally brought in extra help to assist the Patten women spin linen thread during the period between February and April.

The spun thread was passed over to a clock reel, which, beside keeping the thread from tangling, served to measure the linen thread into "skeins."<sup>5</sup> Skeins of thread were then taken to a weaver, along with instructions as to what kind of weave was desired. The resulting cloth would be brown in color. Tow cloth would be kept brown, but cloth used for handkerchiefs, shirts, tablecloths, possibly towels, and several other uses would have to be bleached. In Ulster, this was done by "bleachers," using "lye boils" and spreading the cloth on special "bleaching greens," perhaps as large as twenty-five to thirty acres in

size.<sup>6</sup> In New Hampshire, however, there is no mention of bleaching greens, and it would appear that bleaching was a backyard operation.

The individual farmer might retain ownership of some of his flax through the clothmaking stage. He would then either trade the cloth or have it made into something used by his own family. Yet the farmer might also give up ownership of the flax after one of the intermediate stages. Not only was flaxseed frequently traded, but so was swingled and hackled flax, tow and linen thread, and unbleached cloth. In 1772, for instance, Matthew Patten received "1  $\text{t}$  and 6 ounces of Heckled flax and 2  $\text{t}$  of tabacca," as payment for surveying a lot, while in 1780, he traded one hundred eels for seventeen pounds of flax. His wife took both cloth and thread to Boston to trade in 1767--a lengthy ride for a woman five months pregnant. When Patten received a pound of flax as payment in 1778, he claimed it to be worth one bushel of corn.<sup>7</sup>

Matthew Patten had been used frequently here as an example for good reason. The diary of this Scotch-Irish immigrant, covering the years 1754 through 1788, is one of the finest extant eighteenth-century diaries available. It served as an account book as well as a diary, and it reveals a wide range of economic activities. Mixed in with this collage of Scotch-Irish farm life are continuing references to sowing flaxseeds, pulling flax, rotting the flax, breaking and swingling, spinning, and finally,

Patten's accounts with various weavers. There are a couple of biases with this diary. For one thing, it concentrates on the activities of Patten himself, to the exclusion of family members. Secondly, since it served as an account book, it is biased toward financial transactions, and frequently ignores other activities. If Patten's sons spent the day gathering hay, the activity might not be mentioned in the diary. However, if they had been helped by a neighbor, this would constitute a service to Patten, and would be recorded.

In the year 1766, Patten was particularly dutiful about recording the various flax-related activities going on around his Bedford farm. Throughout January, Patten performed a variety of normal winter tasks around the farm: he salted beef, slaughtered two hogs, brought in some loads of hay, and repaired his sled.<sup>8</sup> In February, however, the process of making linen began. On February 4, Alexander Orr came to brake and swingle flax at Patten's Bedford farm. He was assisted by one Charles Black and possibly by members of the Patten family. In two days, they left Matthew Patten with one hundred pounds of flax.<sup>9</sup>

On February 19, neighbor Hitty Carrier came to the Patten farm to spin. It is not known how many days she stayed with the Pattens or even if she was spinning flax. However, on March 3, Patten took some "linen Yearn" to weaver David McCleary.<sup>10</sup>

McCleary must have been a fast worker, for just two weeks later, on the seventeenth, Patten returned to the weaver's house to find 30 3/4 yards of linen cloth. It was a simple matter to pay McCleary for his labor; the weaver simply kept six yards of the cloth.<sup>11</sup>

Patten made no mention of purchasing flaxseed in 1766, so he must have had a sufficient quantity left over from his threshing of the year before. He also made no mention of plowing his flax ground in 1766, but he did mention that on April 30, he "sowed 2 bushell of Flax seed above the Barn...."<sup>12</sup>

On May 17, Sarah Currier came to Patten's house to spend three days spinning. She would repeat this act again in mid summer, although it is not known what it was that she was spinning. It may have been flax, as the Currier family appears throughout the Patten diary in flax-related tasks. Also, Patten usually specifies when someone comes to work at the "Great Wheel" to spin wool. However, Sarah Currier may have also spun wool for Patten, for two months after her summer visit, Patten took woolen yarn to a weaver in Derryfield.<sup>13</sup>

By mid July, it was time to pull the flax. On July 14, 15, and 16, Sarah Currier returned to help members of the Patten family pull flax. On the last day, some of the flax was placed in water, presumably after being threshed. This was early in the year for a water rotting operation. The remainder of the pulled flax ws probably left to dry

and then brought into the barn. The water-rotted flax was collected on August 9, but no further mention of flax or linen appears in the diary until September 13, when Patten went to Londonderry and purchased a linen wheel for his mother-in-law.<sup>14</sup>

The ever present Sarah Currier returned to the Patten farm on September 18, and for the next three days helped members of the family thresh flax and spread the flax to field rot. While the flax rotted in the fields, the Patten household turned to a different fabric. Between September 15 and October 3, Ann and Margaret Wallace were usually living with the Pattens and spinning wool.<sup>15</sup>

On October 13 and 14, approximately four weeks after spreading the flax, Matthew Patten charged his sons with the disagreeable task of gathering the rotted flax. This is the last time flax or linen is mentioned in Patten's diary for the year 1766. The rotted flax from the fields was undoubtedly dried and stored in the barn. Here, it waited for the return of Alexander Orr, who along with Jonathan Currier, broke and swingled flax for Matthew Patten on February 12, 1767.<sup>16</sup>

Revealing as the Patten diary may be, it does not really say whether there was anything peculiarly Scotch-Irish about the linen trade in eighteenth-century New Hampshire. It is true that Patten was Scotch-Irish and those mentioned in his diary as being associated with flax and linen were Scotch-Irish as well. Hence it is tempting

to think of New Hampshire's linen trade as being the virtual monopoly of a group of emigrants from Ulster, a recognized European linen center.

Whereas Ulster was known for its fine linen in the eighteenth century, England was a failure at either growing flax or producing linen. In spite of various schemes, including efforts to force women and poor children to spin flax for meager pay, the English could never seem to produce enough linen to meet domestic demand.<sup>17</sup>

Ireland, and particularly Ulster, was a very different story. Skilled flax and linen workers had come to Ulster from Holland and France in the seventeenth century. Their expertise, combined with Ireland's exclusion from other markets, made the production of linen both feasible and necessary. English officials even went along with Irish linen production, although not always enthusiastically. Said one official, the linen industry should be allowed to prosper in Ireland "...since it can be of no prejudice to Great Britain and ...is in a manner all that is left to Ireland and ought therefore to be encouraged as much as possible."<sup>18</sup> By 1702, Ireland was exporting £6,000 of linen annually to English and European markets, and in 1711, a linen board was set up in Ireland to help the country import more flaxseed. In the years before the American Revolution, Irish linens were among the most prized in the world. Hence, it would seem logical that people who came from Ulster would be masters of the linen

trade--certainly more masterful than their English neighbors.

However, Ulster was not synonymous with linen, particularly in the early eighteenth century. The manufacture of linen is a centuries-old tradition. Ulster's entry into the international linen market came partly as a result of help from the Dutch and French Huguenots. Yet many Dutch, French Huguenots, and various German groups skilled in "getting out the flax" and manufacturing fine linens were coming to America at the same time their fellow countrymen were migrating to Ulster. These groups brought their skills to the middle colonies long before the "waves" of Scotch-Irish came to America. It should also be remembered that Scotch-Irish migration to New England came early in the eighteenth century, well before the Irish linen trade reached its eighteenth-century peak. It was in the years just prior to the American Revolution that masses of linen workers fled Ireland, and very few of these wound up in New Hampshire.<sup>20</sup>

The Scotch-Irish who settled in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas were not known for producing linen on a commercial basis. It is true, that in 1695, a group of Scotch-Irish in Maryland were reported to "clothe themselves by their linen and woollen manufactures...." while another group of Scotch-Irish living in Virginia as early as the 1670's were known to make linen and woollen cloth. But there is no mention of a linen trade.<sup>21</sup>

Instead, flax was grown in the middle colonies for its seed alone. In the years before the American Revolution, flaxseed was our major export to Ireland. Flaxseed fleets would pick up the flaxseed in New York and Philadelphia; on their return trip to America, the fleet would bring Irish linen and immigrants.<sup>22</sup>

Not only did the linen trade precede the Scotch-Irish in the middle colonies, it preceded them in New England as well. Early in 1640, Connecticut went so far as to pass a law requiring citizens to plant "hemp," a term that probably included flax at this time. That same year, Massachusetts Bay authorities passed an act to encourage the manufacture of linen, cotten, and wool. They later provided a bounty for manufacturing this cloth, but had to repeal it for lack of funds. In 1641, authorities in Massachusetts Bay passed a law encouraging people to gather wild hemp and flax and make it into cloth. The last two laws came out of New England's economic troubles in the 1640's, troubles mentioned by John Winthrop in his Journal: "These straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc, and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well and to look out to the West Indies for a trade for cotton.)"<sup>23</sup>

Flax was apparently being grown in New Hampshire later in the seventeenth century. In 1698, when the Earl of Bellomont heard that flax grew well in New Hampshire, he suggested the practice be discouraged. Since linen



manufacturing was labor intensive, labor-scarce New Hampshire would do well to import its linen from Ireland.<sup>24</sup>

There is other evidence to suggest that flax was grown and linen made in Massachusetts and New Hampshire before the arrival of the Scotch-Irish. In 1676, the estate of John Farrington of Dedham listed "Two woolen wheels: Two lymen wheels," while the 1683 inventory of Dedham's Captain Daniel Fisher, Esq. listed three linen wheels. New Hampshire probate records in the early eighteenth century list linen wheels; Portsmouth's Aaron Moses left "one Spining wheel and lining wheel" in his estate in 1714. Even Samuel Sewall reported in 1716 about Madam Stoddard, "who is lame of the Sciatica, and yet spins at the Linen-wheel."<sup>25</sup>

Once the Scotch-Irish finally arrived in New England, there is no evidence to suggest they held any sort of monopoly of New England's or even New Hampshire's linen trade. Authorities in Rhode Island passed an act in 1751 to encourage raising flax and wool, while in 1753, the Connecticut Assembly gave two entrepreneurs permission to build a "water-machine" for dressing flax. Meanwhile, linen wheels continue to appear in Massachusetts inventories.<sup>26</sup>

In 1748, in an effort to relieve pauperism in Boston, a linen "manufactory" was founded by the newly formed United Society for Manufactures and Importation. Modeled

after similar efforts in England and Ireland, Boston's linen factory would be a workshop for the city's poor. Scotch-Irish officials in Londonderry were apparently concerned about the possible competition. Shortly after the announcement of the United Society's plan, the town of Londonderry appointed two men to be inspectors and sealers of their linen.<sup>27</sup>

Unfortunately for Boston and its poor, the factory did not do well. In 1753 promoters of the plan organized a public spinning demonstration on Boston Common. Three hundred spinners sat in three neat rows stretching across the Common. Thousands of spectators curiously watched the spinners, some of whom were children seven and eight years old. There were a number of spinning schools in the Boston area at this time as well. In 1754 the Boston Gazette announced that a spinning school in Charlestown was trying to hire two weavers.<sup>28</sup>

In the end, however, Boston's mid-century plunge into the linen trade, or at least the manufacturing end of it, failed miserably. Gary Nash has suggested that urban dwellers were not adept at rural skills like spinning and weaving. He cites as evidence the lack of spinning wheels and looms in Boston inventories.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of looms in Boston inventories is easy to understand; making and putting a loom together in the eighteenth century was a major undertaking. Matthew Patten gives evidence of this. From February 2, 1767, when he

"brot home the Stuff for the Loom," until October 29, 1769, Patten worked on the construction of one loom. And Patten was a skilled carpenter.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of this evidence, however, New England's linen trade had a distinct Scotch-Irish flavor. Not only did the Scotch-Irish have more skill at making linen than their English neighbors, but they gave the manufacture of linen greater importance as well. Flax and linen were central to the economy of a Scotch-Irish household.

The English in Boston were immediately intrigued by Scotch-Irish spinning skills. When the Scotch-Irish first landed in Boston in 1718, they initiated a brief "spinning craze." Some Scotch-Irish "spinsters" treated Boston to a demonstration of the foot-operated linen wheel. Early the next year, the Boston News-Letter referred to the sale of "New-fashion linen wheels." By 1720, there was talk at Boston town meeting of starting a spinning school in town.<sup>31</sup>

In his History of New-Hampshire, Jeremy Belknap noted that the Scotch-Irish "brought with them the necessary materials for the manufacture of linen; and their spinning wheels, turned by the foot, were a novelty in the country." He went on to say that flaxseed was "produced in large quantities" among the Scotch-Irish, and some was used to make linseed oil. Finally, he wrote that the Scotch-Irish towns "attend largely to the manufacture of

linen cloth and thread, and make great quantities for sale."<sup>32</sup>

Belknap's remarks are backed by a number of other sources. One Charles Blechyden wrote to the Board of Trade from Salem in 1720 that New England people made only a coarse homespun cloth of linen and cotton thread, "tho wee have lately Some hundreds of Irish Familys Setled at the Eastward which make as good Linnens and Diaper as in Ireland itself."<sup>33</sup>

Governor Belcher reported in 1731 that in New Hampshire, "the manufacture of flax into different kinds of linen was daily increased by a great resort of people from Ireland well skilled in the linen manufacture."<sup>34</sup> The Scotch-Irish in Londonderry were also singled out when the surveyor general of customs informed the Board of Trade in 1736 that the Scotch-Irish "employ themselves in making coarse linen" during the winter months. He also observed that fine linen had been made "by way of experiment only," but that it was more expensive than imported linen. Londonderry linen was either made for home use or used to "barter for British commodities."<sup>35</sup> That same year, Governor Belcher reported to the Board of Trade that the Scotch-Irish of Londonderry "make shirting linnen worth 5 shillings sterling a yard, and this may serve in answer to what their Lordships ask about Irish people, skill'd in the linnen manufacture, coming to instruct the New England people therein." According to Belcher there were two

reasons little linen was made in Massachusetts: flaxseed was almost impossible to procure, and there were very few Scotch-Irish in the province--"indeed the people of this country seem to have an aversion to them...."<sup>36</sup> In Bennett's 1740 "History of New England," the author reported that Londonderry's Scotch Irish "make pretty good linen cloth, and cheap, which serves some folks for ordinary uses."<sup>37</sup> Ten years later, James Birket lauded the "Exceeding good flax of which the Irish Settled at London derry Make...." He went on to note that "Some of the Cloth I see which was choise good Shirting Linnen and I am informed this little town increases very much."<sup>38</sup> In 1765, Robert Rogers, himself a Scotch-Irishman from New Hampshire, noted in his Concise Account of North America that Londonderry "is considerable for manufacturing of linnen." Shortly after the Revolution, the French vice-consul in Portsmouth reported to officials in France that Londonderry was an Irish colony, and that the Irish had brought the textile industry from Ireland to America.<sup>39</sup>

Nineteenth-century town histories, particularly those of Scotch-Irish towns, note that the Scotch-Irish made a great deal of high quality linen. The town history of the heavily Scotch-Irish town of Antrim says that there was a spinning wheel in every house, and that women sold linen cloth in the town of New Boston. Storeowner Caleb Stark of Dunbarton, another heavily Scotch-Irish town, claimed in

the Dunbarton town history that he took in 20,000 yards of linen cloth one year. In Acworth, New Hampshire, the town historian says some families sold \$100 of linen and woolen cloth each year. The town history of Weare, New Hampshire, claims that women would bleach linen at home by draping the linen over bushes or spreading it on the ground. This historian also claimed that a man could swingle forty pounds of flax daily.<sup>40</sup>

Women were a major part of Scotch-Irish linen making. Borrowing from the Bible, a New Boston town historian described "What the Wives Did."<sup>41</sup>

She seeketh wool and flax and worketh willingly with her hands;

She layeth her hand to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff;

She maketh fine linen and selleth it;

And of the flax, they make linen, yea the fine linen of Egypt did they make, and laid it upon the lawn to bleach and to whiten,

And watered it with a watering-pot, at the rising of the sun and at the going down of the same, and at noon-day, until it was like the snow for whiteness.

Now they beetled it upon a rock, even the rock that stands unto this day, at the threshold of the door of the house of Peggy, the daughter of John, did they beetle it;

And folded it in folds, and took it to the Fair, even the "Derry Fair," and sold it to the merchantmen of the city for shekels of gold and shekels of silver.

In Londonderry, at least one of the original proprietors was a weaver and dealer in linen cloth. James Moore, whose estate in 1749 was evaluated at £3,570,

apparently traded linen cloth in the Londonderry and Windham area, although no details are known.<sup>42</sup> More is known about John and James Pinkerton, two Scotch-Irish immigrants who opened up the first and second stores in Londonderry respectively. Prior to opening up the town's first store in 1750, John Pinkerton traveled around New England carrying Londonderry thread and cloth in a backpack. Business must have been good. The town's two leading merchants later became the principal benefactors of the academy bearing their name.

Unfortunately, while primary and secondary sources agree that the Scotch-Irish were adept at manufacturing and distributing linen cloth on at least a limited commercial basis, very little of this trade had been documented. Some scattered bits of evidence suggest the importance of the trade, although the picture is incomplete. Town officials in Londonderry for instance occasionally took steps to protect and regulate the town's linen trade. In the March town meeting of 1728, it was agreed there would be a sealer of weights, measures, leather, and "all sorts of Good sufficient linen Cloth that are made in this town for this Enshewing year." James Alexander, a cordwainer by trade and the town proprietor who had been entrusted to keep the town charter, was elected to fill the new post.<sup>44</sup> Alexander died two years later, and it is not known if the position was passed on to someone else or not. Town authorities did seek protection from the legislature,

however. In 1731, the house of representatives noted that "there are great frauds and deceipt practised by p'sons travelling in this Province by selling of Foreign Linens, under pretence they were made at Londonderry in this Province, which tends to the Damage of those who realy make and sell the Linen in Londondery...." Therefore, the house authorized the town to elect a sealer and make a seal "with the name of the Town engraved on it."<sup>45</sup> Nothing more is heard about linen seals for several years.

When news reached Londonderry in 1748 that Boston was trying to start up a linen "manufactory," town officials again voted to appoint a person to inspect and seal linen cloth. Later that year they voted to purchase seals for Londonderry linen which would read, "Londonderry in New hampshire." John McMurphy, Esq., and John Wallace were elected to inspect each piece of linen cloth, and if it was determined to be made in Londonderry, to stamp each end of the cloth and give the owner a certificate. Robert Boyes, Esq., was later elected to be one of the linen inspectors. McMurphy, Wallace, and Boyes were three of the most important figures in town. All three served several terms as selectmen, and all three had represented Londonderry in the general court. Obviously the inspection and sealing of linen cloth was serious business in Londonderry at mid-century.<sup>46</sup>

One obvious factor behind the superiority of Londonderry linen, when compared to other New England



homespun, was the presence of skilled Scotch-Irish weavers. There is a tradition that a weaver by the name of John Montgomery migrated from Ulster to Londonderry in 1747. He later moved to Andover, Massachusetts, and during the American Revolution, wove fine linen for George Washington and other officers. Congress rewarded him with a payment of £40 and a diamond ring.<sup>47</sup> While ordinary, utilitarian linen cloth might be woven by men or women, even among the Scotch-Irish, the finest linen cloth was made by highly-skilled male artisans. This would seem to be confirmed in Matthew Patten's diary. He took thread, both wool and linen, to weavers of both sexes, but used male weavers for the best linen cloth.

Unfortunately, almost nothing is known of these early Scotch-Irish weavers. Probate records give a few hints, although nothing very conclusive. Some who styled themselves "weavers" seem to have used rather ordinary equipment, while others invested quite a bit of capital in their operations. Weaver John Caswell of Chester, for instance, left an estate of £1500, yet his inventory lists "Loom tackling & a Hand Saw" appraised at only £8. In a 1755 inventory, Chester weaver Archibald Dunlap left "Loom & tackling" worth £ 12, while his neighbor, weaver William Otterson, left a loom appraised at £ 25 in 1760. By comparison, the bed and bedding in one of Otterson's bedrooms was appraised at three times this figure. Derryfield's Abraham McNeil's 1757 inventory lists loom and

tackling worth £ 30 along with £ 20 worth of yarn. Two Londonderry weavers do appear to have had more expensive looms than found in other estates. In 1760, William Mack's estate contained a loom worth £ 51 7s. and £ 100 worth of linen yarn. That same year, James Otterson's inventory listed two looms appraised at £98 19s.<sup>48</sup> In short, even among the Scotch-Irish, the designation "weaver" probably covered a substantial range of skill and operational levels.

There is also virtually no documentation about the actual distribution of linen. Matthew Patten's diary reveals a thriving local economy whereby flaxseed, linen thread, and linen cloth were actively traded in towns along the Merrimack. Patten was frequently paid for his services in flax or linen, such as the time a local weaver gave him cloth when Patten prepared a deed for him in 1768.<sup>49</sup>

Some Scotch-Irish linen was sold in local stores. While there are no good accounts of the stores run by John and James Pinkerton, it is known that one David Burnside owned a store in Londonderry. In the 1757 inventory of his estate, eighty-five yards of linen cloth, valued at £ 236 were listed. Chester trader John Aiken died in 1750, leaving behind twenty-nine yards of linen cloth valued at £58, plus an additional ten yards of "homeade cloth."<sup>50</sup> It was also possible for Scotch-Irish farmers to use dressed flax to pay their province tax. Between 1737 and 1742, it was recognized as legal tender.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, Scotch-Irish linen was also worth stealing. Matthew Patten attended a court case in 1757 where a man was accused of stealing fifteen yards of linen cloth from one James Moor of Merrimack. A few years later, Patten was out mowing one of his fields when his lunch, a pewter basin, and "a checked linnen handkirchief" were stolen from him.<sup>52</sup> On a more positive note, in 1736, Patten's father-in-law John McMurphy, on behalf of Londonderry, presented Governor Belcher with a piece of fine linen cloth worth £ 6 10s.<sup>53</sup>

Meager existing records suggest that the Scotch-Irish made a sufficient amount of various grades of linen cloth to satisfy local demand. Both English and Scotch-Irish in central New Hampshire were part of the Boston hinterland, and to a lesser extent that of Newburyport. Individuals living in this area might never shop in Boston, but they would take advantage of local stores, which in turn received goods directly and indirectly from Boston. Some would shop at transportation centers like Concord or at the shire town of Amherst. A member of the local elite like Matthew Patten would do his shopping at local stores; in Amherst, where he had at least four accounts; at a secondary trade center like Haverhill, Massachusetts; and on rare occasions, in Boston. In 1771, for instance, he took a load of butter to Boston and dutifully reported that he had run up an account of £83 4s. 4d. Massachusetts Bay Old Tenor at "Gordons."<sup>54</sup>

The eighteenth-century accounts of Samuel Blodgett give a revealing look into trade up and down the Merrimack.<sup>55</sup> Blodgett owned several pieces of property in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, including a substantial Boston store, a subsidiary store in Haverhill, and a farm in Goffstown, New Hampshire. Blodgett's accounts reveal that he sold linen, particularly imported linen, from his Boston store. At least once each year, he sent a large shipment of items to his Haverhill store. In January 1766, for instance, he sent over £ 3,000 worth of goods to Haverhill. The shipment included a wide range of items, including various kinds of cloth--yet no linen. The earliest date Blodgett recorded a shipment of Irish linen to Haverhill was November 1767. At this time, he sent the modest amount of forty-three yards of Irish linen to his Haverhill store. The Blodgett accounts suggest that in the case of this one merchant, imported linens sold in Boston, but demand was limited in a store located on the edge of Scotch-Irish territory.

This was apparently not the case in the seacoast area of New Hampshire. Advertisements in the New Hampshire Gazette, the province's only newspaper, listed imported goods for sale in Portsmouth, and merchants boasted of their Irish linen for sale, frequently listing it first. Accounts of Portsmouth merchant John Moffatt frequently mention imported linen.<sup>56</sup> Most of his incoming cargoes are titled "sundry items," and are from Bristol. However,

he frequently brought over a large shipment of cloth from London, including Irish and Russian linen. His accounts for May 16, 1749, reveal that a number of people had paid cash for 206.5 yards of "check lining," which had come to him by way of Barbados. Even the Scotch-Irish were not above importing Irish linen to satisfy markets in Portsmouth and Boston. In 1738, Londonderry's Samuel Todd imported no less than 11,000 yards of Irish linen aboard a ship owned by Joshua Pierce of Portsmouth.<sup>57</sup>

By 1770, if not earlier, New Hampshire's English farmers were working the various linen-making operations into their agricultural calendars. In his diary, Joshua Lane of Sanbornton variously recorded sowing his flaxseed, pulling and spreading his flax, and finally taking it in for the winter.<sup>58</sup> Peter Kimball of Bradford, Massachusetts, was swingling flax for neighbors as early as 1760, while Stratham's Samuel Lane noted with pride in his diary in 1770 that his daughter had learned to weave.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, future "Signer" and governor Josiah Bartlett was trading flaxseed with his Kingston neighbors in 1773.<sup>60</sup>

The growing of flax and the spinning, even the weaving of linen was fast becoming a part of New Hampshire's rural scene. Undoubtedly, the Scotch-Irish had linen-making skills that surpassed those of their English neighbors, for their reputation as manufacturers of fine linen survived the Revolution. Yet the English farmers of rural New Hampshire had learned enough about the process from the

Scotch-Irish to make utilitarian cloth suitable for most needs. Thanks to the Scotch-Irish and "their spinning wheels, turned by the foot," flax and linen became commonplace on New Hampshire farms.

Notes

1. Virginia D. Parslow, Weaving and Dyeing Processes in Early New York, with a Description of Spinning Fibres (Cooperstown, N.Y.: The Farmer's Museum, 1949), 13; Patten, Diary, passim.
2. Parslow, Weaving and Dyeing, 13.
3. Patten, Diary, passim.
4. Georgia Drew Merrill, History of Carroll County (Boston: W. A. Ferguson, 1889), 56.
5. A linen skein is ninety inches long, while a wool skein is fifty-four inches long. Parslow, Weaving and Dyeing, 15-16.
6. Mullin, Aghadowey, 62, 224.
7. Patten, Diary, 200, 291, 385, 415.
8. Patten, Diary, 163-64.
9. Patten, Diary, 165.
10. Patten, Diary, 165-66.
11. Patten, Diary, 167.
12. Patten, Diary, 169.
13. Patten, Diary, 170-78.
14. Patten, Diary, 175-77.
15. Patten, Diary, 177-78.
16. Patten, Diary, 179, 187.
17. Alice Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1919), 124-37, 146.
18. Sunderland to Stanhope, 4 June 1715, quoted in Dickson Ulster Emigration, 8.
19. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 159; Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 8.

20. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 8-10.
21. Ford, Scotch-Irish, 180; Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, 248, 254.
22. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, 10.
23. Charles J. Hoadly, ed., The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Vol X, 1751-1757 (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood, Brainard, 1877), 61; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Vol. 1: 1628-1641 (Boston: William White, 1853), 294, 303, 320, 322; James Kendall Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal: 'History of New England,' 1630-1649, 2 vols., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 2: 31.
24. NHSP, 2: 343-45.
25. Abbott Lowell Cummings, ed., Rural Household Inventories, Establishing the Names, Uses and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home, 1675-1775 (Boston: SPNEA, 1964), 11, 46; Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire, Microfilm Roll 9, 5 February 1713/14, NHHS; Thomas, Diary of Samuel Sewall, 2: 830.
26. John Russell Bartlett, ed., Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, Vol. V, 1741-1756 (Providence, R.I.: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1860), 318; Connecticut Public Records, 231; Cummings, Rural Household Inventories, passim.
27. Nash, Urban Crucible, 189-93, 472-73; Browne, Londonderry Records, 285-87, 291, 297.
28. Boston Gazette, August 14, 1753 and August 20, 1754.
29. Nash, Urban Crucible, 473.
30. Patten, Diary, 227-28, 234.
31. Boston News-Letter, March 10 and 17, 1719/20; William B. Weedon, Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789, 2 vols., (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1890), 495; Green, "Scotch-Irish," 39; Boston Record Commissioners, 8: 147-48, 153-54, 162. See also Massachusetts House Journal, 5: 100, for a 1723 petition to start a linen factory in Boston.
32. Belknap, New-Hampshire, 1: 193, 2: 160, 198.
33. Baxter Manuscripts, 10: 143. See also David Dunbar to Board of Trade, 25 January 1738, CSP, CS, 44: 40.



34. Belcher to Board of Trade, 7 December 1731, M.H.S. Collections, 56: 71.
35. CSP, CS, 42: 297.
36. CSP, CS, 42: 313.
37. [Joseph] Bennett, "History of New England," in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5 (Boston: by the Society, 1862), 111.
38. Birket, Some Cursory Remarks, 11.
39. Robert Rogers, A Concise Account of North America (London, 1765); Jean Joseph Marie Toscan to the Marshal de Castries, January 1785, Toscan Papers, NHHS. The report was written in 1784.
40. Cochrane, Antrim, 274-75; Start, Dunbarton, 155; Merrill, Acworth, 125; Little, Weare, 181-82.
41. Found in Cogswell, New Boston.
42. NEHGR, 51 (1897): 491.
43. Parker, Londonderry, 93-94. Pinkerton Academy was founded in 1814.
44. Browne, Londonderry Records, 74-75. Alexander may have made seals of some sort as early as 1721. In that year he was reimbursed by the town for purchasing a small quantity of lead. Browne, Londonderry Records, 34.
45. NHSP, 4: 596.
46. Browne, Londonderry Records, 285-87, 291, 297. The only other mention of seals and inspection comes from the town history of Antrim, where the town historian mentions that the selectmen of Antrim may have inspected and sealed linen in that town. Cochrane, Antrim, 275.
47. Told in Parker, Londonderry, 51.
48. Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire, Roll 17: 441; 19: 445; 21: 23; 22: 138, 149, 226. NHHS
49. Patten, Diary, 214.
50. NHSP, 18: 134; 20: 394; 21: 286.
51. Batchellor, N.H. Laws, 2: 550, 580, 689.
52. Patten, Diary, 38, 141.

53. Parker, Londonderry, 100.
54. Patten, Diary, 275.
55. Account book of Samuel Blodgett, 1763-1772. NHHS.
56. John Moffatt Accounts, NHHS.
57. N.H. State Archives, Court Records, Pierce v. Boyes (#25350).
58. Joseph Lane Diary (1783-1829). NHHS.
59. Peter Kimball Diary (1760-1767). NHHS; Lane, Diary, 41.
60. Samuel Swett Diary (1772-1774), NHHS; Daybook of Josiah Bartlett, 454. NHHS.

## Conclusion

Scotch-Irish settlement in New England was not particularly successful. In Maine and Massachusetts, disparate groups of Scotch-Irish settlers were encouraged to settle upon frontier lands in order to help Boston land speculators fulfill the terms of their various grants. The settlers were generally unprepared to cultivate the forests of Maine and Massachusetts. They were too poor to support their own churches and schools; matters of transportation and land distribution were in the hands of unsympathetic proprietors; and worst of all, they were not much liked. Most Bostonians were happy to have the "Irish" living as far away as possible. When the Scotch-Irish did come into contact with the English, as happened in Boston and Worcester, the Scotch-Irish were a detested minority, subject to insult, legal action, or mob violence. Along the coast of Maine, pockets of Scotch-Irish settlers tried to form their own "plantations"--free of the ethnic discrimination of the "Puritans" in Massachusetts. But here they fell victim to a series of Indian wars. Although remnants of the Scotch-Irish held on in Maine and western Massachusetts, it was a poor existence, one hardly capable of attracting new waves of immigrants.

In New Hampshire, the Scotch-Irish experience was successful, albeit on a modest scale. While the number of Scotch-Irish immigrants to New Hampshire was insignificant when compared to the situation in Pennsylvania, Virginia, or North and South Carolina, the quality and quantity of the settlers in New Hampshire was sufficient to result in a number of permanent settlements.

Yet Scotch-Irish success in New Hampshire was not inevitable. Boundary problems with elements in Massachusetts frustrated Londonderry's Scotch-Irish. After ten years, many Londonderry farmers, including most town leaders, were considering a move to the coast of Maine. At least one other potential Scotch-Irish settlement in New Hampshire never even got off the ground. In February 1723, Joseph Houston and Hugh Rankin, on behalf of sixty-three Scotch-Irish families living in and around Charlestown, petitioned authorities in Portsmouth for a township in New Hampshire. Although encouraged by the general court to seek a township, eight miles square, nothing more is heard from the group.<sup>1</sup>

There were a number of factors behind Londonderry's eventual success. For one thing, they arrived in New Hampshire, not merely as families, but as a group of families who had known each other in Ireland and in many cases were related. Many had come from Aghadowey parish, where the Reverend James MacGregor had been their minister. MacGregor's father-in-law, David Cargill, was probably the

"patriarch" of the Nutfield settlers. He was fifty-eight years old when the group arrived in Nutfield; as a ruling elder in Aghadowey parish, he had signed the church releases of many of the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield. He was the first elder and the first selectmen chosen in town. Cargill not only arrived in New Hampshire with his son-in-law, James MacGregor, but with his son, David Cargill, Jr., and two other sons-in-law, James Gregg and James McKeen. Along with John Goffe, these were the undisputed early leaders of the community. They headed proprietary, town, and church committees, and they generally represented the community when agents were needed in Portsmouth, Boston, or Haverhill. When the town of Londonderry was incorporated in 1722, James MacGregor, David Cargill, Sr., James McKeen, James Gregg, and John Goffe were singled out and given additional lots of land for services rendered.<sup>2</sup>

This initial core of solid citizens was joined by at least two other community leaders whose wealth, education, and contacts gave them standing at the provincial level. Both Robert Boyes and John McMurphy represented Londonderry in the assembly, both eventually were appointed justices of the peace, and both had a variety of business dealings with merchants in the provincial capital. McMurphy died in Portsmouth in 1755 while serving in the legislature. His son-in-law, Matthew Patten, brought the body home, and "Squire" McMurphy was buried "with an extraordinary company."<sup>3</sup> Robert Boyes was even better known at the

provincial level than McMurphy. He actively recruited Scotch-Irish settlers in Ulster, resulting in a number of contacts with leading merchants in Boston and Portsmouth. When Governor Belcher visited Amoskeag Falls in 1737, it was only natural that he would spend a couple of nights as Boyes' guest in Londonderry. Late in life, Boyes recognized the talents of Dr. Matthew Thornton, grooming the younger man for leadership and naming him executor of his estate.<sup>4</sup> Together, McMurphy and Boyes carried numerous town petitions and counter petitions to Portsmouth. They defended imprisoned Londonderry farmers in Essex County courts, and in general, they gave Londonderry the kind of political voice that Scotch-Irish settlers in Maine and western Massachusetts could never hope to have.

Another obvious factor behind Scotch-Irish success in Londonderry was the degree in which the early settlers guided their own course. They became their own proprietors. Political expediency forced them to share ownership with a few "outsiders," but these people never came close to guiding town affairs. When threatened by legal problems from Massachusetts, they proved to be capable politicians in Boston and Portsmouth. When political and legal solutions failed, they were at least as aggressive and tough as their enemies, even when that meant "squattling" on disputed lands, vandalism, and even violence. They made sure that their community remained

essentially Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian; they encouraged their fellow countrymen to join them and they carefully selected their spiritual leaders for their Presbyterian orthodoxy. As a result, divisions within Londonderry were divisions among different factions of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The "people of New England" had virtually no say in Londonderry politics.

Because of Londonderry's rapid growth, its strong Scotch-Irish character, and the aggressiveness of its town leaders, the town spawned a second generation of communities. Yet these newer towns never had Londonderry's drive or Londonderry's peculiar advantages. In most cases, the Scotch-Irish towns north and west of Londonderry contained substantial English populations--in some cases, substantial enough to demand a Congregational church. Ownership of these towns, at least the original proprietary shares, was generally in the hands of absentee proprietors whose interest in the quality of life within these communities was minimal. As a result, these towns never had Londonderry's explosive growth. Their churches, in cases where they began as Presbyterian churches, tended to convert to Congregational churches after a few years. For most of these towns, Londonderry remained the focus of Scotch-Irish culture and economic activity. The presence of the Londonderry fair helped; the popular preaching and occasional visits by David MacGregor may have helped in a very different way. Whereas all of the Scotch-Irish towns

seem to have had an active linen trade, only Londonderry had a reputation worth protecting with seals and certificates. In short, the subsequent Scotch-Irish towns were not quite as "Scotch-Irish" as the original.

Although the number of Scotch-Irish farmers in provincial New Hampshire probably never exceeded 10% of the total population, the significance of the Scotch-Irish should not be underestimated. Jeremy Belknap was correct in giving them credit for bringing improvements to New Hampshire agriculture. Yet the role played by the Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire's westward expansion is little understood. Both the timing and the various extenuating circumstances of their arrival in Nutfield are important when looking at the boundary controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Scotch-Irish behavior after arriving in the area is even more important.

Following Queen Anne's War, Boston investors began buying up "ancient" grants throughout Maine, and Massachusetts farmers were spilling over into neighboring provinces. As a result, New Hampshire was not only fighting to expand its cramped quarters, it was very possibly fighting for its political existence. New Hampshire had temporarily lost its separate political identity to the Dominion of New England a few years earlier. It currently shared a governor with a much larger neighbor. What the Scotch-Irish gave New Hampshire at a very crucial time was an aggressive body of settlers within



the most hotly disputed territory. While Massachusetts officials and settlers antagonized the Scotch-Irish in Nutfield, New Hampshire leaders made them feel welcome.

Almost overnight, the Scotch-Irish created the largest town in the Upper Merrimack Valley. They settled farms, cleared land, and built forts along the Merrimack. They fished at Amoskeag Falls as if they owned all the rights, and they failed to back down when threatened by "encroachers" and "trespassers" from Massachusetts. They made their case and that of New Hampshire, heard in Portsmouth, Boston, and London.

In the end they won. The boundary decision of 1740 created a provincial shell around the Scotch-Irish community at Londonderry. Within that shell they expanded and eventually lost their separate ethnic identity. A century later, their descendants began re-creating a Scotch-Irish myth--one that emphasized ethnicity but virtually ignored the political experience of the Scotch-Irish in provincial New Hampshire.

Notes

1. See N.H. State Archives, Record Group III (General Court Records), Petitions; also, NHSP, 4: 84.
2. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 252-59; Browne, Londonderry Records, 21, 43; Parker, Londonderry, 12-13.
3. Parker, Londonderry, 229; Patten, Diary, 21.
4. Potter, Manchester, 211; NHSP, 39: 125-31.

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