



THE
COT IN AMERICA
AND THE
ULSTER SCOT

WHITE LAW REID

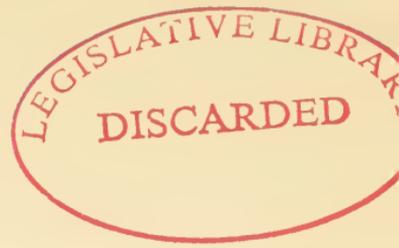
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THE SCOT IN AMERICA

AND

THE ULSTER SCOT



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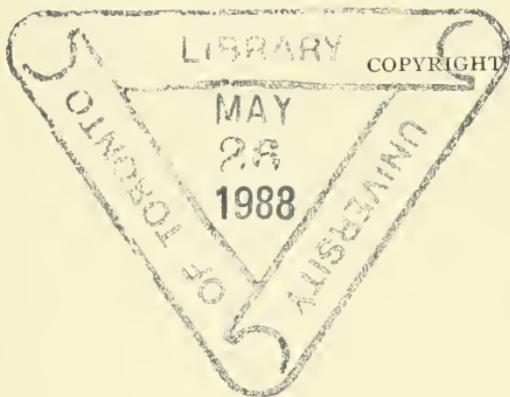
BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF ADDRESSES BEFORE
 THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTION,
 1st NOVEMBER 1911, AND THE PRESBYTERIAN
 HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BELFAST, 23th MARCH 1912

BY
 WHITELOW REID



MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
 ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1912



THE SCOT IN AMERICA

AND

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IN discharge of the duty with which you have honoured me I have ventured to think that your interest might be best enlisted in some account of what has been done by pioneers of your own Scottish blood, when given the larger opportunity of the new world. The Puritan in America has had his day, and generous, perhaps sometimes too generous, British recognition. So has the Cavalier. It is full time for the Scot in America, and for the Ulster Scot.

No man may presume to depreciate either the Puritan or the Cavalier. But, when they

are praised—as they must be for ever while heroism and great achievements are honoured among the generations of men—the praise should be for what they did, rather than for what they conspicuously did not do. The Puritan did not seek a new world to establish liberty of conscience—far from it. He only sought a world where he could impose his own conscience on everybody else. The Cavalier did not seek a new world where he could establish universal freedom. He only sought freedom for himself. Even for the early Scottish emigrants sent out to him he had no use save as bond-servants. Later on he found them also useful as Presidents.

Neither the Puritan nor the Cavalier went to America in resistance to tyranny. The Puritans who sought to resist tyranny stayed in England, in the Army with Fairfax, while those who felt otherwise went to the Colonies. The Cavaliers in the main left England for America when the Commonwealth Army had defeated them.

Neither the Puritan nor the Cavalier, when at liberty to work out their own ideals,

established popular government in the new world, though the Puritans were much farther from it than the Cavaliers. Under the Puritans no man could vote unless he were a church member, and in good standing with the church authorities. Under the Cavaliers piety may not have been so essential, but freedom from any debt for service was, and no man, even no white man, could vote without it.

The Puritans, as we have seen, did not seek a land of religious freedom, nor did they make one. They drove Roger Williams out, because he was a Baptist. They tried Quakers for heresy, bored holes in their tongues with hot irons, and if after this any confiding Quaker trusted himself again to the religious freedom of the colony, they hanged him. They tried old women for witchcraft, and hanged them. As late as 1692 Cotton Mather himself rode from Boston to Salem to witness the hanging of another minister, George Burroughs, for the crime of not believing in witchcraft, and according to most authorities not only approved but



actively encouraged the atrocity.¹ If you should be inclined, however, to judge the Rev. Mr. Mather harshly for this, and by modern standards, let me remind you of the fact that some time afterwards the same Cotton Mather was decorated with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Glasgow !

Neither Puritans nor Cavaliers led in the struggle for freedom of speech and of the Press. That honour belongs to a Scot, Andrew Hamilton, who went in 1695 from Edinburgh to America, where he rose to be Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. Forty

¹ John Fiske: *New France and New England*, p. 170 (New York, 1904); Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. i. p. 470; Bancroft's *History*, vol. i. p. 451, vol. iii. pp. 72, 84, 88, 93, 97 (Boston, 1867-68); Edmund Burke: *European Settlements in America*; John Fiske: *Beginnings of New England* (New York, 1898), pp. 208-218.

Charles Francis Adams, in *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History*, says on this point: "The trouble with the historical writers who have taken upon themselves the defence of the founders of Massachusetts is that they have tried to sophisticate away the facts. . . . But there that record is: and it will not out. Roger Williams, John Wheelwright, and Anne Hutchinson come back from their banishment, and stand there as witnesses; the Quakers and Baptists, with eyes that for ever glare, swing from the gallows or turn about at the cart's tail. In Spain it was the dungeon, the rack, and the fagot; in Massachusetts it was banishment, the whip, and the gibbet. In neither case can the records be obliterated."

years after his arrival he defended the New York printer, Zenger, in a trial for libel on the Royal Governor, which was construed as libel on the King. The colonist from Edinburgh defied official threats, resisted the bitterly unfriendly court, and by his impassioned eloquence fairly wrested an acquittal from the jury, and secured the freedom of speech and of the Press ever since enjoyed in America—sometimes, perhaps, over-enjoyed.¹

Neither Puritans nor Cavaliers began the demand for “no taxation without representation” which became the shibboleth of the Revolution. The principle thus formulated appeared first in 1740 in the controversy between the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Governor and the proprietary party. The substance of the long discussion in the Assembly was that as the King claims no power of levying taxes without the consent of Parliament, there should be no taxation without representation.²

¹ *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iv. pp. 1037-1059.

² *Proceedings of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, 1882, “Pennsylvania’s Formative Influence upon Federal Institutions,” William A. Wallace.

Neither Puritan nor Cavalier kindled the popular flame for Independence. Two years before James Otis's famous speech in the Boston Town House in 1761, Patrick Henry, a Scot, had done that in Virginia, in the defence against the noted "Parsons' Cause." Here he maintained the indisputable right of Virginia to make laws for herself, arraigned the King for annulling a salutary ordinance, in the sole interest of a favoured class, and said "by such acts a King, instead of being the Father of his people, degenerates into a tyrant and forfeits all right to obedience." The Court exclaimed "Treason," but the jury brought in its verdict against Patrick Henry's clients for one penny, and thus "the fire in Virginia" began.¹ It may interest you to remember that the mother of the orator who started it was a cousin of the Scottish historian Robertson and a cousin also of the mother of Lord Brougham.

A later episode in the Virginia House of Burgesses blew this fire into a furnace flame. Patrick Henry introduced resolutions

¹ John Fiske: *American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 18 (New York, 1896).

prompted by the Stamp Act, declaring that the inhabitants of Virginia inherited from the first adventurers and settlers of that Dominion equal franchises with the people of Great Britain ; that taxation by themselves or by persons chosen to represent them was the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom ; that the General Assembly of the whole colony have now the sole right to lay taxes on its people, and that any attempt to vest such power in any other persons whatever tended to destroy British as well as American freedom. These resolutions were violently resisted by the Royalists ; but Patrick Henry rose above himself in urging their adoption, and finally burst out with the exclamation, now one of the most familiar passages in all our Revolutionary oratory :—“ Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus ; Charles I. his Cromwell ; and George III.——” —“ Treason,” shouted the Speaker, “ Treason,” echoed back from every part of the House. But Patrick Henry had heard that cry before ; and, with blazing eyes fixed on the Speaker, fearlessly resumed his sentence : “ and George III. may profit



by their example.”¹ So this perfervid Scot not only carried the House, but sent the flame for Independence through every colony on the continent—never from that hour to die out.

I have thus enumerated some abatements from the prevalent unmixed and indiscriminating eulogy of our Puritans and Cavaliers, for things they did not do, as well as for the ever-memorable things they did, which are absolutely necessary to historic accuracy. In spite of them, those pioneers, of illustrious and undying renown, brave beyond comparison, and rigidly conscientious according to their lights, have always received and will always receive ample justice for the inestimable work they really did. They were the first in the field. They bore with heroism the privations and braved the perils of those who first burst into a savage world; and both privations and perils were beyond any modern conception. The original Pilgrims were of such stuff that, when their first dreary

¹ George Bancroft : *History of the United States*, vol. v. p. 277 (Boston, 1869).

winter compelled them to bury half their entire number, and the slow-coming, cheerless summer drove the survivors to incessant toil amid constant danger to lay up some store for another winter, Governor Bradford, of immortal memory, summoned them to come together at the end of the scanty harvest—for what? To give thanks to Almighty God for the signal mercies He had vouchsafed them! As great literary ability was developed among the descendants of these men, it is small wonder that such devotion has since been celebrated at its full worth; and perhaps sometimes to the disadvantage of later comers, who were apt to be more concerned with doing things than with recording things done.

Puritans and Cavaliers had possession of the field for the first half of the Seventeenth Century. The Scottish immigration began in the second half. It never had the advantage of concentration in one colony, like the Puritans in Massachusetts or the Cavaliers in Virginia, or even like the settlements of the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania. It

began, too, under circumstances that made the misfortunes of the Puritans and the Cavaliers seem almost enviable. The first notable Scottish arrivals were those shipped on the boat "John and Sara" in 1652.¹ They were prisoners of war, captured by Cromwell after the battle of Dunbar, and sentenced to be transported to the American plantations and sold into service. Similar shipments of prisoners of war, and then cargoes of convicted criminals, followed. After a time there sprang up also a system by which poor men secured transportation to the new and cheap lands of the colonies by selling in advance their services for a term of years. And yet, so rapidly did eager followers tread in the steps of the involuntary immigrants that only a third of a century after the first shipload of Scottish prisoners to be sold into service was landed at Boston, a Scottish missionary, the Rev. James Blair, of Edinburgh, was founding one of the oldest of American Colleges, William and Mary, in Virginia. In the century then almost dawning that Scottish

¹ Peter Ross: *The Scot in America*, p. 48.

educational foundation in the South was to send out many notable students—among them one certainly who has given the whole world cause to remember him and the stock that trained him—Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence.¹

Such, briefly stated, was the modest debut of the new and greater force in American development :—Scottish prisoners of war, transported and sold into service ; convicted Scottish criminals, transported and sold to get them out of the way ; poor but aspiring Scottish lads, selling themselves into service to get a chance in the new world ; pious young men from Scottish Universities, trying to found like educational centres in the

¹ Thomas Jefferson was of Welsh descent, as were also John Marshall and James Madison. In the beginning of Jefferson's autobiography he pays this tribute to one of his Scottish teachers at William and Mary : "In the spring of 1760 I went to William and Mary College, where I continued two years. It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind. He most happily for me became soon attached to me, and made me his daily companion when not engaged in the school ; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science, and of the system of things in which we are placed."

wilderness, for the glory of God. They were nearly half a century behind the Cavaliers in making their start, nearly a third of a century behind the Pilgrims. But the tortoise did not lose the race.

Till the accession of George III. the Scottish immigration slowly increased. According to the statistics of the Board of Trade, the white population of the several colonies, in August 1755, was 1,058,000, thus divided :—

Puritan colonies (New England), 405,000.
 Cavalier colonies (Southern) 303,000.
 Dutch, Quaker, and Huguenot colonies (Middle),
 350,000.

That was America when George III. came to the throne. Even yet the Scot had not clearly fixed his own stamp on any one of the colonies, or on any large section of one, but in many places there was now an important Scottish infusion that began to leaven the lump.

Thus shortly after the arrival of the "John and Sara" prisoners, other Scottish

fighting Presbyterians were brought out in the same way and became founders of colonies in Maryland, and on the Elizabeth River in Virginia. Many inhabitants of North-western Scotland, especially the clans of Macdonald and Macleod, were induced to emigrate; and their reports drew after them whole neighbourhoods from the Isles of Raasay and Skye. Bladensburg in Maryland, the Cape Fear region and Wilmington in North Carolina, the York and Rappahannock Rivers in Virginia, and the vicinity of Albemarle Sound were all places at which such colonies were established.

In 1736 an emigrant company of Highlanders started New Inverness in Darien, Georgia; and Oglethorpe, eager for such protection for his young colony on the side nearest the Spaniards in Florida, paid them a formal visit, wearing Highland costume, and with the pipes playing before him. Presently a rude fortification was pushed out towards the Spanish frontier, which was given the significant name of Fort St. Andrew.

In 1738 an Argyllshire man, Captain Laughlin Campbell, took eighty-three families from his own neighbourhood to be established on a grant of 47,000 acres, which he had obtained on the borders of Lake George, New York. Scottish Presbyterians were largely settlers in Putnam County, and others in Dutchess County, New York.

Various Highland regiments completed their terms of service during the war with France for the possession of North America, and others were disbanded in America at its close. Considerable numbers from all of them got grants of land for settlement, and stayed in the Carolinas and Virginia.

The Rev. John Livingston, of Ancrum, a follower of John Knox in the Scottish Kirk, started to America, in 1636, with other Scots and some English Puritans. But the "Eagle Wing" on which they were embarked came from no American eagle; it was driven back from mid-Atlantic by a violent storm. Livingston made no further effort to emigrate to America, but resumed his life in Scotland and

had a conspicuous career, ending twenty-seven years later in banishment for non-conformity. Soon after his death, his younger son, Robert Livingston, took up his father's interrupted plan, reached America, and was presently established in a small office at Albany under the Colonial Government. Here his influence over the Indians and his aptitude for affairs so commended him to the Royal Governor that thirteen years later he was given a concession for a large tract of land on the Hudson. George I. confirmed it and made him Lord of the Manor. Thus this orphan waif from the Ancrum manse prospered in the new land, and became the founder of an important Revolutionary family. Both son and grandson of the Ancrum Dominie held posts of prominent public service throughout their lives; while the next generation numbered among its members a President of the New York Provincial Congress of 1775, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and that Governor of New Jersey who liberated his own slaves, officially recommended the abolition of slavery in his own State, and

secured the passage of an act forbidding the importation of slaves. There came in one branch of the family three brothers and three sisters, who all led lives of value and public significance. The eldest son was Chancellor Livingston, member of the Committee which framed the Declaration of Independence. He administered the oath of office to George Washington as First President of the United States. Jefferson sent him as Minister to France, where he negotiated the purchase of Louisiana. On his return he associated himself with Robert Fulton in the application of steam to navigation. One of his brothers, Henry B. Livingston, was a gallant Revolutionary officer. Another brother, Edward Livingston, codified the laws of Louisiana, and later became Secretary of State under Andrew Jackson. The three sisters became the wives respectively of John Armstrong, Secretary of War under James Madison, of Governor Morgan Lewis, of New York, and of General Richard Montgomery.

This last was an Irish officer of the British army, a native of Donegal, and a student of

St. Andrews. He served under Wolfe and Amherst in America, gained the friendship of Edmund Burke, Isaac Barré, and Charles James Fox in London, finally sold out from the Army and returned to America in 1773 to marry and settle down. He had spent but two short years of married life when he was seized by reason of his military record for a Brigadier-Generalship in the Continental Army. His duty sent him back over the field of his early experiences in Canada, and finally brought him with Benedict Arnold under the walls of Quebec. There, while gallantly leading his men in the attack, he fell. The British commander, Sir Guy Carleton (first Baron Dorchester), who had previously served with Montgomery, now took pains to give him honourable burial. Provoked at a eulogy on him in the House of Commons by Edmund Burke, Lord North said: "I cannot join in lamenting the death of Montgomery as a public loss. Curse on his virtues! They've undone his country. He *was* brave, he *was* able, humane and generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane and generous

rebel." The reply of a statesman came from another friend of ours, Charles James Fox: "The term of rebel is no certain mark of disgrace. The great asserters of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind in all ages, have been called rebels."

Forty-two years later New York reclaimed this honoured soldier for State burial with every tribute of national pride in St. Paul's Churchyard, where he still lies, in Broadway's central roar, under the marble monument selected for him in Paris by Benjamin Franklin. As the boat sent by the State to bring back the hero, surrounded by all the trappings of military glory and mourning, approached Montgomery Place (the home on the Hudson he had been building for his bride when he was summoned to the war), she who had waited all these years for his return, appeared on the verandah to see him pass. What wonder that, when the solemn convoy rounded the point, when the wail of the funeral music was heard, and the flag of her country dipped low to convey to the faithful, grey-

haired widow the affectionate gratitude of the State and Nation, she was overpowered by the contending emotions of pride and grief and loneliness with her dead, and fell fainting to the floor !

Another portentous Scot, born in Kirkcudbrightshire in 1747, went to Virginia when thirteen years old, left it thenceforward only in the course of his seafaring life, and was able long afterwards to say : "I had the honour to hoist with my own hands the flag of freedom the first time it was displayed on the Delaware, and I have attended it with veneration, ever since, on the Ocean." Some of this Ocean service was such that his old country put a price of ten thousand guineas on his head. His new country thought it worth the first Captain's commission in her Navy, gave him command of all American ships in European waters, tendered him the thanks of Congress, and after the close of the war voted him a gold medal. A Scottish audience, considering this brave and brilliant contribution from their country to the American Navy, recalling some mitigated local grievances, but remembering

also the careful atonement, the magnificent seamanship and courage, and the undeniable, the world-wide fame, may very possibly find refuge where Scottish people so often do, in their proverbial philosophy, and decide that if Admiral Paul Jones was over bad for blessing he was certainly over good for banning.

If they wish, however, to exercise the undeniable gifts of the race for banning, there is another famous Scottish American sailor whom we might turn over to them with less reserve. This man, the son of a clergyman, was born at Greenock about 1650. He first appears in America in 1691, when the New York Colonial Assembly voted him its thanks for services to the commerce of the colony, and later gave him the more substantial reward of £150. Then Governor Bellamont took him up, and sent him out on a roving commission to sweep the coast of pirates—a task he discharged so well that he was now given £250. Then he set up as a home-made pirate himself, filled the marine world with stories of Captain Kidd's exploits and half our coast with stories of Captain Kidd's buried treasures. At last

Lord Bellamont succeeded in arresting him. England tried him, and he was hanged in chains in Execution Dock. And yet Burns, who even had pity for the Devil, might well have held a brief for a worse man than this fellow Scot. Those were wild days on the sea; even Great Britain had her press-gangs, and sent out slavers, and it may be that local magnates in the colonies, after the fashion of the times, thought it no harm to encourage (for mutual benefit) a "gentleman adventurer," as the tolerant phrase was, in relieving Spaniards, and "others beyond the pale," of their doubloons and silks!

There can be no difference of opinion as to the services of another great Scotsman, born at Yester, not far from Edinburgh, in the domain of the Marquess of Tweeddale. He was a descendant on his mother's side from John Knox,¹ and had already a distin-

¹ A distinguished New England author, in a private letter, questions this descent. His wife being a descendant of Witherspoon, he had felt an interest in establishing the relationship to John Knox. After careful investigation he finally concluded that there was no evidence of the fact, but that the story was purely traditional and conjectural. The statement in the text, however, seems to have been long and generally accepted. Thus the recent edition of the

guished career here, when in 1768 he yielded to a second call from Princeton University, and became its President. He brought it to a place among the foremost educational institutions of the land, and impressed upon it, as some one has said, the Scottish and Presbyterian thoroughness it maintained all through, from Witherspoon to McCosh. He took besides a high-minded citizen's part in all the fervid activities of the times; was directly responsible for the settlement in Ryegate, Vermont, in 1774, of the Scottish colony under General James Whitelaw, which founded Caledonia County; encouraged other Scottish immigration; came to wield great influence in the Continental Congress, and finally wrote the name of John Witherspoon on that bead-roll of foremost Americans, the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It is perhaps what might have been expected from the John Knox blood.

Encyclopædia Britannica gives it as an unquestioned fact. The great *Dictionary of National Biography* says substantially the same thing, and in varying phrases the same statement is made in Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, and Johnson's *Universal Cyclopædia*.

Many a son of Scottish Presbyterians in America has been drawn to the grave of Ralph Erskine, a great man of their faith, in the picturesque burial-ground beside a noted old church in Dunfermline ; but his reverence for the famous divine has been tinged with a warmer feeling, from his remembrance that this Presbyterian Seceder's son was sent to America in charge of what are now known as the Cooper and Hewitt ironworks at Ringwood, New Jersey, from which place he rose to be the trusted Chief of Engineers on the staff of George Washington.

It was in isolated cases like these, and in scattered communities, that the Scottish immigrants during the earlier part of George III.'s reign, from 1742 to 1776, had made themselves felt as leaders, even among the Puritans and Cavaliers. They attained, too, an altogether disproportionate influence through their education, their energy, and their sturdy principle ;—and also, let it not be forgotten, through a native thrift that often made them the wealthiest citizens in their respective communities.

But it is now time to take into account another stream of Scottish immigration—the Ulster Scot. This term is preferred to the familiar “Scotch-Irish,” constantly used in America, because it does not confuse the race with the accident of birth, and because the early immigrants preferred it themselves.¹ An Irishman’s ready wit in his own case bars out the other name. Since he was born in

¹ Parker’s *History of Londonderry, New Hampshire*: “Although they came to this land from Ireland, where their ancestors had a century before planted themselves, yet they retained unmixed the national Scotch character. Nothing sooner offended them than to be called Irish. Their antipathy to this appellation had its origin in the hostility then existing in Ireland between the Celtic race, the native Irish, and the English and Scotch colonists.”

In the same work may be found a letter from the Rev. James MacGregor to Governor Shute, saying: “We are surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish people, when we so frequently ventured our all for the British Crown and liberties . . . and gave all tests of our loyalty which the Government of Ireland required, and are always ready to do the same when required.”

In the Legislature of the Province of Pennsylvania (1763-64) Nathaniel Grubb, from Chester County, denounced the action of the Paxtang (now Harrisburg) settlers, who had been stung by treacherous Indian attacks into a wholesale slaughter of the Indians, and referred to the settlers as “a pack of insignificant Scotch-Irish, who, if they were all killed, could well enough be spared.”

An amusing controversy on the propriety of the term followed the publication of an admirable paper on “The Scotch-Irish in America” by Samuel Swett Green, read before the American Antiquarian Society, 1895. The correspondence was printed in an appendix.

Liverpool, the census enumerator was setting him down as English, when he indignantly interrupted :—"Sure, and is it any rayson for calling a man a horse because he was born in a stable?" And, in fact, if these Scottish and Presbyterian colonists must be called Irish because they had been one or two generations in the North of Ireland, then the Pilgrim Fathers, who had been one generation or more in Holland, must by the same reasoning be called Dutch, or at the very least English-Dutch.

In this new source of Scottish settlers for the colonies the blood is the same and the religious faith is the same, but they had been sent from Scotland to the North of Ireland one, two or three generations before ; some by James I., others by Cromwell ; while others went later, attracted by cheap farms and fancied opportunities for trade. After a time they began to suffer from unfriendly legislation, from Church persecution, and from the hostility of the expelled British monarch, James II., which among other things forced them to their long and heroic defence of

Londonderry. These experiences turned their eyes after the Scotsmen already prospering in the American colonies, and presently a great movement began among the Ulster Scots. In 1718 five small ships arrived at Boston with about 750 of them, who ultimately settled, some at Londonderry, New Hampshire, some in Boston, some at Worcester, Mass., and others near Portland, Maine. A year later some hundreds more of Ulster Scottish families were brought to the Kennebec river in Maine by Captain Robert Temple, an ancestor of the well-known Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts. These and succeeding parties from Ulster soon made a considerable element in the northern New England population.

William Penn was a man of business, and as such he found it to his interest as early as 1682 to secure as many Scots as possible for the second colony in which he was concerned, that of New Jersey. Its eastern portion was largely occupied by them.

Meantime the religious freedom which Penn did establish, while the Puritans did

not, combined with the milder climate and the cheaper land, began to divert the further flow of Ulster-Scottish immigration from its earlier field in New England to Western Pennsylvania. By 1725 they had made such an impression there that the Governor, James Logan, declared, "It looks as if Ireland were to send all her inhabitants. If they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the Province." Only a little over a century and a half later, Pittsburg alone was proprietor of greater values than that, and its Congressman, John Dalzell, was able to say of his town in the American phraseology, that "it is Scotch-Irish in substantial origin, in complexion and history — Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living, and the records of the dead."¹

¹ John Dalzell: "The Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of Second Scotch-Irish Congress*, p. 175.

An advertisement in the *Belfast News-Letter* of March 6, 1738, shows that at that early date the Ulster Scot imitated his kinsmen across the Channel, in selling himself into service in order to reach the new country. It reads:

"THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, That the Snow Charming Molly, Mr. Henry McLachlan, Master, will be well fitted out, Mann'd and Victual'd, and clear to sail from Belfast for New-Castle or Pennsylvania in America, against the first day of May next, the said Mr.



At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, in spite of the long start of the Quakers and the Germans, it was believed that one-third of the entire population of Pennsylvania was of Ulster-Scottish origin. As early as the middle of that century the number of Presbyterians (Scots and Ulster Scots) scattered through all the colonies was reckoned by Dr. Charles Hodge, author of the *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, at largely above a hundred thousand, perhaps nearly two hundred thousand, as against the total number of Puritans that ever came, which he puts at about twenty-one thousand. By the time of the Zenger trial in New York, the Presbyterians were far the most numerous there, outnumbering the Dutch Reformed or the Church of England membership.

McLachlan will treat with any who have Goods to transport thither, or go as Passengers, Redemptioners, or Servants, on the most easy and reasonable terms."

A longer advertisement in the Belfast *News-Letter* of October 31, 1769, shows that even then, only a few years before the Declaration of Independence, the same practice among immigrants prevailed of selling their services in advance and going out to the new country as "redemptioners."

In 1736 an Ulster Scot, Henry McCulloch, settled between three and four thousand of his countrymen on a land grant of 64,000 acres in what is now the County of Duplin, North Carolina. A few years later a steady stream of Ulster Scots was pouring into Philadelphia, some going West towards Pittsburg, and still farther, to Kentucky and Tennessee; others turning South sooner and filling the valleys of West Virginia, the western parts of North and South Carolina, and even Georgia, with rough clearings, log-cabin school-houses and Presbyterian churches.

As early as 1729, 5000 of them entered Pennsylvania alone in a year. After the famine it was estimated that 12,000 of them reached the colonies every year. A renewed movement began in 1771, and by the end of 1773 it was reckoned that 30,000 more of them had come. One authority, a New England historian,¹ counts that between 1730 and 1770 at least half a million souls were transferred from Ulster to the colonies, more

¹ John Fiske: *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* (New York, 1897), vol. ii. p. 394.

than half the Presbyterian population of Ulster, and that at the time of the Revolution they made one-sixth of the total population of the colonies. Another and very careful authority¹ fixes the inhabitants of Scottish ancestry in the nine colonies south of New England as about 385,000. He considers that less than half of the entire population of the colonies was of English origin, and that nearly or quite one-third of it had a Scottish ancestry.

That was your numerical responsibility, then, for the War of Independence. Your intellectual and moral responsibility was far more. It was no author with Scottish blood in his veins, it was the typical New Englander, George Bancroft, who closed his account of the incoming of the Ulster Scots with these words :

They brought to America no submissive love for England ; and their experience and their religion alike bade them meet oppression with prompt resistance. We shall find the first voice publicly raised in

¹ Charles A. Hanna : *The Scotch-Irish*, vol. i. p. 83.

America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain come not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.¹

But these are mainly statements gleaned from the sparse records on the subject by American historians. May I venture to add the views of two of your own greatest historians in the last century, Froude and Lecky. Mr. Froude says :—

And now recommenced the Protestant emigration. . . . Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passage of the Test Act. The stream had slackened, in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of spirit and energy refused to remain ; . . . and thenceforward, until . . . 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes ; and, in the War of Independence, England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who had held Ulster against Tyrconnell.²

¹ George Bancroft : *History of the United States* (Boston), vol. v. p. 77.

² Froude : *The English in Ireland* (London, 1872), vol. i. p. 392.

And again Mr. Froude says, with reference to the action of Lord Donegal in 1772 concerning his Antrim leases :—

The most substantial of the expelled tenantry gathered their effects together and sailed to join their countrymen in the New World, where the Scotch-Irish became known as the most bitter of the secessionists. . . . The emigration was not the whole of the mischief. Those who went carried their art and their tools along with them, and at the rate at which the stream was flowing the colonies would soon have no need of British and Irish imports. In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions, thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land . . . where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest. They went with bitterness in their hearts, cursing and detesting the aristocratic system of which the ennobling qualities were lost, and only the worst retained.¹ . . . There is a Bunker's Hill close outside Belfast. Massachusetts tradition has forgotten how the name came to the Charlestown Peninsula.²

And here is Mr. Lecky's estimate as to the numbers and character of the Ulster emigration :—

¹ Froude : *The English in Ireland* (London, 1872), vol. ii. p. 125.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 141 : "Bunker's Hill is supposed to be a corruption of Bruncker's Hill. Captain Bruncker was an officer who came to Ulster with Lord Essex in 1572, and received a grant of land in Antrim."

For nearly three-quarters of a century the drain of the energetic Protestant population continued. . . . The famine of 1740 and 1741 gave an immense impulse to the movement, and it is said that for several years the Protestant emigrants from Ulster annually amounted to about 12,000. More than thirty years later Arthur Young found the stream still flowing, and he mentioned that, in 1773, 4000 emigrants had sailed from Belfast alone. Newenham, who, in his book on *Irish Population*, has collected much information on this subject, remarks: "If we said that during fifty years of the last century the average annual emigrations to America and the West Indies amounted to about 4000, and consequently that in that space of time about 200,000 had emigrated to the British plantations, I am disposed to think we should fall rather short of than exceed the truth." . . . Many went to the West Indies, and many others to the American colonies. They went with hearts burning with indignation, and in the War of Independence they were almost to a man on the side of the insurgents. They supplied some of the best soldiers of Washington. The famous Pennsylvania Line was mainly Irish. . . . Emigrants from Ulster formed a great part of the American army.¹

In March, 1775, Patrick Henry, the Scot, uttered in St. John's Church, Richmond, the

¹ Lecky: *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1878), vol. ii. p. 261.

fateful and famous words : " It is too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. The war is inevitable, and let it come ! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms ! I know not what course others may take, but, as for me, give me liberty or give me death." Two months later the Ulster Scots adopted the notable Mecklenburg resolution, declaring that the joint address of the two Houses of Parliament to the King had virtually "annulled and vacated all civil and military commissions granted by the Crown, and suspended the constitutions of the colonies" ; that "the provincial congress of each province is now invested with all the legislative and executive powers within their respective provinces, and no other legislative or executive power does or can exist at this time in any of the colonies." When asked how they reconciled in their consciences this action with their oaths of allegiance, they boldly answered : " The oath binds only while the King protects." ¹

¹ John Fiske : *American Revolution* (New York, 1896), vol. i. p. 133.

A few months later came the Declaration of Independence, summing up the conclusions to which for years the Scots and Ulster Scots had been leading. Out of the fifty-six members who composed the Congress that adopted it, eleven were of Scottish descent; and among them were such conspicuous leaders as John Witherspoon, of New Jersey, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Philip Livingston, of New York, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina. At the momentary and natural hesitation to "put their necks in a halter" by signing this document after its adoption, it was one of these Scots, John Witherspoon again, who came to the front and carried the day. "He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions," he said, "is unworthy the name of freeman. For myself, although these grey hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hand of the public executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country." On that appeal of a Scotsman born, the

Declaration was signed. We guard it now, sacredly preserved in the handwriting of the Ulster Scot who was the Secretary of the Congress; it was first publicly read to the people by an Ulster Scot, and first printed by a third Ulster Scot. Well might Froude write in another century: "The foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity were those whom the bishops and Lord Donegal and Company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster."

At the first news of the skirmish at Lexington, John Stark, an Ulster Scot, of Londonderry, started for Cambridge, hurriedly gathered together eight hundred backwoodsmen, and marched with them towards the sound of the enemy's guns at Bunker Hill. It was there, facing the well-fed British troops, that he gave the still remembered order, "Boys, aim—at their waist-bands." After Nathaniel Greene, the other most noted General officers from New England were John Stark and Henry Knox, Ulster Scots, and John Sullivan, an Irishman. Three

others of Scottish origin were among Washington's Major-Generals at the close of the war, William Alexander, of New Jersey, Alexander McDougall, of New York, and the gallant and pathetic figure of Arthur St. Clair. Out of his twenty-two Brigadier-Generals nine were of Scottish descent, and among the Generals no longer in the ranks at the close of the war a similar proportion had been maintained.

Two of the most noted battles in South Carolina, where half the population was Ulster Scottish, were those of King's Mountain and Cowpens. At the first, five of the Colonels were Presbyterian ruling elders, and their troops were mainly recruited from Presbyterian settlements. At the Cowpens, General Morgan, who commanded, and General Pickens were both Presbyterian elders, and most of their troops were Presbyterians. Several other Presbyterian elders held high commands in the same State throughout the war.

One of the greatest achievements of the war occurred so far in the West that not till

long afterwards was its importance realised. This was the rescue of Kentucky and of that whole rich territory north-west of the Ohio, subsequently for ever dedicated to freedom by the famous Ordinance of 1787, from which five States were formed. For that momentous work, carried on in obscurity while attention was concentrated on the sea-board colonies, without encouragement and with the scantiest means, but with skill and with heroism, we are indebted to General George Rogers Clark, a Scottish native of Albemarle County, Virginia. It was quite natural that we should have been indebted to his younger brother, as one of the leaders in the Lewis and Clark expedition, for the discoveries in the North-west and on the Columbia River that may be said to have ultimately given us the Pacific Coast.

When the States gained their independence and it came to framing a constitution for the new Nation, out of fifty-four members of the Convention twelve were of Scottish descent. But here, as on many other

occasions, the Scotsmen weighed far more than their numbers would indicate. Of the college-bred men in the Convention over one-half were of Scottish descent.

One of them stood easily at the head, and for pure intellectual eminence and the genius of statesmanship outranked, then and till his premature death, any other living American. This was that marvellous West Indian boy, half Scottish, half Huguenot French, Alexander Hamilton,¹ who came to America for an education at the age of 15, who persuaded King's College to let him take its curriculum in less than the prescribed four years, who left it to plunge into the popular discussions at the outbreak of the war, addressing effectively tumultuous public meetings and writing

¹ One of the best recent biographies of this great man is by a British writer, Frederick Scott Oliver. Another popular biography is by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in the "American Statesmen Series," and a recent work, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton*, embodying some new material, is by Hamilton's grandson, Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton, of New York. Two other works which have enjoyed great popularity are by Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, *The Conqueror* and *A Few of Hamilton's Letters*. Other material, possibly somewhat less impartial, is offered in the *Life* by his son, John C. Hamilton, and in the same writer's *History of the Republic of the United States of America as Traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton, and of his Cotemporaries*; and also in *Reminiscences of Hamilton*, by another son, James Alexander Hamilton.

powerful appeals ; who was a Captain of New York Artillery at 19, Private Secretary to George Washington at 20, and at 24 the dashing soldier who led the assault on Cornwallis's first redoubt before Yorktown. At 25, as a member of Congress, he did his best to restrain the unwise persecution of the defeated loyalists, and the discreditable repudiation of debts into which the victorious side were plunging. At 29 he was the controlling spirit in the Annapolis Convention, which prepared the way for and called the Convention that next year secured the "more perfect Union," and framed the Constitution of the United States. His thirtieth year found him not the most conspicuous or talkative member of that body, but easily the one wielding the most influence in favour of a strong government, and realizing his more important ideals in the historic document it framed—the first successful written Constitution for a great free government, the one that has lasted the longest and achieved incomparably the highest results.

To draft such a Constitution had been

a task of the highest statesmanship. To secure its adoption from jealous and jangling States which did not like it and did not care for the more complete Union for which it provided, was a greater task and at the outset even more hopeless; and in this Hamilton, now a young man of thirty, did the most valuable work of his life. Always a leader of men, he had carried the timid but singularly persuasive Madison a long way in favour of a strong government in the Convention. He now enlisted him as a most efficient aid in commending their plan to the people. The result was a great book, published first in short essays in the daily newspapers; then collected into *The Federalist*; and studied now, after the lapse of a hundred and twenty-five years, as still one of the most vital and cogent presentations of the principles of successful popular government known to the literature of the world. The plan was Hamilton's, and most of the work was his. Out of eighty-five papers he wrote over fifty; Madison perhaps twenty-five; John Jay a few.

So far as the Press could secure the adoption of the new form of government, *The Federalist* did it. But there remained the need of personal influence in the doubtful States, and most of all, of a gallant and powerful popular leader to confront the strenuous opposition of Clinton, the New York forerunner of the modern "Political Boss." At the outset, two-thirds of the New York Convention and four-sevenths of the people were hostile to the Constitution. After a six weeks' struggle, in which Hamilton was the constant leader, and made a vehement closing speech, the head of Clinton's forces rose and admitted that "Mr. Hamilton had removed his objections." Even yet Clinton himself continued the struggle. At last Hamilton's messengers brought news that Virginia had been carried; and then New York, which began with a hostile majority of thirty-five, ratified the Constitution by a majority of three. When Hamilton returned from the Convention to his home, the whole city hailed him as the victor, and met him with music and flags and processions.

He was now thirty-one years of age. Only sixteen years more were left him ; but in that time he did two other things, on either of which alone a great reputation might have securely rested. He served in Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. It was a period when the Treasury was empty, when repudiation of public and private debts due in Great Britain discredited the new Government in foreign eyes, while persecution of the Tories lowered it both at home and abroad. Yet, unhappily, this disastrous policy was not only popular, but support of it was held a proof of patriotism. Hamilton set his face against it like flint, and soon gave such a check to repudiation and brought such order into the disordered finances as to justify the familiar eulogium passed upon his work, thirty-five years later, by Daniel Webster : " He smote the rock of National resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of Public Credit, and it sprang upon its feet."

Furthermore, he gave the new, unorganized

Treasury Department the organization which has served it ever since—making in it, as before in the Constitution, a provision for the wants of a people of three millions, so well devised that when they have grown to ninety millions it is still found adequate.

Then this young man, only thirty-eight even yet, whose life had been spent in camps, in Constitution-making, and in the Cabinet, turned to the most exacting of the professions, and in the remaining nine years conquered a place as a great lawyer, inferior to no other in that nation of lawyers. At forty-seven he fell in an unprovoked duel, without even aiming at his antagonist.

If any man of your race, at home or abroad, has a more varied record of loftier achievements, then there is more reason than any of us have hitherto realized for still greater pride in the land and in the blood! I venture to rank this grandson of Alexander Hamilton, of Grange, in Ayrshire, and of the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Pollock of that Ilk, as the foremost Scottish contribution to America, in that most critical and formative

period—indeed as the foremost contribution from any part of the world.

James Wilson, a Scotsman, born at St. Andrews, deserves always to be remembered in connection with the constitutional part of the career just described. He approached Hamilton himself as closely as a great lawyer, the first legal scholar of his time and place, and perhaps then the head of the American bar, could approach one who, besides being a statesman of commanding and many-sided ability, was a man of genius. Wilson was also a signer of the Declaration, and a most useful and influential member of the Convention that framed the Constitution. In most cases, he gave his whole influence with Hamilton and Madison against the self-destructive plans of State Sovereignty, and for a strong government. When it was set up, Washington put him on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, where he remained in increasing usefulness till his death in 1798.

On that great Court, as Washington first

organized it, three of the four Associate Justices were of the same blood, two Scots and one an Ulster Scot.¹ When the first Chief-Justice, John Jay, left the bench, his successor, John Rutledge, was an Ulster Scot. Washington's first Cabinet contained four members. Two of them were Scots and a third was an Ulster Scot.² Among the first Governors for the new State Governments set up by the colonies, nine (two-thirds) were of either Scottish or Ulster-Scottish origin: George Clinton, of New York, Thomas McKean, of Pennsylvania, William Livingston, of New Jersey, Patrick Henry, of Virginia, John MacKinley, of Delaware, Richard Caswell, of North Carolina, John Rutledge, of South Carolina, Archibald Bulloch, of Georgia, and Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut.

The same tendency is marked throughout the list of men who have filled the great

¹ James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and John Blair, of Virginia, Scots; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, Ulster Scot.

² Alexander Hamilton, of New York, a Scot; Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, an Ulster Scot; and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who claimed among his ancestors the Scottish Earls of Murray.

office of President of the United States. Eleven out of the whole twenty-five, nearly one-half, were of Scottish or Ulster-Scottish origin. The ancestry of James Monroe is not wholly clear, but most of the authorities agree that his father was of what they call Scottish Cavalier descent, from a family that emigrated to Virginia in 1650. Andrew Jackson was born in South Carolina, two years after his parents, Ulster Scots, had emigrated from Carrickfergus, County Down. James K. Polk was the descendant of Ulster Scots from County Londonderry, who came to Maryland about 1690. James Buchanan was the grandson of Ulster-Scottish parents who came to Pennsylvania in 1783 from County Donegal. Andrew Johnson was the grandson of an Ulster Scot who settled first in Pennsylvania and then removed to North Carolina about 1750. General Ulysses S. Grant was, on his mother's side, a descendant of Ulster Scots who settled in Pennsylvania about 1763. Rutherford B. Hayes was the descendant of George Hayes, who emigrated from Scotland to America about 1680.

Chester Alan Arthur was the grandson of Gavin MacArthur, of Ballymena, County Antrim. Stephen Grover Cleveland was, on the mother's side, an Ulster Scot. Benjamin Harrison, among the greatest of recent Presidents, came of one of the families most conspicuous in America for high public service through successive generations. He was, on the father's side, of Cavalier origin, the grandson of a President, and great-grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence ; on the mother's side a descendant of an Ulster Scot named McDowell. William McKinley was of Ulster-Scottish descent. Theodore Roosevelt, on the father's side, is of Dutch origin ; on the mother's side, is a descendant of Alexander Bulloch, the Scottish first Governor of the State of Georgia.

Of the twenty-five men whose names fill up this shining roll of the American Presidency, nearly one-half chose Secretaries of the Treasury of Scottish descent, and nearly one-third chose Secretaries of State of the same blood. In the Treasury, besides the

great figure of Alexander Hamilton, we recall such men as Louis McLane (one of my own honoured predecessors at this post, while his son was my immediate predecessor in France), Thomas Ewing, one of the foremost lawyers of the country, Thomas Corwin, the nearest rival to Henry Clay as a popular orator, James Guthrie, and that noble pair chosen by Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana. In the State Department no names shine brighter than the Scottish ones, from Edward Livingston and John C. Calhoun to James G. Blaine, John Hay, and P. C. Knox.

Of the new men who came upon the stage in the second quarter of the Republic's existence, three were by common consent pre - eminent, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay. One was Scottish, Daniel Webster, whose ancestor, Thomas Webster, came to New Hampshire in 1636 ; one was Ulster Scottish, John C. Calhoun, whose grandfather, James Calhoun, emigrated from Donegal to Pennsylvania in 1733 ; and the third, Henry Clay, has been

claimed as Ulster Scottish by some writers, apparently only on the presumptive evidence of birth in Virginia in a region peopled by many Ulster Scots, and in circumstances like theirs.

In all the historic achievements of Scotland is there any more remarkable than this conquest of leadership in a new land by men half a century behind other and strong races in entering upon the scene?

Still, like the rest of the world, you will have to take the bitter with the sweet. These Scotsmen beyond the Atlantic were not always a credit to you. Aside from the leadership they displayed, Scotland can prize no laurels from the record of Captain Kidd, the pirate; or of her sons from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who in 1763 inaugurated lynch-law in America¹; or of Callender, the professional

¹ The first victims were six Iroquois Indians at Conestoga. A Paxtang citizen (Harrisburg was then called Paxtang) recognized among them the Indian who had killed his own mother. The settlement was instantly attacked, six were killed and fourteen escaped to Lancaster, where they were sheltered in jail. Among them there was known to be another man who had murdered certain relatives of a Paxtang citizen. A body of fifty marched from Paxtang to Lancaster, broke into the jail, and killed every Indian in it. See letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania from the Captain of

libeller and blackmailer, who began yellow journalism in the United States and took pay for persistently libelling, first George Washington, then Alexander Hamilton, then John Adams, and finally Thomas Jefferson. It was of him that one of the most graphic of our recent historians, McMaster, wrote : " As destitute of principle as of money, his talents, which were not despicable, were ever up for sale. The question with him was never what he wrote, but what he was to be paid for writing."¹ With all our advances in civilization, perhaps that breed has not yet entirely died out on either side of the Atlantic.

In America Scotsmen have not often figured as leaders of lost causes ; but the President of the Southern Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, and his Secretary of War, John C. Breckenridge, who had just before the Secession been Vice-President of the United States, were of that

the Pennsylvania Rangers and the Governor of Pennsylvania's proclamations ; also *Statement of Grievances, Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, vol. ix. pp. 138-145.

¹ John Bach McMaster : *History of the People of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 468.

blood. Another leader in a cause that seemed lost, but ended first in an independent nation, and then in peaceful annexation to the United States, was Sam Houston, President of the Republic of Texas, and first representative of the State of Texas in the United States Senate. In our great Civil War, among many leaders of Scottish descent on the Union side, the names of Grant, McPherson, McDowell, McClellan, Gillmore, and Frank Blair will occur to all. On the Confederate side were Joseph E. Johnston, one of our ablest losses ; James Longstreet, J. E. B. Stuart, and one more, to name whom is enough to shed an undying lustre over the ranks of the lost cause. It was another Presbyterian ruling elder :—

We see him now—the queer slouched hat,
 Cocked o'er his eye askew ;
 The shrewd, dry smile ; the speech so pat,
 So calm, so blunt, so true ;
 The “ Blue-light Elder ”

Silence ! Ground arms ! Kneel all ! Caps off !
 Old Massa's going to pray.
 Strangle the fool that dares to scoff :
 Attention ! —it's his way.

Appealing from his native sod,
In forma pauperis to God,
 "Lay bare Thine arm ! Stretch forth Thy rod."

He's in the saddle now. Fall in !
 Steady ! the whole brigade.
 Hill's at the ford, cut off ; we'll win
 His way out, ball and blade.
 What matter if our shoes are worn ?
 What matter if our feet are torn ?
 Quick step ! we're with him before morn :
 That's Stonewall Jackson's Way.

The anti-slavery movement which led to our Civil War began among the Scottish and Ulster-Scottish immigrants ; though not in New England. This is a prevalent delusion, which the brilliant writers of that region have not always discouraged. But the real anti-slavery movement began among the Scottish Covenanters (largely in South Carolina and East Tennessee) twenty to thirty years before there was any organized opposition to slavery elsewhere, even in Massachusetts. At the beginning of the century the Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod hesitated at accepting a call to the Covenanter congregation in Chambers Street, New York, because a small

Newburgh congregation was associated in the call, some of whose members held slaves. Thereupon the Presbytery enacted that "henceforth no slaveholder should be retained in their communion."¹ That was in November, 1800. By 1815 the Covenanters, the Methodists and the Quakers of East Tennessee had eighteen emancipation societies. A few years later there were five or six in Kentucky. By 1826 there were 143 emancipation societies in the United States, of which 103 were in the South, and as yet, so far as known, not one in Massachusetts. As late as 1833, the gentlest and sweetest of American anti-slavery poets, John G. Whittier, the Quaker, was mobbed in Massachusetts for attempting to make an Abolition speech. John Rankin, the noted Covenanter anti-slavery leader, said that it was safer in 1820 to make Abolition speeches in Kentucky or Tennessee than at the North; and William Lloyd Garrison wrote in 1833 that he was surrounded in Massachusetts

¹ Centennial Celebration of First Reformed Presbyterian Church in the City of New York: Sermon by the Pastor, the Rev. James Dallas Steele, Ph.D., 1897.

by contempt more bitter, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slaveholders themselves.¹

During the whole period, from the Revolution to the Civil War, the indomitable Ulster Scots, chiefly from Pennsylvania and the South, were pouring over the Alleghenies, carrying with them the frontiers of the country, fighting the Indians and the wild beasts, subduing and planting the wilderness, westward to the Mississippi. Of this conquering race, a President of the United States, William McKinley, said² :—

The Scotch-Irishman comes of mighty stock—that we know—descending from those who would fight, who would die, but never surrender. Celt and Saxon are in him combined, after each has been tempered and refined. The Celt made his final stand as a racial individuality in the extremities of Western Europe. . . . The blood of the North Britons mingled with that of the Celt from the Green Isle and with that of the ancient Pict. The result of this commingling of blood and of local environment was the Lowland Scot, even then possessing characteristics distinct

¹ Oliver Perry Temple : *The Covenanters, Cavalier, and Puritan.*

² *Proceedings Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress*, Springfield, Ohio, 1893.

from the Highlander and the Irish Celt. The Lowlander recrossed the narrow sea to Ulster. His going marked an epoch in the history of civilization. The tragic history of Ireland has been for centuries food for racial hate. In this land, at least, the irremediable past should not be matter for quarrel. . . . To the Ulsterman across the ocean, to the Celt south of him, each with his virtues and his faults, I can but say, in the tender, pleading language of the venerable Gladstone: "Let me entreat you—and if it were with my latest breath I would entreat you—to let the dead past bury its dead, to cast behind you every recollection of bygone evils, and to cherish, to love, to sustain one another through all the vicissitudes of human affairs in the times that are to come."

As American citizens, the Scotch-Irish have ample reason for pride. They were the first to proclaim for freedom in these United States; even before Lexington, Scotch-Irish blood had been shed in behalf of American freedom; and the spirit of Patrick Henry animated the Scotch-Irish to a man when the great clash came. "In the forefront of every battle was seen their burnished mail, and in the gloomy rear of retreat was heard their voice of constancy and courage." Of no race or people can Milton's words be applied in juster eulogy: "Inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hope of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God,

and famous to all ages." Next to their intense patriotism, the distinguishing characteristics of the Scotch-Irish are their love of learning and of religion. The Scotch-Irishman is the ideal educator, and he is a natural theologian. It would be difficult to find a college or university without a Scotch-Irishman upon its Faculty. Another marked characteristic is the love of home and family, and, wherever this prevails, there are found manly virtue, and high integrity, and good citizenship. The home and the schoolhouse have been mighty forces, marking the progress of the Scotch-Irish race.

On the same subject another President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, says, in his *Winning of the West* :—

Full credit has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the North-east, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. . . . They formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march Westward.

And, finally, may I quote the briefer eulogy by the most elaborate and painstaking American historian of the Ulster Scots? He described them as "that indomitable race whose pioneers, in unbroken ranks, from Champlain to Florida, formed the advance guard of civilization in its progress to the Mississippi, and first conquered, subdued and planted the wilderness between."¹

Count, then, that enormous principality that lies between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River as a Scottish conquest; and then turn to more recent conquests by individual Scotsmen. We have spoken of Robert Fulton, backed by Chancellor Livingston, as the pioneer steamboat builder. But there were two others, also of Scottish origin, in that field, William Henry and Joseph Rumsey. The telegraph depends to-day, all over the world, on the inventions of Joseph Henry and S. F. B. Morse, both of Scottish origin. The telephone comes closer to you still, for Alex-

¹ Charles A. Hanna: *The Scotch-Irish* (New York, 1902).

ander Graham Bell was born in Edinburgh, while Thomas A. Edison's mother, Mary Elliott, was also of Scottish blood. So was Cyrus McCormick, who brought the wheat fields of the United States and Canada to your doors by the invention of his reaper. To that great list might well be added the man who built the first steamship to cross the Atlantic, Francis Fickett, of New York ; and many of the leading railway builders and operators, from Strathcona and Mount Stephen, over the invisible border in Canada, and their efficient ally in New York, John S. Kennedy, to the managers of one of the greatest of Eastern railways, the Pennsylvania, which has been almost continuously in the hands of men of Scottish blood, Thomas A. Scott, J. N. McCullough, James McCrea, Robert Pitcairn, Andrew Carnegie, Frank Thomson, and A. J. Cassatt. In the same list may well be included great ironmasters, from Grant, who built the first iron-furnace west of the Alleghenies, and John Campbell, the Ohio Scot, who first used the hot-blast in making pig-iron, to Andrew Carnegie, in

whose colossal operations the iron and steel manufacture seemed to culminate.

If I have spoken lightly of one of your Scottish contributions as our first professional blackmailer, let me hasten to add that the early fast printing-presses were developed by Scott, Gordon and Campbell; that the fast stereotype process necessary to complete their usefulness came also from an inventor of Scottish blood; that the first American newspaper, *The News-Letter*, was published in Boston by John Campbell; that the first newspaper in the great "territory North-west of the Ohio River" was published at Cincinnati by William Maxwell; that the first religious newspaper in that territory was also started by a Scotsman of Chillicothe; and finally, that the two most noted editors in the United States were James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley, the one a Scot, the other an Ulster Scot. One of them may be credited with the conception of the modern newspaper as a universal news-gatherer, and the other, "our later Franklin," as Whittier called him, with

the most efficient use ever made of it in America for the popularization of noble political conceptions, their development in a triumphant political party and in the overthrow of human slavery.

Let me close with a mere reference to our leading humorist, the most loved of American authors. Diplomacy knows him as one of our earlier Ministers to Spain. New York knows him best by Diedrich Knickerbocker and Peter Stuyvesant and the Legend of Sleepy Hollow. He is still remembered, even in this land of great writers and of the richest literature of modern times, as the author of the *Sketch Book* and of *Bracebridge Hall*. Washington Irving was born in New York, a few years after his parents had arrived from Scotland. May I add one other name, that of our best writer of short stories, and one of our most admired poets? Sir Edmund Bewley, of Dublin, has shown,¹ conclusively as I think, that (contrary to the prevalent American opinion) John Poe, the great-grandfather

¹ *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (January 1907).

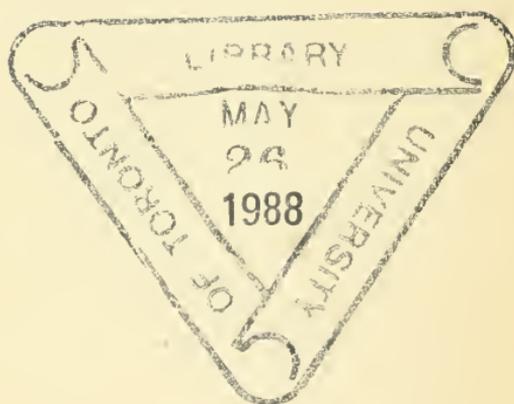
of Edgar Allan Poe, instead of being of Norman-French or Italian origin, was an Ulster Scot, who emigrated to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, from Dring, in County Cavan, about 1748.

If these remarks, too tedious I fear, and yet quite inadequate, have not entirely failed of their purpose, they must have shown how greatly your own sons are responsible for the separation, for the War of Independence, for the conquest of the Mississippi Valley, for the Constitution, for the administration of the Government, for the anti-slavery movement, and for the Civil War. If you think ill of this work, and of the record of the Republic, then I have at least dealt faithfully with you, after the manner of your pulpit ; and "set your transgressions in order before you." If, on the other hand, as I venture to hope, you think well of our work in the main, then I am here to acknowledge with gratitude our large indebtedness to the Scottish race and blood for its inspiration and its success. A popular song by the

foremost Scottish poet was really our Declaration and our Constitution " writ large " :

The rank is but the guinea stamp,
 The man's the gowd, for a' that.
 Then let us pray that come it may,
 As come it will, for a' that,
 That man to man the warld o'er
 Shall brithers be, for a' that.

Since the times that have been under consideration we have grown into a Nation of ninety millions, beyond comparison the largest body of English-speaking people in the world. We have not forgotten our origin or our obligations. In all parts of the Continental Republic hearts still turn fondly to the old land, thrilling with pride in your past, and hope, confident hope, for your future.



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